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CO-OPERATIVES AND PEACE
IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION



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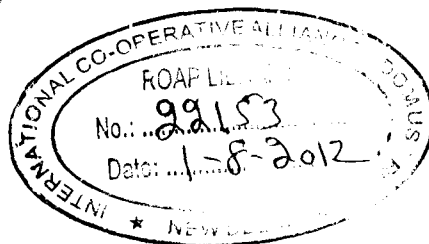
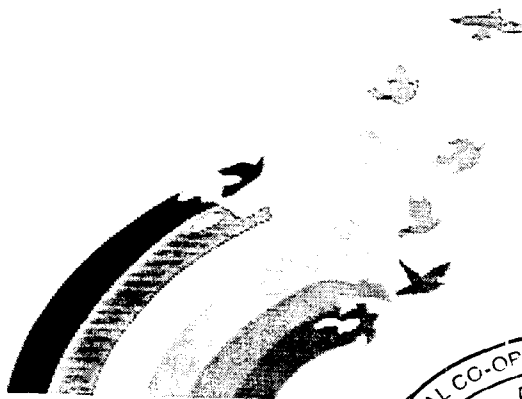
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE (I.C.A.)

**CO-OPERATIVES AND PEACE IN THE ERA
OF GLOBALISATION**

**A Retrospective Look at I.C.A.'s Concern,
Resolutions and Action throughout the 20th century**

DIONYSOS MAVROGIANNIS
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Dionysos Mavrogiannis
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FORWORD

This paper has been submitted to the I.C.A. General Assembly as a background paper for its discussions on the theme of “Co-operation and Peace in the Era of Globalisation”. The opinions in the document are those of its author.

I.C.A. would like to thank Dr. Mavrogiannis for this important review of I.C.A. history. He has traced back the concern of the co-operative movement with the peace and in the few pages that follow demonstrated the role of the I.C.A. over the years as a peace-maker and peace-keeper. He has also raised the challenge to the co-operative movement on if and how it can continue ensuring that co-operative system can address the social, economic and cultural problems that create insecurity, fear and ultimately war. His review is most timely and call us as a movement to action.

Karl J. Fogelström

Director – General

International Co-operative Alliance, Geneva

PREFACE

Globalisation of the markets is certainly creating new conditions for the international economy, generating, thus, new challenges for the International Co-operative Movement. ICA, by defining the Basic Values of co-operation (30th Congress, Tokyo 1992) and by adopting the reformulated co-operative principles (Prof. Ian MacPherson's Report on Co-operative Identity, 31st Centennial Congress, Manchester 1995) had early enough reacted to the forthcoming challenges of the 21st century.

The decision to have «Peace and Co-operatives in the Era of Globalisation» as the main theme of the last General Assembly, Seoul 2001, was a timely move towards encouraging Co-operative Development under conditions of Peace.

Debates engaged on this subject and Resolutions moved and adopted by the General Assembly reflect the importance and current concern of all parties involved about support to democracy, implementation of co-operative values, ideals and principles and about spreading the advantages to hundreds of millions of co-operators around the world, particularly to feeble strata of the population.

In the perspective of the New Economy and of the risks that may emerge for Co-operation, the debates and Resolutions of the General Assembly of ICA should be considered as a serious warning for the immediate future. For whatever policy and action that might be necessary in the future in order to face adverse conditions and possible risks, the International Co-operative Movement can draw useful lessons from ICA's past positions, concern and actions about Peace and co-operatives, that had been assumed and implemented under worse conditions of the first half of the past century. During that period and even before the creation of the United Nations system, ICA had played a leading role as Peace-maker and Peace-watcher amidst

monopolies, excessive nationalism, economic antagonisms and threats to democracy and to Peace in Europe and elsewhere.

The Paper of professor D. Mavrogiannis, Secretary - General of the Greek Institute of Co-operation, presented to the General Assembly of ICA in Seoul last October, is an informative document highlighting 25 resolutions as well as the constant concern and stable commitment of the Organisation to the cause of Peace in all its forms: on the one hand as a prerequisite for the expansion of co-operative economy around the world and on the other as a direct result of co-operative values, principles and activities.

Prof. D. Mavrogiannis' brief report is part of a wider economic and sociological research and study, focused on various parameters of the interrelation between Peace, Co-operative Development and Human Rights, proving the pioneering and successful role of ICA until now in this matter, as well as the role and place of co-operative entrepreneurship in the conditions of the globalised economy. Because Co-operative Organisations, Enterprises and Co-operators, organised under the leadership of I.C.A., should be aware about the struggle and quest for Peace in the past, so that they will be able to strive for facing new challenges emerging from the conditions of globalisation, of poverty and of insecurity in the future.

In a second part are reproduced the original texts (Resolutions, Declarations and Statements) of 32 International Congresses, General Assemblies and other events of I.C.A. and of U.N. of the period 1902 – 2001, as well as the recent Statement of Mr Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission, on Co-operative Added Value (2002).

These documents, selected from the I.C.A.'s *Proceedings* by the author, are edited in their integral form so that co-operators, readers and researchers be able to further investigate the various aspects and issues of Peace directly involved in the process of economic and social development of the Third Economic System (co-operative organizations–enterprises and local societies) in Europe and around the world as well.

Professor C.L. Papageorgiou
President

Institute of Co-operation, Greece

CO-OPERATIVES AND PEACE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION

A Retrospective Look at ICA's Concern, Resolutions and Action throughout the 20th century*

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

ICA Rules: Article 2 Objects

“The ICA, as a world – wide representative of co-operative organizations of all kind, shall have the following objects: (d) : To promote sustainable human development and to further the economic and social progress of people, thereby contributing to international peace and security”.

The Aims of the ICA Gender Equality Committee

Article 3.9 : “It shall strengthen the efforts of women and men in the promotion of lasting peace and security”.

Peace advocacy has constituted an early and constant ideological concern of I.C.A. It's economic philosophy and social vision, as well as its activities and working relationship with International Agencies, NGO Organizations and Offices responsible or caring for Peace, are an inestimable source of important documentary elements and data with reference to the subject of Peace.

More precisely, such documents are found in I.C.A.'s Rules, Reports and Proceedings of its Congresses and General Assemblies, in

* This Paper, author's contribution to the I.C.A. General Assembly, Seoul (October 12-17, 2001), is a Summary of his on-going Research and Study on Co-operative Development, Peace and Human Rights in the Era of Globalisation.

Resolutions, in statements and decisions, Special Committees Rules and Strategy in articles of I.C.A.'s leaders, published in the Review of International Co-operation, in Studies of well – known co-operators concerning I.C.A.'s History, in the Annual Declarations for the Celebration of the Cooperative Day of both, I.C.A. and United Nations. Therefore, any attempt to thoroughly study this subject (Peace) under its numerous facets, should take in account: firstly, the text itself of each I.C.A.'s Resolution, by investigating and highlighting historical circumstances, challenges and conditions of proposal and approval, either by I.C.A.'s Central or Executive Committee or by scientists and members commissioned by I.C.A. or moved by representatives of the member-organizations. Secondly, external facts such as threats to Peace, menaces of war, post-war decisions, and positions on political neutrality and freedom. Equally, I.C.A.'s internal structure, policy, co-operative principles and democracy, inter-co-operative trading relations, working relationship with the State, Gender equality and co-operatives, produced in several occasions an impact on I.C.A.'s positive attitude and decisions about Peace and Action for Peace.

I.C.A. was also (and still is) in close working relationship with Agencies of the U.N. system, NGO Institutions, Trade Unions and other International Fora concerned with nuclear weapons and non-proliferation of armaments. I.C.A. therefore was present at all regional and international meetings and events which were concerned with important problems and crises such as human rights, energetical sources (petroleum), raw materials, trade unions refugees, environment problems, technical co-operation, the poor of Third World countries. Its interest to share responsibility and to be associated with others in finding common solutions to these problems, created an additional occasion for I.C.A. to take steps towards Peace and peaceful settlement of conflictual situations.

At the twilight of the 20th century and in the rise of the 21st and of the third millennium as well, it is wise and necessary to take a rapid retrospective look at I.C.A.'s global attitude in regard to Peace and the close relationship with Co-operative Development. This excursion to

the existing I.C.A.'s documentary sources will certainly remind to all of us important decisions taken in the past, from one to another Congress and it will offer an excellent occasion to make comparisons with current and future, similar situations. Lessons therefore could be drawn and learned from the solutions already given to Peace problems in similar or different circumstances, with a view to study, to elaborate and to apply new policies and plans of action, in the context of new challenges generated from the globalisation of the markets, of labour, of raw materials, of trade and of capital. Further merging of the profit – oriented multinational enterprises risk to increase the role of monopolies against which I.C.A. has struggled from the beginning of the 20th century, to alter, too, the traditional rules of competition and to weaken State's favorable attitude towards co-operatives in many countries, by diminishing as well social caring and health protection provided to feeble strata of population of both developed and developing countries such as women, youth, elder people, handicapped, economic migrants, political refugees and working eventually conditions of decent employment.

There is no doubt that the International Co-operative Movement considered from an ideological and organizational point of view as well as by its wide membership of voluntary organizations of physical persons, is today much more than in the past a strong economic factor, a human capital, a social concern and an ideological system of ethic rules and values, led by the oldest and bigger NGO institution, the I.C.A. Some one billion co-operators scattered around the world, possess a tremendous political power and strive through their national and international organizations with I.C.A. on the top, for social justice, employment, education and better advantages to their members. But still they experience fear of economic distress and of use of nuclear weapons. Such menaces, though they are of an unknown yet origin and importance, they however have on them and on the destiny of their families and children, a strong and negative economic and psychological impact and prevent them from being quiet and quite productive.

Peace and I.C.A.'s concern and subsequent action, have been investigated and referred to by several research scientists and co-opera-

tors during the last two decades. The most extended references to Peace are made by Dr Rita Rhodes (1995), W.P. Watkins, A. I. Krashennikov and other scientists and personalities (1).

A specific investigation and contribution on Peace is being made by the I.C.A. publication entitled Thematic Guide to I.C.A. Congresses (1895 – 1995). This study revealed that among 22 main Themes discussed repeatedly by I.C.A.'s 31 Congresses of the last century, Peace and Resolutions on Peace, was one of the most frequently proposed, moved and adopted by the Plenary Sessions of the Congresses concerned, the second being Inter-Co-operative Trading Relations (2). As a matter of fact, from the 5th Congress (Manchester 1902) up to the General Assembly of 1999 (Quebec), were adopted some 25 Resolutions expressly referred to Peace.

Besides of discussions and adopted Resolutions on Peace, other connected themes, discussed by I.C.A.'s Congresses such as political neutrality, arbitration, co-operative principles and co-operative development, monopolies and gender equality, co-operatives and the State, necessarily touched to the problem of Peace and proved I.C.A.'s concern and its strong Role as Peace-Watcher and Peace-Maker.

For methodological purposes, it would be more informative to start with by a brief presentation of each Resolution, since each of them differs considerably from another. Subsequently some conclusive remarks may be drawn on the main features of this enormous and historical effort of I.C.A. and of its member – organizations as well by associating co-operative development with Peace and vice-versa throughout the 20th century.

II. COMMENTED TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

I.C.A. as from its creation (1895) clearly spelled out one of its main ideological characteristics that is “no interference with politics or religion”. This option drafted by the Provisional Central Committee and agreed upon by the 1st Congress (London 1895), should be scrupulously respected and followed - up afterwards, separately or together with the connected subjects of Neutrality and of Freedom of Action.

The following three Congresses (2nd, Paris 1896, 3rd, Delft 1897 and 4th, Paris 1900) brought-up primarily questions related to organisational matters and to the practical orientation of the Organisation, without any express reference to Peace. However, there was just time for the presentation and discussion of three other subjects of great importance for the identity and for the future of I.C.A.: firstly, a Resolution urging Governments to favour by legal measures the various forms of Association applied to co-operatives, thus to establish a strong relationship of Co-operatives with State; secondly, the important question of the early participation of women in co-operatives; and thirdly, the definition of the Social Role of Co-operatives (1900). Separated Resolutions had also been adopted in support of the last two fields of concern, to indicate the road the Organisation had to walk in the near future.

The 5th Congress (Manchester 1902) had widely opened the door for I.C.A. to consider Peace problem and equally to broaden its scope and objectives, such as Arbitration, Industrial and Commercial Relations. The Resolution on Peace moved by Professor Charles Gide, was based on a Report of Hodgson Ratt, British member of I.C.A., concerning the 2nd Peace Congress of Monaco. I.C.A.'s Congress unanimously adopted a Resolution recommending establishment of relations with the International Peace Bureau and participation as well in the campaign for universal Peace. Through this declaration of solidarity, started I.C.A.'s involvement in Peace matters. Another Resolution on development and handling commercial and industrial matters, had proposed that workers should be protected by co-operatives and that existing rivalries between social classes and countries should be settled according to Rochdale principles. This Resolution had established I.C.A.'s role of Peace-Maker to be pursued and accomplished through co-operative advantages.

As for the Arbitration, the Resolution moved by British and French delegations, proposed a permanent Treaty of Arbitration between U.K. and France, with a view to further develop and widen in the future this peaceful procedure in solving differends between nations by conciliation, arbitration and consensus.

The 6th Congress (Budapest 1904) discussed at long Romanian

proposal about assistance of advanced co-operative organisations to those of Eastern Europe, less advanced. Debates put forward for the first time the question of inter - co-operation, which became much later on (1966) a new Co-operative Principle. The Congress adopted therefore an ad hoc Resolution moved by the Italian Delegation. That Resolution provided for the need of solidarity of I.C.A. with backwardened co-operative movements and also stressed State's support to co-operatives of the countries concerned. A second Resolution on Peace, moved by I.C.A.'s Central Committee, re-adopted the previous Resolution carried on at the Manchester Congress (1902) and repeated "the readiness of I.C.A. to enter into relations with the International Peace Bureau and to collaborate with it for the establishment of universal Peace".

Debates of the 7th Congress (Cremona 1907) were focused, on the one hand, on Women's participation in co-operatives and on the other, on Co-operative Solidarity between industrial labouring population and rural labourers, for easing purchase of agricultural products at the national and international level. Both these two subjects were of a strong concern of I.C.A. and of an important impact on Peace. This was why a Resolution on the second subject emphasizing the importance of the principle (value) "of solidarity opposed to egotism" was adopted.

The 8th Congress (Hamburg 1910), by Resolution moved by I.C.A.'s President re-affirmed the Independence and the Autonomous Action of the International Co-operative Movement from the Socialist Movement, without any involvement in the question of politics, while it greeted "with satisfaction the Resolution of the International Socialist Congress of Copenhagen", which recognized that workers, political parties, trade unions and co-operatives shall have a separate but, however, a complementary existence. The Congress, underlined on that occasion its particular nature, structure and action, while it expressed complementary links between the three institutions. (Co-operatives, trade unions and workers political parties). In addition, the Congress invited 'workers parties (socialists) and trade unions to use consumer co-operatives with a view to achieve economic and political power and thus to improve conditions of work and life'.

The first full-meaning Resolution on Peace proposed by I.C.A.'s two Committees and moved by G. Goedhart from the Hague, was adopted by the 9th Congress (Glasgow 1913), and this for several reasons : firstly, because the Resolution called upon the public opinion of all nations and not only on co-operative member-organisations or on co-operators in general. Secondly, because the I.C.A.'s far-looking position announced on this occasion was that the War is a phenomenon of the capitalist economic system and therefore co-operators are not responsible for it, due to their peaceful identity. Thirdly, because it was clarified that monopolistic capitalism and rules of antagonism hamper co-operative progress and constitute a menace to world peace. Therefore, I.C.A. expressed its strong belief shared by all co-operative organisations that co-operative values, principles and activities are capable to ensure peace. The Resolution thus had rightly invited people of all countries to join co-operative organisations and give to them growth and power for saving and keeping peace.

The 10th Congress (Basle 1921) took place eight years after the previous one, due to the adverse conditions of the First World War. During that period, the War had broken out and had caused the well-known serious damages on human lives and on co-operators and their activities. The Congress made therefore an account of the various war events and of its negative impact as well. The Resolution on Peace, adopted following an important Paper of Prof. Charles Gide on International Principles of Right according to the Spirit of Co-operation, reaffirmed and revised the text of the 1913 basic Resolution on Peace, adding to the new two additional components : firstly, support to the Peaceful Arbitration in the international relations so that war clashes being avoided. And secondly, that the educational system and public instruction in schools should include components of Co-operative Ideals and Advantages so that young people start learning as from their childhood about peaceful and democratic economic and social relations. This new ideological parameter about co-operative instruction should lead many co-operative organisations and countries as well to organise and promote later on the well-known School Co-operatives, co-opera-

tive training and co-operative education for all co-operators and employees.

The 11th Congress (Ghent 1924) had to deal with several serious subjects resulted from the War and the Revolution of 1917 in Russia and to discuss as well about other topics strictly related to co-operatives, such as the Women's Committee and Women's Place in the Co-operative Movement, the Relations between Different Forms of Co-operatives (Paper of Albert Thomas on relationship of agricultural co-operatives with consumer societies), the role of Banks and the organization of the first Insurance Co-operatives (Belgium).

But the main problem raised during that Congress was the one concerning Neutrality, cruelly wounded during the War. I.C.A. therefore brought-up again to discussion this matter. The consequent Resolution submitted and moved by the British Delegation, drew the attention of the affiliated members to the infringements occurred as far as Political and Religious Neutrality was concerned and demanded from them "to strictly observe the Neutrality of the Alliance".

The problem of War and Peace came again to surface during the 12th Congress (Stockholm 1927) and debates engaged, revealed for the first time a gap of ideology and of positions existing between Delegations from Western countries and those from the Sovietic side. Two then texts of Resolution on Peace were proposed and moved, one from the British Co-operative Union and the English Women's Guild and the other from the Sovietic Delegation. After debates, both the texts were rejected, while was carried on a third one based on the original British proposal as amended by the Central Committee.

The approved Resolution recognized "that the fundamental purpose of Co-operation is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth, without distinction of colour, race or creed". It also called upon "fraternity and mutual aid" and "urged Co-operative Movements of all countries to promote, by all means in their power, free intercourse between the peoples of every land". The Congress also asked all Co-operative Organisations to declare themselves definitely committed against War. All the same, "they should make known to their National

Government their hostility to all policies, economic and militarist, which may provoke War or raise barriers to the realisation of the co-operative programmes”.

The text of the Resolution was for the first time quite radical, not only as far as the wording was concerned, but also from an ideological point of view. Mention “of a Co-operative Commonwealth without distinction of colour, race or creed”, had advanced by more than twenty years the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, adopted after the Second World War (1948), re-affirmed the unity of the International Co-operative Movement and enhanced I.C.A.’s role as Peace-Weather.

As from the 13th Congress (Vienna 1930) and until the 15th (Paris 1937), the International Co-operative Movement started experiencing crucial political problems and new economic situations. To the ideological particularities of co-operatives in the socialist countries of Europe, to the shake occurred in the field of Neutrality following the fascist outrages in Italy, to the Russian and the Georgian Famine, to the growth of Trusts and Cartels and the Spanish situation, were added new conditions of the international economy which had an immediate effect on the identity and on the methods of working of Co-operatives. At the 11th Congress of Stockholm (1927) was already raised the question as whether the Co-operative System would continue to be attached to the Rochdale principles and practices or should it be reviewed and adjusted. To this problem of Modern Co-operation tried to give a response Albin Johanson’s (Sweden) Report in 1927. Future therefore Policy and Activities of the Alliance were then put at the table of debates during the Congress of 1930. Equally, important and consequent topics were raised, discussed and highlighted, such as the Review of the Rochdale principles (1937), the Place of Co-operation in Different Economic Systems (Report of Vaino Tanner, Finland), Co-operation and Planned Economy and the need for I.C.A. to re-clarify on the one hand the basic principles and practices of the Co-operative Movement (1937) and much more, on the other, the Role of the International Co-operation in Present-day Economic Development.

As a matter of fact, the economic recession which followed the economic crises of 1929-1931, had pushed Governments to increase

their executive power and to impose strict regulations on to industrial and commercial activities, while trusts and cartels created new and negative conditions of economic relations. To this external and adverse political and economic circumstances prevailing during that period in Europe and other parts of the world, I.C.A. was experiencing its own structural, ideological and operational difficulties, due to the variety and differences of the co-operative traditions of its main member – organisations in Europe. The Organisation therefore had to struggle in same time and in parallel by all means at its disposal for the redefinition of its Neutrality, together with condemning the fascist regimes and the revision of the co-operative principles, while it went on in sustaining efforts in favour of Peace and disarmament. However, it was difficult for I.C.A., during that critical period, to work out and put forward an adapted to the new conditions co-operative policy, economic and trade. The struggle thus seemed to be limited rather to the ideological ground.

The Resolution on Peace and Disarmament of the 14th Congress (London 1934) and the bold debates on the two proposals of Resolution, one from the I.C.A. Central Committee and the other from the Sovietic Delegation, reflected the inherent difficulties about naming enemies of Peace and ways to react to those who menace it, so that co-operatives be able to avoid further prejudices and damages. The I.C.A.'s adopted text of Resolution reads as follows : "Faithful to its Traditions, to its Principles and to the (previous) Resolutions of its Congresses, the I.C.A. once again declares its indissoluble attachment to the cause of Peace and Disarmament". But this time, the Resolution was not addressed to Governments or to the public opinion or to the people of all nations, as it was the case in previous Resolutions, probably because all the above external receivers were not entrusted any more by the Organisation. The text of the Resolution went on underlying members s' duty and responsibility to defend the cause of Peace : "(I.C.A.) counts with complete confidence on all Co-operators in every country of the world."

At the approach of the Second World War, as the general political and economic situation was worsening, I.C.A. made a particular effort, inside and outside its member-organisations, to further defend the inter-

ests of the Co-operative System and in same time to be associated officially as from 1936 to the work of the Universal Peace Campaign.

The 15th Congress (Vienna 1937) by its Resolution on Co-operative Financial Policy, necessary for the member -- organisations to cope with the current economic conditions, drew "the attention of the various National Movements to the necessity of maintaining the strictest control of the financial development of their societies and federations in order that they can continue to provide the greatest guarantee for the security of the savings of the members, and also that they demonstrate to the world at large the impregnable character of our Co-operative Economic System". In order to ensure consequent control of finances and therefore the independence of the Co-operative Movements, the Resolution "recommends the Co-operative Organisations of credit and of production, in the towns and in villages, to create Central Co-operative Banks which would be the supreme financial organisations of the Co-operative Movement and would also be able to assure its financial independence".

Upon adoption of the new Co-operative Principles (1937), I.C.A. made a substantial Declaration on the Significance of the Co-operative Economy which should always be read together with the text itself of the Co-operative Principles and with those texts as well, concerning World Peace. Among the six points of that Declaration, some of them still are of a tremendous importance to the co-operative identity, the co-operative values and the economic advantages : Point II : "It (the Co-operative Economy) dethrones capital from the dictatorship of economic life and puts in its place the Association of Mankind, on the basis of mutual and active participation in the enterprise". Point III : "It provides an access of independence to the wage-earner consumer". Point VI : "It provides a solution of the problems of employment, wages and general conditions of labour on the highest plane of advantage to the employees".

The Resolution on Peace therefore, proposed by the Central Committee, reaffirmed the conviction that the Co-operative System of Economy "furnishes the truest basis of international understanding and the surest guarantee of Universal Peace" with which, as it is been said, I.C.A. had been associated since the previous year (1936).

* * *

The 16th Congress of Zurich 1946, had to debate and state on several important questions. In those post-war euphoric days, things seemed to be easier and opinions were also quite optimistic. Special Papers were presented, such as the one of Prof. de Brouckère (France) on several co-operative topics (agricultural co-operatives, attitudes of the public authorities towards co-operation and vice-versa, Relief Operation activities to the victims of War, the role of Co-operation in economic and social restoration, housing co-operatives and re-employment of the working people, the organisation of the international Trade, the co-operative unity and the International Bank).

The Resolution on Peace condemned the forces of aggression, deplored “all forms of economic nationalism which endanger the future Peace of the World and of the destiny and lives of millions of men, women and children” and claimed support to “the ideals of equity, justice and freedom”. The Resolution reaffirmed the Congresses’ faith and firm belief that the International Co-operative Solidarity could defend liberty, democracy and a just and lasting Peace.

The 17th Congress (Prague 1948) adopted a Resolution on Peace which, besides condemning the “barbarism of war, with its repercussions on the work of material and cultural progress of humanity”, declared support to the United Nations Organisation and appealed on Co-operators of the World to defend Peace in collaboration with Trade Unions and other democratic organisations, to work for the development of the Co-operative Movement and for the independence of nations as well, in close collaboration of all people. Reconciliation and understanding with the people were also sought. The careful wording of the text used for presenting the main ideological and economic topics, reflect the economic and social problems of great interest to I.C.A. and to its membership, such as : “free and equal access to the raw material resources of the world for the maintenance of a lasting Peace”, position taken on Co-operation, on Nationalisations and the conflicting approaches, the future policy and program of I.C.A., promotion of Co-operation (principles and practices), collaboration with the United Nations System, rela-

tionship between Co-operation and the State, joint enterprises of National Co-operative Wholesales. It was therefore obvious the wish and hope of I.C.A. to see extincted the economic causes of conflicts.

The 18th Congress (Copenhagen 1951) reconfirmed previous I.C.A.'s concern about development and structural changes of the world economy, co-operative policy and programmes of I.C.A., relationship between co-operatives and the public authorities, particularly in less-developed countries, promotion of Co-operation in Lesser-Development countries, the International Co-operative Trade, Co-operation and health, improvement of management within co-operatives, full support to and close collaboration with the U.N. Agencies (I.L.O, F.A.O and others). The adopted Resolution on Peace (combined text of several proposals) was primarily and clearly putting the accent on: the economic and co-operative development (such as production, distribution of the resources, monopolies and cartels), collaboration in carrying out the programmes and the principles of the Charter of U.N. and the international control of all types of armaments, including atomic bombs.

The 19th Congress (Paris 1954) had to discuss and to take position on two groups of topics: one was the progress made in promoting co-operatives and in working out subsequent policies and programmes and the other was the worrying course to armaments, once again, in the context of the two adversary ideological groups of countries. I.C.A. and its membership were invited by the Resolution on Peace to ask the Governments for control and inspection of arms production, they also reminded the need to abolish poverty and insisted on the coordination of economic policies on employment of all human and material resources, on a steady economic expansion, offering to the common people this prospect with Peace and Abundance. It became therefore clear to everybody that from that year 1954 and onwards, world economic development would be pursued in the conditions of the "Cold War" period, marked by fanaticism and hostility.

Worth of mentioning was the pathetic intervention of two Japanese Delegations (S. Tanaka and A. Aoki), in depicting the catastrophes occurred in Japan by the atomic bombing. Their proposals included in the

Report of the I.C.A.'s Proceedings for "No more Hiroshima", urged for an immediate cessation of hydrogen bomb experiments, for the prohibition of production of atomic weapons and for an effective international control of atomic energy for peaceful only uses.

The 20th Congress (Stockholm 1957) witnessed a considerable widening of I.C.A.'s concern, and discussions on co-operative development, as well as on new opportunities and openings for further activities. The Report of the Central Committee presented an account of I.C.A.'s work during the previous years and led to debates on the future I.C.A.'s policy. External political events in countries of the Eastern countries had provoked some reactions from Western side, but the danger of an Alliance splitting was just avoided. Increasing membership of co-operative organizations requested from the Eastern countries had also caused bold discussions, but finally such a demand was turned down.

Presentation of four other basic technical Papers on Promotion of the Co-operation in Lesser-Development Countries, on the International Co-operative Trade, on Co-operation in World Economic Development and Peace, and on the Management within co-operatives, provoked further debates and discussions. The split for the first time of the text on Peace into two separate Resolutions was not surprising at all since it was consequent to the fact that Peace related straightly to War and to armaments was from now on of the responsibility of U.N., seconded only in that by International Organisations such as I.C.A. But economic and social activities of the Co-operative System leading to Peace, and Peace easing development of co-operatives, continued to be of I.C.A.'s exclusive concern and field of action, supported in that by the U.N. Agencies (I.L.O, F.A.O. and others). This therefore explains somehow the proposals and the adoption of two separate Resolutions on Peace.

The text of the usual Resolution on Peace and War, made for the first time an appeal "to the U.N. to adopt a more courageous and decisive attitude towards any Government Member which, in violation of the Charter of the U.N., may deny to its own or to any other people, basic human rights". The Congress urged also the Governments for "the immediate cessation of the invention, manufacture and testing of these weapons".

The text of the second Resolution on Place and the Role of Co-operation in the World Economic Development was of a more technical, economic and social character. It stated point by point about the scientific research and the technical progress made in the history of the mankind. This progress requires co-operation and in order to be, this, full effective, existing barriers at national level should be reduced, if not abolished. The Congress asked, in more the I.C.A. to work for the introduction in all economic systems concrete terms, the free and voluntary form of Co-operatives, since Co-operation is involved, in the promotion of the technical progress. As a conclusion to the above statements, the Congress expressed its unanimous conviction that Peace and Security could contribute in the success of Co-operative Programme, provided that Nations are convicted to open their field of action.

During the debates on the Resolution on Peace and War, S. Nakabayashi, of the Japanese Delegation, reported about the terrible results and memories of the then bombing in Japan. "Even 10 years later, its dreadful influence still remains and we are very much afraid of the effects of the explosion of these bombs in some peaceful city of your countries", he added.

The 21st Congress (Lausanne 1960) had pushed further the technical issues of the programmes of promoting co-operatives in developing countries, of close collaboration with the U.N. and its specialised Agencies, of the role of Governments in supporting promotion of co-operatives in those countries in which already I.C.A. had started working, with the assistance of some national co-operative organizations, such as the Kooperativa Förbundet (Sweden). The proposal also of setting-up of an I.C.A. Regional Office and of launching several Projects of Technical Assistance had already been discussed, as reported, during the Asian Conference of Kuala Lumpur (1958).

The Resolution on Peace, the text of which, proposed by the Central Committee, was brief and precise, declared the conviction of the Congress that such conditions should be created so that any will to aggression should be weakened. It also urged the resumption of negotiations for a general agreement on universal and complete disarmament. And claimed the increase of technical and financial resources for assist-

ing the newly emancipated people in their economic and social progress. The Congress emphasised also the need for “the dignity and the independence of those nations which have recently attained self-government”. Some eight A.C.I.’s Specialised Bodies, Committees and Associations had, on this occasion, reported to the Congress about their activities.

The 22nd Congress (Bournemouth U.K., 1963), besides the inaugural address of Dr. M. Bonow, I.C.A.’s Resident, who described the political and economic conditions existing at the time of decolonisation, took note of the Report of the Central Committee and discussed as well about I.C.A.’s concern on Women Place in Co-operation. Long - term Programmes and conditions of their realisation, as well as possible solutions given by Co-operative Development to various, old and new, economic systems, had been brought to the attention of the Congress.

By the adoption of Resolutions were sought the establishment of a Special Committee to strengthen the Co-operative Movement against International Monopolies, to promote Co-operative Processing Industries in Developing Countries and to define particular Duties towards the Young People. As for Peace, the Congress welcomed the Treaty banning nuclear tests, it greeted the efforts to prevent thermo-nuclear war and stressed the need for more productive resources being devoted, not to armaments, but “to the constructive tasks of banishing hunger and economic insecurity”. Six Specialised Committees and one Association made available their technical Reports on their work for the information of the Congress.

During the important 23rd Congress (Vienna 1966), the Resolution on Peace proposed by the Central Committee seemed to reflect the belief of I.C.A. about progress made in the field of Peace under the responsibility of the U.N. and reminded on this occasion the terms of the previous Resolution on Peace (1963) about the task to reduce hunger, economic insecurity and the risk as well of an imminent famine whose dark shadows were already over the World.

But the main achievement of the Congress was the adoption of the revised and new six Co-operative Principles, the Report on the Technical Assistance, the Report on Structural Changes in Co-operation, so

that, by applying the conclusions of the Study on this subject conducted among 19 countries (Europe, N. America and Asia), member-organisations could better respond from their side to profound “alterations” and changes of the economic and social situation.

Specialised Bodies and Committees reported also to the Congress about their activities.

The Resolution on Peace of the 24th Congress (Hamburg 1969) was probably the most ever discussed, due to the amendments proposed from Delegations of Western and Eastern countries. The Congress gave priority to the process of economic development and of social progress, recognising that the Co-operation promote harmony between all races and people. It also acknowledged the work achieved by the U.N. and asked the Organisation to strengthen its efforts to reduce persisting tension. The member-organisations of I.C.A. were asked to contribute to the disarmament and to work for up-raising the standards of living, for the elimination of hunger and for economic security. Debates were engaged too on important theoretical and practical issues, such as Contemporary Co-operative Democracy and Co-operatives in the Socialist Countries.

The 25th Congress (Warsaw 1972) went through a considerable number of important topics connected, on the one hand with the international economic and social problems and on the other, resulted from the growing ideological positions and differences displayed during the Sessions of the Congress by several national Delegations. Debates on crucial problems of co-operative identity and development were reflected in a large number of Resolutions, proposed mostly by Delegations of Eastern countries. The text of the Resolution on Peace itself, long and detailed, was focused on threats to peace and warnings about pacific negotiations to settle any differences among nations under U.N.’s initiatives and responsibility. However, mention was made, as it was done in Resolutions on Peace of previous Congresses, of the Spirit of Co-operation which should be observed by all.

The main two Reports had referred to Multinational Corporations and to Co-operative Movement on the one hand, and on the other, to the

problems of Technical Assistance for Co-operatives in Developing Countries. It was decided that another I.C.A.'s Regional Office be established in Africa. Congress's concern about the Role of Co-operation in Economic and Social Development, International Trade, Co-operative Housing and Education, Trade Unions and Youth, was unanimously shared by all Delegations, in spite of long discussions and even disputes, without however dissident clashes or voting. Resolution was also voted and declarations made in support to Bangladesh situation and in condemning military dictatorships (Greece).

Further collaboration between Co-operatives was proposed to the 26th Congress (Paris 1976) for discussions by the Sovietic Delegation, while Technical Assistance matters, Tourism, and Women and Co-operatives, retained the attention of everybody. The Congress also decided the creation of an International Co-operative University.

The text of the Resolution on Peace, besides its usual wording on lasting peace and security, went on in adopting new ideological proposals and positions of a wide political, economic, social and co-operative character and of collaboration as well between national co-operative movements, "irrespective of their social systems". Policies practicing racialism, apartheid and fascism were condemned. Great inequalities of wealth were especially noted, while application of co-operative principles was emphasized as means of development "of a more equitable social and economic order". The Congress welcomed also the Conference of Helsinki on European Security.

The Resolution on Peace adopted by the 27th Congress (Moscow 1980) curiously had not made any express mention of Co-operation and its role towards World Peace and the alike. Brief and concise it confirmed however Congress's belief to the peaceful co-existence, insisted on U.N.'s authority for promoting lasting peace and while referring to Peace Resolutions of previous Congresses, it claimed U.N.'s "constructive programming for peace and international co-operation".

All other technical, economic and social subjects were largely discussed and views and positions of the Congress had been reflected in some 12 Resolutions. Among them, the most interesting themes were

those of Co-operatives in the year 2000, reported by Dr Laidlaw (Canada), collaboration between Co-operatives, co-operation of I.C.A. with other Organisations, the Role of I.C.A. in the Consolidation of the Co-operative Movement, I.C.A. and Technical Assistance, Women and Co-operatives, the Disabled and others.

The Resolutions on Peace of the 28th Congress (Hamburg 1984) re-integrated in the text and associated Co-operators with the quest for lasting peace. Beyond that, it was underlined and re-affirmed the U.N.'s role and responsibility about disarmament and "the establishment of a genuine climate of detente between the Nations of the World".

Otherwise, the Agenda of the Congress was very heavy, as various other subjects were reported to and had to be discussed and decided upon as well. Worth of mention were the activities of the first three I.C.A.'s Regional Offices, in Asia (N. Delhi) and in East and West Africa, through which I.C.A. was displaying its growing Programme of Technical Assistance, as well as I.C.A.'s relationship with U.N. and NGO, the First African Ministerial Co-operative Conference (Botswana 1984), I.C.A.'s first Work Programme of Co-operative Development of the Decade of 1985 - 1995, Global Problems, and Case Studies on Changes occurred in Co-operatives.

The Agenda of the 29th Congress (Stockholm 1988) was also very important for the history and the Identity of the International Co-operative Movement. At the approach of the end of the century, Lars Marcus, President of I.C.A., made two long, important and meaningful statements : he reported on the Lessons of Three Decades of Co-operative Development, as for the past, and he introduced the subject of Co-operatives and the Basic Values and Advantages, as for the future.

As for the Resolution on Peace, the Congress underlined the role of Co-operation and the responsibility of Co-operatives for extending co-operation between peoples and between co-operatives and reaffirmed the role of U.N. for the disarmament and for settling peacefully local and regional conflicts.

The 30th Congress (Tokyo 1992), first Congress organized out of

Europe, emphasised the importance of the Co-operative Movements of all other continents and countries. It had to discuss two important Reports, one on the Co-operative Values in a Changing World, introduced by Professor Sven Åke Böök (Sweden), Head of the 12 – members Advisory Committee of International Experts, and the other on the Environment and the Sustainable Development. Additionally, the Japanese Co-operative Movement made an extended presentation of the Japanese Co-operative Approach, together with their concern about Environment and its problems (3).

There was no proposal of any specific Resolution on Peace. Instead of, the well-known Recommendation on Basic Global Values of Co-operatives, the Sustainable Development and the Implementation of the New I.C.A. Structure and I.C.A.'s Workplan for the coming years, were largely discussed and unanimously shared, supported and agreed upon by all Delegations.

The Centennial Congress convened in Manchester (31st 1995) was particularly important as far as its Agenda was concerned.

Historical was the Report on Co-operative Principles for the Challenges of the 21st century, introduced by Professor Ian MacPherson (Canada), Head of the Drafting and Consultative Committees(4). After the Message from the Secretary – General of the U.N., Lars Marcus, President of I.C.A., made a Statement on Who is I.C.A. and What it has done. Other important subjects had been discussed, such as the Paper on the Sustainable Human Development and the Reports of the Global Women's Committee, of the Research one, of the Youth and Co-operation (5).

The long text of the Resolution on Peace proposed and moved by the Japanese Delegation of Consumers Co-operatives, recalled in first place I.C.A.'s Rules about "International Peace and Security", and then the Resolution of the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen (1995) about "reducing the gaps between rich and poor nations", as well as Resolutions of U.N. and of other International Bodies about Disarmament. Finally, the Resolution on Peace called upon Co-operators "to continue to creating a climate for world peace through

the mobilization of the public opinion”.

The Resolution on Peace of the last General Assembly of the past century of I.C.A. (Quebec 1999), proposed and moved again by the Japanese Consumers' Co-operatives, summarized – up previous understandings and decisions taken at and by various U.N. Fora in regard to Peace and to menaces hanging on it, highlighting the existing risks of a War clash. It entrusted Co-operators to using human and material resources towards constructive purposes, urging them to ask the Governments of their respective countries “to pursue ways for peaceful settlements of conflicts”.

Last but not least, the A.C.I. Rio Declaration of the Meeting of 2000 (December 3-7) on “Co-operative identify for the New Millennium”, adopted at the close of the 20th Century the most significant and accurate proposal : “the International Co-operative Alliance assumes the commitment to rally the support of millions of members of co-operatives in the quest for peace, solidarity, equity, justice, equality, environmental protection and sustainable development”. I.C.A., “in order to achieve these objectives”, intends to present to the next U.N. General Assembly, the Rio Declaration in testimony to its “commitment to present and future generations”.

It should also be added I.C.A.'s specific and important network of advisory services provided to its member – organizations of Central and Eastern Europe countries, following the economic and political transformations occurred in the region as from the end of '80ties. Technical consultations, conferences, seminars and short-term missions were organized in agreement with member – organizations, about restructuring, institutions - building and transition to conditions of the market economy. Among these activities, the most significant were several seminars organized jointly with I.L.O. in Poland (1989 and 1990), two International Conferences convened in Geneva (1990 and 1992), the Seminar on Co-operative Legislation hosted in Prague (1990), in collaboration with I.L.O. and the French Co-operative Movement and the elaboration of Case Studies concerning conditions of transition of the na-

tional co-operative organizations (Poland, Estonia – Latvia – Lithuania, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania) (6). I.C.A. had also seconded I.L.O. in studying the existing co-operative legislation and in advising most of the countries of the region and beyond that as well, about amending it or in proposing new legal texts, adapted to the conditions of privatization (Soviet Union 1988, Poland 1990, the Czech Republic 1990 and 1991, Mongolia, 1989 and 1990, Bulgaria 1991, West-Africa countries 1991, Tunisia and Mauritius 1991, Lithuania 1993 and others).

From another point of view, national co-operative organizations of Poland and of Bulgaria managed to avoid total collapse of their structure, due to the personal recommendations and useful advices (1990 and 1991) of Lars Marcus, President of I.C.A., seconded in that by the World Bank and I.L.O. (Poland, Bulgaria, Russian federation), in regard to the sharp reduction of the administrative structure, without unduly wasting human lives and property resources (7).

By these early initiatives and activities in countries of Central and Eastern Europe, I.C.A. contributed to the peaceful and smooth restructuring of important member - organizations, facilitating their transition from the crisis of co-operative identity to the market economy conditions.

III. CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

A.C.I.'s ideological declarations, resolutions and concern in supporting Peace, were transformed in concrete action and became integral part of its programmes of co-operative development for almost one century. As a matter of fact, I.C.A. was the first international organization which put on an almost equal basis of interest Peace and Co-operative Development. To its initial declarations and concern about Political and Religion Neutrality, it had added relevant proposals about resolving national differends by Arbitration. Further important was its struggle against Monopolies preventing mechanisms of competition and of raising barriers to the freedom of trade and of use of raw materials by all. Therefore, by condemning or avoiding such conflictual situations generated by and within the capitalist economy, I.C.A. builded – up its own

and distinctive system of ethic values and practices followed-up by its member - organizations, societies and enterprises.

With the aid of such institutional, egalitarian and democratic instruments, I.C.A. managed to create, to co-ordinate and to promote new productive, labour and consumer conditions and relations, getting profit of the existing Peace but, in same time, contributing from its own side to the universal and lasting Peace.

In its tasks of co-operative development in conditions of Peace, I.C.A. was seconded and worked in constant agreement with other social and political movements (Trade Unions, Socialist parties) and international organizations and agencies as well caring for co-operatives and Peace. Since the creation within the International Labour Organisation and Office (1920), by Albert Thomas, the eminent co-operator and labour leader, of two Technical Units responsible one for Workers, the other for Co-operatives, I.C.A. and I.L.O.'s Co-operative Branch were working in close collaboration, sharing their concern and views on policy matters and programmes of research and activities in favour of co-operatives and Peace. The I.L.O., according to its Constitution (Preamble) of 1919 as the Declaration of Philadelphia (1944) had broadened its current mandate, considers that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice". Based on this declaration and "moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world", I.L.O. stipulated consequently its objectives, functions and activities. In the field of Co-operatives, the elaboration and application of the legal instrument of 1966 (Recommendation 127) and the reformulation of the later under preparation (2001 - 2002) as well as the creation of COPAC and the adoption of numerous legal standards protecting workers, promoting women's participation in co-operatives and supporting women's equality in all spheres of labour activity, were equal occasions for further developing structural and working partnership of the two Organisations, I.C.A. and I.L.O. (8).

I.C.A.'s role in regard to Peace was much more amplified before and after the Second World War, under the well-known conditions of the rise of Fascism and Nazism which caused millions of victims, co-

operators included, and destroyed important material resources and productive infrastructure. But I.C.A., backed by its member – organizations, expressed its determination to go through with the establishment of universal Peace, pre-requisite of any expansion of the co-operative movement around the world. In its tasks, I.C.A. was also seconded by and has itself supported the United Nations action, whose primary objectives and concern are, among others, the Right of peoples to Development and the Right too to Peace, the peaceful settlement of conflicts, and the control of armaments (9).

I.C.A.'s long and effective action and experience in promoting co-operatives and co-operative values and advantages in conditions of Peace and in rallying, as well, hundreds of millions of people to the cause of the peaceful co-operative, economic and social development during the last century's national-based capitalism, constitute a reasonable guarantee that it will be able to carefully handle, with the needed courage and readiness, the challenges, current and expected, of globalisation of the markets (10). No doubt that the ideological and technical options of I.C.A., alternatively chosen and followed – up with a view to better handle the various issues and effects of globalisation, need to be invested with the full, unconditional and unanimous support of all the member - organisations.

Because, we co-operators have the firm conviction that I.C.A. is the only international economic and social organization which, in spite of the strong impact of the capitalist economy and the disasters caused by two World Wars, has managed to preserve its unity and, overcoming adverse conditions from both sides, exterior and interior, to avoid division or collapse. It has therefore the experience and the right to proceed with the New Economy for further developing the co-operative system, encouraged in that and enhanced as well by the quest of the working and labouring people for decent conditions of work, for social justice and for Universal Peace.

IV. ENDNOTES

1. The most documented and relevant study related to Peace is Dr Rita Rhodes' book entitled *The International Co-operative Alliance during War and Peace*, special centennial edition, I.C.A., Geneva, 1995, 423 p._ W.P. Watkins' books, *Co-operative Principles Today and Tomorrow*, Manchester 1896, 168 p. and *International Co-operative Alliance (1895 – 1970)*, London, 1970, 400 p., display historical facts and data about peace and co-operatives. Equally informative and well documented is the study of Alexander I. Krashennikov, *International Co-operative Movement*, Moscow, 337 p._ The author of this Paper has published a brief account on I.C.A.'s role as Peace – Maker during the 20th c. in the Greek monthly Review *KATANALOTIS, KONSUM*, Thessaloniki, 1997, vol 11, no 5, p. 12-13_

2. Dr. Rita Rhodes and Prof. Dionysos Mavrogiannis, *Thematic Guide to I.C.A. Congresses (1895 – 1995)*, I.C.A. Studies and Reports, no 30, Geneva, 1995, 206 p.

3. See Prof. Sven Äke Bööck Report – Study, *Co-operative Values in a Changing World*, 1992 (I.C.A. Congress, Tokyo 1992), which provides for all data, proposals and statements about Basic Values of the Co-operative System.

4. See Dr Ian MacPherson's Report to the Centennial Congress of Manchester (1995), *Co-operative Principles for the 21st century*, I.C.A. Studies and Reports, no 26, Geneva 1995, 69 p., which is focused on Co-operative Identity and the Challenges of the 21st Century, otherwise on Multinational profit-oriented Enterprises and the rise of the Globalised Markets.

5. Further information, data and statements on Co-operative Identity, Sustainable Human Development and the Co-operative Agenda 21, are found in the Proceedings of the 31st Congress, I.C.A. Review of International Co-operation, Geneva, 1995, vol 88, no 3.

6. Legal Texts concerning co-operatives of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which participated in the Seminar of Prague (1990), as well as the Proceedings, were collected by I.C.A. (Ms Aline Pawlowska) and I.L.O. (Prof. D. Mavrogiannis) and published in two

volumes, Geneva, 1991. On the other hand, several Case Studies concerning eight countries of Central Europe in transition, Bulgaria included, were also published by I.C.A. in the Series of Studies and Reports, nos 20 to 25, Geneva, 1992 – 1999. In regard to the Second I.C.A. International Conference on Co-operative Property and Privatisation (Geneva, 7-8 September 1992), see the Proceedings (Presentations), I.C.A. Geneva, 1992, 145 p.- See also a summarized account of the I.C.A. activities in favour of its member – organizations of the region, Dionysos Mavrogiannis, “Services to Central and Eastern Europe”, in *Journal of Co-operative Studies*, Special Centennial Issue, Manchester 1995, no 84, p. 48-53._

7. About the identity crisis of co-operatives occurred in Poland in 1989 – 1990, see the important Report of the Task Force of the E.E. and of the World Bank (1990), concerning privatization and liquidation of Co-operative Unions, p. 14-19, as well as D. Mavrogiannis’ Missions Reports on the same.

8. See the various statements, views and comments of the I.L.O. constituents on the Project of a new Recommendation on Co-operatives, and the Report of the ad hoc Committee, I.L.O. Conference, 89th Session, Genova 2001, no 18.

9. U.N. Declaration on the Right to Development, A/RES/41/128 of 4 December 1986. Article 7 prescribes that “all nations should promote the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security”._ See also U.N. Resolution A/RES/41/133 providing for a “Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States”._ See, on the other hand, U.N. Resolution about the Right of Peoples to Peace, A/RES/39/11 of 12 November 1984._ Similar Declarations and Resolutions on the Right to Development and to Peace are adopted by U.N. up to the end of the last century. Furthermore, see specific U.N. Reports and Resolutions on the Role of Co-operatives, adopted periodically, in collaboration with U.N. Agencies, I.C.A., COPAC and other Organisations. Be mentioned two of the latest U.N. Reports : first, the Report of the Secretary – General on the Status and role of Co-operatives in the light of new economic and social trends, addressed to the U.N. General Assembly on 23 December 1998 and focused on Co-operative Legislation. And the second Report, on Co-operatives in Social Development,

dated by 14 May 2001, preceded by the Resolution passed on Co-operatives and Social Development, in December 1999.

10. It should be reminded on this occasion, I.L.O.'s Concern, Studies and Reports on Globalisation's impact on Conditions and Rights of Work. See in this matter : Global Report under the Follow-up to the I.L.O. Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights of Work, where there is question of Social Justice as an essential factor to "universal and lasting peace", Geneva, 1998. See also I.L.O.'s Statements and Reports on Perspectives on Decent Work (Statements of Juan Somavia, Director - General), Geneva 2000 and on Reducing Decent Work Deficit, a Global Challenge, Geneva 2001. Last but not least, see I.L.O.'s Interregional Programme to Support Self-Reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples through Co-operatives (INDISCO) concerning several countries of Asia and Africa and related to sustainable development and equally to the concern and programme of eradication of poverty.

ANNEXED PART

Resolutions, Declarations, Statements

RESOLUTIONS, DECLARATIONS, STATEMENTS

1. 5th Congress, Manchester 1902

1. Résolution sur la Paix. Les Coopérateurs et la Paix (Compte-Rendu, p.486 and 462-464)

Résolution adoptée à la séance du Congrès de vendredi, le 25 juillet, sur la proposition de MM. le Prof. Charles Gide et le Prof. Gide et le Dr Slotemaker (p. 463) :

“Ce Congrès, ayant pris connaissance, avec beaucoup de satisfaction, de la résolution adoptée par le Congrès de la paix, recommandant au Bureau international de la paix de s’entendre avec des Sociétés coopératives afin d’agir en commun avec elles,

“ Déclare,

” De la part de l’ Alliance Cooperative Internationale, son entière disposition à se mettre en rapport avec le Bureau international de la paix, comme il est désiré, et à coopérer avec lui dans le but d’amener la paix universelle”.

Résolutions adoptées par le XI^e Congrès de la Paix, à Monaco, le 2-6 avril 1902.

1^o Le Congrès estime qu’il très désirable que des démarches soient faites pour assurer la coopération active des populations ouvrières au mouvement pacifique: parce que (1) ces classes sont très intéressées au succès de l’oeuvre de la paix; (2) une alliance entre les organisations ouvrières et le groupes pour la propagande pacifique renforcerait considérablement ceux-ci;

2^o Le Congrès recommande, en conséquence, aux Sociétés de la

Paix dans tous les pays, d'entrer en communication avec les Sociétés ouvrières, industrielles, politiques, coopératives et socialistes, pour s'assurer jusqu'à quel point et de quelle manière des relations officielles pourraient être créées avec elles;

3° Dans le même courant e'idées, le Congrès désire que le Bureau international de la Paix se mette en communication avec des associations ouvrières dans les différents pays, telles que l'Union coopérative et la Fédération générale des Trades-Unions de la Grande-Bretagn, afin de s'assurer jusqu'à quel point il serait possible d'entretenir des relations officielles entre elles et le bureau. Un rapport à ce sujet serait soumis par le bureau au prochain Congrès;

4° Le Congrès estime, en outre, que toutes les fois qu'un Congrès des Sociétés de la Paix est convoqué dans une ville, le Comité local d'organisation doit examiner s'il ne conviendrait pas d'inviter chacune des principales Unions ouvrières ou Fédérations de Sociétés instituées dans cette ville à se faire représenter à ce Congrès pour y prendre part aux délibérations;

5° Le Congrès exprime aussi le désir que des exemplaires des présentes résolutions soient envoyés par le Bureau international de la Paix à toutes le Sociétés de la Paix, en les priant de lui faire connaître leur manière de voir à ce sujet, afin que la Commission du bureau puisse en prendre connaissance et préparer l'action commune qu'il jugera à propos de recommander.

M. Charles GIDE. – Je suis chargé de soutenir la proposition qui vient de nous être lue.

Ceux d'entre vous qui ont assisté au Congrès international coopératif de Paris, en 1900, savent que nous avons reçu, à ce moment, une communication du président de la Ligue internationale pour la paix, faisant appel à toutes les Sociétés coopératives du monde pour soutenir la Ligue dans la lutte qu'elle même contre l'abolition de la guerre entre les nations. Nous sommes en présence d'une communication semblable aujourd'hui. Le Congrès coopératif tenu à Paris, il y a deux ans, a pris alors une résolution recommandant à son bureau de s'entendre avec le Comité de la Ligue internationale pour prendre la direction d'un mouvement en faveur de la paix. Nous sommes invités aujourd'hui à

adhère à ce mouvement et à nous mettre à la disposition de l' Union internationale de la paix pour coopérer avec elle, dans un but d'humanité et de paix universelle, à la propagande en faveur de l'abolition de la guerre. Je croi qu'il est inutile de faire un discours pour appuyer cette proposition (Applaudissements).

M. LE Dr SLOTEMAKER (Pays-Bas). – Au nom de la Hollande, je viens appuyer la résolution qui vous est présentée. En venant ici, nous ne pouvons avoir d'autre pensée que l'abolition de la guerre. Quant à nous, coopérateurs, nous n'avons qu'une seule guerre à mener, c'est la guerre aux accapareurs et au capitalisme (Bravos). Une fois le capitalisme aboli, il n'y aura plus de guerre possible. Quant à moi, représentant pour défendre sa liberté, j'étends ma main loyale vers les coopérateurs anglais, car eux seuls auraient pu, s'ils avaient été en plus grand nombre, écarter cette guerre horrible. Je demande donc que nous adhérions avec enthousiasme à la résolution qui nous est proposée, en disant que le meilleur moyen d'arriver à la paix, c'est d'abolir le capitalisme. (long applaudissements).

M. DE BOYVE. – Je ne veux pas prolonger la discussion ni prononcer un discours; je veux simplement vous donner lecture d'une propositions qui vient de m'être envoyée par le Familistère de Guise.

“ Considérant,

” Que la Coopération internationale a pour bases nécessaires la sécurité des relations sur terre et sur mer, le libre-échange des produits, la présence des travailleurs valides dans les ateliers, le bon marché des matières premières, l'abondance des capitaux, l'intensité de la consommation incomptible avec l'appauvrissement général qui résulte de l'élévation toujours croissante de charges militaires, et beaucoup d'autres conditions étroitement soumises au maintien de la Paix entre le nations;

“ Que cette Paix, pour produire ses bons effects, doit être stable et permanente, indépendante de tous les hasards de la politique, et de toutes les atteintes des convoitises et des ambitions;

” Qu'elle doit en conséquence reposer sur le seul fondement solide des relations humaines, qui est la loi et trouver sa garantie dans des

institutions juridiques (conseils de conciliation et de médiation, tribunaux permanents d'arbitrage, etc.), seules capables de résoudre par le droit les conflits internationaux;

“ Le Congrès de l'Alliance Coopérative Internationale, tenu à Manchester le 21-25 juillet 1902, affirme sa sympathie pour la propagande entreprise dans tous les pays civilisés par les Sociétés de paix et d'arbitrage; adhère pleinement à toutes les mesures tendant à l'organisation juridique de la Paix entre les peuples et en particulier à la Cour permanente de la Haye;

“ Et décide qu'une copie de la présente résolution sera envoyée, par les soins de son secrétariat, à M. Élie Ducommun, Secrétaire général du Bureau International de la Paix, siégeant à Berne”.

2. Question d'Arbitrage entre Nations (Compte-Rendu, p. 487)

Résolution adoptée dans la séance du Congrès de vendredi, le 25 juillet, sur la proposition de MM. T. Bland et Romanet (p. 465) :

“ Vu la proposition de M. Thomas Barclay, ancien président de la Chambre de commerce britannique de Paris, en vue de la conclusion d'un traité d'arbitrage permanent entre le Royaume-Uni et la France;

“ Ce Congrès se composant de délégués d'un grand nombre de pays, considérant que la conclusion d'un traité serait, en effet, non seulement pour les deux nations, mais pour tout le monde, un bienfait inappréciable, en même temps qu'un grand exemple :

“ Declare,

“ Se rallier avec la plus vive énergie au projet de traité d'arbitrage, et émet le vœu que ce projet soit réalisé le plus tôt qu'il sera possible”.

3. Solution des Questions Sociales par les voies pacifiques (Compte-Rendu, p.487)

Résolution adoptée à la séance du Congrès de vendredi, le 25 juillet, sur la proposition de MM. E. de Boyve et le Prof. Charles Gide (p. 487) :

“Nous préconisons l'union de tous les hommes de bonne volonté à

quelque contrée qu'ils appartiennent, dans le but de développer l'organisation coopérative commerciale et industrielle conformément aux principes des Pionniers de Rochdale”.

2. 6th Congress, Budapest 1904

1. Resolution on Peace moved by Professor Charles Gide

(Proceedings, p. 393-394)

“ That this Congress notes with satisfaction the Resolution passed by the Peace Congress recommending the International Peace Bureau to act in concert with Co-operative Societies, and on the part of the International Co-operative Alliance declares its readiness to enter into relations, as desired, with the International Peace Bureau, and to co-operative with it for the establishment of universal peace”

Those among you who were present at Paris in 1900 are aware that on that occasion we received a communication from the Chairman of the International Society for the Establishment of Peace, appealing to co-operative organisations in all the world to support the League in its labours for the abolition of warfare. We have to-day a similar communication to deal with. The Paris Congress passed a resolution recommending its Bureau to enter into relations with the Committee of the International Peace Society for the purpose of furthering its objects. We are invited to-day to give our support to the same cause, and to place ourselves at the disposal of the International Peace Society for purposes of co-operating with it, with the humane object of bringing about universal peace and putting a stop to wars. I hold that it is needless to make a speech in support of this proposition (Cheers).

2. Resolution of the 11th Peace Congress, Monaco 1902

(Proceedings, p.392-393)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now a communication to submit to you from Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Chairman of the last Peace Congress held at Monaco last April. The communication is to this effect :

At the Eleventh Peace Congress, held at Monaco, from the 2nd to

the 6th April 1902, the following Resolutions were adopted :

“ 1. The Congress considers that it is very desirable that steps should be taken to ensure the active co-operation of the working classes in the Peace movement; because, first, these classes are very interested in the success of the Peace work; second, an alliance between the working men’s organisations and the groups for the Peace propaganda would reinforce the latter considerably.

“ 2. The Congress, consequently, recommends the Peace Societies in all countries to enter into communication with the Workmen’s, Industrial, Political, Co-operative and Socialist Societies to discover up to what point, and in what manner, official relations might be created with them.

“ 3. In the same current of ideas, the Congress desires the International Peace Bureau to put itself into communication with the working men’s associations in the different countries, such as the Co-operative Union and the General Federation of the Trade Unions of Great Britain, to discover up to what point it would be possible to form official relations between them and the Bureau. A report on this subject would be submitted by the Bureau to the next Congress.

“ 4. The Congress considers further that whenever a Congress of the Peace Societies is convoked in any town, the local Organising Committee should examine whether it were not practicable to invite each of the principal workmen’s unions or federations of societies instituted in that town to be represented at the Congress to take part in its deliberations.

“ 5. The Congress also expresses the desire that copies of the present Resolutions be sent by the International Peace Bureau to all the Peace Societies, with the request to inform it of their view of the matter, in order that the Commission of the Bureau may take note thereof, and prepare such common action as it shall think suitable to recommend”.

3. Resolution on a Permanent Treaty of Arbitration

(Proceeding, p. 395-396)

The CHAIRMAN: There is another communication which I have to submit to the Congress. It comes from Mr. Thomas Barclay, late Chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce at Paris, and has reference to that gentleman’s proposal that there should be a permanent

Treaty of Arbitration concluded between the United Kingdom and France. The proposal really speaks for itself. But I want to add that it has met with the approval of, I believe, literally every Chamber of Commerce in England and all the principal Chambers of Commerce in France, besides many other representative bodies and distinguished persons such as Sir F. Pollock, Professor Westlake, Mr. Montagu Crackanthorpe, K.C., Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., Lord Charles Beresford and Professor Lavisse.

I will read you a resolution passed with regard to this proposal by the Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, which is to the following effect:

“The disastrous war in South Africa being now concluded, this Council is of opinion that the time is most opportune for the formation of a Treaty of Arbitration between Great Britain and France, and earnestly urges the Government to take steps to establish by such means a permanent peace between the two nations referred to, and other nations where negotiations and

The CHAIRMAN: I call upon Mr. Bland, Vice-President of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society, to move a resolution.

Mr. T. BLAND (Vice-Chairman of the Co-operative Wholesale Society) : I have been requested to move the following resolution: “That this Congress, composed of delegates from a large number of countries, being advised of the proposal made by Mr. Thomas Barclay (late Chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce of Paris), in favour of a permanent Arbitration Treaty between the United Kingdom and France, and being of opinion that the conclusion of such Treaty would constitute an inestimable benefit not only for the two countries concerned, but for the whole world, and would serve as a telling example, endorses most heartily the proposition made, and expresses the wish that it may be carried into effect at as early a date as is at all possible.” I have great pleasure in moving that resolution. I am old enough to remember very vividly the disastrous Russian war; and I can see in my mind’s eye to-day many of the men in the streets with arms off and legs off. I followed that war perhaps more keenly than the last disastrous one, and the impression it left on my mind is that there never was a war but what could have been avoided, if only people had reasoned previously on both sides.

3. 7th Congress, Cremona 1907

Resolution on Solidarity

(Proceedings, p. 191)

HERR A. VON ELM (Germany) moves the following resolution:

“That the International Co-operative Congress, met at Cremona, recommend co-operative organisation to the labouring population of the towns and country not only in view of the great material advantages it offers, but also as being an efficacious means of constantly increasing their economic influence inside of the society and of rendering them more capable of autonomous administration on a democratic basis and more especially for gradually placing them in possession of the means of production of agricultural and industrial products, thus giving strength and authority to the co-operative principle of solidarity as opposed to egotism, which to-day prevails, and thus contribute to the civil salvation of the nations on the basis of humanity and progress.

“That the Seventh International Co-operative Congress, gathered at Cremona, recommend to the industrial labouring population of all the countries not only solidarity amongst themselves but also with the co-operative organisations of the rural labourers, by striving to aid them by purchasing as far as possible their products.

“That finally, the Seventh International Co-operative Congress of Cremona advise the international exchange of products between the co-operative organisations of distribution and the agricultural ones of all countries unless this be absolutely prevented by prohibitive customs, duties, of other hindrances to importation”.

4. 8th Congress, Hamburg 1910

Resolution on Solidarity, Unity and Autonomy

(Proceedings, p. 185, 179-180, 189-190, 182-183)

THE PRESIDENT introduced one more resolution, which read as follows:

“The International Co-operative Congress, without reference to any question of politics, greets with satisfaction the resolution of the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen (*asserting) the high value and importance of the organisation of consumers for the working classes, and urging the workers to become and remain active members of the co-operative distributive societies. The International Co-operative Congress expects from this resolution, which affirms the principle of the unity and autonomy of the co-operative movement, an essential increase of the strength of the co-operative movement”.

DR. V. TOTOMIANZ (St. Petersburg): “Fellow Co-operators, I should be glad to add a few words to this discussion. Mr. Peus told us yesterday that we distributive co-operators were anti-capitalists and class-conscious. I quite agree that co-operative distribution as well as credit Co-operation-and also the other forms of Co-operation-represent an anti-capitalistic organisation. Just as the co-operative store, to which I attach most value, disposes of the small trader, so does the credit society do away with usury and replace capitalistic banks by co-operative banks; in the same way a co-operative society is supplied by its own co-operative store instead of by shops and private businesses.

“But I must entirely disagree with the idea that co-operative distribution is a class organisation; that does not agree with the figures which I am about to give you. It is a fact that the working classes are mostly represented in co-operative stores-that is quite natural. for the working classes form the largest proportion of the population in industrial countries. That is quite true. All classes of the population are proportionately represented in the distributive societies. For instance, where the peasantry form the largest proportion of the population, as in Russia, Denmark, Hungary and other countries, there the majority of members are peasants; where the population is chiefly industrial, as in England, Germany and other industrial countries, the majority of consumers are of the working classes. Then we have countries where the population consists chiefly of State officials, as is the case in Russia, and there we have a very large number of officials in our distributive societies. Then let us take Italy, where the lower middle classes preponderate, the Italian socialist party is largely composed of the poorer middle

classes, and the same is the case in the co-operative movement.; the largest distributive society in Italy, the Milan Society, consists almost exclusively of officials and persons belonging to the liberal professions.

“It would not be correct to call this a class movement. It is quite another matter with regard to trade unions; trade unions must be class-conscious. Co-operative productive societies are also class organisations. A literary man like myself would not be admitted; I am neither a tailor nor a metal-worker. In a distributive society, however, we can all work.

PROFESSOR CHARLES GIDE (Paris): “Gentlemen and Fellow Co-operators, it is now my turn to express to you the thanks of the French delegates for the hospitality which you have extended to them and which has left nothing to be desired. I only regret that the sun, which you had doubtless invited, should have followed the example of the Hamburg senate and been too often absent from our meetings. But after all, what does that matter? I read this morning in one of the daily papers that the meteorological office indicated a center of depression at Hamburg; that depression has certainly made itself felt at this Congress, for during the past three days, the Congress barometer has been at “set fair” and our feelings have corresponded to it.

“This is not the first time that French delegates have been present at your congresses: we have already many times sent representatives to German congresses, and two months ago we had the pleasure of receiving delegates from German co-operative societies, for the first time, at our modest little Congress in Paris.

“Thus, in spite of historic rivalries, Co-operation is forging the links of a true alliance between the nations; I say true alliance, because the word “alliance”, in the sense in which it is usually employed in diplomacy, is often profaned and rendered false, an Alliance in the political sense is always formed against someone else. The International Co-operative Alliance is the only one which really justifies its beautiful name and uses this word in its true sense, for it does not recognise double or triple alliances, in its true sense, for it does not recognise double or triple alliances, it is a simple alliance of all for the good of all”.
(Loud applause).

MR. ALBERT THOMAS (Paris): " I should like to make a few remarks in the name of the *Bourse des Coopératives socialistes*. The organisation which I have the honour to represent has decided to support the resolution which has been presented to Congress. We do this because we find nothing in it that is contrary to our opinions. We particularly approve of the clear way in which it defines the principles upon which our co-operative movement is based, especially as it affirms the superiority of co-operative distribution as compared with other forms of Co-operation. On the other hand, it emphasises the necessity to federate and concentrate the organisation of the co-operative movement. For these reasons and because the ideas which it contains are so clearly expressed, we support the resolution. We approve just as much of the other opinions which are explicitly stated therein. I have listened to the criticisms of our German comrades upon certain theories contained in Dr. Müller's paper, I have also noted the reply of Dr. Totomianz, and I really think that the discussion upon the resolution loses something of its value, for one cannot exclude from the resolution everything approaching a definite theory of the co-operative movement. As a matter of fact, nearly every line of the resolution affirms the anti-capitalistic nature of the co-operative movement.

"Taking the proposed resolution paragraph by paragraph, one sees first of all that the whole question turns upon the protection of the interests of the worker. We then find that it goes on to declare that productive Co-operation is of less importance than the other forms, because it retains a capitalistic character, and we see further that it is condemned because it is in opposition to the interests of the consumer; in every turn of the resolution we find that the anti-capitalistic character of distributive Co-operation is insisted upon. For this reason we support the resolution. For our part we French would have wished to have our ideals more definitely defined in it. Distributive Co-operation is on the verge of overstepping the limits of experience within which you have wished to keep the resolution, and the whole idea of social reform which animates distributive Co-operation is indicated in it. In the region of experience and principle we stand upon common ground; one asks oneself, therefore, why we do not put as our teacher in co-operative matters,

once said that Co-operation had within it something of the spirit of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Perhaps you will allow me to say that today the Co-operative Congress is about to adopt a resolution in which, above all, the spirit of Sancho Panza is to be found. Co-operation would lose nothing by a little idealism, by being a little more quixotic, and I hope that at the next International Congress the principle of idealism in Co-operation will be proclaimed to effect a closer unity and open up a wider field of activity.”

5. 9th Congress, Glasgow 1913

Resolution on International Peace

(Proceedings, p. 38-48)

The PRESIDENT called upon Mr. G. J. D. C. Coedhart (The Hague) to move the resolution, and introduced him in appropriate terms. He said Mr. Goedhart came from the Hague, which had been chosen by the administrators of the world to house the Palace of Peace. It seemed to be very fitting, therefore, that he should move a resolution which had for its object the maintenance of international peace.

Mr. GOEDHART said the Central Committee had asked him to move the resolution, which was as follows:

“That this Congress fully endorses the action recently taken by the Executive and Central Committees of the International Co-operative Alliance in order to manifest that it is in the interests of the co-operators of all countries to do their best to uphold peace. The Congress emphasises among all nations constitutes an essential condition for the development of Co-operation and the realisation of those ends which are aimed by this movement. The Congress further desires to impress upon the public opinion of all nations the fact that the reasons for the continuance of armaments and the possibility of international conflicts will disappear as the social and economic life of every nation becomes organised according to co-operative principles, and that, therefore, the progress of Co-operation forms one of the most valuable guarantees for the preservation of the world’s peace. The Congress, therefore, exhorts the peo-

ple of every country to join our movement and strengthen their power. The International Congress of the Alliance declares itself in amity with all the co-operators of the world, and welcomes any action they may take in this direction or in which they may participate. Congress also welcomes all demonstrations made or to be made by other organisations with the same aim”.

He did not think it would need a long speech to persuade the Congress that it was in the interests of the co-operators of all countries to do their best to maintain peace, nor “that the maintenance of peace and goodwill among all nations constitutes an essential condition for the development of Co-operation and the realisation of those ends which are aimed at by this movement.” “What was the aim of the movement? It was to organise first the exchange of goods and afterwards the production, in order that equality and equity might reign in the future. Of course, they would not be able to reach that state while they were still unable to regulate production, buying, and selling, and dispatching of materials and goods produced. Now during a war, and even before a war commenced, the whole traffic and trade of not only the countries at war, but also of the greater part of the world, were put in disorder. It was clear, therefore, that war would do the co-operative movement a great deal of harm. But there was more. Co-operation aimed at raising the labouring classes; it tried to get them better wages and to give them the opportunity of getting better commodities. War disturbed production and trade. It took the greater part of the strong workingmen from their workshops – often for ever – and it took the railways for use in carrying things needed in the war. The consequence was that the economic life of the nation was entirely dislocated when war flamed in the land. But even when war was only threatening in some countries it had disastrous influence on the economic position of other nations. Trade and production were so organised that the nations were dependent on each other for the necessities of life. The various nations were also interested in each other’s economic well-being, so that if one is affected all the others feel it. “A war,” says Norman Angell, “weakens not only the submerged nation, but also equally as hard its submerges”.

This brought him to the next portion of the resolution, viz., “The Congress further desires to impress upon the public opinion of all nations the fact that the reasons for the continual increase of armaments and the possibility of international conflicts will tend to disappear as the social and economic life of every nation becomes organised according to co-operative principles, and that, therefore, the progress of Co-operation forms one of the most valuable guarantees for the preservation of the world’s peace”.

If it was true that the economic interests of the nations were so interwoven that a war hurt them even if they were not a party in it, then how much more would they feel the effects if the social life of the people were organised on co-operative lines? It would, therefore, be seen how stupid a war was, even when a nation gained every battle. If the organisation of production and consumption were entirely shaped on co-operative lines then every person would be a member of a co-operative society, all co-operative societies of the country would have mutual interests. This huge organisation would, therefore, feel the consequences of a war immediately. Nay, even the least cloud on the political life would be felt in such a great concern and move it to care for the maintenance of peace. He had not yet spoken of the greatest evil resulting from war and from the preparations for it for the working classes. It was clear that capital did not grow on trees; it had to be made by continual working, and it must be found out of the results of national production. Now that national production rose from the co-operation of capital, Labour, and materials, and the profit had to be divided by the capitalists, the labourers, and the contractors. It was clear that if the capitalists and its preparations made capital dearer for a long time, so, of course, it made less the part of Labour. But the income of the Exchequer had for the greater part to be brought up by the labouring classes.

All the European powers had a tremendous public debt: in the aggregate it amounted to £3,000,000,000 represented capital lost in wars and preparations thereto. Interest had, therefore, to be paid on capital which no longer existed. Moreover, the European nations together paid huge sums for war preparations. In times of peace the armies consisted

of 7,572,610 men, which in times of war could be increased to 20,017,253 men, whilst the European fleets were composed of 2,356 ships, with 15,271 guns and 451,617 sailors. Of course the maintenance of these armies and navies cost very huge sums, which are lost to better objects, and which have to be found for the greater part out of the lesser incomes. Is it strange that the conviction is being spread more and more that means must be found to lessen the sums hitherto voted for army and navy purposes. One of the best means will be the promotion of Co-operation. That must be clear to you, for Co-operation means the amalgamation of the interests of men and of nations. I pointed out the economic profit of it in the early part of my address, but I need not say to you that Co-operation means brotherhood, and that it aims at the improvement of the condition of mankind in every way. Therefore our Congress is entitled to emphasise the fact that Co-operation is the best means for the preservation of the world's peace, and to exhort the people of every country to join our movement and to strengthen its power (Applause).

Mr. MAXWELL said it would be strange indeed if the ever-growing civilisation of the past centuries had not entirely changed and altered the thoughts of mankind. It was only in the very few uncivilised States that remained in the world that they could find the customs and habits that were generally adopted at the beginning of the Christian era. But there was one cruel and savage custom that had withstood the civilisation of all the centuries – the barbaric custom of war. The change that had taken place in armaments had been to make them more deadly, whilst greed of territory and ambition to conquer were as strong as they were 2,000 years ago, especially among many who held place and power today. In ordinary life nations were agreed that disputes and difficulties could be settled in properly equipped courts of justice or arbitration, yet in international differences they clung to the power of the sword as the only means of settlement. The history of the world teemed with evidence that many of their past wars unnecessary and unjust, and if reason and amity had been applied to the subject in dispute how much life and treasure might have been saved in the past! War was not Christianity. Apart from the horrors of war and its attendant miseries, which fell

heavily upon the workers, the financial burdens were becoming unbearable in most European countries, and all in order that one Government should possess more engines of destruction than the others. He submitted that international Co-operation was the very antithesis of international strife, and every man and woman in the International Alliance had some influence. Let them use that influence so that the huge and costly armaments of war that disfigured the civilisation of the 20th century might be abolished for ever. Let them hope that the growing sense of harmony between nations which that great Congress represented would in a very short period wipe out many of those deadly engines upon which so much of the workers' hard-earned money was expended. Then they would bring in the time when men would beat their swords into plough-shares and bring peace and hope and comfort to the workers of the world (loud applause).

Mr. VON ELM (Hamburg) was specially greeted and significance was attached to the fact that he delivered his speech in both German and English. Mr. von Elm said he supported the peace resolution with great pleasure, because he knew that there was no German co-operator who did not want peace – (loud applause)- and who did not agree absolutely with the tenor of the resolution. They all knew that under present conditions the rulers of the world cared very little for the resolutions of co-operators. Nevertheless they considered it their duty to express their determination for the maintenance of international peace, and they would hail the resolutions of all the other friends of peace, because the rulers could not resist the expressed will of the people, which in the end was the law supreme (loud applause). That would have to be acknowledged by the ruling powers one day. When the great majorities of the English, French and German people declared “We don't want war, but peace.” When those three great civilised nations were united for peace, there would be peace, not only among those nations, but among all nations (Applause). He knew the sentiments of the German working classes – and that meant the great majority of the working classes – and they did not want war with any nation. They wanted peace (Applause). The war scaremongers of every nation were those who wanted war to serve their own selfish ends. Through the mad competition of armaments in all

countries, a handful of rich capitalists had been made richer, while the working classes were foolish enough not only to pay for the increasing expense of armaments, but to sacrifice their lives for militarism and imperialism – the monstrosities of the capitalist (Applause). So long as capitalism ruled the world convinced that the danger of war would disappear rapidly as the co-operative movement extended among nations. The co-operative movement excluded capitalist profits. It was anti-capitalistic – its profits were distributed among the community, and the organisation among producers and the community on co-operative principles meant peace, because the root of all war (capitalist profit) was excluded. The delegates attended the International Congress to exchange views and to learn from others. The German delegates had learned a great deal in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland. If the German delegates promised to do their utmost to organise and federalise on co-operative principles, and if they did it a little better than it had been done in Great Britain, it would please every co-operator in Great Britain (Applause). The co-operators of the world were friends (loud and prolonged applause). The co-operators of the world wanted construction and not destruction (renewed applause). They wanted to build up the solidarity of the world on an international basis, and co-operators wanted the workers of all nations to help them to realise and to accomplish that great work for the peace of the whole world (loud applause).

Mr. ALBERT THOMAS (Paris) : Fellow co-operators, I wish that one who could have spoken to you more authoritatively than I had been able to come here to solicit, in the name of French-speaking co-operators, your unreserved and enthusiastic acceptance of the motion proposed by the Central Committee of the Alliance, but our highly esteemed friend, Professor Charles Gide, was unable to attend this Congress. I should first of all like to read that which Professor Gide has written to you, I will then voice the few words on behalf of the French delegates which you seem to think indispensable. Professor Gide writes as follows:

“I much regret that I am unable to accompany my French colleagues, but I should like at least to join with them in the international manifestation for peace. We know that the voice of co-operators, even

the united voice of the co-operators of all countries, is not strong enough to outweigh that of the combination of interests and passions. In view of the fact that the horrors of the Balkan war have not availed to make war accursed, but have even furnished the Press with new reasons to glorify it, our protests will not suffice to open the eyes of our contemporaries. Nevertheless we confidently hope one day to see Co-operation realise in political life that which it has begun to realise in economic life, viz., to transform States and empires into free associations and free federations (co-operative commonwealths) which will not wage war with one another, but will only try to increase by the same means as our present societies, i.e., by the voluntary affiliation of those who desire to come to them”.

As I have said, I beg to add a few words to the letter sent by our eminent colleague. If some of the nations here represented desire to see the union of all international forces it must be those which for 42 years have burdened the world with the heavy weight and armed peace. Since our colleague, Mr. Von Elm, has come to tell you of the ideals of peace cherished by the workers of Germany, may I, as the representative of France, be permitted to assert the ideal of peace and the desire for union and for closer relationship and friendship with Germany which animates all the representatives of the proletariat of France (Applause). Ladies and gentlemen, my dear fellow co-operators, we French, more than any other section of the Congress, have realised during the last few months how necessary it is for us to act. In spite of our efforts, however, our people are to be burdened with new armaments. The folly of war seems to increase; not only our two nations, but all the nations of Europe are involved, and your action, my fellow co-operators of all nations, has become more necessary. I feel inclined to contradict the words of disillusion and scientific disenchantment contained in Professor Gide's letter. It seems as if he somewhat doubts the power of the people to make themselves heard, he seems to doubt the power of the masses to gradually impose their will on Governments. We do not doubt that in any case our co-operative forces are strong enough to oppose the folly of some of our Ministers. This reminds us of what occurred in 1870. At that time there was in France an embryo co-operative movement. A few had already come from England, a few had published books and

papers setting forth the necessity for Co-operation, and it was Varlin, one of the most disinterested militants, and one of the most heroic characters of the great Communal Insurrection in Paris, who towards the end of the Second Empire founded the first co-operative restaurant in France. You know how everything was swept away by the Commune and the war. The best and most noble of the militant workers were ruined by the repression of Versailles, and it was found that long years were necessary before the French Co-operative Movement could record new progress.

It is in the interests of Co-operation as a whole, as Mr. Hon Elm pointed out, to prevent new wars. For the sake of the economic development of the various nations, and for the material and moral uplifting of the working classes, it is most important that wars should be avoided. We still hope, however since we may say that the co-operative principle of itself will penetrate into the inner life of the nations. It will substitute a system of peace and harmony, right and justice, for that of competition and rivalry. That which the movement has done within nations will it not do between all nations? We shall shortly discuss the agreement between the wholesale societies, we shall discuss the international co-operative exchange of goods. Shall this fertile principle not be brought to the notice of all countries? Already the capitalists to whom we are opposed have increased the number of their shops, their cartels, and their trusts, not only within each nation, but even between nations. Already they have formed an entente, and already beyond the frontiers they have established agreements which from a commercial point of view are very lasting and profitable to themselves. We in France and Germany saw the singular agreement between Krupp and Schneider. We have already seen that they know how to multiply their profitable agreements beyond the frontiers of the different countries. They have come to an understanding with some, but the result of the understanding has been to set the masses of the workers in opposition to one another. We, on the other hand, when we come to an understanding it is to promote agreement among united consumers and among the workers to bring about an entente between the nations, and not to rouse their antipathy for the benefit of certain people.

I should now like to give the third reason for hope. It is that today it is not the Co-operative Movement alone which will make its voice heard – a voice which, according to Professor Gide, runs the risk of being stifled. A few weeks ago Socialists – representative working-men of the world – met in the cathedral at Basle. A few weeks ago the responsible representatives of the great nations of France and Germany met at Berne. Henceforth Co-operation will not be alone. The working classes of the two countries will strive everywhere to this end, and if there are a few who still doubt I should like to remind them of Lamennais' fable : There was once a traveler who wished to climb a mountain. On his way he was confronted with a large rock which blocked his path. He sought to overturn it, but could not. Another traveler who followed him also tried to overturn the rock, but without avail. These two travelers were soon joined by others, and when there were ten of them one said, "If we combine all our strength against the rock perhaps we can overturn it." They joined forces and easily overturned the rock. In the same way, if Syndicalists and co-operators will combine the rock will be overturned and capitalism will be destroyed (loud applause).

Mr. MAXWELL said that they had had the sentiments of the nations of Holland, Germany, and France, and they were now to have a direct descendant of the Viking race – Mr. O. Dehli, of Norway.

Mr. O. DEHLI (Christiania) said he was anxious to support the resolution. The question of peace was one that should concern all nations, great and small (Hear, hear). The expenses of armaments fell heaviest on the poor. They all ought to have thoughts for peace. Nobody in his country wished for war, but all were for peace – both Labour and capitalists (Applause). He wished to support the resolution with an appeal for peace among all nations, great or small.

Mr. NEIL MCLEAN (Frasertown) said that on such a question as international peace he was glad to see that the co-operative movement proved that it was linking itself up with other forward and progressive movements of the world. So long as they had wars, property being destroyed and lives lost, they would no doubt promote a feeling

that would set the workers against each other. That of itself was against the true spirit of Co-operation. Co-operation meant the true spirit of brotherhood and fraternity among people of the entire world. If they would make it the real life-force that the pioneers wished to make it, then Co-operation must take its stand internationally, not merely in the passing of a pious resolution at each Congress, but it must take its place in the forefront of the international working class movements, prepared in every way to stop the waging of war by one power against another. His firm belief was that the working class movements were internationally sufficiently powerful, not merely to stop war among small States like the Balkans, but between the great Powers of the world (Hear, hear). The workmen were greeting one another across the borders of each country, and forestalling the diplomacy of politicians. Why should there be any difference among workers living in different nations? The fact that they were met together that day discussing the same industrial and economic problems showed that the working classes could do something to stop war; and when they were determined to stop it, war would cease in all countries, and there would be international peace. He knew that they were sometimes told that they ought not to express those sentiments; they were supposed not to be strong enough to carry them into effect. But he wished to challenge that attitude, and to quote, in conclusion, the words of Edwin Arnold:

*We are those whose bugle rings, that all these wars shall cease;
We are they who pay the kings their cruel price of peace;
We are they whose constant watchword is what Christ did teach;
Each man for his brother first – and heaven then for each.*

*We are they who will not falter – many swords or few,
Until we make this earth the altar of a worship new;
We are they who will not take from palace, priest or code
A meaner law than brotherhood, a lower Lord than God.*

Mr. SCHLACK (Mulheim): Fellow co-operators, peace is the greatest blessing of the nations, and we are very pleased that the International Co-operative Congress is taking a stand on this question. We of

the co-operative societies must do all in our power to make our demand for peace heard by the authorities. The reasons for desiring the peace of the nations may vary, but everyone wishes for its achievement. I should like to ask you to make a slight change in the last sentence of the resolution. As it now stands, this sentence reads as follows: "It also welcomes any demonstrations made or to be made by other organisations with the same aim." I beg to alter this as follows: "It also welcomes the efforts of other organisations which pursue the same purpose".

Through this resolution it is asserted that we welcome all efforts towards universal peace. If we do not make this alteration, we approve all means used to this end. Thus the International Co-operative Congress draws a blank draft, by which it accepts all demonstrations which aim at peace, although they may really achieve the contrary. The whole Congress can accept this change without hesitation. Should there, however, be any dissent, I beg that this passage be voted upon.

The PRESIDENT: The various nations have spoken our very plainly on this resolution, and this Congress should now let its opinion go out with no uncertain sound. I am now going to put the resolution to the vote.

The President's words having been translated, he called upon all in favour of the resolution to put up their hands. It seemed as if every delegate present did so. He then called upon the delegates who were against the resolution to show hands. Not a single hand was raised.

The PRESIDENT: You have carried the resolution unanimously.

At this announcement the delegates applauded vigorously. The applause was renewed several times, growing louder each time, until they burst into cheers, which grew in volume with the intense enthusiasm which the peace declaration had created, and for a time the delegates were standing, cheering and waving their hands and handkerchiefs in a remarkable demonstration. When silence was at length restored, the PRESIDENT remarked: "You never did a better morning's work in your life, and you never will," on observation which evoked further applause.

6. 10th Congress, Basle 1921

1. Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 139-140)

“That this International Co-operative Congress assembled at Basle, in resuming the work of the International Co-operative Alliance, after the most terrible of wars, reiterates the declaration of Glasgow Congress that ‘peace and goodwill among all nations constitutes an essential condition for the realization of the co-operative ideal’.

“It once more expresses the hope that notwithstanding the cruel deception experienced, the progressive general adoption of the co-operative program in the economic order—in particular the elimination of profit and competition, and free exchange amongst the nations—will result in strengthening the bonds of international solidarity, thereby reducing the risks of war.

“Although not expecting the early realization of these aim, and without placing absolute confidence in the efficacy of economic revolutions to abolish the causes of conflict between the nations no less than between individuals, the International Co-operative Alliance earnestly requests, the co-operators of all countries to strive in the moral domain in which Co-operation claims its place, to exercise vigilant action for removing all cause of friction between nations, and to adopt as a rule of conduct towards the men of all nations the rule which every good co-operator observes towards his comrades of the same society.

“It further recommends that a larger place be given in the schools to co-operative instruction, and to propaganda of all the facts exposing the disasters of war and the blessing of peace.

“And in the event of the folly of men letting loose a new war, it relies on the co-operators of all countries not to linger over irritating discussions as to which side was the aggressor and which the defender, but fearlessly to face patriotic prejudice and official censure, uniting in a unanimous protest which would not cease as long as the war should last”.

2. Resolution on Peace
What Co-operation has to learn from the Last War
(Proceedings, p. 127-129)

The first part of the Glasgow Congress resolution reads as follows:

“That this Congress fully endorses the action recently taken by the Executive and Central Committees of the International Co-operative Alliance in order to manifest that it is in the interests of the co-operators of all countries to do their best to uphold peace. The Congress emphasises once more that the maintenance of peace and goodwill among all nations constitutes an essential condition for the development of Co-operation and the realisation of those ends which are aimed at by this movement”.

These declarations give rise to no dispute; indeed, they are only confirmed by the terrible events which have taken place since that time.

It is true, however, that one of the forecasts of Mr. Goedhart, who moved this resolution, has been contradicted by facts. He said it was clear that war would do the Co-operative Movement a great deal of harm.

On the contrary, it has been seen that the most terrible of wars has been of much benefit to the Co-operative Movement! After a brief period of shock, which menaced the co-operative enterprises like all others, the war gave to the movement a quite unexpected impetus, especially in the belligerent countries. It was not only that sales increased threefold or fourfold, which might, however, be regarded as a deceptive sign due to high prices, but also the number of members increased, while there was progress recorded in the concentration of societies, and the authority and credit of Co-operation gained tremendously, both in the eyes of the public and of the public authorities.

It is not necessary to explain here the causes of this happy phenomenon; they are known to all of us.

But are we to see in this surprise a denial of the affirmation that “peace is an essential condition for the development of Co-operation,”

and would we dare to conclude that Co-operation has greater chance of development in time of war than in peace?

In order to guard ourselves against such blasphemy, it suffices to say that if the war has strengthened the Co-operative Movement it is because it intensified all those evils which it is the aim of Co-operation to combat, viz., high prices, the rise in the making and all the most hideous forms of speculation. The war epidemics enrich doctors, of the ruins of the devastated areas enrich architects. It is because it has appeared, at least in a certain measure, as a means of salvation from all the scourges which have been let loose that Co-operation has grown in public esteem; it has been the ark lifted up by the waters of the deluge. But if the deluge had lasted, all the ideas which we have set before us would have been definitely swallowed up by the waters.

Moreover we must not disguise the fact the realisation of our future programme has been compromised, or, in other words, considerably postponed. When is the cost of living likely to revert to its former level? When will Labour be liberated from the tremendous burdens placed upon it as a result of the unproductive war expenditure? No one knows.

How can we prevent a certain feeling of discouragement when we compare the figures which mark the progress of the Co-operative Movement, and of which we were not long since so proud—are the two milliard francs constituting the capital of the British co-operative societies, and which has been amassed with difficulty as the result of eighty years' thrift, compared with an expenditure of 200 milliard francs, consolidated to-day in the form of public debt with the eight milliard representing the interest on the war debt? Only consider, that if the capital of the total number of co-operative societies in all countries were added, it would scarcely represent five or six days of the cost of the war, a war which lasted 1,570 days! It would be comparable to an ant hill crushed under the foot of an elephant; nevertheless, even in this case, the ants would not hesitate to resume their task. We likewise will not be less courageous, but at the same time we see in these disasters all the more reason for condemning war and for reiterating, with new and unanimous conviction, the affirmation of the Glasgow Congress, "that it is in the interests of the co-operators of all countries to do their best to uphold peace".

3. Resolution on the Abolition of War

(Proceedings, p. 129)

Let us pass on to consideration of the second part of the Glasgow resolution, which reads as follows:

“ The Congress further desires to impress upon the public opinion of all nations, the fact that the reasons for the continuance of armaments and the possibility of international conflicts will disappear as the social and economic life of every nation becomes organised according to co-operative principles, and that, therefore, the progress of co-operation forms one of the most valuable guarantees for the preservation of world peace. The Congress, therefore, exhorts the people of every country to join our movement and strengthen their power. The International Congress of the Alliance declares itself in amity with all the co-operators of the world and welcomes any action they may take in this direction or in which they may participate. Congress also welcomes all demonstrations made or to be made by other organisations with the same aim”.

4. The vision of a Co-operative Confederation of Nations

(Proceedings, p. 135)

Above all, we ought to present to the world the beautiful vision of a Co-operative Confederation of Nations, of which our International Co-operative Alliance is but a rough outline. We already see it realised in part in the League of Nations, which we owe to the untiring perseverance of President Wilson, who in the struggle for its establishment sacrificed his political career and almost his life.

We find in the Covenant of this League of Nations many excellent principles which conform entirely to the co-operative programme, viz. :

1. The obligation to submit all disputes between the nations to a procedure of inquiry and conciliation, and eventually to arbitration. (Article 12).

2. An agreement with a view to the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of the manufacture of arms by private firms, thus avoiding the dangerous temptation of profit leading up to war (Article 8).

3. The prohibition of all secret treaties (Article 18).

4. The transformation of colonial policy: the colonies and their native inhabitants being henceforth placed under the control of the League of Nations; and all recruiting of the native population for military service being prohibited (Article 22).

Nothing will be more favourable for the peace of the world than this last clause, if it be observed, which, however, is as yet uncertain.

5. Guarantee of freedom of communications and of work, as well as equitable treatment of commerce between all the members of the League of Nations (Article 23e).

5. Declaration on Peace (Proceedings, p. 161-162)

The resolution in its amended form, with the additional amendment of Mr. Lange, was carried without opposition. The following is the text of the resolution as adopted:

“That this International Co-operative Congress assembled at Basle, in resuming the work of the International Co-operative Alliance, after the most terrible of wars, reiterates the declaration of the Glasgow Congress that “Peace and goodwill among all nations constitutes an essential condition for the realisation of the co-operative ideal”.

“The Congress expresses the conviction that, notwithstanding the cruel deception experienced, the progressive general adoption of the co-operative programme in the economic order will gradually eliminate the essential causes of war.

“In order to attain this aim, the Co-operators of all countries have the duty not only to work continuously for the economic development of their societies, but also to put into action, at every favourable opportunity, the moral factors of Co-operation against any conflict between peoples and against the political or economic oppression of any people.

“The Congress requests the National Co-operative Unions and all co-operative societies, each in its sphere of activity and with its own means, to exercise vigilant action in order to prevent any political and economic conflict between peoples, and specially to endeavour to propa-

gate the idea of diminishing everywhere the military expenses to the strictly necessary, in order to lead the way to a general, complete, and simultaneous disarmament on land, on sea, and in the air.

“It further recommends that a larger place be given in the schools to co-operative instruction and to propaganda of all the facts exposing the disasters of war and the blessing of peace.

“And in case the folly of man should provoke another war, the I.C.A., without contesting the right of every country to defend its independence, but considering that any war, even a defensive one, should not be allowed to settle differences between nations, is confident that the Co-operators of all countries, even those who believe themselves to be the victims of aggression, without fear of patriotic prejudice and official censure, will unite to impose on the belligerents the cessation of the conflict and the adoption of the method of peaceful arbitration”.

6. Declaration on Peace and Workers

(Proceedings, p. 172)

“ The Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance held at Basle declares that there is no better means for improving the economic conditions of the people and no surer guarantee for world peace than the grouping of all consumers in Co-operative Societies.

“ It authorises the Central Committee:

“ 1. To address themselves as early as possible to the populations, pointing out the necessity that they should group themselves in Co-operative Societies to oppose capitalism, and for the defence of their rights as consumers.

“ 2. To invite each national union to issue a manifesto to the workers in their respective countries, urging them to pledge themselves to strengthen the existing co-operative organisations, and where such do not exist to take steps for their establishment.

“ Addressing itself more particularly to Trade Unionist workers and to Trade Unions, Congress considers that they have to regard Co-operative Societies as being of an anticapitalistic character, and to fight in favour of the community, either as consumers or as producers.

“Congress proclaims that Co-operation is essentially a doctrine of peace, and that it seeks by means of goodwill the establishment of sustained and friendly relations, and by agreements, collective contracts, conciliation, and arbitration the foundation of an equitable order as between distribution and production. It declares that Co-operative Societies as organs of social transformation endeavour to grant their employees the best possible conditions of labour, and that they accept collective labour contracts, although warning Trade Unions against the danger of demanding from them exaggerated conditions, the granting of which would lessen their power to effect improvement and economic transformation, and thus be to the advantage of capitalist industry”.

7. A Co-operative Europe (Proceedings, p. 137)

Of all the beautiful dreams of the future which can enchant Co-operation, none will be more beautiful than the hope of seeing Co-operation re-establish in the world this fraternity, this moral unity, which to a certain extent existed in the Europe of the Middle Ages, when all professed the same religion and all the intellectuals spoke one tongue which was Latin—religious and intellectual unity which was called «Christianity». But during the terrible crisis through Europe which has just passed, the Church failed in its mission; it invoked in the opposed camps the God of Battles. It is the task of Co-operation to undertake that mission. Co-operation will certainly not have the powerful means which were at the disposal of the Church, it has no Rome and no Pope, and I do not think that Esperanto will be able to replace the intellectual converse in the Latin tongue. Nevertheless, 20.000.000 co-operators, whose number to-morrow or the day after may have increased to 100.000.000, united in one fraternity and one faith, which in its secularity approximates very closely to the Gospel and the words of Christ, «No man liveth to himself», and whose faithful echo of this is «Each for all and for each»—these co-operators can do much, if they wish, in helping to make Europe what it ought to be become, a true Co-operative Federation.

7. 11th Congress, Ghent 1924

Resolution on neutrality

(Proceedings, p. 219)

The PRESIDENT formally opened the final session of the Congress and announced that the first business would be the consideration of the resolution submitted by the British Co-operative Union on "Neutrality". He called upon Mr. W. R. Rae to propose the motion, the next of which was as follows:

"This Congress considers it necessary to draw the attention of its affiliated members to the fact that, while fully respecting their independence, the Alliance cannot consent to the infringements of that political and religious neutrality which is a fundamental point in its constitution, and which those who form its membership have freely accepted.

"The Congress, therefore, authorises its Central Committee and Executive to ask, and if the necessity arises, to demand, from its members an undertaking to strictly observe the neutrality of the Alliance, and to permit no infringement of the rights of national movements to carry on their work freely and without foreign interference.

"In case of necessity the Executive must refer the matter to the Central Committee and recommend to them all necessary measures".

8. 12th Congress, Stockholm 1927

Resolution on World Peace

(Proceedings, p. 229-231)

The PRESIDENT: We will now take the resolution on World Peace sent in by the British Co-operative Union, which will be moved by Mrs. Barton, of the English Women's Guild.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

"The Twelfth Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, recognising that the fundamental purpose of co-operation is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth, without distinction of col-

our, race, or creed, in which industry and commerce shall be established upon a non-profit-making basis and the social life of the peoples upon fraternity and mutual aid, urges upon the Movements of all countries the necessity of promoting by all means in their power free intercourse between the peoples of every land and the establishment of the closest economic relations upon the lines of mutuality adopted by the Rochdale Pioneers.

“Realising the destructive effect of war upon all such relations, and the supreme necessity for co-operators that wars should cease, and that the whole influence of the people should be exerted for peace, the Congress, in accordance with the traditional world peace policy of the International Co-operative Alliance, urges every Co-operative Organisation to declare itself definitely against war; to make known to the world, and particularly to its National Government, its unflinching hostility to all policies, economic or militarist, which may provoke war or raise barriers to the realisation of the co-operative programme; and to be prepared, in order to maintain unrestricted progress of their ideals, to offer complete resistance to the declaration and prosecution of war”.

The PRESIDENT explained that the words in italics at the end of the text had been deleted at the request of the Central Committee of the Alliance and the resolution could be moved in that amended form.

Mrs. E. BARTON (Great Britain) : Unless we can get universal peace co-operation cannot grow and help the people of the world at it should. I, personally, regret the deletion of the last few lines from the original text. We have to recognise that the people of all countries are plunged into war not because they desire it but because their Governments desire it. What we as co-operators have to do is to decide, each one of us individually, what our part will be when the Governments declare war. Before 1914 workers in various countries thought it would not be possible for the Governments to use the workers of one country against the workers of another. We found, however, that the workers were divided against each other and that the workers of all countries were used by their Governments against their comrades in other lands. This resolution asks co-operators to declare themselves absolutely against war. Now is the time for us to say whether we are in favour of war or in

favour of peace. Every man and woman here should say they are against war, and make some declaration that they will "stand by" when the Governments declare war and will use their influence to prevent it. We know that the Governments use us in the mass. They create a feeling in favour of themselves by their speeches; they make the people rally to their side; and so use the workers against the workers of other countries. We have to make up our minds what we ourselves will do and we have no responsibility for what our Governments do. The Press is used to propagate war because the Press is in the hands of the people who are in favour of war. Go-operation is the best policy because it is a movement for progress and a movement for peace. Any individual who allows himself to be rushed into war forgets his co-operative ideals. We must declare ourselves for co-operative principles. I want to say that the British Go-operators passed this resolution in its entirety. The rank and file of the co-operative workers are in favour of it in its entirety. We want to ask all emphatically against war. We have a right to ask all men and women to press in peace for peace as others press in peace for militarism and war.

The PRESIDENT: On this subject of "World Peace" an amendment has been sent in by the Soviet delegation, the text of which has been circulated to the delegates. It will be moved by Professor Mestcheriakoff.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

"1. That the first paragraph be deleted.

"2. That the first sentence of the second paragraph read as follows: 'Taking into consideration the destructive influence of war on the economic and cultural relations of nations, and particularly on the standard of living of the labouring classes, and the dire necessity,' etc.

"3. That the following paragraphs be added to the resolution-

"The Congress especially calls upon all Co-operative Organisations to take action against the war in China and against every attempt of financial or economic blotched of, and particularly against any attempts of a military offensive on, the Soviet Union.

"With this in view the Congress calls upon all organisations and

members of organisations affiliated to the International Alliance to take immediate action in support of such measures which might interfere with the preparation for military hostilities on the part of the imperialist Governments and, in the event of a declaration of war, to support every movement which might help in the speedy realisation of the aims of the Labour Movement.

“The Congress calls special attention to the necessity of carrying on an extensive propaganda campaign against the menace of war at meetings and in the co-operative Press, and with this end in view recommends.

“The support of all measures, the purpose of which is to create a united front of all labour organisations for an active struggle against the menace of war and the prosecution of the same.

“The organisation of protest meetings and action against any measures of capitalist Governments along the lines of preparedness for war.

“The rejection of all credits for armaments and war and to come out in the Parliaments and legislatures against measures tending to increase armaments.

“The support of all mass actions and strikes, the purpose of which is to interfere with military preparations and, particularly, the support of all actions against the continuation of war in China.

“The undertaking of active propaganda and preparatory organisational work in support of a general strike should war break out.

“The refusal to give any practical aid to measures of an economic and financial character or in the mobilisation of military forces and the preparation of war. Instead, practical aid should be given to all measures undertaken by the working class along the lines of putting obstacles in the prosecution of war”.

9. 13th Congress, Vienna 1930

1. Economic Pacification of the World Trusts and Cartels

(Proceedings, p. 65-66)

“ The Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance assembled at Vienna, declares that :

“in spite of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference,

“in spite of the endeavours of the recent Conference for a Customs Truce, and

“in spite of the decisions of numerous other International Bodies—no progress has been made towards the economic pacifications of the world, but, on the contrary, that customs duties have been raised again during the past year.

“The Congress deplores this policy of neglect and delay in dealing with a situation which has become of the most vital concern to all the nations of the world. The 56 millions of consumers, organised in the International Co-operative Alliance, reaffirm their faith in the principle of unrestricted all nations, which they consider an essential condition for the economic well-being of all countries, and also for the economic peace of the world.

“The Congress, therefore, urges all consumers, all co-operative organisations, and the workers of all countries to bring their influence to bear upon their respective governments, and through them upon the League of Nations, in order that:

“by the conclusion of liberal long-term commercial agreements,

“by the establishment of uniform customs nomenclature,

“by national and international traffic agreements,

“by customs unions, and

“by all other appropriate means,

The free exchange of goods and unrestricted communications may, as far as possible, be restored; the people relieved from the constant threat of the lowering of their standard of living, and that, by the re-establishment of the purchasing power of the consumer, production may also be revived”.

Declaration on Trusts and Cartels

“In view of the facts,

“that national, and especially international, trusts and cartels con-

tinue to monopolise, not only the most essential raw materials, but also manufactured articles in daily demand, such as matches, margarine, electric bulb, etc.,

“that private capitalist trusts, taking advantage of the financial difficulties of certain States, have advanced loans to them, thus purchasing for themselves monopolies, and making the States dependent upon the trusts,

“that the exploitation of the consumer has thereby assumed alarming proportions, and threatens to hinder co-operative distribution and production, and

“that these evils have reached far greater dimensions than were known before the war,

“This Congress urges all consumers, especially the women who have the responsibility of providing for the family needs, to organise themselves co-operatively for their common defence, and for the carrying out of resolute propaganda to secure that national cartels may be made subject to the control of the State, and international cartels brought under the control of a powerful section of the League of Nations”.

2. Resolution on the Economic Conference

(Proceedings, p. 67)

“The Executive of the International Co-operative Alliance assembled at The Hague takes note of the decision of the Assembly of the League of Nations to constitute a Consultative Committee for the purpose of following up the application of the recommendations of the Economic Conference (now officially endorsed by the League), and expresses its profound disappointment that the resolution does not specifically include a representative of the International Co-operative Alliance which took part in the Economic Conference at the request of the Council of the League.

“The Executive of the I.C.A. desires to call the attention of the Council to the fact that this Alliance represents the organised consumers of the world in a manner that no other existing organisation can possibly do; its 104 National Unions, 100,000 Co-operative Societies and

50,000,000 members in 35 countries constitute an unique organisation of consumers whose force and influence upon world economic problems is very considerable, and of obvious importance in supporting such recommendations as those of the Economic Conference.

3. International Co-operative Women's Guild

a. Peace and Disarmament

(Proceedings, p. 109-110)

The Guild's public action has, as usual, been largely concerned with Peace and Disarmament, and in following up the resolution at Stockholm which affirmed the conviction of co-operative women that there can be no permanent security for World Peace except in total and universal disarmament and called on the national Guilds to collaborate with other organisations working for that object.

Our President was one of the speakers at a Conference on the Causes of War, arranged by the International Women's Suffrage Alliance at The Hague in the autumn of 1927 in which the Dutch Guild also participated.

Soon afterwards an opportunity for practical action arose in connection with the Soviet Government's proposals on the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations for complete and universal disarmament. The Guild secured signatures, representing some millions of individuals in 14 countries, to declarations urging that these proposals should be examined with the utmost care, and with the determination to bring before the International Disarmament Conference some concrete scheme for complete disarmament within a definite period of time. Copies of these declarations and the signatures attached were sent to the League Secretariat and to each member of the Preparatory Commission and are recorded in the official minutes of the Meeting.

At its meeting in Prague in 1929, the Committee adopted a resolution deploring the fact that in spite of the signing of the Kellogg Pact war-like preparations were dangerously increasing, and asking for an

immediate and drastic reversal of the policy of competition in armaments and the framing of a Convention to be submitted to the World Disarmament Conference providing for such reduction in armaments as would lead within a specified time to total disarmament. In a further resolution the Committee called upon all consumers' and workers' organisations of the world to take action in common to secure the fulfilment of the peoples' will on this supreme issue. All the national Guilds were asked to work in their own Movements to give effect to these resolutions which were also forwarded to other international, workers' and women's organisations and to the Press, while the International Co-operative Alliance was asked if they could take steps to secure action on the lines indicated. Unfortunately they felt unable to do so.

With a view to strengthening the more pacific attitude brought to the League of Nations by the British Labour Government the Committee sent a further resolution to the meetings of the Council and Assembly in September, 1929, again urging that the opportunity should be used to carry out the preparations necessary for complete disarmament, and demanding that all governments should support any proposal likely to bring about complete disarmament, from whatever quarter it might come.

The Guild was represented at the Congress of the International Peace Bureau in 1928, and of the Women's International League in 1929; and the Committee has co-operated during the last two years with the Joint Advisory Committee of Peace Organisations, a consultative body of progressive organisations working for International Peace.

b. Maternity and Child Care

(Proceedings, p. 110)

On the request of the English Guild the International Guild conducted an enquiry into the services provided in different countries for maternity and child welfare, with special reference to the work of the Co-operative Movement. The enquiry revealed, among other things, serious lack of comparable statistics and information on these services, so that it was impossible accurately to compare the position in different countries.

It was therefore decided to petition the League of Nations Health Committee and the International Labour Office to undertake jointly the collection and publication of the necessary information on this question. On receipt of this petition the International Labour Office at once indicated their willingness to assist, but in order to secure the collaboration of the League of Nations Health Committee a decision to this effect by the League Council was necessary. All national Guilds whose Governments are represented on the Council of the League were therefore asked to try and get the matter raised on the League Council. The English Guild brought the question before the Co-operative Party and they agreed to take it up with the British Foreign Secretary. At his request a copy of the petition was forwarded to the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, and at the time of writing it is under consideration by this body and the Health Committee.

Arising out of the same enquiry the Committee decided to make a further investigation into the relative decline of maternal and infant mortality with a view to seeing if further action on the question of maternal morality was desirable. The investigation is not yet completed.

c. Women's Nationality
(Proceedings, p. 110-111)

The Guild is co-operating with other International Women's Organisations on the question of the nationality rights of married women, particularly important for working women on account of the numerous marriages between men and women of different nationalities resulting from migration.

To urge the League of Nations to accept the principle that a woman, whether married or unmarried, has the same right as a man to retain or change her nationality, a demonstration in which the Guild is participating is to be held in connection with the first Codification Conference of the League of Nations at The Hague.

10. 14th Congress, London 1934

Resolution on Peace and Disarmament

(Proceedings, p. 112-198)

The PRESIDENT: The Central Committee have decided to include on the agenda the question of Peace. The General Secretary will submit the proposal.

The SECRETARY: The announcement that I have to make is extremely simple. The Executive, at its meeting on Saturday last, took into consideration with some concern, the fact that, while the question of Peace and Disarmament was embodied in its Report, the preparation of a suitable resolution for this Congress on the subject had been entirely overlooked.

Perhaps that was in part due to the difficulty which we have experienced during recent years in coming to any agreement between all the nation concerning a pronouncement not about peace but disarmament. From the press and from your own experience you will know quite well how great the difficulties have been in the Disarmament Conference itself in trying to arrive at an understanding or any formula which would satisfy all the nations; but the Executive were seriously concerned lest this Congress should close without some pronouncement upon universal peace as the basis of our co-operative ideals and enterprises, as well as the traditional policy on which the Alliance itself was founded. For these reasons, then, and also perhaps in view of the fact that the President of the Disarmament Conference had promised to pay us a visit, which he did this morning, the Executive decided to recommend the Central Committee to agree that a resolution reaffirming our traditional attitude, which, indeed, should be no longer in doubt, should be prepared.

We have tried to prepare a text that would express our inalienable adherence to the desire and aim of peace as the basis of our co-operative system and, at the same time, would avoid any reservation with

regard to disarmament which any nation represented here may have. Therefore, the text which you have before you has been prepared. While it cannot be regarded as an extraordinary manifesto, it at least reaffirms our position in terms that are unequivocal. The Central Committee hope that you will see your way to adopt it unanimously.

The text of the Resolution proposed by the Central Committee was as follows:

“Faithful to its Traditions, to its Principles and the Resolution of its Congress, the International Co-operative Alliance once again declares its indissoluble attachment to the cause of Peace and Disarmament.

It counts with complete confidence on all Co-operators in every country of the world to use every means and take advantage of every appropriate opportunity to obtain and safeguard a durable and universal Peace”.

Mr. A. A. DREJER (Denmark): On behalf of the Federation of Danish Co-operative Societies I would like to make a few remarks on the question of the resolution for world peace and for disarmament. I have already had the honor to explain to the Congress the Danish point of view as to the neutrality of the Alliance, that we are of opinion that the Alliance, as far as possible, should limit itself to purely co-operative questions and special co-operative work. We appreciate that the I.C.A., in our opinion, has made progress in that respect in recent years and, in spite of the fact that the work has not, in all respects, been carried out on the lines upon which we are working within the Consumers Co-operative Societies and also within the Agricultural Co-operatives of Denmark, we are still of the opinion that we are promoting co-operative interests by taking part in the work of the Alliance. We are a little disappointed that the question of disarmament is being dealt with here, because we are of opinion that disarmament is not a special co-operative question, and that the Alliance, for that reason, should not discuss it.

Need I say that this point of view is not dictated by any opposition to disarmament itself? Need I say that we in Denmark are friends of world peace and also of disarmament? When it is a question of our own

national policy, I hope it is not necessary to give you assurances in this regard. The only reason of our disappointment and the only reason why we feel that the question should not have been dealt with here, is that disarmament, in our opinion, is generally regarded as a political matter and, may be, a difficult one. It is, therefore, outside the sphere of the I.C.A.

It may be said that disarmament is of great importance for the Co-operative Movement and for the members of the Societies. Yes, of course it is; but not specially for us as Co-operators, as members and leaders of Societies of different kinds, and, I might say, as delegates here. Therefore, we are of opinion that this Congress is not the right forum for considering disarmament and not the right place for it. We shall, therefore, abstain from voting, and we believe that by doing our own special co-operative work we are contributing in the best manner towards world peace.

The PRESIDENT: I have still four speakers on my list. Will you agree that the discussion shall be closed after these four delegates have spoken? (Agreed).

Mr. I.A. ZELENSKY (U.S.S.R.): In our view the question of peace is a most important one. We regard the speech delivered by Mr. Arthur Henderson, and the raising of the question of active support for peace as very appropriate and opportune. The danger of a new imperialist war for the re-dividing of the world is greater at present than it has ever been before. War is being openly newspapers, and all capitalist countries are engaged in a feverish armaments race. It is quite clear that in Europe the main protagonist of war is German fascism which, with unprecedented celerity, is expanding her war industries and reviving militarist Germany. In Asia the initiator of war is Japan, invading China and manifestly preparing an attack on the U.S.S.R., while at the same time it menaces other countries with its plans of invasion and threatens to drag the whole world into a new war.

Faced with this extremely serious threat of war, the activities of the International Co-operative Alliance towards the safeguarding of peace

art altogether insufficient. The resolution adopted at Basle in 1933 cannot be regarded as a real effort towards the maintenance of peace. That resolution did not impose any obligation on anybody; it was capable of provoking, only indifference, and in no case could it mobilise the people in the cause of peace. In point of fact, all that the resolution said was: "Peace amongst men is the highest aim of civilisation; the tradition and goal of the International Co-operative Alliance and the world-wide depression which afflicts the world today." This resolution does not expose the actual instigators of war, neither does it rally the masses of workers to the banner of peace, nor indicate the necessary ways and means for safeguarding peace. Can such steps be called instruments in the struggle for peace? The safeguarding of peace should be the most important task of all Co-operative Organisations. Tens of millions of working men and women, organised in the Co-operative Movement, are animated by the desire, and are thoroughly alarmed by the danger of war which is now obvious to all. That is why the Congress should adopt a clear-cut programme of struggle for peace, a programme for marshalling everybody against the dangers of war, a programme of united action with all the workers organisations and in co-operation with all those who are honestly prepared to fight unfalteringly against the preparation of war and in the cause of peace.

Mr. Arthur Henderson was quite right in saying that the danger of war poisoned the present atmosphere, and that the last war brought about a financial and economic collapse in many countries. It may be added that the next war will land all countries into still worse horrors and catastrophes.

The working classes and the government of the U.S.S.R. have given numerous proofs of their unflagging will for peace. In its fight for peace the Soviet Union relies firmly upon the support of the working classes of all countries, and is prepared to give its support to every effort directed towards the maintenance and strengthening of peace. We, therefore, propose that the International Co-operative Alliance should adopt the following amendment :

- (a) To declare itself in favour of the complete abolition of armaments and general disarmament;
- (b) To bring home to the Co-operative community that the present

menace of war in Europe arises from the Nazification of Germany and, in the East, from the Japanese military cliques;

(c) To call upon all Co-operative Organisations to conduct amongst the workers a widespread campaign against fascism; against the danger of a new war; and against the piling up of armaments;

(d) To call upon all Co-operative Organisations to mobilise their members to offer energetic resistance to armaments and to all measures preparatory to war;

(e) To actively support all action by working class organisations calculated to strengthen peace; to assist the workers in their struggle against the war danger and fascism both within the borders of their own countries and in the international field”.

The Congress has raised a number of questions the solution of which is eagerly expected by the co-operative membership and the working population. It may be that the Congress, having raised these questions, will find itself in the position of certain of Shakespeare’s heroes who shrugged their shoulders in face of difficulties. It should be borne in mind that life cannot await our decisions only. Its contradictions find their solution in class struggle and in conflicts within capitalist groups. It is useless to go no further than the use of mere phraseology when war is knocking at the door. Mr. Henderson pointed out that the sympathy of the Co-operative Movement in the struggle for peace is not enough; practical support is needed.

Mr. A. STARK (Great Britain): In supporting this resolution on peace I wish to offer to the I.C.A. and to all the delegates some suggestions whereby international peace can be secured. It is no use passing resolutions unless you are prepared to work for those resolutions after you have passed them, and in my opinion all wars can be expressed in one word—greed! That one word can be sub-divided into two—business or trade, and markets. If you go into the causes of all past wars you will find that it was always either foreign markets or trading at home that needed boosting. By trade at home I mean the private interests, in the mines with regard to coal and steel, in shipyards and workshops for the manufacture of arms. When you see that a modern battleship costs ap-

proximately £6,000,000, and that at least from 20 to 25 per cent of that is profit, it is obvious that there is some incentive for hatred between nation and nation.

Now, I suggest that the I.C.A. could very well put into operation a programme to which no patriot could object. That programme is that the manufacture of the munitions and implements of war should be taken out of the hands of private speculators and should be a national concern; that no implements of human destruction should be exported to foreign powers; that no private profit shall be made out of the side-lines in manufacture, such as coal and iron and mining royalties.

Mr. E. POISSON (France): At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Alliance we unanimously agreed that a resolution on peace should be submitted to the Congress. In view of the traditions of the International Co-operative Alliance, the absence of any resolution on peace on an occasion like this would have signified the abandonment of an idea that the Alliance has never relinquished. But what I want to point out to you now is the delicacy of a problem such as peace and disarmament before this Congress. I earnestly desire peace and, above all, I hold that every possible step should be taken to avoid war.

Quite recently at Geneva we have seen wonderful demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of women; yet the Disarmament Conference is still trying to find a road to success. Because I am a Co-operator I am a realist; in the face of the frightful menace of war I cannot feel much admiration for pious resolutions. The fact that one's conscience rebels will not stop war.

There is only one way to prevent war – that is, by the international organisation of peace. And in that connection I recognise the logic of the Soviet reasoning. The Co-operative Movement cannot organise the ensure peace; it is a matter of politics, a great political question, to which every man of goodwill must devote himself. Political means must be used to organise peace. To raise within the Movement question of war and peace is to introduce war into the Movement, because of the divergent opinions here which come into operation. For example, if you wished to say here what you would do against war, you would have to

say if you desire unilateral disarmament or simultaneous disarmament; you would have to say if resistance to war should go to the length of refusing to take up military service and refusing to work in munitions factories. In fact, if you wished to take action against war you would have to concern yourself with all the problems which arise regarding its prevention. It would not be enough to express pious wishes. I do not say that conscientious protests are worthless, but do not forget that the Alliance cannot go beyond verbal expressions against war, beyond a general conscientious manifestation for disarmament.

For this reason I shall vote in favour of the resolution of the Central Committee.

Mr. F. MODRACEK (Czechoslovakia): I agree with the opinion expressed by the Soviet delegation that the proposed resolution on peace is inadequate, but we are not in a position at this Congress to deal with concrete proposals; that is not our task. We can only make a simple demonstration, and the practical means to carry it into effect must be left to politicians, the League of Nations, international conferences, etc. Now that the U.S.S.R. is going to join the League of Nations, it will be able to propose the means which are contemplated by the resolution before us. Of course, we cannot consider these means, but when the U.S.S.R. becomes a member of the League of Nations, the Russian representatives in the Central Committee will no longer be able to reproach us for our relations with the League. Further, I believe that in their endeavours for peace, the Russians will have the support of the women in all countries, since millions of signatures have been collected and sent to Geneva. Millions of signatures against war have also been collected in Czechoslovakia to support the efforts of the League of Nations.

We are surprised at the attitude of the Danish co-operators. The Czechoslovakian delegation is sincere in its advocacy of neutrality in the Co-operative Movement, or, perhaps better expressed, the independence of Co-operation from political parties and other connections. But this does not mean that as co-operators we must have nothing to do with world problems. It is true that with the adoption of such a modest resolution we will not banish war, but I must protest against any suggestion

that as co-operators we must not stand up for the maintenance of peace. We cannot allow this right to be taken from us. To take up an attitude against war is not a political question which concerns only diplomats and political parties, it is a question which concerns all peoples and therefore the whole of mankind, and as such it also concerns the Co-operative Movement. Co-operation has the right, as well as the duty, to denounce war, and for this reason the resolution which we are asked to adopt is quite opportune and as men and women we must vote for it.

The PRESIDENT: The discussion is now closed. We have before us two proposals; first the one from the Central Committee, which you all have before you; second, the amendment of the Soviet delegation, which has been read and which is proposed as an addition to the motion of the motion of the Central Committee. I will first put to the vote the amendment of the Soviet delegation.

The Soviet amendment was **rejected** by a large majority.

The PRESIDENT: I will now put to the vote the motion of the Central Committee.

The resolution proposed by the Central Committee was **adopted** with two or three dissentients.

11. 15th Congress, Paris 1937

1. Resolution on World Peace

(Proceedings, p. 126, 77-80)

That the pursuit of World Peace lies at the foundation of the International Co-operative Alliance and of every National Co-operative Movement is an axiom of Co-operations worthy of taking rank as its first Principle. It was primarily as a means of preserving Peace amongst Men that the Pioneers of International Co-operation undertook international journeys, and attended National Congresses as the missionaries of the Brotherhood of Man.

Ever since the Alliance was formed the idea of achieving Universal Peace has been the foremost of its impulses. The economics of Co-operation have provided the all-powerful means by which the ideal could

be attained. As the background and, in a large sense, the touchstone of our activities the promotion of Peace has a permanent in the programme of the I.C.A.

The last occasion on which the Alliance exerted its influence on world deliberations concerning Peace was at the opening of the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations in 1932, when its Declaration on Peace and Disarmament was presented to the Conference at Geneva, receiving due prominence in the proceedings. On every suitable occasion, however, the Alliance – either by its Congress, Central Committee of Executive; in its publications and manifestos; in its proposals concerning the celebration of “Co-operative Day” – reiterates its unremitting adherence to the necessity of using all the means at the disposal of the Co-operative Movement to support the efforts of Governments to realise Peace; to incite them to still greater efforts, and to the exercise of co-operative principles with the firm purpose of uniting humanity by the unbreakable ties of a family.

At London in 1934, rather resting upon its earlier efforts, the Congress was content to adopt the simple reaffirmation of its principles contained in the following text:

“Faithful to its Traditions, to its Principles and the Resolutions of its Congresses, the International Co-operative Alliance once again declares its indissoluble attachment to the cause of Peace and Disarmament. It counts with complete confidence on all Co-operators in every country of the world to use every means and to take advantage of every appropriate opportunity to obtain and safeguard a durable and Universal Peace”.

The resolution was given every possible publicity, and was sent to all the affiliated Organisations with the request that they would take appropriate action, locally and nationally.

When the Central Committee met at Prague in the autumn of 1935 it was in the midst of one of the series of crises which have menaced World Peace for the past decade, and which continue to threaten it with increasing severity. The Executive, having previously reviewed the situ-

ation, recommended to the Central Committee the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

“THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE, representing the Consumers’ Co-operative Organisations in 40 States, and over 100,000,000 affiliated members, assembled in Prague on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Alliance, and in presence of the greatest menace to Peace which the world has witnessed since the great war, declares:

1. Its unshakeable conviction that the fundamental condition of the true progress of civilisation and international understanding is Peace, based upon the mutual confidence and respect of the people.

2. That the pursuit of this ideal is one of the main purposes of our System of Economic Co-operation, and the initial impulse to the creation of the Alliance.

3. That the aims of Co-operation must be pursued without regard to frontiers, or limitations of colour, race or creed.

4. That, while the means of assuring World Peace are inherent in our Co-operative System, which is based on equitable association, it is necessary that in the present crisis co-operators should demonstrate their solidarity with the world organisation of the peoples in the maintenance of Peace.

THE ALLIANCE, therefore, calls upon its affiliated Organisations in every country to bring to the support of the League of Nations all the influence they possess, and to support the efforts now being made to secure Collective Security and Universal Peace”.

At Geneva in March, 1936, the Executive again considered the situation and felt it incumbent upon them to renew their efforts to voice co-operative opinion, which they did in the following terms :

“THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE representing the World Movement of Co-operation, assembled at Geneva in the presence of the latest European Crisis and the renewed menace of war, expresses its deep concern at the possibility of humanity being once again plunged into the mael-

strom of armed conflict with the criminal sacrifice of human life and of all the horrors and destruction which is entails.

The Co-operators of the World raise their voices in indignant protest against the failure of statesmanship and diplomacy to prevent the constant recurrence of crises which threaten to destroy civilisation itself; and deplore their inability to bring about an understanding between the nations which would lead to the settlement of international disputes and differences by the arbitrament of reason instead of by death-dealing weapons of war.

THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE declares its confidence in the system of Collective Security and Peace which the League of Nations is designed to achieve. It calls upon all Co-operators, and upon all people of good will in every land, to use their utmost endeavours to range their respective Governments in support of the League and the reinforcement of its efforts to establish Collective Security and Universal Peace”.

2. Declaration on Universal Peace Campaign

(Proceedings, p. 80)

Following a Conference held in Paris in April last year, organised by leaders of the Peace Movements of France and Great Britain, an International Bureau for the organisation of a Universal Campaign in Favour of Peace was set up. The Bureau consisted of representatives of National and International Organisations from more than a score of countries, chief amongst which were the Union of International Associations, Brussels, and the League of Nations Unions' Association. To this new and combined Organisations for the pursuit of Peace the I.C.A. was invited to become affiliated, and to be represented at a Conference to be convened in September.

The Organisation is based upon the four following principles:

1. The inviolability of the obligations arising out of Treaties.
2. The reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement; the suppression of profits by the production of, and the trade in, arms.

3. The strengthening of the League of Nations in order to prevent and to stop wars by the organisation of collective security and mutual assistance.

4. The creation – within the framework of the League of Nations – of efficient machinery for remedying international situations likely to provoke war.

The Executive at Vienna in June had the matter under consideration, but eventually decided to adjourn the question of official association with the Conference and its organisation. It was agreed, however, that Mr. Poisson should attend the Conference as an observer and report on the proceedings to the next meeting of the Executive.

The Conference was held at Brussels at the beginning of September, and the report of Mr. Poisson was considered by the Executive at Warsaw, when it was again decided to adjourn the question of affiliation. At Strasbourg, however, in February last, the Executive agreed to associate the I.C.A. officially with the work of the Universal Peace Campaign.

3. Resolution on the Spanish Situation

(Proceedings, p. 127-128)

“The Congress receives with deep concern the report on the situation of the Co-operative Movement in Spain, and expresses its profound sympathy with the Societies and their members who have suffered in the fratricidal conflict which has been waging in that unhappy country for more than a year past.

“The Congress also approves of the action taken by the Central and Executive Committees of the Alliance in launching Appeals for funds to aid the Spanish Co-operators in their distress. The need for this support is even more urgent at the present time and will surely be afforded.

“The representatives of the Co-operators of the World assembled at Paris express the fervent hope that effective measures may speedily be found for ending this dreadful conflict restoring Peace to the Spanish People”

12. 16th Congress, Zurich 1946

Resolution on Peace

(Proceedings, p. 178)

“The 16th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, assembled at Zurich, representing over one hundred million co-operators in nineteen countries, appeals to all National Co-operative Organisations to wage an implacable fight against the forces of aggression, and to all men and women of goodwill to urge their National Representatives to support the fulfilment of the solemn promises to mankind of Freedom, Peace, and Security embodied in the Atlantic Charter and subsequent pronouncements; further, it urges the implementation of the recommendations of the several United Nations Conferences and the creation of the Proposed International Security Organisation.

Congress deplures all forms of economic nationalism which endanger the future peace of the World and the destiny and lives of millions of men, women and children throughout the World; and appeals to the common people in all lands to influence and press their respective Governments to exercise their whole power in support of the ideals of equity, justice, and freedom. Congress affirms the necessity of continuing to work in the spirit of International Co-operative Solidarity, and for the strengthening of the unity of the International Co-operative Movement in the defence of liberty, democracy, and a just and lasting peace.

Congress adheres to its faith and firm belief that the problems which face the United Nations Conference can be solved by the exercise of the Spirit of International Co-operation to secure the establishment of a new world order and the future progress and security of humanity”.

13. 17th Congress, Prague 1948

Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 189-191)

The President: The next business is the Resolution on Peace. Two texts have been distributed; one, the original resolution of the Central Committee; the other, an amendment from the Soviet delegation. In accordance with the Rules, the amendment was considered by the Congress Bureau who, in view of its irreconcilability with the resolution, agreed that it be circulated and that both the resolution and amendment should come before Congress.

Subsequently, however, personal negotiations between members of the French and Swiss delegations and of the Soviet delegation have resulted in a proposal to maintain the text of the Central Committee after the deletion of the lines referring to the work of the United Nations Organisation within the social and economic orbit, and to add at the end of the Central Committee's text the two concluding paragraphs of the amendment.

The Congress Bureau have approved the submission of this new text which will be moved by Mr. M. Brot, France, and seconded by Mr. Timofeev, U.S.S.R.

Text of the Resolution

The 17th Congress of the I.C.A. emphasises a new that the strivings for the maintenance of a lasting peace are indissolubly inherent in the Co-operative Movement, which has been making steady progress since the last Congress, and unites evergrowing numbers of the broad masses of people in all Continents.

The Congress strongly stresses that it is the duty of Co-operation, in the present international situation even more than previously, to work for peace with all resources and energies at its disposal, make all contributions necessary for reconcilliation and understanding between the

peoples of the world, and unite in an unbreakable front against all forces active in weakening the foundations of a lasting peace.

The Congress recommends the National Organisations to strain their efforts to make the activities of the United Nations Organisation known to the fullest extent in all countries, and to bring pressure to bear on their governments to make their contributions towards bringing them into full effect.

The promotion of peace has been the task of Co-operation from its first origins and has found its expression in all its principles, its objectives and its activities. The barbarism of war, with its repercussions on the work of material and cultural progress of humanity, is also disastrous for the upholding of the ideals of freedom and democracy and for the realisation of the peaceful and democratic programme of the Co-operative Movement itself, as well as for the international collaboration within the co-operative ranks embodied in the International Co-operative Alliance. For the sake of human progress and to save the broad masses in all countries from unspeakable sufferings and destitution, Co-operators must, therefore, stand prepared to fight war by untiring united efforts.

The Congress urgently to the Co-operators of the world to raise their voices in the defence of peace, free progressive development of the Co-operative Movement, independence of nations and close collaborations between all peoples.

The Congress calls all National Co-operative Organisations to celebrate the traditional International Co-operative Day by mass meetings in their respective countries in support of peace and democracy and the raising of the standard of living of the toilers, and recommends them to take up the fight for peace in collaboration with Trade Unions and other democratic organisations.

Mr. M. Brot, France: The International Co-operative Alliance has never failed, at any of its Congresses, to pass a Resolution in favour

of Peace. We know, alas, that our common prayers have not been granted, since during the lifetime we have suffered two dreadful wars. But, today, the Alliance can do more than pray, for, by speaking directly within the organs of the United Nations, it can offer constructive solutions, especially regarding the distribution of raw materials which, as we all know, is one of the causes of war.

But at a time when we have great opportunities, two opposing Resolutions on Peace have been brought before Congress. Previously, at the Central Committee meeting in Rome the same opposition arose owing to political considerations in connection with a resolution on Peace. It would have been easy, here as in Rome, to oppose one Resolution against the other, but we decided that such a course was impossible, for those who are fighting for peace cannot fight among themselves. Such a situation would have been rally discouraging. We must not forget that we speak the same language – the language of Co-operation; we speak it with different accents, but we must all have this common language deep in our hearts, otherwise our International Co-operative Alliance would be like a Tower of Babel and there would be nothing for us but to divide. That is why we have sought for a compromise, and I must pay tribute to our Soviet friends for the goodwill they have shown in trying to come to an agreement. There was nothing in the Central Committee's Resolution to shock them but we have deleted the references to the work of the United Nations. We also found that the conclusion of the Soviet text was more forceful, and therefore we propose to add it to the Central Committee's Resolution.

I hope that the delegates will vote unanimously for this Resolution on Peace.

Mr. D.S. Timofeev, U.S.S.R., interpreted from Russian: I support the Resolution which has been moved by Mr. Brot. As this Resolution deals with Peace, I consider that it is necessary to refer to some questions which are related to this subject. The Soviet delegation cannot agree with the statements made by Mr. Grill on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. We have never thought that the American and English peoples want war, in fact we do not think that any nation wants war; but it is well known all over the world that in England as in America there

are supporters of war. We, therefore, call on the people of the whole world to engage in an unmerciful struggle against these war-mongers. No one here can give a single instance that the Soviet state during all the years of its existence has supported war. The Soviet Government has steadily continued to carry out a foreign policy based on fighting for peace in the whole world. We consider that it is not right to divide the world into East and West, and we have never done it ourselves, but it is well known to everybody that the world is actually divided into two camps. There is the democratic camp, which fights for peace, and there is the imperialist camp, which uses the methods of lying and slander to inflame a new war.

14. 18th Congress, Copenhagen 1951

Resolution on Peace

(Proceedings, p. 138-142)

The President: We will take as first business this morning the Resolutions on Peace. The first is a long, general resolution which reads as follows:

In pursuance of the efforts which the International Co-operative Alliance, since its creation in 1895, has persistently made for the establishment and maintenance in all countries of social and economic conditions conducive to mutual understanding and goodwill between the nations;

The delegates assembled at the Eighteen International Co-operative Congress proclaim their unshaken belief that real and lasting peace can be assured by the universal application of the fundamental principles of co-operation;

They reiterate those prerequisites for peace which were formulated in the Declaration of the International Co-operative Alliance for the Twenty-eighth International Co-operative Day, July, 1950:

That in every country of the world people shall enjoy freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom to elect their Government by democratic methods, freedom to create, administer and control their co-operative organisations according to the princi-

ples of Rochdale;

That the standards of living and economic development in the underdeveloped countries of the world shall be raised to a level more comparable with those of the advanced countries, particularly by the promotion of co-operation;

That those countries in membership with the United Nations shall continue to collaborate harmoniously for the fulfilment of the high aims of the world organisation in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and, in particular, for the implementation of the principle of free access to the raw material resources of world importance, and the frustration of all attempts on the part of profit-making cartels and combines to dominate or monopolise the production, utilization and distribution of these resources;

That there shall be created an effective international control over the manufacture, in every country of the world, of all types of armaments and instruments of war, including atomic bombs.

The Congress reassures the United Nations organisation of the whole-hearted resolve of the International Co-operative Alliance to continue its collaboration, with the unique force and influence of the World Co-operative Movement, in the carrying out of the programme and in the realisation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

I hope this resolution will find unanimous approval. Originally this text was combined with what is now the second resolution, which deals with the association of the I.C.A. with certain peace organisations. The suggestion was made that, as that might be a controversial matter, it was unwise to include it in the main resolution. The Congress Committee agreed, in the hope that the main resolution, which I now propose, would be accepted by all.

There is no need to remind Congress that from its very inception the Alliance has always placed in the forefront of its programme the cause of peace. I have little doubt that, if all the records of the Congress and meeting of the Central Committee of the Alliance were examined, it would be found that no other single question has evoked the interest and had the time given to it as the question of peace. In spite

of that, what do we find? Since the inception of the Alliance we have had two world wars. Today I do not think there is a single country where the great majority of people are not thinking about and wishing for peace, but, in spite of that, never was the world more unsettled and never was the fear of hostilities greater. Indeed, it seems strange that whilst on the one hand we have the great majority of the ordinary people of the world anxious and desirous for peace, many of them praying for peace, on the other hand we have this unsettled state and fear of war.

Your Executive had to face this issue when considering the Declaration for Co-operative Day in 1950. We knew that conferences were being held; we knew that millions of signatures were being collected by various organisations to what were called peace petitions; but, in our opinion, merely passing peace resolutions and shouting "Peace, peace" when there was no peace was not a realistic way of facing the position. We, therefore, endeavoured to take a rather different course, and a new course, and tried to place before the hundred million co-operators of all countries a plan which, if practised, might bring about peace.

That plan, in essence, is the resolution which you have before you. We believe that if peace is to be maintained certain world conditions which are stated in this resolution are necessary. I have not time to elaborate on each of the four conditions in detail, but I will refer to them in passing.

The first condition which the resolution lays down is that people of every country should be free people. I do not wish to be misunderstood here. This statement is not aimed at any particular country, or any group of countries, and, therefore, whatever your personal opinions may be, please look on this resolution as a declaration of principles, and not as a declaration aimed at any particular people. But we do believe, and we have the experience of the great catastrophe of 1939 to guide us, that a condition of peace is that people shall enjoy freedom. If the people of Germany had been free to express their opinions before 1939 and at the time of the catastrophe in 1939 that catastrophe would never have taken place. Therefore freedom is the first prerequisite for peace which we lay down.

The second concerns the economic conditions and the standard of living of great numbers of people. There are divided opinions on this. Some contend that the majority of the people of the world have a standard which is below a reasonable standard of living, but whether it is a majority or not does not matter; we know that in the world today there are scores of millions of our brother and sisters – I say that advisedly – who are living on a standard below that which would enable them to have a decent existence. While that continues we are bound to have a feeling of unrest.

The third condition relates to the United Nations, because it is the only organisation for its purpose which is in being today. That organisation may not be perfect; it may be possible to raise criticisms against this, that, or the other action taken by it; but if it is not perfect, it is our duty to try to make it perfect. The idea of the United Nations is perfect, and without a single word organisation peace would be impossible. We call for support for that one central organisation, and we call upon it to perform certain duties. One of the main duties to which we refer is that so far as those goods which are necessary to all the peoples of the world are concerned no country and no group of countries shall have a monopoly, but that there shall be free and fair access to the raw material resources of the world.

In our fourth point we deal with the question of all forms of preparations for war. It does not matter whether they are guns or bombs of what they are, because so long as there is the opportunity, as there is today, for unlimited armaments, the danger of war will be very great. I know, and this is the spirit that I am going to ask you to get away from this morning, that country A says “We must have more military, naval, and air forces, we must have more guns, we must set our best brains to work to produce more devilish forms of armaments than the world has ever known before, because country B or country C or D is going likewise.” We are all caught in that net; we are all having to do it, so it is said, because someone else is doing it, and so we shall go on and on until the day is reached when these devilish implements have been developed to such an extent that somebody determines that they have to be

tried out. We say, in our resolution, that some central organisation or authority, whether it be the United Nations or some more perfect organisation, if that is possible, must know the military preparations of every country in the world; it must know the armament position of every country in the world and be able to say to each, "According to your needs, your armaments, your military and naval power shall be so and so." That decision must be made by a central authority, and adequate measures taken to ensure that no country steps over the line.

With all the fervour I possess I wish to emphasize the importance of this resolution, and to say that if we could get the hundred million co-operators who are members of this Alliance convinced of, believing in, and working for these principles, they would accomplish much in every country and the fear and danger of war would recede considerably. In this hall, whatever our differences may be, I believe that here, how much more is it our duty through our Organisation, and with all the power which we possess, to make that an accomplished fact in all the countries in the world!

Mr. H. Taylor, Great Britain, formally seconded the resolution.

Mr. I. S. Khokhlov, U.S.S.R.: The Soviet delegation agrees with the decision of the Congress Committee to divide the original resolution into two parts. In our view, the resolution now before us is not sufficient and does not reflect what should be said on this question by the International Co-operative Movement. In the interests of the unity of all the groups within the I.C.A. the Soviet delegation suggests certain amendments.

The first amendment is that the second paragraph of the resolution should read :

"The delegates assembled at the Eighteenth International Co-operative Congress, in the face of the threat of a new war which once more menaces the life of the Co-operative Movement, reaffirm the resolution unanimously adopted by the Congress at Prague, in which it was emphasized that it is the task of co-operation more than ever before to fight for peace, using all the means at its disposal".

The second amendment is to add the words:

“That the countries members of the United Nations endeavour to restore the normal activities of the United Nations on the basis of the strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations,” and the third amendment is to add:

“That the I.C.A. and its affiliated organisations should contribute towards the establishment of normal economic and trade relations between the nations”.

These amendments are only a confirmation of the attitude which the Alliance has taken always in the past and I should like to ask that a vote shall first be taken on them.

There is also the question of the relations between the I.C.A. and the Partisans for Peace Movement. The second resolution confirms the attitude, which has been adopted of neglecting this world movement, and Congress is asked to reaffirm this same attitude for the years to come. Our fourth amendment, therefore, is:

“That the I.C.A. and its affiliated organisations support the appeal of the World Peace Congress and the conclusion of a peace pact between the five Great Powers”.

We make this suggestion having regard to the fact that this is one of the fundamental aspects of the problem of peace. We consider it necessary to confirm our attitude by moving this amendment, and we ask for a vote on it.

Mr. M. Brot, France: Having worked at Prague to achieve unanimity in the Peace Resolution, I feel it my duty to speak after our friend, Khokhlov, in order to clarify one or two points in the two resolutions before Congress, and to explain the spirit in which we have sought to persuade our Soviet friends to accept them. We divided the original text into two parts, by extracting one paragraph which is now submitted as the second resolution. In this way we hoped the first resolution would be wholly acceptable to our Soviet friends.

But they are now asking for several amendments, the first being that we should reaffirm the Prague Resolution. This is a particularly

delicate point, which bears on the second resolution. The Prague Resolution ended by inviting Co-operative Organisations, in their struggle for peace, to collaborate with other democratic Organisations. Now a certain abuse has been made of that recommendation, and the fact that the Alliance has been obliged to disassociate itself, for example, from the World Peace Movement proves that there is some misunderstanding on this point.

By approving the second resolution, Congress would approve the attitude taken by the authorities of the I.C.A. in not committing the Co-operative Movement to activities which, under the pretext of peace, have political aims. In an amendment which the French delegation will propose we ask that we should not speak only of the World Partisans of Peace Movement, but of any Organisation or Movement which under cover of peace seeks to further political aims.

As I have said, we do not accept the first amendment, which reaffirms the whole of the Prague Resolution, but in our first paragraph we have, on the contrary, recalled all the previous resolutions on Peace voted by Congresses.

The second amendment proposed by Mr. Khokhlov is a sort of "calling to order" of the United Nations, demanding respect for the rules of the Charter. On this point, in the last paragraph of the resolution, it is stated that the International Co-operative Alliance is resolved to continue its collaboration in the carrying out of the programme of the United Nations and in the realisation of the principle of its Charter.

As for stating that we are in favour of the re-establishment of normal trade and economic relations, this has been said in another resolution, and it has not been included in this text for the simple reason that the greater part of this is a repetition of the Declaration for International Co-operative Day. Our Soviet friends have not brought any criticism against the second resolution, and I would appeal to them to support this resolution, in order to show their goodwill and the unanimity of this Congress in favour of peace.

15. 19th Congress, Paris 1954

1. Declaration on Human Rights and Social Responsibility

(Proceedings, p. 109-110)

The economic policy and programme of the I.C.A. cannot be based on economic considerations alone. They depend for their practical application no less on political situations and tendencies, as well as on certain moral and cultural standards. Co-operation, as a form of free association, can exist and flourish only where the right to personal liberty is recognised and enjoyed.

The progress of the Movement in the world is dependent upon the maintenance of the rights of individuals to express their opinions, to take an active part in government, to enjoy such education as their abilities permit, to join with other individuals in the pursuit of common interests. The I.C.A. therefore, has every interest in urging the United Nations to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights through the two draft Covenants, dealing with political and with economic and social rights respectively, now under consideration. It is also the task of the affiliated National Organisations to secure the ratification of these Covenants by their own Governments. But co-operation implies not simply the assertion of rights or even their exercise; it implies the acceptance and discharge of responsibilities. The I.C.A.'s policy must accordingly include education, organised by itself and its affiliated Organisations, as well as collaboration with UNESCO and other appropriate agencies, designed to cultivate among the common people everywhere a sense of human solidarity, and a realisation of what that demands in terms of collective and individual conduct in a world no part of which to-day is more than 24 hours' flight from any other.

The external policy of the I.C.A. outlined in the foregoing paragraphs may be summarised under the following heads:

1. The removal of all legislative and administrative hindrances to the normal growth of co-operative enterprise and the development of inter-co-operative relations on the national and international levels;
2. The progressive abolition of governmental restrictions on enter-

prise and trade, particularly quota systems, state monopolies in foreign trade and complicated customs regulations;

3. The co-ordination of economic policy on the international level so as to facilitate multilateral exchanges and payments, to liberate forces making for an expanding world economy and to enable national economies to employ their human and material resources to the full and thereby benefit by a continuous rise in their standards of living;

4. Collaboration with international authorities concerned with basic problems of world economy, e.g. nutrition, so as to promote solutions which proceed on co-operative lines from the study of consumers' needs to the adjustment of production to consumption;

5. The stabilisation of world prices of staple commodities through long-term international agreements which take into account the interests of both consuming and producing countries;

6. The representation of the interests of consumers and primary producers, from the preparatory stage on wards, on the authorities set up to establish and administer new economic communities;

7. The formation of enterprises, both governmental and non-governmental, inspired by co-operative principles to ensure the access of all countries on equal terms to raw materials of world importance as well as the economical production and distribution of these materials;

8. Full support for the United Nations in implementing, through International Covenants, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

9. The promotion, in conjunction with UNESCO, other international and non-governmental Organisations, of education making for international understanding, a widely diffused sense of human solidarity and an acceptance of the responsibilities of world citizenship.

2. Resolution on Peace

(Proceedings, p. 82-85)

The 19th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance:

Viewing with the gravest concern the menace to peace from intensive competition in the invention and adoption of ever deadlier and more destructive methods of warfare;

The growing danger to the common people, carrying on their peaceful

occupations, caused by experiments and exercises with such methods of warfare;

Also the drain on national economies resulting from the withdrawal from productive labour of workers kept under arms and the allocation of industrial resources to arms manufacture, thus retarding the rise in the standard of living;

Appeals to the Governments of the world

To renew their efforts, through the United Nations, to reach agreement on the limitation of armaments of every type, as a step towards total disarmament;

To create an impartial and effective organisation for the inspection and control of arms and arms production within all nations;

To speed up every measure, national and international, for the relief and eventual abolition of poverty and economic insecurity;

To co-ordinate their economic policies so as to promote international exchange, the full employment of all human and material resources, a steady economic expansion; and to offer the common people the certain prospect of peace with abundance.

Congress calls upon the Co-operators of the whole world, through their Co-operative Organisations, to work with the utmost energy for the attainment of these objectives.

The President: The Central Committee's resolution on Peace will be moved by Mr. Brot.

Mr. Marcel Brot, France: We have the good fortune to present to Congress a resolution unanimously accepted by the Central Committee. The text is in three parts. The first paragraph refers to the menace to peace arising from the invention and adoption of ever more deadly and destructive methods of warfare; the second paragraph to the growing danger caused by experiments and exercises with such methods of warfare; and the third emphasises the burden which arms manufacture imposes on national economies. The resolution then appeals to Governments to limit armaments of every type, as a step towards total disarmament; to create an impartial and effective organisation for the control of arms and arms production; to speed up measures for the relief and eventual abolition of poverty and economic insecurity; and to co-ordinate their economic policies to promote international exchange, full employ-

ment of all human and material resources and economic expansion, so as to offer the prospect of peace with abundance. The last paragraph of the resolution is an appeal to the co-operators of the whole world to work with the utmost energy for the attainment of these objectives.

I repeat that this text was unanimously adopted by the Central Committee. Proposals were made to mention this or that form of armament for special condemnation, but we all agreed that, as certain arms such as atomic weapons are particularly envisaged, it was preferable to refer to armaments of every type.

In the Congress Committee we examined, also, the other two resolutions on peace which have been circulated. The first of these, from the Japanese Consumers' Co-operative Union, after giving a description of the terrible sufferings of the Japanese people, asks for special action against the types of weapon responsible and for the immediate cessation of experiments with them. In my view, the aims of Japanese co-operators are adequately assured by the Central Committee's resolution, and it is desirable that the Japanese resolution should be withdrawn because we should not like a vote against it to be interpreted as expressing disagreement with the ideas which it contains.

With regard to the Roumanian resolution, we cannot in a resolution on which we seek unanimous agreement ask Congress to approve this or that project presented by this or that country.

In the name of the Central Committee I ask Congress to vote for the resolution which I have had the honour to move.

The President: I will now ask the representatives from Japan to speak on their proposal as an amendment to the resolution of the Central Committee.

Mr. S. Tanaka, Japan: moved the following amendment:

World co-operators consider that, in the interests of lasting world peace and the well-being of mankind, it is their duty to initiate a world-wide campaign against weapons, to appeal not only to the United Nations and all the Governments in the world, but also to all Co-operative

Societies comprised within the I.C.A. and their individual members, to demand:

The immediate cessation of hydrogen bomb experiments;

The abandonment of every type of atomic weapons and the prohibition of their production.

Effective international control of atomic energy for peaceful uses.

The Japanese Consumers' Co-operative Union wishes to place before Congress this proposal for the abolition of atomic and the immediate cessation of hydrogen bomb experiments, which is the earnest desire of all the common people of Japan and the reason for which I have been sent to this Congress.

We Japanese experienced the most terrible suffering in human history from the atomic bomb destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the last days of the second world war, when 250,000 lives were lost in two minutes. In view of the mortal wounds inflicted upon our people, we have been appealing for "No more Hiroshima" to all people who desire lasting world peace.

Again and again, however, experiments with hydrogen bombs have been made on Bikini in the Pacific. Although it is said that they have been carried out under a careful scheme, they have brought horrible suffering not only to the people in the Bikini area, but also to Japanese fishermen, who have been afflicted with an incurable atomic disease. Also, according to the report of the investigation ship which recently returned from the Pacific, the sea areas are poisoned by radio-activity, and Japanese fishing is seriously affected. In the market so many fish with radio-activity have been found that Japanese consumers are in danger of losing the main source of proteins for the daily food. Recently it has become apparent that vegetables, and even milk, have been poisoned by radio-activity in the rain, which has also brought the fear of atomic disease directly to the people.

We believe that if experiments with the hydrogen bomb were continued it would mean not only the immediate destruction of the people's well-being but also, in the near future, the fatal end of human existence. Therefore, in Japan not only the national and local Diets but Trades

Unions. Co-operative Organisations, Women's Associations and all other organisations have decided to press for the prohibition of experiments with the hydrogen bomb, and a nation-wide campaign against atomic weapons is spreading like wild-fire.

Japanese co-operators desire to submit the foregoing facts to their fellow-co-operators throughout the world; to propose that the 19th International Co-operative Congress should discuss the evils of atomic weapons upon human beings and, reaffirming the resolution of the Copenhagen Congress, should pass the amendment I have proposed.

Mr. K. Aoki, Japan: I wish to support the amendment proposed by Mr. Tanaka, that an appeal for the abolition of atomic weapons and the prohibition of experiments with the hydrogen bomb be explicitly contained in the peace resolution. This is the unanimous wish of the Japanese people, who will never forget the terrible experiences they have suffered. We consider it our duty to make every effort to prevent the rest of the world becoming the victims of a similar disaster and the world being turned into an abattoir. This problem is the principal preoccupation of the co-operators of our country, not only because of the frightful happenings of the last war, but because of the actual menace at the present time. The Japanese have suffered terrible damage from the series of experiments with the hydrogen bomb at Bikini. It is not necessary to describe the damage, because you understand what has happened, and Mr. Tanaka has spoken about it. The experience may be repeated if further experiments are carried out. I hope our amendment will be adopted by the unanimous vote of co-operators of all countries.

The President: I should like to repeat to our Japanese colleagues the statement which I made yesterday at the meeting of the Congress Committee, namely, that the whole of their effective recommendations are covered in the Central Committee's resolution. Their amendment is only concerned with the atomic bomb, whereas the resolution is concerned with all forms of warfare and all types of bomb. I do not know whether I can ask them, in order that we may have unanimity, to withdraw their amendment after having moved and supported it, and to vote for the resolution.

Mr. Aoki: We wish our resolution to be specifically mentioned in the Report of Congress, but we will not insist on it being regarded as an amendment to the Central Committee's resolution.

The President: We can all agree that the Japanese resolution will be included in the report of the proceedings, and I thank Mr. Aoki and Mr. Tanaka for helping us out of a difficulty, because we did not want to vote against them. I, therefore, declare that the Japanese amendment has been withdrawn.

I also asked the Roumanian delegates yesterday to withdraw their resolution, because I feel that everything that is in it is in the Central Committee's resolution, except for that part which seeks to tie the Alliance to the policy of the U.S.S.R. Obviously we cannot agree to that, and it must be turned down. To imagine it is going to help the cause of peace by seeking to tie an International Congress to the policy of one country is to waste our time, to make a mistake and to do harm to the cause which those who make the proposal have at heart. I again appeal to the Roumanians not to split Congress on an issue of that kind. Will they respond in the way that the Japanese have done?

16. 20th Congress, Stockholm 1957

Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 128-133)

The President: We now come to the resolution of the Central Committee on Peace. A small committee considered this resolution, and the Executive then also gave it consideration. Comments were made, and we were able to reach unanimous agreement on the text, which has been distributed to you and which I will read:

The 20th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance meeting in Stockholm from the 4th to 7th August,

Recalling that since the foundation of the Alliance in 1895 its Congress has persistently declared the will of Co-operators for universal

peace and understanding between the nations of the world,

Makes appeal,

To all Governments to create such economic and social conditions as will prevent future wars;

To the Governments which to-day are producing atomic and hydrogen bombs, and other types of nuclear weapons, for the immediate cessation of the invention, manufacture and testing of these weapons, as well as for the destruction of existing stocks, under adequate international supervision, inspection and control, in order to lessen the mental strain and suffering which their present policies are causing to the peoples of the whole world;

To the Governments, of all countries to work with greater determination, through the United Nations, for the limitation of armaments of all types, for their adequate international inspection and control, also for the enforcement upon all nations of total prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

To the United Nations to adopt a more courageous and decisive attitude towards any member Government which, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, may deny to its own or any other people their basic human rights.

Finally, the 20th Congress appeals to every Co-operative Organisation and to co-operative public opinion to press for the development of the peaceful uses of atomic power, and of all scientific inventions, as a means of improving the living standards of the people and of assuring future peace.

I move the resolution on behalf of the Central Committee. Before putting it to the vote, a number of delegates wish to speak.

Mrs. M. I. Gorelovskaya, U.S.S.R.: The Soviet delegation supports the resolution on Peace submitted by the Central Committee of the Alliance, since it takes into account, on the whole, a number of proposals made by a number of co-operative organisations. Although, of course, one could make a few individual remarks about it, I feel that we should unanimously adopt this important resolution. To-day the problem of defending peace and of banning the production of and experiments with atomic weapons, and of disarmament, is a problem of vital importance

for the countries of the whole world. The whole world knows that the Soviet Union is constant and persistent in its efforts to bring about a ban on atomic tests, a ban on atomic weapons, the destruction of existing stocks, and the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes.

The Co-operators of the Soviet Union feel that the Co-operative Movement can achieve its aims only in an atmosphere of peace, and only in this way can we achieve an improvement in the well-being of the people. The Soviet Co-operators, therefore, are glad to support the ideas contained in this resolution. It is perfectly clear that the Co-operators of all countries, independently of their structure, must support the struggle against war.

The greater part of the population of the world is fully aware of the great dangers presented by the arms race in the world and by the increased production of nuclear weapons. The peoples of the world are particularly concerned by the fact that atomic tests are not only not being slowed up but, on the contrary, are taking place more and more frequently. Every atomic explosion brings back to our minds the horrors which were experienced by the first victims of atomic bombardment, the peoples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We recall also the horrors experienced by the Japanese fishermen who have been subjected to radio activity due to the experiments in the Pacific. These experiments are a great danger. Nuclear weapons are a terrible danger to future generations. That is why people of varying political and religious opinions, of different races and nationalities, insist on the cessation of atomic production for weapons of war. The Co-operative Women's Guild, the British Co-operators, the Japanese Co-operators and the Soviet Co-operators are all in favour of these ideas.

That is why the Soviet delegations submitted a draft resolution for banning the production of atomic bombs and for banning tests. We Soviet Co-operators, as members of the World Co-operative Movement, feel that the I.C.A., whose aim is to contribute to mutual understanding between the Co-operators of all countries, and whose aim is to strengthen the cause of peace, must add its voice to the voices of all those organi-

sations which are struggling to secure the banning of atomic tests.

Nevertheless the adoption of a resolution is not enough. We feel that we should approach the question in such a way as to support the world movement of the partisans of peace. Inasmuch as we are struggling for peace, we feel that we should bring pressure to bear upon the Governments which will not accept the ideas contained in our resolution and which hesitate to destroy the stocks of atomic weapons. We feel that that is the duty of all Co-operators.

We here represent an enormous number of people. We feel that our governing organs, the Executive and the Central Committee, should at every meeting raise the question of what progress has been achieved in implementing the resolution upon which we are to vote. I feel that today we must unanimously adopt this resolution. We shall thereby make a valuable contribution on behalf of Co-operators to this world struggle for peace throughout the world.

The President: There is a time factor involved, and I ask those support the resolution to be as brief as possible.

Mrs. B. Machacova, Czechoslovakia: The Czechoslovak delegation is particularly satisfied and happy to see that the I.C.A. is so categorical and so firm in the solution proposed for the terrible problem of atomic weapons. We are convinced that the members of all co-operatives will agree to the I.C.A. joining the protest movement all over the world, the aim of which is to put an end to the production and testing of atomic weapons. This general movement of protest is supported by eminent people throughout the world, such as Dr. Schweitzer, and the women's organisations are also joining in the protest. The peoples of all countries protest against these horrors, and in particular the people of Japan, who were the first victims of atomic explosions. Mankind must demand that countries and Governments should undertake not to use atomic weapons, and should insist on these Governments undertaking to use atomic energy only for useful ends.

The Czechoslovak delegation supports the resolution. It is convinced that millions of Co-operators throughout the world will find inspiration in this resolution and will join in the struggle against weapons, and for world peace.

Mr. S. Nakabayshi, Japan: The Japanese delegates from the Consumers' Co-operative Union and from the Central Union of Agricultural Co-operatives strongly support this resolution for the banning of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We have a terrible memory of the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and we welcome the initiative which the Alliance is taking in this matter. It is because of this that the Japanese delegates support this appeal with gratitude, and hope that every delegate will support the resolution.

It may be difficult for other nations to realise how terrible the result of these bomb is. Even to years later their dreadful influence still remains, and we are very much afraid of the effects of the explosion of these bombs in some peaceful city of your countries. We sincerely hope that you can understand the terrible consequences, in the true sense of the world. This is a question of life or death, of the very existence of human beings. The development of the I.C.A., its welfare policy and friendly co-operation for mutual progress are things which can be discussed only when we live in a peaceful world. Unfortunately, however, on account of misunderstanding, we have not yet reached any unanimous agreement of world opinion. As the first nation to be subjected to atomic bombing, we firmly believe that atomic power must never be used for destructive purposes and should be allowed only for peaceful uses. This is our firm belief. We should agree to this resolution unanimously, in order to promote peaceful trends in this world.

This declaration is based on the Japanese proposals, and we hope that every delegate will support it, so that we may obtain a ban on the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. We put forward another resolution with this object in view, but in view of the resolution now before us, which the President has moved, we think that our resolution

is unnecessary and we ask leave to withdraw it.

The General Secretary: I have to inform you that in the Russian text, only, of the Peace resolution the following words have omitted in the second paragraph of the appeal: "under adequate international supervision, inspection and control." You will find that those words are in the English, French and German texts, but unfortunately in the Russian text that phrase has been omitted.

The President: I call on Mr. Charbo. We have very little time, and I shall be grateful if those who wish to speak in support of the resolution will stand down, to make it possible for us to speed up our work.

Mr. J. J. A. Charbo, Holland: The proposed resolution is a plea for disarmament in order to ensure future peace and to lessen the present mental strain and suffering. We cannot support such a resolution unless we are prepared to support a plea for peace and for disarmament. Disarmament, though it may be essential for this extremely important purpose, is not by itself sufficient for the cessation of mental strain and the fear of war. The resolution refers to the will of Co-operators for universal peace and understanding, and is quite right in so doing; but when, last November, the Soviet Union started its aggression against the Hungarian people, no voice was heard by which the Russian Co-operators expressed their will to leave their Hungarian neighbours in freedom and peace. Far from bringing pressure to bear on their Government, as Mrs. Gorelovskaya wants us to do, they defended the aggression by their Government. This aggression was defended explicitly by the Russian Co-operative Movement.

The President: I think that these are things which you should have said when we dealt with the Hungarian problem. I do not think that this has anything to do with the resolution on Peace.

Mr. Charbo: I am trying to explain the reason for our attitude on the vote for this resolution. If I am not allowed to continue, we shall be unable to do so. If I may continue, I want to say that on behalf of the

Russian Co-operative Movement information was given on the attitude of the Western Co-operators, of leading Western Co-operators, in a consciously misleading way. This was their manifestation of their will for peace and understanding. In these circumstances it does not make sense, in our opinion, to try to find words which will cover up a fundamental difference in thinking and in willing, and therefore the Netherlands delegation, very much to its regret, will abstain from voting on this proposed Peace resolution.

The President: I personally regret very much the attitude of the Dutch delegation. The pessimistic conclusion of Mr. Charbo's statement is war. We want to avoid a pessimistic conclusion. We refer to the mental strain and suffering caused by the armaments race and the race in atomic weapons. On behalf of the Alliance we must try to counteract this strain and recognise the need for Governments to show good will in pursuing disarmament, and we say twice in this resolution that we want disarmament which will be effectively controlled. I therefore appeal to you to be unanimous in supporting this resolution.

Mr. B. J. Patel, India: This is a very important resolution, and it is so vital and so urgent that we should readily accept the appeal made by our President and pass it unanimously. I energetically support the resolution in its entirety; but in supporting it I would remind you and the Co-operators of the world of the responsibility which lies upon us. We are for peace; we want peace to be established in the world. One of our objects is to work for the establishment of lasting peace and security. By passing this resolution we are really trying to establish peace, but in fact we are trying in a merely negative way to work for peace.

We ask the Governments of the countries of the world to work for peace. I have no objection to making an appeal to the Governments of the world. The Governments of the world will try to establish peace in their own way. They have tried up to now without success. They are always unsuccessful. They are politicians and diplomats, who always try to build up pacts against each other to establish peace in the world, and they are not so successful as we desire. But we Co-operators have

our own way of building up peace, not the political way, not the military way, but our way is a constructive way. We should try to build up peace not by appealing to politicians and diplomats so much as by appealing to ourselves.

We build up peace in the world by the economic development of all parts of the world. We can establish peace which will be everlasting if we release the minds of the citizens of the world from the ideas of disputes and competition. Our task is to built up co-operation, joint action. We do not believe in disputes or quarrels and we do not believe in competition.

While we should pass this resolution, therefore, the Co-operators of the world should be reminded that theirs is a positive role which they are required to play; by mutual help they must build up the economic position in all parts of the world. If we succeed in this, it will be the surest way to establish peace.

It is gratifying to find that the Alliance is conscious of the need for this approach and in fact in this Congress we are to have a wonderful paper by Mr. Johansson, who has suggested his way, the co-operative way, the positive way, the constructive way which we must all take. If we follow up the submissions made in his paper we shall be able to make a great contribution to the establishment of peace in the world. I hope, therefore, that while making an appeal to other institutions and to Governments, we shall not forget our duty mutually to assist each other. Some American co-operators have told me that one definition of Co-operation is that one helps oneself by helping others. If we try to help others, instead of disputing and quarrelling with others, in my opinion we shall help ourselves, and we shall have peace which will be everlasting.

The President: I do not want to add any comments to the statement which have been made. What Mr. Patel has just said is perfectly true. The Co-operative Movement must seek to develop Co-operation throughout the world; but while we are working to this end, the explosions may take place, and these bombs can destroy all our work. That is why we have paid so much attention on this occasion to immediate measures of disarmament.

Mr. P. Takov, Bulgaria: In this century, science and technology are opening up new horizons of well-being to mankind. Mankind is reaching the heights of its greatest aspirations. We feel that every country should try to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes. During our lifetime, however, we have seen a different trend. In recent years science has made many new discoveries. The atom has been split, but this discovery of the human mind, which could be so beneficial to mankind, has now become a terrible threat of man's annihilation to all people. It has been stated that the explosive power of one hydrogen bomb is equal to the explosion of some 10,000 tons of the most powerful explosive known hitherto, and it has been established that an atomic explosion can have terrible after-effects.

Millions of Co-operators throughout the world look to this Congress to overcome differences of opinion and to realise the dramatic importance of solving this terrible problem. I hope, therefore, that we shall unanimously agree to vote for the abolition of all atomic weapons, in order to save civilisation and to ensure peace and friendship among the peoples for the good of our children and of future generations.

Mr. Cerretti: The aim which you were pursuing, Mr. President, of obtaining a unanimous vote on this resolution, was interrupted by a statement which was quite unnecessary and does not come within the framework of the question which we are discussing. I support this resolution. The struggle for peace is the fundamental basis of the Co-operative Movement and the hope of all the men and women in our movement. The resolution seeks the banning of atomic weapons, leading to final disarmament. I feel that these questions should be dealt with in order to satisfy the aspirations of all Co-operators.

I should like to draw attention, however, to a formula which I find misleading and erroneous. We ask all Governments to create such economic and social conditions as will prevent future wars. In the Central Committee it may be that this question was not fully understood. How can capitalist Governments, for instance, take action against monopolies? I feel, therefore, that we should appeal to all nations instead of to all Governments.

Secondly, the President has appealed to us to pass the resolution unanimously. I agree with that fully, but I fear that it may raise certain doubts. We are anxious to come to an agreement, but the situation is changing all the time, and particularly in the direction advocated by the Alliance. I have in mind the increasing pressure which is being brought to bear by the peoples on their Governments to realise the need to get together and come to an understanding. The peoples must learn to understand each other and the Co-operative Movement must try to ensure such mutual understanding. These factors are bound to contribute to strengthening the cause of peace. Even if we were alone, we Co-operators, in stating our will for peace, we should not be discouraged, because we are convinced that our cause is right and that Co-operation can progress only if there is peace.

The President: The debate is closed. I do not think that Mr. Cerreti will insist on his suggested amendment of the text, which would raise the whole discussion all over again. Governments in the democratic countries are set up by Parliaments, and it is to the Parliaments that we have to appeal. I now put the resolution to the vote. Those in favour will raise their hands. Are there any against? There are none. In view of what happened yesterday, I ask those who abstain to raise their hands. Only the Dutch delegation abstain. I am very sorry to see that they do so.

The resolution was carried without dissent.

17. 21st Congress, Lausanne 1960

The President: We now come to the resolution proposed by the Central Committee. There is only one, that on Peace. On this question the Executive proposed a text to the Central Committee and the Central Committee examined it and it was approved unanimously by all the delegations. I move the resolution on behalf of the Central Committee.

Resolution on Peace
(Proceedings, p. 120-121)

At its 21st Congress the International Co-operative Alliance, in the name of its 148 million members, addresses itself to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations

TO DECLARE its conviction that the creation of conditions which will weaken the will to aggression, reduce tension, and open ways to peaceful co-existence of all nations, must be the overriding aim of world statesmanship;

AND TO URGE

The resumption at the earliest possible moment of negotiations for a general agreement on universal and complete disarmament under an efficient system of inspection and control;

The increase of the technical and financial resources available and the acceleration of all measures which will permit the United Nations to help newly emancipated peoples in their economic and social progress.

The Congress reiterates the deep conviction of the International Co-operative Alliance that the United Nations must be reinforced in authority and effectiveness, as the indispensable means whereby the security of all nations, and especially the dignity and independence of those nations which have recently attained self-government, can be guaranteed.

Mr. V. C. Parashar, India: I want to say a few words on this resolution. I wanted it to be elaborated and to say something about preventing the nations from adding to the existing tension. In the paragraph beginning "The resumption..." I wanted to add, after "system of inspection and control," the words, "and in the meanwhile nothing should be done which would endanger peace and increase the tensions between nations." Again, the resolution refers to the newly-emancipated peoples, but it does not say anything about the nations which are not yet free. I think that it should be made possible for the United Nations to provide all the

necessary technical and other assistance to those countries which still await freedom. I do not want to say more, because otherwise the resolution is very clear and I recommend Congress to accept it.

The President: This resolution was accepted by all the national delegations, but now you are beginning to discuss it all over again. You will readily understand that at this stage we want to send a unanimous message to the United Nations. I ask those who speak not to discuss commas or split hairs.

Dr. M. Bonow, Sweden: For the very reason indicated by the President, that this is a resolution which has been unanimously adopted by the Central Committee, on which all the movements affiliated to the Alliance are represented, I move that the question be now put.

The President: I put the resolution to the vote by show of hands, but first I shall read it. It has been the custom to address the Peace resolution to our members, but this is an exceptional occasion, because both the Congress of the Alliance and the General Assembly of the United Nations are sitting at the same time. We feel, therefore, that the Congress should address itself directly to the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in the terms of a unanimous resolution. *The President then read the resolution and put it to the vote. A vote by show of hands having been taken, he said: I declare the resolution carried unanimously (Applause).*

18. 22nd Congress, Bournemouth 1963

Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p.101)

The President: I have now the pleasure to submit the resolution of the Central Committee on disarmament and peace:

The 22nd Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance declares its belief that one of the most urgent problems of today is to

establish lasting peace and security on earth, a world without arms and without wars, and to create among the peoples confidence in their own future and in the future of generations to come.

The Rules of the I.C.A. state, as one of its principal aims, that it will contribute to the establishment of such a world. This corresponds entirely to the interests and aspirations of all co-operators in all countries, who, like all mankind, demand to be liberated from the honors of war which still threaten them.

The Congress observes with satisfaction that efforts made at the present time to prevent thermo-nuclear war, to reach general and complete disarmament, and to establish world peace, have attained unprecedented scope in all corners of our planet and form the essence of the life and activity of peace-loving people.

Every step towards this lofty goal is warmly welcomed by the peoples of the world, like millions of co-operators, whole-heartedly welcomed the Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under the ocean and in outer space, an historic document signed by over 100 nations. The peoples see in this Treaty a heavy strain on their resources. The Treaty will undoubtedly serve as a positive factor in the fight for peace and as a bulwark against the threat of a new war. It is the first step towards the complete banning of tests, production, storage and use of atomic weapons.

The Congress expresses its hearty approval of the Treaty and calls upon all the co-operators of the world to work for general and complete disarmament. It looks forward with confidence to the time when the productive resources now devoted to armaments and warlike preparations will be applied to the constructive tasks of banishing hunger, want and economic insecurity from the world.

The resolution comes to Congress with the unanimous recommendation of the Central Committee that it be adopted, and it will be seconded by Mr. Klimov and Mr. Southern, the Vice-Presidents of the Alliance.

Mr. A. Klimov, U.S.S.R.: I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution. All men of goodwill are happy that a Treaty to ban nuclear tests has been concluded, because it is regarded as a very important

factor to removing the threat which nuclear tests represent. The Treaty is an excellent opening to a new era and shows the way for the solution of international problems through negotiations. It also shows clearly what can be achieved by progressive forces which are in favour of peace and co-existence. Millions of co-operators throughout the world have made their contributions to this end, believing that peaceful co-existence of countries of different economic and social systems will continue to develop. Today, when the world is divided into two camps, such an attitude is of the utmost importance and meets the requirements of the whole world.

We must continue to work to promote further collaboration for disarmament. The banning of nuclear tests shows that with goodwill all problems can be solved and I believe the problem of complete and general disarmament can be solved in the same way.

19. 23rd Congress, Vienna 1966

Resolution on Peace

(Proceedings, p. 111)

The 23rd Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, in the name of its 206 million members,

Confirms that the International Cooperative Movement is conscious of its duty to dispel the anxiety of making faced with possible destruction by war, and declares its ardent will for world peace;

Further confirms its belief that war today is more hateful than even before in the history of mankind, and urges all forces of peace in the world to act together, consistently and with energy, so that world peace will be secured;

Emphasises that peace is the requirement for economic and social development and the fundamental condition of all progress of mankind;

Acknowledges the forces of peace operating in the world today; confirms its belief in the work of the United Nations Organisation; salutes the wisdom and humanity of those statesmen who seek to settle international disputes by negotiation and peaceful methods and who reject war as an instrument of state politics in our time;

Exhorts the Governments of the world to accept the rule of international law and give their support, financial and moral, to international peace keeping forces; and

Declares that the moral forces which stem from the hundreds of millions of Cooperators throughout the world are constantly supporting all policies, including test bans on nuclear weapons, for a realisation of the paramount need of humanity for disarmament and peace under effective and practical international control, thus realising productive resources, now devoted to armaments, for urgent diversion to the task of reducing hunger, want, economic insecurity and the threat of imminent famine which are casting their dark shadows over the world.

20. 24th Congress, Hamburg 1969

Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 99-105)

The 24th Congress of the ICA, representing 230 million cooperators through the affiliated organisations,

RECALLS its resolutions adopted at previous Congresses;

CONFIRMS its belief that the most urgent problem in the world is the establishment of peace, for without it human survival is threatened, and the process of economic development and social progress are obstructed;

REAFFIRMS its will to promote harmony between all races and peoples, to which end Co-operation has a special a special contribution to make;

ACKNOWLEDGES the work done by the United Nations in this field;

CALLS ON governments to desist from such unilateral actions which are likely to endanger peace, and instead to support and strengthen the UN in its efforts to reduce tension; and

ASKS its member Organisations to do all they can to influence their national governments to support the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and all measures for disarmament so that condi-

tions may prevail which will enable all people to work peaceably for a higher standard of living and for the elimination of hunger and economic insecurity.

Amendment to the resolution proposed by Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Italy:

In the fourth paragraph beginning "Reaffirms its will..." between the words "races and peoples," and "to which end" insert the words "as well as to safeguard the rights of peoples to their self-determination".

The President: This resolution will be moved by Lord Taylor on behalf of the Central Committee.

Lord Taylor, United Kingdom: Since the debate on peace at pass Congresses has generally given rise to a great deal of excitement and conflict I think it would be well if we defined the limitations of the ICA in relation to the attainment of peace and the specific purposes of the resolution.

When we come together at international congresses, like those of the ICA, we are inclined to imagine that we are some branch or section of the United Nations. This is particularly so when we discuss questions like peace. So I think it may be helpful if, at the beginning of this debate, we were to establish first that we are not the United Nations. We are the International Co-operative Alliance. The representatives to the United Nations represent their nation states or their blocks of states; the United Nations makes judgments on international problems based upon an analysis of the facts. The United Nations seeks to impose these judgments on occasion by force, but generally by persuasion. I mention these facts regarding the UN to establish that we are an entirely different institution.

We are not a collection of delegates representing our nation states; we are a gathering of co-operators sharing a common philosophy, and I hope in the discussion which will follow we will remember that our allegiance at this Congress is to that common philosophy and not to the

particular interests of our nation state. We cannot impose decisions; we can only seek to influence events in accordance with our co-operative ideas.

I think it is as well, when we are discussing peace, just to consider what is the relevance of the co-operative philosophy. We established what co-operative society was, we laid down things like one man, one vote, the distribution of surplus in accordance with participation in the business, and so on. But these were a collection of rules for commercial arrangements giving effect to what is a basic social philosophy.

What is the basis of our philosophy? What is all this one man, one vote, distribution of surplus? It simply puts in real form the idea that co-operators believe in working together for mutual advantage and not for private or selfish ends. It establishes the equal rights of individuals to run their own affairs. It is, in fact, a philosophy of sharing and caring. I believe this philosophy of sharing resources and caring for welfare has something relevant to say to man's condition today and particularly in the field of international relationships.

Yesterday was the 30th anniversary of the outbreak of a war that divided the people sitting in this room into enemy camps, dressed them in uniform, drove into battle. It is appropriate that today, when we are passing resolutions establishing our common purpose, we should realise that it is only thirty years ago that the world was torn in conflict, and if you survey the world scene today, Vietnam and Biafra and the immediate threat of a war in the near East, no one can be assured that mankind has learnt the terrible lesson of the six years from 1939-1945. Far from learning the lesson, we now have at our disposal in all countries, because all of us are prostituting our knowledge and our science, new instruments, new means of destruction by the development of gases and biological and chemical warfare. This is the situation in which we find ourselves.

Let us, therefore, at this Congress, not pretend that we are another United Nations and try, in the course of five-minute speeches which will follow mine, to analyse this particular area or that particular area of

conflict and apportion blame. Let us try to establish that we, as an international organisation and in our national organisations, and we as individuals, will try to practise our co-operative philosophy and influence events in that direction. Let us assert that this conflict must not happen. Let us urge that negotiation should take the place of battle. Let us urge that we strengthen and build up a form of international law and authority that is incorporated in the United Nations. Unless we can take this step forward, assuredly mankind will continue to live in the shadow of war.

Fellow co-operators, this is all the resolution asks you to do at this stage. Co-operation realises that there can be no peace in a world in which there are rich and poor. All of us in our own individual nations realise there can be no peace in our communities where there is much distinction between rich and poor; neither can there be peace in the world when ideas are suppressed by force. Mankind can go forward when we abolish the distinctions of rich and poor nations and when we can develop the free development of man's intellect. It is on that basis, and because this resolution incorporates these ideas, that I ask you to pass it.

Life can be a rich experience for all of us; it can be rich if men are permitted to pursue knowledge freely, if they cultivate in their lives the things that are worthy and are beautiful, and if they encourage loving and caring in human relationships. That is what co-operation is all about and for that reason I ask you to support this resolution.

The President: We have an emendment to be moved on behalf of Lega Nazionale, Italy.

Dr. G. Banchieri, Italy: The delegates of Lega Nazionale have no observations to make concerning the content of the resolution on peace, which is recommended by the Central Committee. The text recalls the resolutions adopted at previous Congresses, which implies explicitly that we recognise as still valid the declarations on different questions connected with the struggle for peace which are mentioned in the agenda, including the vote on the Vietnam resolution which was adopted unanimously at the Vienna Congress.

However, and it is with profound sorrow that we feel obliged to state it, the truth concerning these declarations is unhappily founded on the fact that, since the Vienna Congress as regards numerous problems which condition the defence of peace in the world, progress had been very slow. Consequently, we are confronted with a renunciation of the cold war while recently, as we all know, very serious events increased more and more the anguish of mankind, faced with its possible destruction by the unleashing of a general nuclear war.

This is why we would have liked the references to these declarations, while in the synthetic form appropriate to any resolution, to have been explicit as was our friend who submitted the present resolution to Congress in very moving and convincing words, especially as regards certain actions which might imperil peace, as regards the settling of international disputes by peaceful negotiation, and as regards the support of all measures of disarmament.

However, as you know, my organisation has confirmed itself to proposing an amendment with the object of recalling explicitly, among all the tasks to which co-operators in all countries are committed in favour of the maintenance of peace, that which concerns the principle of the self-determination of the people. In our amendment, we have formulated this principle in the form of an appeal for safeguarding the rights of all peoples to decide for themselves.

We all know that the objectives and the conditions of the struggle for peace are not always the same, either in time or in different parts of the world. We also know that, to advance the cause of peace and to arrive at a real and permanent international détente in which peaceful co-existence between peoples and nations will make it possible to devote to works of civic, material and cultural progress the enormous resources now devoted to armaments, and to turn to peaceful uses the great discoveries of modern science, it is necessary as a matter of urgency to apply oneself to the solution of the different questions which formed the specific object of a special session of our Congress and of the authorities of the ICA.

On the basis of these considerations we believe that, while defining the tasks which, in the present situation, are of fundamental importance, an appeal for safeguarding the rights of the peoples to their self-determination must be included.

In stating this principle, it is explicit that there must be respect for independence and national sovereignty, and non-interference in private affairs.

This principle is inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations and is often solemnly proclaimed in different international assemblies. But the lack of adherence to it is one of the causes which, in the past, and the immediate past, has often led to a renewal of the cold war and has reduced the peace efforts in the world.

In our view, and as shown by the experience of past years, strict respect for this principle is one of the essential conditions for creating a favourable climate for sensible progress on other questions vital to the cause of peace, such as measures for disarmament, the dissolution of military blocs, the signing of European security pacts, a peaceful solution of the war in Vietnam and the state of armed conflict in the Middle East.

It is in this spirit that my organisation has submitted this amendment, and we earnestly hope that it will be unanimously supported by Congress.

Mr. A. Krashennikov, USSR: Twice in the twentieth century Europe has been the centre of a world conflict in which millions of people have been killed, thousands of town and villages devastated. Sixty countries took part, representing 400 million people. A quarter of a century has elapsed and a new generation has grown up who have never heard the artillery cannonade.

A terrible price was paid to defeat fascism and we cannot sit calmly as we remember the atrocities in the territories occupied by the Hitlerite forces. We recall the atrocities perpetrated in the Soviet Union, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Millions of men, women and children were killed in the concentration camps, and our country suffered great destruction. No other country had to make such sacrifices.

Twenty million Soviet people perished, tens of millions of people were mutilated and invalided. There is not a family which did not suffer. In the towns and villages hundreds of buildings were set on fire. A hundred thousand co-operative enterprises were destroyed. How can we express human suffering in mere figures? A ceaseless struggle must be waged against military aggression throughout the world. The strengthening of peace is one of the cardinal tasks before us, and our future existence depends on it. Shall we succeed in preventing future conflict? A nuclear war could devastate whole countries in a few hours. The struggle for peace is, therefore, the most important task for all progressive people.

At the Central Committee meeting in Oslo the Centrosoyus delegation, when discussing the draft resolution on peace, said it was not complete and did not reflect the present position in the world. Soviet co-operators are very seriously worried by the development of war activity in the Middle East and by the war in Vietnam, as well as the militarist activities in Europe. We should draw attention to these facts in our resolution, also to the need for the liquidation of colonialism. It is not enough to say there are rich and poor countries. There are countries carrying out a neo-colonialist or colonialist policy which are stripping others of their natural resources. All of these things should be reflected in our resolution, as well as condemnation of the aggression of the Americans in Vietnam and of Israel in the Middle East.

The President told Mr Krashennikov that the translation of his speech had been stopped, as statements about aggression by individual countries could not be allowed. He further reminded him that a gentleman's agreement had been decided by the Central Committee and must be observed.

Mr. Krashennikov concluded: I have given the opinion of the Soviet delegation but, in order to assure unanimity on this important question, we shall vote for the resolution, but without any amendment.

Mr. I. Alexe, Rumania: The resolution underlines that the most

urgent problem facing the world is the safeguarding of the peace, without which there can be either economic development nor human progress. The importance of this problem is universally recognised, since in the course of history innumerable conflicts and military conflagrations have caused mankind incalculable suffering and irreparable human and material losses. A new world conflict could have still more disastrous consequences.

It becomes more and more evident, however, that no phenomenon of international life constitutes a fatality nor is it inevitable, and that by united and persevering efforts viable solutions can be found. The successful struggle for the safeguarding and consolidating of peace implies, however, increased responsibility for all states, large and small, since the problems which preoccupy the world of today cannot be solved in any durable way without the active co-operation of all peoples. The world has seen such development in the role of the small and medium states which can make a real contribution to understanding between peoples, to the normalisation of the international political climate, thus opening up new perspectives in economic development and social progress.

In the presence of a gigantic techno-scientific revolution, the progress and prosperity of the peoples are inconceivable without an intense and continuous cycle of material and spiritual values, within the framework of which each nation can enjoy the fruits of international collaboration. The whole world desires the elimination of the dangers of a thermonuclear war, general and complete disarmament, which can liberate enormous resources for use in the interests of the people.

The duty of the ICA and the world co-operative movements, together with other forces working for world peace, is to find the most effective measures for delivering mankind from the danger of thermonuclear war, from the burden of the arms race, and for ensuring the use of nuclear energy and all natural resources exclusively for peaceful aims. In the light of these considerations, we support the resolution presented by the Central Committee.

At the same time, however, we feel that it should also refer to other concrete problems whose solution has a particular importance for the triumph of the cause of peace. In our view, relations between states must be based upon the principles of sovereignty and national independence, of equal rights, of non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, of respect for the sacred right of all peoples to decide in complete independence the course of their development. These principles, which conform to the aspirations of all peoples associated with the co-operative movement, are the fundamental premises for the development of a climate of confidence and understanding between nations.

In the light of these ideas we are in complete agreement with the amendment proposed by the Lega Nazionale of Italy.

One of the principal desires of those who long for the triumph of peace is the cessation of the war in Vietnam and the settlement without delay of the middle east conflict; the realisation of regional pacts, the creation of an atmosphere of trust and good neighbourliness in all parts of the globe, and the establishment of denuclearised zones, are important factors for the stability and strengthening of peace.

In declaring once again that we support the resolution, we feel that the ICA should campaign more actively for the creations of a climate of collaboration and trust between the peoples, and contribute to the economic and social progress of humanity.

Mr. W. Wawrzecki, Poland: While we are in favour of the resolution on peace, we feel it is not wholly comprehensive since it does not cover all areas of war and does not mention all the points of tension from which dangers of a new world war might arise. We support it because we are convinced that in our era the struggle to prevent a new world war and to strengthen peace and security era of particular importance. A world war with nuclear arms would be tantamount to the destruction of hundreds of millions of people and of countries. It would be tantamount to destroying the world in which we live. Lasting peace is a *sine qua non* for human survival. Millions of people are still suffering from the results of the last war, in which there was vast material destruction, as we know well in Poland. The aggressors destroyed many of our co-operative enterprises

and it took a long time to reconstruct after the war.

We support the resolution and protest against aggression and acts of war in the world today.

Mr. J. Voorhis, USA: The delegation of the United States fully supports the amendment offered by the Italian League. The peace resolution is not very different from those passed by previous Congresses, but is needed more today than ever before.

Billions of years ago the Creative Power, in whose hands all existence rests, set in motion intricate processes of evolution which have grasped this tiny planet, earth, as a home for life; indeed, as a home for the life of man. So far as any science knows, this earth is the only place in all the vastness of the universe where human life as we now know it could exist.

We who are privileged to live upon this earth ought to be guarding and preserving it with every means at our command in order that it might continue to be a home for our children, our grand-children and future generations who have as much right to live as we have. Instead of this, the nations of the world are wasting their substance and untold precious resources in a mad race to see who can fashion the most horrible engines of death. We are polluting the air and water so that they are dangerous to life. We, in our arrogant pride, have so equipped the military forces of our nations as to be able to destroy the earth and all life upon it. No nation, I suppose, will lay down its arms unless other nations is planning a surprise attack on it. While this is not true, the people of this nation believe it. Meanwhile, in the other nation, the military are telling the people that they must be prepared against a surprise attack. It is not true, but the people believe it. So we must face up to the one thing that will do any good, for one move that will make possible the devoting of these resources to the welfare of man. For no nation, not mine and not any of yours, has a right to decide whether mankind shall live or die. Only all mankind together has a right to make such a decision.

What, then, must we do? We must build a United Nations, or a

Parliament of Man, so much stronger than any one nation that it could destroy every one of these lethal weapons and effectively prevent any nation from ever again possessing them. We need a United Nations or a Parliament of Man strong enough to deny to every nation on this earth the diabolical assertion of its right to make war on other peoples. We need a United Nations strong enough to enforce peace. Furthermore, mankind needs a United Nations that can be a parliament of all mankind and take responsibility for ending hunger in the world, for giving every family some control over its own size and welfare, and for mounting a programme of economic development that can bring new hope to deprived people all round the world.

Finally, we need a United Nations to which is given enough original authority in its own right that it can prevent any nation from imposing its will upon any other people. We need a United Nations that could say to my country, we will upon any other affairs in Vietnam in justice and fairness and you need not and must not be there. May I add that there is nothing that our nation desires more than this. We need a United Nations strong enough to say to the Soviet Union, you cannot be in Czechoslovakia.

Mr. J. L. Khachi, India: We deem it a very great privilege to pay tribute to the Central Committee and to Lord Taylor for bringing forward this resolution, which happens to be promoted in the year of the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary, which over a hundred countries of the world are celebrating. I am not very familiar with the constitution of the ICA but if it were possible, in terms of the rules, it would be a fitting tribute to the memory of Gandhi if there could be inserted in the resolution a mention of the Gandhi Centenary Year. I am certainly not insisting on this and leave it to you to decide whether this tribute could be inserted in memory of a great peace-maker.

On behalf of my delegation I wholeheartedly support the resolution. We cannot think of progress in any part of the world if the clouds of war are perpetually over us. The resolution is a comprehensive one because it refers to both political and economic aspects. It speaks of the

glaring inequalities between man and man today, and there can be no permanent peace unless steps are taken to remove these inequalities. It cannot be possible for one part of the world to live in prosperity and for another to live in utter, stark poverty.

I consider this resolution to be a very significant and a very important one. We all know that the holocaust of a nuclear war would destroy man. We cannot visualise anything being left of our movement or any other congress ever taking place. It is, therefore of vital importance that peace be preserved, and the territorial integrity of countries protected, with non-interference in the affairs of other countries. Even today there are border skirmishes in some parts of the world. This is not a very happy sign. We are all very concerned about it, for if war breaks out in one part of the world it will soon become global in its effect. We are afraid of such a global effect because the developing countries would suffer greatly by it.

21. 25th Congress, Warsaw 1972

1. Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 158-162)

The 25th Congress of the international Co-operative Alliance, representing over 260 million co-operators in its affiliated Organizations,

REAFFIRMS that one of its objectives, as laid down in its Rules, is to work for the establishment of lasting peace and security;

REMEMBERS the calls for peace adopted at previous Congresses;

STRESSES its belief that the achievement of peace remains the most urgent problem throughout the world, for until it is achieved, economic development and social progress in all fields are hindered;

EMPHASISES that peace begins in the minds of men and urges that the spirit of Co-operation be observed in all relations between individuals, groups, co-operatives and nations;

NOTES that there continue to be areas of the world where tensions

and war exist, particularly South-East Asia and Middle East, and that there also exist threats to peace in many countries practising policies of racialism and apartheid;

SUPPORTS the decisions of the United Nations Assembly to convene a World Conference on Disarmament and

REFFIRMS the ICA's support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Resolution 2446/XXIII of the General Assembly of the United Nations passed in December 1968, dealing with measures for the total elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism of all forms of racial discrimination and the apartheid in particular.

WELCOMES the measures taken by governmental and non-governmental Organizations towards the achievement of peace, mutual understanding, co-operation and implementation of principles of peaceful co-existence;

ENDORSES the Central Committee's approval, at its meeting in Bucharest in 1971, of the Resolution expressing support for a European Security Conference, to be held at the earliest possible date, and the banning of the production, storage and use of all biological and chemical means of warfare, and a complete prohibition of all kinds of nuclear tests;

CALLS UPON Governments to support and strengthen the United Nations in its efforts to reduce tension and achieve peace; and

ASKS its Member Organizations to bring influence to bear on their National Governments for support of the United Nations and the settlement of all disputes by negotiation, without recourse to force or threats thereof, and to work for all disarmament measures in order to bring about conditions in which resources can be made available for economic and social progress throughout the world.

Amendment : Proposed by Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Italy.

Second paragraph to read (suggested Amendment in italics) :

REMEMBERS the calls for peace adopted at previous Congresses, as well as the Resolutions condemning fascist and neo-fascist regimes;

Sir Robert Southern: We now come to the Motion on «Peace» which

is to be introduced by our President , Dr Bonow, with a statement .

The President (Dr Bonow): In 1970, the UN proclaimed that the 1970's should be a decade of disarmament. In the same Resolution, it was also urged that a program for general and total disarmament should be established. No such program has, unfortunately, so far been worked out.

The decision in 1970 was probably partly caused by the very rapid increase in the world's expenditure on armaments which occurred between 1965 and 1968. The total of armament spending, which decreased slightly during 1970, was, however, still maintained at the same level in 1971, and available budget figures seem to indicate that the very high level reached at the end of the 1960's will prevail also this year. What is the situation at the present?

The Year Book for 1972, published by the Swedish International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), of which Professor Gunnar Myrdal is the Chairman, has just recently been issued. This Institute, which is governed by a Board of outstanding scientists both from Western and Eastern European countries, estimates the world's total yearly expenditure on arms to be the astronomic figure of 180 billion dollars, i.e., 180.000 million dollars.

As is natural to expect, by far the largest share of this total sum is spent by the two super-Powers, the USA and USSR, namely 120 billion dollars. As is also natural to expect, the second largest group of great Powers, namely, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany, spend annually 26 billion dollars on armaments. The six great Powers just mentioned represent together some 80 per cent of the world's total cost for military purposes. The remaining 20 per cent of the yearly costs for arms fall with 8 per cent on the newly developing countries, with the exclusion of Mainland China, and the remaining 12 per cent on other countries. It is furthermore a striking fact that the newly developing countries, with their very low average gross national product per inhabitant, are acquiring, mainly by expensive import from the well-to-do countries in the West and in the East, increasing quantities of arms. Looking at these staggering figures, one should recall that the technical and financial assistance in toto from

the well-to-do countries in the world to the newly developing countries amounts to some 10 billion dollars, taking the gross figures, and very much less in respect of the net figures, after deduction of the repayment of loan and interest charges. This means in fact that the world, especially the rich countries, is spending at least 20 times more each year on arms than on aid to the poor countries.

To complete this dark picture, it should be mentioned that, during the last decade, our world community has spent every year more than 15 billion dollars on military research and development activities. A striking comparison reveals the fact that the world's total spending on medical research is estimated to be only about 4 billion dollars per year; that is to say, roughly 25 per cent of the money spent on military research. Of the total spending on military research, the six great Powers mentioned earlier represent a share of 90 per cent.

It is sometimes argued that the massive spending on advanced technology in connection with military research creates important spin-off effects which can be used with great advantage in production for non-military purposes. But even taking that resources when such priority is given to military spending, at the same time neglecting the enormous needs for research and development work in respect of world agriculture, population problems and medical development. It should hardly be necessary to stress that the great need for research concerning the human environment and in respect of the continuing rapid depletion of the world's non-reproducible raw materials and sources of energy is given a ridiculously low priority compared with the huge resources devoted to military research.

It is commonly accepted that the world is now entering the atomic age. The impact of nuclear power on the so-called military balance and on the world's security problems is obvious to us all. We are well aware that the two super-Powers have at their disposal nuclear arms in amounts estimated to an equivalent of 16 tons of TNT per world inhabitant – 16 tons for every one of us. The technical term used in this context is quite rightly «over-kill capacity».

Against this background, one can hardly over-estimate the importance of the two Treaties banning nuclear tests, signed in Moscow in 1963, and the Agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear arms, signed in London, Moscow and Washington in 1968. Some great Powers have so far unfortunately not become parties to them. But these Agreements, exceedingly important as they are, only mark the first preventive measures on world-wide scale needed to diminish the risks of atomic warfare. As is stressed in the Central Committee Resolution, a complete banning of *all* kinds of nuclear tests should be the next important step towards a gradual and complete disarmament. A continuation and speeding-up of the SALT negotiations is, therefore, sorely needed. The urgency of achieving further tangible results in that direction is underlined by some important facts which illustrate the closer inter-relationship between the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and for the production of nuclear arms and bombs.

In 1971, atomic reactors for civil energy production existed in 17 countries. SIPRI states that, in 1977, this number of countries will have increased to around 40. The extended use of nuclear power and its rapid geographical spread in the early part of the 1980's will be based on a new technology. The so-called fast-breeder reactors will then be available for commercial use.

This, in its turn, will mean that an increased number of States will be self-sustaining in respect of plutonium. This material, used in the fast-breeder reactors, is the one best suited for the production of nuclear arms. It will, therefore, gradually be more and more difficult to prevent the diversion of nuclear material from peaceful to military purposes. There is thus a clear risk that an increased number of States may start building up arsenals of nuclear produced by themselves. The present situation, with a lack of technical knowledge and high costs for producing nuclear arms, will, as a consequence, change radically. These factors will lose their deterrent effects, and time is indeed running out fast, if there is to be some hope for an agreed international action against the production, storing and possible use of nuclear arms. In this context, I

might even mention in passing that, at a recent meeting of Pugwash, which is a forum for some of the foremost scientists from the Western, Eastern and developing countries, the fear has been expressed that, with the new technological development in the nuclear field, well organised groups of terrorists may, within the foreseeable future, be able to get hold of and use nuclear arms for blackmailing on very different dimensions than is now the case with their recourse to conventional arms. That is the fear of scientists from all over the world.

The urgent need for intensified efforts to attain a tangible progress through negotiations between all the great Powers concerned, is of paramount importance and to be seen against the background of the main factors mentioned.

In view of what I have just now said, the endorsement, which we now ask Congress to give to the Central Committee's Resolution, passed at its meeting in Bucharest in 1971, is therefore something of a pivot for our whole Resolution on Peace, for it deals, however, not only with the problems of nuclear arms and support for a European Security Conference, but also calls for «the banning of the production, storage and use of all biological and chemical means of warfare». It is worth nothing that an Agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and storing of bacteriological (i.e., biological) arms and toxins, and about the destruction of such arms, was signed in London, Moscow and Washington on the 10th April of this year. This Agreement should, however, be looked upon as only the first, and no doubt easiest, part of the banning needed, because biological means of warfare have a rather restricted military use. However, as well all know, chemical means of warfare, including defoliation, have been used, in several cases earlier, and lately, not least in Vietnam, with very serious effects on ecological systems. The word «genocide» has been used in this context. The banning of chemical means of warfare is, therefore, of the utmost significance and urgency, about which the great Powers must reach an agreement.

In the Motion before Congress, another important paragraph reaffirms the ICA's support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

and supports the General Assembly Resolution of 1968, «dealing with measures for the total elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, of all forms of racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid in particular».

When we look around the world today, we all know that, in respect of both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Assembly Resolution concerned we are unfortunately very far from a universal implementation of these fundamental principles and recommendations. We know, for instance, that, in several countries, the right of the citizen to leave and to return to his homeland freely is severely restricted by political, economic or physical barriers. We know that, in some countries, citizens, who have lived in the country concerned for many years, are suddenly expelled and have to face great difficulties emigrating to other countries. Vast groups of people in different parts of the world, who are being discriminated against on political, religious, racial or tribal grounds have been deprived of their national identity and suffer great hardships. In some cases, outright mass liquidation has been practised, and we all know about some fairly recent examples of such ruthless and inhuman methods to solve internal conflicts. The well organised political terror groups, which operate in various parts of the world, intent on hijacking aeroplanes, using fire-arms and bombs, etc., thus threatening to kill, and often killing entirely innocent people, are, especially after the detestable murders at the Olympic Games becoming a problem of such attitude that the matter has now been before the UN Assembly. In view of all these odious acts of violence, we cannot adopt a defeatist attitude. We must protest against such evil deeds nationally and internationally. The voice of the Co-operative Movement against such inhuman outrages should be heard.

A special paragraph in the Motion «notes that there continue to be areas of the world where tensions and war exist, particularly South-East Asia and the Middle East, ...». The war in Vietnam, which has spread and engulfed also Laos and Cambodia, is certainly giving us all, and world opinion in general, cause for the gravest concern. After the ending of the Tet offensive and the ensuing cessation of bombing in North Vietnam, it seemed as if the Paris negotiations would lead to a mutually

acceptable peaceful solution. The recent intensification of the war by new offensives in South-East Asia, accompanied by renewed bombing three times as heavy, measured by the total weight of bombs dropped during the whole of the Second World War, should make it clear to all the parties, directly or indirectly involved in this ghastly to the enormous suffering to which the Vietnamese people, both in the South and in the North, are now exposed. We must also bear in mind the fact that the Vietnamese people have had to live in war and with war practically without interruption all the years since their liberation war against the former colonial ruler of the country began. A continuation of the war in Vietnam will cause immeasurable destruction, but it will not solve any problems. War never does.

The same considerations are just as valid in respect of the now very inflamed situation in the Middle East. A solution agreed between the parties concerned through any kind of negotiations must be found. I should like to quote in this context the very sensible words by the newly elected President of the UN Assembly, Mr Stanislaw Trepczynski, of Poland. He said in a recent interview: «We must remember that even the longest debates and negotiations are much less expensive than the shortest military conflict».

When we review all the difficult political problems and conflicts which still frustrate the continuing efforts to create a world based on peaceful co-existence and on an ever increasing economic and political collaboration across the frontiers, we as co-operators have the clear duty to do whatever is within our power to create an atmosphere of goodwill in international relations.

It is rightly stressed that trade across frontiers, and the ensuing contacts, is a means of lessening tensions and improving international relations. In that field, our movements in all parts of the world can and do contribute to gradually increased international goodwill and understanding. It is, therefore, quite proper that our Motion ends by pointing to the need for bringing about conditions in which resources now spent on arms can gradually be made available for eco-

conomic and social progress throughout the world. In this way, we can and shall, in a constructive manner, make our contribution, modest though it may be, to the work for the establishment of lasting peace and security.

On behalf of the Central Committee. I now have the honour to move the adoption of the Motion, as amended by the Congress Committee. I hope it will be endorsed unanimously and by acclamation.

Let me explain what the Amendment does. On the suggestion of the Lega Nazionale, a reference to our earlier Resolutions against fascists and neo-fascists has been added. That is the only alternation. If no one wants the floor on this item, may I take it that you are prepared unanimously to endorse the Motion, as amended by the Congress Committee?

2. Resolution on the Role of the Co-operative Movement in Economic and Social Development

(Proceedings, p. 163-164)

Proposed by:

Union Centrale des Coopératives, Bugaria
Union Centrale des Coopératives de Production, Bulgaria
Ustredni Rada Druzstev, Czechslovakia
Veerband deutscher Konstumgenossenschaften, German Demo-
cratic Republic
National Council of Consumers' Co-operatives Societies, Hungary
National Council of Industrial Co-operatives, Hungary
National Co-operatives Council, Hungary
National Council of Agricultural Co-operatives, Hungary
Central Agricultural Union of «Peasant Self-Aid» Co-operatives, Poland
Central Union of Building and Housing Co-operatives, Poland
Supreme Co-operative Council, Poland
Centrosoyus, USSR

The 25th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance,

RECALLING the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2459/XXII on the Role of the Co-operative Movement in Social and Economic Development, which confirmed the important role of the Co-operative Movement in the development of different countries;

WELCOMING the actions taken already in connection with the Resolution by ECOSOC, ILO, UNESCO, FAO, UNIDO and other Specialised Agencies of the United Nations;

HIGHLY APPRECIATES the efforts of some Governments for the development of the Co-operative Movement;

RECOGNISING the initiatives of the International Co-operative Alliance and its Member Organisations taken within the framework of the Co-operative Development Decade;

REAFFIRMS the fact that the co-operative form of ownership gives special possibilities to activate social initiative and to mobilise human and financial resources under social control for their effective use for the benefit of economic development and social progress;

ASKS the Central and Executive Committees, the Director of the Alliance and Member Organisations for further activity aiming at the full implementation of the recommendations in the Resolution adopted by the 24th ICA Congress on «Action on the United Nations Resolution 2459/XXII»;

REQUESTS the Director of the Alliance to elaborate a report on the realisation of the Co-operative Development Decade Programme in the years 1971-1972, including conclusions for further activity, and to forward it to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for information of the UN Members, as well as of Organisations of the United Nations system;

APPEALS to the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies to continue the varied support of the development of the Co-operative Movement, especially in developing countries; and

REQUESTS the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies to take into account, as widely as possible, in UN technical co-operation, the development of different forms of the Co-operative Movement, as well as to appeal to its Members to render their comprehensive support to co-operative technical assistance projects.

22. 26th Congress, Paris 1976

1. Resolution on Peace

(Proceedings, p. 271)

The 26th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance,

representing 325 million co-operators in 65 countries with varied economic, social and political systems,

RECALLS that its Rules call upon member-organizations to work for the establishment of lasting peace and security;

REAFFIRMS the calls for peace adopted at previous Congresses as well as the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee in 1973 and 1975 in which the urgent need for a World Disarmament Conference and the dangers of the arms race were strongly stressed;

WELCOMES the decisions of the Conference on Security and Collaboration in Europe, which created an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of economic, scientific, technical and trade collaboration between countries, independent of their socio-economic system;

BELIEVES that the implementation of steps to relax international tensions is one of the most important conditions for the development and consolidation of friendly and business relations between national co-operative movements, irrespective of their social systems;

DECLARES that rivalry between countries for markets and investments and the growing power of multinationals to bring pressure on governments to enhance their own profit seeking interests constitute a potential source of conflict and threat to peace;

STATES that there continue to be regions of the world in which the seeds of tension exist, and that the threat to the peace and security of nations exists in a number of countries practicing policies of racialism, apartheid and fascism;

NOTES with great concern, the existence of great inequalities of wealth;

EMPHASISES that co-operative forms of enterprise which serve the interests of the community, and a wider application of co-operative

principles, with their emphasis on service, have a vital role to play in the development of a more equitable social and economic order;

REQUESTS

a) its member-organizations to mobilize public opinion in support of government policies aimed at reducing tension, caused both by the arms race and economic exploitation by the few, and the conclusion of the world-wide agreement to refrain from the use of force in international relations;

b) the ICA Central Committee to consider discussing what the UN has declared as the new international social and economic order, and to pursue this aim with the appropriate UN bodies;

c) the United Nations to convene urgently a World Disarmament Conference so that the massive resources for armaments could be diverted into constructive programs of economic and social development.

2. Resolution on Women and the Co-operative Movement

(Proceedings, p. 275-276)

The 26th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance,

NOTES that the International Women's Year proclaimed by the United Nations for 1957 has created a growing awareness all over the world of the fact that the difficulties facing mankind-hunger, injustices, threats to environment and peace – cannot be overcome without the participation and contribution of women;

EMPHASISES that in a number of countries, discrimination against women still remains one of the most acute problems, preventing women's active participation in all spheres of life in society, and in the co-operative movement;

STRESSES the importance of fact-finding research into the situation of women as basis for action;

EMPHASISES the need for co-operative organizations to participate in the struggle for full equality for women in the political, economic and social life of all countries;

URGES co-operative movements to increase activities aimed at attracting women into both the economic and social activities of the co-

operative movement, including the development of co-operative education, family planning, cultural activities. etc.;

DRAWS ATTENTION to the necessity of revising legislation and bye-laws in countries where these hamper women from full membership and participation in the management of societies;

CONSIDERS it necessary for national co-operative movements to expand their activities by the exchange of delegations of women co-operators, and by holding national, regional and international seminars, conferences and symposia;

RECOGNISES the important role of the ICA's Women's Committee in promoting actions of women and for women, including working relations with other ICA bodies and international organizations and therefore

RECOMMENDS strengthened support for the committee in its work for equality, development and peace.

23. 27th Congress, Moscow 1980

1. Resolution on Peace

(Proceedings, p. 97-98)

The 27th Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance, representing 350 million cooperators in 65 countries with varied economic, political and social systems;

CONFIRMS its belief that peaceful coexistence is essential if world-wide economic and social progress is to be achieved;

DECLARES its firm conviction that the United Nations Organisation is the indispensable authority for promoting lasting peace and security throughout the world;

REAFFIRMS all the Resolutions on Peace adopted at previous Congresses and Central Committee Meetings, the most recent being the Resolution passed by the Central Committee at its Meeting in May 1980 in Montreal;

UNDERLINES its determination to support the United Nations in its endeavours to develop constructive programmes for peace and international cooperation.

2. Resolution on Co-operatives in the Year 2000

(Proceedings, p. 96-97)

The 27th Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance,

WELCOMES the Report on Cooperatives in the Year 2000 prepared by Dr Laidlaw at the request of the Central Committee, and also welcomes the joint report prepared by the Central Cooperative Unions and Councils in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German, Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, USSR, which describe the economic environment in which cooperatives will probably operate during the next two decades as well as their prospects for the Year 2000;

NOTES that the Report prepared by Dr Laidlaw takes a sombre view of economic prospects during the next two decades particularly in view of the growing oil shortage, its likely effect upon continuing inflationary pressures and rising unemployment, and the probability of continuing trade recession and rising trade barriers and breakdown of the international monetary system;

ACCEPTS that these Reports view with alarm the growing gap between the rich industrialised countries and the poor developing ones in spite of efforts by the UN and certain agencies to help developing countries; and COMMENDS the far-reaching proposals of the Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues;

NOTES that these Reports take accounts of the environmental crisis, the need to conserve natural resources and control pollution and the drift to the towns; and of the prospect of severe natural resources and control pollution and the drift to the towns; and of the prospect of severe food shortages as world food production falls short of the needs of growing populations;

AFFIRMS the vital need, if peace is to be secured and disaster is not to engulf mankind, for a significant reduction to be made in expenditure on armaments;

RECOGNISES that the cooperatives will face increasing difficulties in a world in which wealth continues to be concentrated in a few countries and in the hands of a few individuals in many of those countries; and in the face of the growing power and wealth of multi-national

corporations run for the profit of the few;

WELCOMES certain basic economic and social trends which help to bring hope to mankind; such as increasing concern about the inadequacy of a profit-motivated economy to meet human needs; proposals for an international development strategy by the United Nations to bring a fairer distribution of wealth and income and the benefits of development and the greater personal participation in a New International Economic Order; the emancipation of women;

DECLARES that growing interest in and support for cooperative development is one of these trends and that such development can make a major contribution to resolving some of the economic and social problems facing the world;

DECLARES further that the highest priority should be given to:

(i) the development of agricultural cooperatives including agricultural producer cooperatives among small farmers, particularly in developing countries, with a view to increasing food production and raising the real incomes of primary producers;

(ii) the promotion of industrial cooperatives and the conversion of existing industrial enterprises to the cooperative form or organisation so as to contribute to : an increase in incentive and productivity; an increase in incentive and productivity; a reduction in unemployment; and improvement in industrial relations and the development of a policy for a more equitable distribution of incomes;

(iii) the further development of consumers' cooperatives in such a way as to emphasise the features which distinguish them most clearly from private traders and sustaining their independence and effective democratic control by members;

(iv) the creation of clusters of specific cooperatives or a single multi-purpose society, especially in urban areas, in such a way as to provide a broad range of economic and social services : housing, credit, banking, insurance, restaurants, industrial enterprises, medical services, tourism, recreation, etc. within the scope of a single neighbourhood cooperative;

REGARDS these Reports as the beginning of a continuing process

of research and self-examination by the World-wide Cooperative Movement; and therefore

ASKS member organisations to consider ways in which they, either by themselves or through representations to their governments for action or both, can help to bring about the implementation of these four priorities for cooperative development;

ASKS member organisations:

- (i) to make a careful study of the Reports;
- (ii) to participate in a continuing discussion on their implications;
- (iii) to select for comment those parts which are particularly applicable to their own situations and problems;
- (iv) to study and if necessary set up a research programme to examine future development throughout all sections of the cooperative system;

REQUESTS the United Nations and its Agencies to pursue with all possible vigour their objective of devising an international development strategy to create a New International Economic Order which will bring about a more participatory society and a fairer distribution of the fruits of development, and at the same time create more favourable conditions for sustained cooperative development :

REQUESTS member organisations to report regularly to the Central Committee the results of their investigations into the future directions of their own movements, and for the Central Committee to receive a special report in 1982 on this aspect.

24. 28th Congress, Hamburg 1984

Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 115-116)

The XXXVIIIth Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance meeting in Hamburg from 15th – 18th October 1984, represent-

ing 365 million cooperators, referring to Peace Resolutions adopted, since the Moscow Congress by the Central Committee Meetings in Helsinki and Rome:

RECALLS that in its Rules the ICA has stated amongst its objectives to “work for the establishment of lasting peace and security”

NOTES WITH DEEP CONCERN that the persistence of armed conflicts in numerous regions of our planet and the tense international political climate, as well as the acceleration of the arms race, affect economic and social progress and create a real danger of world crisis.

The Congress:

DRAWING on the powerful strength represented by Co-operators throughout the world who demonstrate their capacity to help to jointly construct the democratic institutions necessary for the establishment of a more just economic and social order,

UNDERLINES that this disarmament would allow for the readjustment of the growing imbalance between the rich and poor countries which constitutes one of the most evident risks of conflict,

ADDRESSES all Heads of State, particularly those of the two superpowers, to entreat them to resume negotiations on the limitation of nuclear arms and to successfully follow-up the progress made during the conferences of Helsinki, Madrid and Stockholm towards a progressive and controlled disarmament,

REAFFIRMS its support to the United Nations and requests each member organization of the ICA to circulate these initiatives among as wide an audience as possible and to make known its commitment to contribute to the establishment of a genuine climate of détente between all the Nations of the world and actively to work to influence public opinion to this end,

ASKS its member organizations to engage themselves in the preparations for UN Peace Year in 1986.

Debate on the Resolution

The President said that the importance attached to peace had been reaffirmed several times during the Congress and it was in this context that the Iraqi delegate had asked the ICA to support efforts to end the war between Iraq and Iran. It was a Congress tradition that a Resolution on Peace which had been approved by the Central Committee should not come under discussion, but he understood why the Iraqi delegate had spoken as he did. The ICA was regularly asked to make representations to the United Nations; for example, he had received a letter from the Co-operative Development Society of Eire, stating that there was a war in that country, which had never been considered by the United Nations, and asking if the ICA could help.

He reminded the Congress that interventions on the part of the ICA had shown little result in the past. The ICA's part in the establishment of peace lay more in the fact that the free development of the co-operative movement in each country, and at world level, made a specific, irreplaceable contribution to establishing the social, cultural and economic basis essential for lasting peace. Their main task was to be good co-operators and so help to achieve this essential basis. He was happy that Congress had before it a resolution which came from the Central Committee with unanimous support. Because if it was not unanimous it had no significance whatsoever, indicating that even co-operators could not agree on peace.

25. 29th Congress, Stockholm 1988

Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 53-54)

The twenty-ninth Congress of the ICA, at its meeting in Stockholm in July 1988 :

RECALLS

that its Rules call upon member organizations to work for the establishment of lasting peace and security;

REAFFIRMS

the calls for peace adopted since the last Congress by the Central Committee meeting in Washington, Basel and Budapest, in which the dangers of the arms race and a strong support for the International Year of Peace were stressed, and which Soviet- American dialogue at the summit level aimed at creating a system of international security was welcomed;

NOTES WITH CONCERN

multiple challenges of a global nature facing mankind, the principal among them being the remaining nuclear threat, armed conflicts in numerous parts of the world and unstable political situations, affecting economic and social progress and security of people;

The Congress :

BELIEVING

that the world co-operative movement, constituting a powerful economic and social strength, can influence the improvement of the political climate throughout the world, which in its turn can create favourable conditions for extending co-operation between peoples and between their co-operatives;

AFFIRMS

the vital need for curbing the arms race, for bringing an end to all local and regional conflicts and reducing existing tensions, and for achieving universal respect for human rights and elimination of all forms of inequality and discrimination;

AFFIRMS

the necessity for all nations to respect UN resolutions aimed at solving military conflicts;

WELCOMES

the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles, which creates hopes for real nuclear disarmament;

RECOGNIZES

the importance of the 3rd UN Special Session on Disarmament and of the Disarmament Conference in promoting the process of disarmament and in internationalizing efforts to build a nuclear weapons-free non-violent world;

URGES

member organizations to mobilize public opinion in support of the UN and government actions aimed at reducing international tension, at banning weapons of mass destruction, at settling local and regional conflicts, and at creating a climate of mutual trust and co-operation;

FURTHER ASKS

member organizations to participate in efforts to improve promotion of peace and co-operation between nations.

26. 30th Congress, Tokyo 1992

Resolution on Co-operative Values in a Changing World

(Proceedings, p. 287-288)

1. The 30rd ICA Congress, having received and discussed the report on “Co-operative values in a Changing World” expresses appreciation to its author Mr. Sven Ake Book for the thorough and comprehensive report.

2. Congress also expresses thanks to members of the Advisory Committee who assisted Mr. Book in the preparation of his report.

3. The process of reviewing co-operative values, which was initiated after the 1988 Stockholm Congress has been appreciated by ICA member organization. National studies, involving co-operative leaders and thousands of members, have contributed to clarification of the co-operative identity and have therefore been of considerable benefit in themselves.

4. Co-operative commitment is based on shared values. Although it is not necessary to try to achieve complete consensus on values, there is general understanding that three core values are behind the co-operative concept: equality and equity; voluntary and mutual self-help; and

economic and social progress.

5. Above all, the basis of co-operation is the member, whose interests and needs must at all times be reflected in the objectives and work of co-operative organizations.

6. From this perspective, Congress agrees that co-operatives should express their basic values through the following actions:

- Economic activities for meeting members' needs
- Participatory democracy
- Development of human resources
- Social responsibility
- National and international co-operation

1. Because of the importance of a clear articulation of co-operative identity, Congress recommends that the ICA Executive Committee initiate a process to review the current "ICA Co-operative Principles", as amended in 1966, and bring any recommendations for possible change to the 1995 General Assembly, after discussion with the Regional Assemblies in 1994.

2. In view of the sectoral structures within the ICA, the Specialized Bodies should participate in this review, and should furthermore be requested to develop operating guidelines which reflect the application of the Co-operative Principles in their specific areas of activity.

3. Congress accepts the invitation of the British co-operative movement that ICA hold a special Centennial Congress in Manchester in 1995, and expresses the view that this should be the occasion for the adoption of a Co-operative Charter to guide the work of the international co-operative movement of the twenty-first century.

27. 31st Centennial Congress, Manchester 1995

1. Resolution on Peace (Proceedings, p. 115-116)

The Centennial Congress of the ICA, at its meeting in Manchester in September 1995, reaffirming its own efforts for world peace:

RECALLS that the ICA Rules call upon member organisations to “contribute to international peace and security”, and that it is now 50 years since the end of the Second World War, which brought the greatest destruction in the history of mankind;

EXPRESSES GRIEF over the fact that armed conflicts in numerous parts of the world still sacrifice a large number of people, including innocent women and children;

EXPRESSES CONCERN about their hindering effects on economic and social progress, not only in those areas but also in the whole world, thus jeopardising global peace and the environment;

DECLARES the will of co-operators worldwide to make efforts to create a peaceful world, and their prayers for early solutions to these problems;

SUPPORTS the Resolution adopted by the World Summit for Social Development, held in Copenhagen in March 1995, on the “20/20” initiatives for reducing the growing gaps between rich and poor nations;

CONFIRMS the actual contributions which the co-operative movement is making to promote the increased participation of women at the 4th World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in September 1995, and to support the development of affordable housing at the UN Conference on Human Settlement (Habitat II), to be held in Istanbul in June 1996;

RECOGNISES the importance of following up on the themes of these Conferences in each country, and to this end the necessity of disarmament, protection of human rights, and elimination of disparity and discrimination of all kinds;

WELCOMES a series of peace initiatives taken by the UN General Assembly, including the Resolution adopted on 2 November 1994 concerning the convening of the 4th UN Special Session on Disarmament, and the Resolution adopted on 15 December 1994 requesting an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons;

URGES co-operators in the world to make efforts by various means for the success of the UN Special Session on Disarmament towards overall disarmament, the early elimination of nuclear weapons, and the

establishment of a non-violent world; and

FURTHER ASKS member organisations to disseminate the abovementioned ICA peace initiatives in each country, and to contribute to creating a climate for world peace through the mobilisation of public opinion.

2. Resolution on Co-operative Democracy

(Proceedings, p. 111-112)

The Centennial Congress of the ICA, at its meeting in Manchester in September 1995:

COMMENDS the initiative of the International Joint Project on Participatory Democracy in Consumer Co-operatives involving movements in Canada, Italy, Japan, Scotland, and Sweden;

ACKNOWLEDGES the difficulties faced by co-operators the world over to find methods for and good examples of active member participation in more complex competition, and with relatively few young members;

EMPHASISES the need of co-operators to positively influence the living conditions of members through new and existing ways of developing participatory democracy so that our values, ideas, and activities contribute significantly to democratic development for justice and solidarity;

CONFIRMS the group's finding that participatory democracy (members' participation, commitment, and involvement) must be integral to co-operative activities and continually developed as core conditions for business and society change;

REMINDS co-operators that participatory democracy is never fixed once and for all but must be continuously recast and reconquered;

ACCEPTS the final report of the project group, comprising:

1) a description of the consumers' co-operative movement (retailing) in each country,

2) case studies from each country focusing on increasing member involvement and participatory democracy, and

3) conclusions and recommendations.

RECOMMENDS further study by co-operators in the five areas of the project:

- 1) expanding members' participation,
- 2) the relationship between members and management,
- 3) innovation of organisational structure,
- 4) expanding the relationship with employee participation,
- 5) economic and social responsibility;

ENTRUSTS the Board and Regions to initiate measures for co-ordinating and informing member organisations about the exchange of experiences and opinions on the development of participatory democracy in co-operative organisations in general and on the final report of the International Joint Project in particular.

3. Statement on the Co-operative Identity

(Proceedings, p. 3-4)

Definition

A co-operative is an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise.

Values

Co-operatives are based on the values of self-help, democracy, equality, equity, and solidarity. Co-operative members believe in the ethical values of honesty, openness, social responsibility, and caring for others.

Principles

The co-operative principles are guidelines by which co-operatives put their values into practice.

1st Principle: Voluntary and Open Membership

Co-operatives are voluntary organisations, open to all persons able to use their services and willing to accept the responsibilities of membership, without gender, social, racial, political, or religious discrimination.

2nd Principle: Democratic Member Control

Co-operatives are democratic organisations controlled by their members, who actively participate in setting their policies and making decisions. Men and women serving as elected representatives are accountable to the membership. In primary co-operatives members have equal voting rights (one member, or vote), and co-operatives at other levels are also organised in democratic manner.

3rd Principle: Member Economic Participation

Members contribute equitably to, and democratically control, the capital of the

co-operative. They usually receive limited compensation, if any, on capital subscribed as a condition of membership. Members allocate surpluses for any or all of the following purposes: developing their co-operative; benefiting member in proportion to their transactions with the co-operative; and supporting other activities approved by the membership.

4th Principle: Autonomy and Independence

Co-operatives are autonomous, self-help organisations controlled by their members. If they enter into agreements with other organisations, including

governments, or raise capital from external sources, they do so on terms that ensure democratic control by their members and maintain their co-operative autonomy.

5th Principle: Education and Information

Co-operatives provide education and training for their members elected representatives, managers, and employees so they can contribute effectively to the development of their co-operatives. They inform the general public-particularly young people and opinion leaders-about the nature and benefits of co-operation.

6th Principle: Co-operation Among Co-operatives

Co-operatives serve their members most effectively and strengthen the co-operative movement by working together through local, national, regional, and international structures.

7th Principle: Concern for Community

While focusing on member needs and wishes, co-operatives work for the sustainable development of their communities.

28. I.C.A. General Assembly, Québec 1999

Resolution «For a nuclear free peace»

(Proceedings, p. 121)

We welcomed with great hope the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s as a chance that we would see world pence based on trust and friendship.

It has only been within the last decade that several important issues such as social development, enviromental issues and gender questions have been discussed at international conferences centered around the United Nations. The core problems of such issues have been clarified and efforts are now being made to solve these problems. Though we are far from finding perfect solutions, concrete results are emerging.

In the 1990s, however, we have repeatedly witnessed the extreme example of arms being used to settle conflicts. Furthermore, the development and stock of nuclear arms continue. The proliferation of nuclear arms is again becoming a great fear for the world.

In July 1996 the International Court of Justice ruled in its advisory opinion that the «threat or use of nuclear weapons shall in general be a violation of the rule of international law.» As the advisory opinion points out, nuclear weapons are satanic weapons that bring about uncontrollable damage not only in space but also in time – not only to the present population but also to those not yet born. They have the capability to destroy the entire eco-sstem of this planet. In order to maintain the nuclear weapon system, immeasurable wealth produced by citizens, including members of co-operatives, is wasted.

As co-operators, who stand for the values of honesty and openness, social responsibility and caring for others, we have an obligation to pursue ways to improve the situation by directing the flow of our resources to more constructive purposes so that human and material resources will not be used to threaten and injure human beings. We can learn much from the accomplishment of the citizens' movement that

realised the treaty ban land mines. Let us, as members of co-operatives in our countries, request our governments to pursue ways for peaceful settlement of conflicts. And let us urge our own governments to take the initiative to hold UN Sessions on Disarmament with the goal of abolishing nuclear weapons within a clear time frame.

29. United Nations

Resolution of the General Assembly on Co-operatives in Social Development (A/RES/54/123, New York, 20 January 2000)

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 47/90 of 16 December 1992 and 49/155 of 23 December 1994 and its resolution 51/58 of 12 December 1996 in which it requested the Secretary – General to ascertain, in cooperation with the Committee for the Promotion and Advancement of Co-operatives, the desirability and feasibility of elaborating United Nations guidelines aimed at creating a supportive environment for the development of cooperatives.

Welcoming the report of the Secretary- General on the status and role of cooperatives in the light of new economic and social trends¹ and the draft guidelines aimed at creating a supportive environment for the development of cooperatives annexed thereto,

Recognizing that cooperatives, in their various forms, are becoming a major factor of economic and social development by promoting the fullest possible participation in the development process of women and all population groups, including youth, older persons and people with disabilities, and are increasingly providing an effective and affordable mechanism for meeting people's needs for basic social services,

Recognizing also the important contribution and potential of all forms of cooperatives to the follow-up to the World Summit for Social

Development, held at Copenhagen from 6 to 12 March 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women, held at Beijing from 4 to 15 September 1995, the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), held at Istanbul, Turkey, from 3 to 14 June 1996, and the World Food Summit, held at Rome from 13 to 17 November 1996 including their five year reviews,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General on the status and role of cooperatives in the light of new economic and social trends;

2. Welcomes the elaboration of the draft guidelines aimed at creating a supportive environment for the development of cooperatives;

3. Requests the Secretary – General to seek views from Governments on the draft guidelines and provide, if necessary, a revised version for adoption;

4. Urges Governments, relevant international organizations and specialized agencies, in collaboration with national and international cooperative organizations, to give due consideration to the role and contribution of cooperatives in the implementation of and follow-up to the outcomes of the World Summit for Social Development, the Fourth World Conference on Women, the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) and the World Food Summit, including their five-year reviews, by, *inter alia* :

(a) Utilizing and development fully the potential and contribution of cooperatives for the attainment of social development goals, in particular the eradication of poverty, the generation of full and productive employment and the enhancement of social integration;

(b) Encouraging and facilitating the establishment and development of cooperatives, including taking measures aimed at enabling people living in poverty or belonging to vulnerable groups to engage on a voluntary basis in the creation and development of cooperatives;

(c) Taking appropriate measures aimed at creating a supportive and enabling environment for the development of cooperatives by, *inter alia*, developing an effective partnership between Governments and the

cooperative movement;

5. Invites Governments, relevant international organizations, specialized agencies and local, national and international cooperative organizations to continue to observe the International Day of Cooperatives annually, on the first Saturday of July, as proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 47/90;

6. Requests the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the relevant United Nations and other international organizations, to render support to Member States, as appropriate, in their efforts to create a supportive environment for the development of cooperatives, including through the organization of workshops and seminars at the national, subregional and regional levels;

7. Also requests the Secretary – General to prepare, in consultation with Member States and the relevant United Nations organizations and international organizations, a report on the implementation of the present resolution and to submit it, through the Economic and Social Council, to the General Assembly at its fifty-six session.

83rd plenary meeting

17 December 1999

30. I.C.A. Rio Co-operative Declaration 2000

The International Co-operative Alliance meeting at Riocoop 2000, from December 3-7, under the banner “co-operative identity for the new millenium”

Whilst being aware of:

- The situation in which millions of human beings live who are afflicted by poverty, by a lack of employment, lack of adequate housing and by inadequate social welfare systems due to the concentration of wealth, and social exclusion;

- The growing violence due to arms transfers that worsens social conditions as stressed by the International Code of Conduct, initiated by the Commission of Nobel Peace Laureates.

- The serious degradation of the environment that limits the possi-

bility of life for the present generation and for those not yet born, and that threatens the planet that is our only home; and

- The absence of solidarity that characterises this era with the proliferation of antisocial attitudes and conduct with impunity, and that generates public and private corruption, factors which pose an imminent danger to democratic society.

DECLARED:

1. It's willingness and capacity to contribute for a more just transparent and democratic society as testified by the daily activities carried out by co-operatives all over the world;

2. It's interest in exhorting governments, political parties, organisations of civil society, and all people who love peace to join forces to fight for the reduction of weapons and the elimination of violence, and to struggle for social justice. We reaffirm at the same time, our disposition as a world organisation to work to generate more employment and decent shelter and to reduce social exclusion;

3. It's willingness to build a society in harmony with nature;

4. It's desire that the co-operative shall continue to contribute to a more equitable social, political and economic world order, inspired by the co-operative principles and values, thereby giving effective support to democratic society; and

5. That the International Co-operative Alliance Assumes the commitment to rally the support of millions of members of co-operatives in the quest for peace, solidarity, equity, justice, equality, environmental protection and sustainable development.

Therefore: The international co-operative alliance, in order to achieve these objectives, will present at next year's meeting of the general assembly of the United Nations, by means of our director-general, this initiative with the support mentioned in testimony to our commitment to present and future generations,

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, December 7, 2000

Oscar Arias, Nobel Peace Laureate

Roberto Rodrigues, President International Co-operative Alliance
Miguel Cardozo, President International Co-operative Alliance,
Americas Region
Dejandir Dalpasquale, President Co-operative Organisation of Brazil

31. ICA General Assembly, Seoul, October 2001

1. Resolution on Democracy and Peace

The ICA General Assembly,

NOTING that the greatest threats to democracy and peace are cultural and religious conflicts, social exclusion and concentration of wealth,

RECOGNISING that co-operatives from all sectors and in countries around the world are generating jobs and, thus combating social and ethnic exclusion; as well as bringing together individuals who are individually weak into enterprises through which and through their strength are capable to face the wealth concentration,

REAFFIRMING that for these reasons, co-operatives are the perfect allies of governments to defend democracy and peace,

CALLS ON members to reaffirm their commitment to democracy and peace, to give greater visibility to the role of co-operatives in defending democracy and peace in a global economy and to include the phrase, "Co-operatives: Democracy and Peace" on their letterhead, envelopes and other official papers.

2. Resolution on the Rio Co-operative Declaration

The ICA General Assembly,

AWARE of the support mobilised by ICA members for the Rio Co-operative Declaration of December 2000 which underlines the commitment of co-operatives to contribute to creating a more just, transparent and democratic society in which peace, social justice and respect for the environment reign,

REAFFIRMS ICA's commitment to rally the support of millions of members of co-operatives in the quest for peace, solidarity, equity, justice, equality, environmental protection and sustainable development.

AGREES that the Declaration be formally transmitted to the United Nations to convey to the world community the commitment of the co-operative movement to contribute to a more equitable social, political and economic world order, inspired by the co-operative principles and values.

3. Resolution on the Co-operative Advantage

This General Assembly, meeting in Seoul in October 2001,

NOTES the timely focus on attention given to membership of co-operatives by the presentation at the Quebec Congress in 1999, and

RECOGNISING the opportunities that exist in today's world for the application of Co-operative Principles and the organisational form in helping solve the problems of poverty, health, unemployment and other social ills,

URGES member organisations to give renewed attention to the way in which they can promote the "co-operative advantage" in their communities based on practical examples being followed by other co-operatives, and

REQUESTS that the importance of membership be acknowledged, and consequently be a feature of all development activities.

4. Resolution on Co-operative Policy and Legislation

The ICA General Assembly,

NOTES the importance of appropriate national and local co-operative policies and legislation for the establishment and development of co-operatives,

RECOGNISES the significant efforts of the ICA in working with international bodies to promote better understanding of co-operatives and ensuring that policy and legislation does not hinder co-operatives' ability to serve their membership,

COMMENDS the International Labour Office (ILO) and the United Nations (UN) for their efforts in putting forward policy statements and

documents that will assist governments to better understand the role and of co-operatives and the government – co-operative relationship,

FURTHER COMMENDS the ICA for its support to co-operative legislative issues and endorses the Guidelines for Co-operative Legislation,

COMMITTS ICA on behalf of and with the active participation of member organisations to continue its work with the ILO and UN in the formulation and implementation of policy instruments on co-operatives including the revision of ILO Recommendation 127. This should be done through a specific working group, representative of ICA member organisations and specialised bodies.

CALLS ON each ICA member organisation to take contact with their government to ensure that they are aware of the initiatives taken by the ILO and UN with regard to co-operatives and that they support the following:

1. The definition of a co-operative as: “an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise”.

2. The recognition of the Co-operative Values and Principles with special emphasis on the fact that co-operatives are autonomous, self-help organisations controlled by their members.

3. Government policies should create enabling environments to enable the growth of co-operatives taking into consideration the special character of the co-operative model of enterprise, its goals and contributions to the economic and social development of local communities and countries.

4. Governments should in collaboration with co-operative organisations identify and remove obstacles that persist and do not allow co-operatives to compete on a real equal footing with other forms of enterprise.

**32. Statement of Mr. Romano Prodi,
President of the European Commission on:**

CO-OPERATIVE ADDED VALUE

Brussels, 15 February 2002

President Pflimlin, President Hillbom, Ladies and Gentlemen, Co-operators, thank you for your warm welcome to this Convention.

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to hear in detail about the concerns of co-operatives not only in the EU but also in the candidate countries. I believe that co-operative enterprises have a very important role to play in helping Europe achieve its economic, social and political aims. Co-operatives are also a clear demonstration that the spirit of solidarity which is at their root in no way clashes with an entrepreneurial outlook – the combination thus produces a virtuous circle. That is why the Commission intends to do all it can to help co-operatives do business in Europe. Two years ago at the Lisbon Summit, European leaders set themselves a very ambitious goal for this decade: to transform the Union into “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustaining economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion”. To achieve this goal requires swift and decisive action to reform not only our economies but also our social model. We are rightly proud of our European social model and the purpose of reform is to modernise and preserve it for future generations. Of course, the social model takes different forms in different countries, but the aim in all EU Member States is to combine economic efficiency and social justice. We do not accept that these objectives are incompatible. Some people claim we cannot combine a healthy, competitive economy with a fair and caring society. To refute this view we need look no further than the everyday experience of the thousands of co-operatives in Europe. Entrepreneurial individuals start up cooperatives of their own free will, as grass-roots associations. They are the only kind of enterprise whose wealth stems less from the capital that goes into them than on the contribution of the men and women who work in them. Co-operatives are different from

all other enterprises because they spring up and are established more on the basis of values than on the basis of resources.

Values such as pride in a product or service made to the very best standards, such as the desire to work together with others, such as the involvement of equals, such as solidarity. This model works. Co-operatives employ 2.3 million people in the European Union alone. Businesses like yours clearly demonstrate that it is possible to be profitable, innovative and competitive whilst at the same time achieving wider social and environmental goals. What is it about co-operatives that makes them so special? What is their “added value”?

1. Co-operatives as Enterprises

First, co-operatives are autonomous, viable and innovative enterprises that have an important role in the modern mixed market economy.

Co-operatives are autonomous because they are owned and managed by their members; they are not dependent on public sector support.

They are viable because they operate within a market context and without subsidy.

They can provide services in innovative ways because they directly involve their principal stakeholders in their decision-making processes.

Co-operatives are therefore, first and foremost, competitive enterprises.

2. Co-operative Added Value

Second, co-operatives are free associations of members.

As such, they provide important additional benefits to those members, and to wider society. This added value can help Europe respond to several challenges we face today. Globalisation and regional development, for example. There is a widespread perception that the positive benefits of globalisation are not always filtering down, and that the negative consequences are causing exclusion and disaffection. Co-operatives help us respond to this challenge by providing a bridge between

the market place and the small enterprise or individual, simply because of the spirit of solidarity of which they are born. They enable small enterprises to compete in larger markets, whilst retaining their autonomy and local base. They enable individuals in region that have difficulty in attracting capital to satisfy their own needs through self-help. Co-operatives therefore have a key role to play in regional and local -development. Again, the feeling of solidarity of which cooperatives are born roots them firmly in local communities, because that feeling of solidarity spreads beyond the confines of the cooperative itself. In many rural areas they are keeping local services alive. For example, as many banks are closing down branches in small towns and villages, co-operative banks are frequently left as the only service provider. Then there is the challenge of corporate social responsibility. Here too, co-operatives have an important contribution to make. The Commission's Green Paper on CSR recognises that co-operatives "structurally integrate other stakeholders". An enterprise that is free from the primary need to provide a return to investors is also free to take a long term view of the interests of its stakeholders, be they customers, employees or the wider community. We should therefore look to co-operatives for inspiration and ideas in the follow-up to the Green Paper.

Third, there is the challenge of Governance.

One of my most important concerns during my time as President of the European Commission has been to seek ways of getting citizens more actively involved in the European project. The Commission's White Paper on Governance, published last July, was born out of a realisation that we had to make the European institutions respond more openly and effectively to the needs of citizens. But it was also born of our concern that participation is declining at all levels. Participation is at the very heart of our European values and we cannot remain passive in face of its decline. Co-operatives are schools of democratic participation and active citizenship. They enable individuals to influence their own destiny, to organise themselves in pursuit of common objectives. Citizens who come together to form co-operatives demonstrate that there is more than one way of doing things. Co-operatives show that people can achieve something important. They show that

work, entrepreneurialism and profit are not ends to which everything else must be sacrificed. Members of co-operatives can create their own jobs, provide their own community and care services, defend their common interests as consumers, provide loans at equitable rates and mutually insure their risks.

3. Candidate Countries

For all of these reasons, co-operatives must play an important role in developing the economies and societies of the candidate countries. Co-operatives have always grown and thrived in conditions where individuals needs are unsatisfied by private or public investment. This is the situation in which many citizens of the candidate countries now find themselves. They must be encouraged to find their own solutions. Let me make one thing clear: co-operatives are not a planning tool – part of the old centralised economy. They are an integral part of a modern, mixed market economy. They are private enterprises. They are an expression of economic freedom. So they do not need special treatment or favours, and I don't suppose any of you here today are asking for positive discrimination. What co-operatives do need, however, is a regulatory framework adapted to your specific characteristics. In a world where the investor-led, business model is pre-eminent we must ensure that the regulatory environment also takes into account the needs of other forms of business. We must respect the freedom to choose how to do business in Europe. What the French call the right to "entreprendre autrement". That is precisely where the Commission can help in practical ways.

For example the adoption of the European Co-operation Statute, which should happen this year, will send a strong signal to the governments and administrations of candidate countries. The Statute will become part of the *acquis* that they will have to adopt as a condition of membership. The statute incorporates many facets of recent developments in European co-operative law and should provide a reference for the development of modern co-operative legislation in the candidate countries. In the existing EU Member States, co-operatives already have a legal basis for their operations: but they still have to be vigilant that

legislators take their interests into account. That is why you and your member organisations have a very important role in making those interests more visible and helping legislators understand them. Many of the rules and regulations governing business in Europe are now decided in Brussels, so the Commission too must make an effort to better understand the characteristics and needs of co-operatives. That is the purpose of our Consultation document “Co-operatives in Enterprise Europe”. The consultation process will also give us a clearer picture of the ways in which co-operative enterprises can help achieve wider Community objectives.

4. Conclusions

Ladies and gentlemen,

Co-operatives are more relevant today than they have ever been. Their ability to combine the efficiency and energy of an entrepreneurial approach with the values and accountability of the public sector and civil society makes them an essential part of the European economic and social model. The consultation process my Commission has launched will greatly help my staff understand how we can provide a suitable environment for your future development. The Commission In a second part of this publication are placed the original texts (Resolutions, Declarations and Statements) of 32 International Congresses, General Assemblies and other events of I.C.A. and U.N. of the period 1902 – 2001, as well as the recent Statement of Co-operative Added Value of Mr Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission.

These documents, collected and studied by the author, are presented in their integral form so that co-operators, readers and researchers be able to further investigate and study the subject of Peace involved in the process of economic and social development of the Third Economic System (co-operative organizations, enterprises and local societies) in Europe and around the world as well.

looks forward to hearing from you. Your input at this stage will help ensure that Europe harnesses the important potential of the co-operative concept.

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Research – Fellow (1965 – 1967) in Social Institutions, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Scientific Officer (1968-1970) International Labour Office (ILO), Geneva. As Director of the ILO Office for Central Africa countries (1971 – 1972), Director of the ILO Office of Bangladesh (1973-1974) and Director of the ILO Office for the French – speaking countries of Asia (1975 – 1976), he studied locally and implemented the ILO Programme of Social Development in the above (7) countries. In-charge in parallel of Labour Relations in all countries of Asia.

Special Adviser to the UNDP/ILO European Project of Re-integration of the Second Generation Workers in their countries of origin (8 Mediterranean countries), 1983.

He served as Chief of the Section of Legislation, Studies, Human Resources and Documentation, Branch of Co-operation, Dept of Enterprise and Co-operative Development, ILO Geneva (1984 – 1992).

He undertook several field research work and elaborated Studies and Reports published by ILO and ICA on several topics (social development, women's promotion, economic, labour and co-operative legislation, rural settlement of cattle – breeding populations (Niger, Chad, Djibouti, Mongolia), workers education, professional training). For this purpose, he undertook since 1982 some 90 short – term advisory missions to more than 30 countries of Central – Eastern Europe, Asia, Indian Ocean and Africa, on behalf of ILO, of the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA), of the World Bank, of the EE and of other scientific Authorities and Universities.

He participated in ICA's Advisory Committee for the Study – Report on Co-operative Values in a Changing World (Tokyo, 1992) and in the Consultative Committee for the Reformulation of the International Co-operative Rules for the 21th c. (Manchester, 1995). Biodata in Who-is-Who of United Nations (N.Y. 1993), of Greece as from 1994 and of the European Centennial (2000).

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