

# Studies and Reports

Thirtieth in the series

## THEMATIC GUIDE TO ICA CONGRESSES 1895 - 1995

by Dr. Rita Rhodes and Professor Dionysos Mavrogiannis



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# **THEMATIC GUIDE TO ICA CONGRESSES 1895 - 1995**

by Dr. Rita Rhodes and Professor Dionysos Mavrogiannis

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*Note: ICA formed Auxiliary Committees to deal with issues relating to specific economic sectors. These changed names several times during the Alliance's history and are now referred to as Specialised Bodies (Organisations and Committees). For the sake of consistency, the term Specialised Bodies will be used throughout this text.*

## List of Presidents and Directors of the ICA (1895-1995)

The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey	UK	President	1895-1917
Henry W. Wolff	UK	President	1895-1907
Sir William Maxwell	UK	President	1907-1921
G.J.D.C. Goedhart	Netherlands	President	1921-1927
Väinö Tanner	Finland	President	1927-1945
Lord Rusholme	UK	Acting President	1940-1946
		President	1946-1948
Sir Harry Gill	UK	President	1948-1955
Marcel Brot	France	President	1955-1960
Mauritz Bonow	Sweden	President	1960-1975
Roger Kerinec	France	President	1975-1984
Lars Marcus	Sweden	President	1984-1995
Graham Melmoth	UK	President	1995-
E.O. Greening	UK	Secretary	1895-1902
J.C. Gray	UK	Secretary	1902-1907
Hans Müller	Switzerland	General-Sec.	1908-1913
Henry J. May, OBE	UK	General Sec.	1913-1939
Gertrude F. Polley, OBE	UK	Acting Gen. Sec.	1939-1947
		Secretary	1947-1963
Thorsten Odhe	Sweden	Director	1948-1951
William P. Watkins	UK	Director	1951-1963
W. Gemmell Alexander	UK	Director	1963-1968
Surrendra K. Saxena	India	Director	1968-1981
André E. Saenger	Switzerland	Director	1981-1983
Françoise Baulier	France	Interim Director	1983-1984
Robert Beasley	USA	Director	1984-1988
Bruce Thordarson	Canada	Director-General	1988 -

## List of the 31 Congresses

1. London ..... 1895
2. Paris ..... 1896
3. Delft..... 1897
4. Paris ..... 1900
5. Manchester ..... 1902
6. Budapest ..... 1904
7. Cremona ..... 1907
8. Hamburg ..... 1910
9. Glasgow ..... 1913
10. Basel ..... 1921
11. Ghent ..... 1924
12. Stockholm ..... 1927
13. Vienna ..... 1930
14. London ..... 1934
15. Paris ..... 1937
16. Zurich ..... 1946
17. Prague ..... 1948
18. Copenhagen ..... 1951
19. Paris ..... 1954
20. Stockholm ..... 1957
21. Lausanne ..... 1960
22. Bournemouth ..... 1963
23. Vienna ..... 1966
24. Hamburg ..... 1969
25. Warsaw ..... 1972
26. Paris ..... 1976
27. Moscow ..... 1980
28. Hamburg ..... 1984
29. Stockholm ..... 1988
30. Tokyo ..... 1992
31. Manchester ..... 1995



## About the authors



Professor Dionysos Mavrogiannis is Scientific Counsellor of the Institute of Co-operative Research and Studies of Athens and external collaborator and consultant of the ICA. He was a member of the ICA Advisory Committee for the Basic Values (Sven Åke Bööck's Report to the ICA Congress, Tokyo, 1992, "Co-operative Values in a Changing World") and of the Consultative Committee for the Co-operative identity and Principles (Ian MacPherson's Report to the ICA Centennial Congress, Manchester 1995). He served as Director of ILO's Office for Central African countries (Kinshasa 1969-1972), for Bangladesh (Dhaka, 1973-1974) and for French-speaking countries of S.E. Asia (1975-1976); Chief of the Section of Legislation, Studies and Documentation, Co-operative Branch, ILO Geneva, from 1983 to 1992. Prior

to that, he was official of the same Co-operative Branch (1968-1970) and Research Officer of the Co-operative College of Paris (1966-1967).

He is involved in activities of legislative policy and co-operative development in various countries of Africa, Asia and Europe (particularly in countries of Central and Eastern Europe in connection with privatisation, restructuring of co-operatives and transition to the market economy). He received the State Doctorate from the University Paris II and taught Rural Sociology in the National University of Kinshasa, Industrial Sociology in the Macedonia University of Salonica and Law and General Sociology in Demokritos University of Thrace.

He is the author of several books, articles and technical reports on co-operative development, legislation, education, sociology of economic groups and women's involvement in co-operative societies and self-help economic groups.

Dr. Rita Rhodes first studied Co-operation at the British Co-operative College. She later became a Lecturer in Co-operative Studies at the University of Ulster. Within the Movement she has held educational posts in the British Consumer Co-operative Movement and National Co-operative Development Agency, and at the International Co-operative Alliance. The last post was combined with that of Secretary to the ICA Women's Committee. Dr. Rhodes has carried out co-operative education, training and evaluation assignments in Egypt, Malaysia, Mongolia and Sri Lanka. A member of the British Society of Co-operative Studies, which she has chaired, Rita Rhodes gained her PhD. at the Open University, UK. Her thesis was on "The International Co-operative Alliance During War and Peace 1910 - 1950." A book version of this was published by the ICA to commemorate its Centennial. Rita Rhodes has also been involved in other co-operative research and has written many articles and papers on Co-operation. She was a member of the Consultative Committee assisting Prof. MacPherson during the ICA's recent review of the Co-operative Identity and Co-operative Principles.

## Introductory Note

The centenary of the International Co-operative Alliance, celebrated at the Centennial Congress in Manchester in 1995, naturally highlighted the history of the International Co-operative Movement. At such a time it is therefore legitimate to examine where the ICA has come from and where it might be going in the future.

In his 1970 history of the Alliance, W.P. Watkins wrote, 'Social institutions, such as the International Co-operative Alliance, which lose sight of their past are in danger of losing control over their future'. Our main aim is, therefore, to help illuminate the past and to do so by examining the subjects considered by ICA Congresses 1895 - 1995. Whilst we are confident that the results of the exercise will interest co-operators in general, we believe that other international non-governmental organisations, UN bodies and academics concerned with the international co-operative movement will also be interested. In addition, we hope that this work will help to inform younger co-operative movements about the noble and, at times, heroic history of the organisation to which they now adhere. Our methodological approach has largely rested on the investigation of the Reports and Papers presented to, and discussed by, the 31 Congresses of the ICA during its first century. From its founding in 1895, until the structural changes approved by the 30th Congress in Tokyo, 1992, the Secretariat was responsible to the Executive and Central Committees, while the latter were accountable to Congresses held every three or four years. The documentation produced for those Congresses, and the subsequent Congress Reports provide a valuable corpus of research material.

We are aware that historians can view organisations' official documents with some caution because there is the danger that they tend to represent the leadership's view. In the case of the ICA, we believe that this risk has been minimised by the fact that the organisation has always been strongly constitutional, democratic, egalitarian and participatory, acting

under the control of its member organisations represented in its Central Committee and, since 1992, in its General and Regional Assemblies.

At the outset it will be helpful to look at the kind of historical documentation that ICA Congresses produced. An important part of this was the Central Committee's account of its stewardship since the previous Congress, contained in the Central Committee's Report to Congress. This summarised the day-to-day work of the Alliance as carried out by the Secretariat and the Executive Committee; it therefore provides useful insights into the issues that the Alliance faced. These included relations between the ICA and its member co-operative movements; its position on wider international relations issues, particularly threats to world peace but also various world conferences; and its relations with the League of Nations, the United Nations and organisations within their systems. Figuring also in the Central Committee Reports to Congresses were reports on the Alliance's relations with other international working class organisations such as the Socialist International and Trade Unions; technical assistance activities; meetings, conferences and seminars; missions, research work and publications; and the activities of the Auxiliary or Specialised Organisations as well as Working Groups. Documentation relating to all these provides valuable historic source material.

Besides receiving, considering and ultimately approving Central Committee Reports, ICA Congresses also considered major issues on which it was desirable that the international co-operative movement should take a position. These included international trade, economic and social questions in developed and developing countries, inter-co-operation and peace, which will be major themes of this study. As will be seen, all the subjects discussed were important and had contemporary significance for the Alliance. But obviously some were more fundamental than others.

An example would be the periodic reviews of Co-operative Principles. Having taken responsibility for the first of these in the 1930s, the Alliance became, in effect, the guardian of Co-operative Principles. There were practical reasons why the ICA should assume this responsibility. A co-operative organisation's observance of those Principles has always been closely linked to its eligibility for ICA membership which, in turn, has been spelled out in the ICA Rules.

From the time of the Alliance's first Constitution, only an ICA Congress could change the organisation's Rules on the grounds that this was the highest and most representative authority in the organisation. Consequently, another function of Congresses, and an important area of documentation examined, were changes to ICA Rules.

In addition to all these functions - receiving the Central Committee's Report, debating important issues presented in commissioned papers, and considering proposed changes to ICA Rules - ICA Congresses exhibited another democratic characteristic. This was the right of member co-operative movements to propose resolutions which, when passed, became part of the Alliance's policy. The most notable and sustained line of policy to emerge in this way was the Alliance's support of world peace (the first resolution on this was passed at the Congress in Manchester in 1902). Others concerned co-operative development, international trade and inter-co-operation.

It can thus be seen that the Congresses reflected the main features of the ICA's life. Reports and Proceedings of those Congresses therefore constitute a valuable source of research material, enhanced by the fact that the Reports were always comprehensive and, until recent times, largely verbatim. Not only did they publish in full the Central Committee's Report and the papers presented to Congress, but they also recorded all speakers' contributions, thus reflecting the cut and thrust of debate. Many of those debates were of the highest order in that they represented harsh choices, such as those between producer

and consumer co-operation in the Alliance's early years; how to preserve peace; and how to resolve the tension between traditional Rochdale Co-operation and State-dominated co-operative organisations in socialist countries.

From the above, it will be readily appreciated that much work was involved in compiling this Thematic Guide and its accompanying Thematic Index. It was therefore divided, with Rita Rhodes handling Congresses 1-17 and Dionysos Mavrogiannis Congresses 18-31. The Thematic Index was jointly constructed; likewise the introduction and conclusions.

We decided to indicate page numbers in brackets immediately after the titles of papers, together with (E) or (F) to indicate whether the Congress Report quoted was in English or French. Congress Reports were invariably produced in these two languages, but they have at different times, including more recently, been produced in German, Spanish and Russian.

At the outset, we should note that the format of the Congress Reports changed somewhat, as was to be expected over a period of 100 years. Consequently, it has not always been possible to retain consistency in our presentation. A further problem has been that ICA Congress Reports did not always spell delegates' names, or give their titles, in the same way. Likewise the names of the countries did not always remain consistent. In order to give prominence to the Congress themes, the authors decided, by and large, not to mention other reports or papers unless they were related in some way to the themes.

Our analysis takes two forms. First, we will provide a brief description of each Congress: location, relevant historical background, who presided, participants, and the main issues of concern before that Congress. Secondly, building on this synoptic approach, and taking into account their frequency, we will identify the main recurring themes.

In this way, we should be able to present, in a summarised form, the fundamental issues that have motivated, energised and agitated the Alliance. These should not merely illustrate the Alliance's philosophical base, against which all issues were judged, but also enable us to see how its organisational capacity facilitated debates and accommodated any strains and tensions arising from them, particularly on conditions of membership, eligibility to various committees, approach to problems with technical assistance and others.

In reaching its centenary, the Alliance is rare among international non-governmental organisations: to do so among international working class movements is unique. Having made a synoptic overview of the 31 ICA Congresses organised between 1895 and 1995 in the first part of the study, we will be moving to the second part, the Thematic Index, which classifies subjects and papers which came before Congresses. Exceptionally, a few of the myriad items included in the reports of the ICA Central Committee will also be taken into account. All subjects presented at, and discussed by, the 31 Congresses concerned, as well as decisions taken in the form of Resolutions, will be grouped in a list of Themes by the chronological order in which they appeared in one or more Congresses.

In Part II, our aim is to assist readers and co-operative researchers to select themes which interest them, to form a global impression of the information available in Part I and, through it, the Congress Reports and papers. Part II indicates how many times each theme or subject has occurred over time, from one Congress to the next.

Rita Rhodes  
Dionysos Mavrogiannis





**Part I**  
**Thematic Description**  
**of Congresses**



## **First Congress: London, United Kingdom, 19-22 August, 1895**

**Congress President:** *The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, United Kingdom*

**Representation:** *Approx. 200 from 14 countries, including observers (see below)*

**Report:** *English, 432 pp.*

The idea of bringing together co-operators from various countries dates back to 1880, when the British Co-operative Union appointed a Foreign Inquiry Committee. In 1886 this Committee, at a meeting between British and Italian co-operators in Milan proposed a “Scheme for Promoting an International Co-operative Union”. One year later, the Congress of the British Movement at Carlisle, following a proposal by the eminent French co-operator, M. de Boyve, adopted a resolution saying that “it is expedient to form an International Co-operative Alliance, for the promotion of co-operative organisations and social peace” (p. 7). The first Congress took place only eight years later. However preparatory meetings between British and foreign co-operators were held as early as 1892, so when the Congress met the ICA already had an embryonic membership (individuals and organisations) and income (balance sheet 1892-1895 pp. VI-VII).

Besides British societies, a large number of European co-operative associations declared their support for the new organisation (p. 16), and “Appendix A” of the First Congress Report carries a list of adherents to the International Co-operative Alliance prior to its first Congress (p. 23). The representatives of twelve countries, namely France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Servia, Denmark, USA, Australia, India,

Argentina and England, sent delegates and visitors. There were two visitors from Austria-Hungary and Russia and some organisations, unable to attend, sent telegrams of greetings and support. The total number of participants reached about 200 people, of whom 160 were British (pp. 28-33).

The First Congress began to establish the new organisation's aims and methods of working. To a remarkable degree, the ICA's Constitution changed little during its first 90 years, although emphasis shifted within it. For example, many attending the first Congress were primarily interested in producers' co-operation and profit-sharing. Later Congresses would show a shift to consumer co-operatives. At the First Congress, reports examining the practices of production co-operatives in England and France, and profit sharing in Germany, were debated during the Second and the Fourth Days of the Congress (pp. 78 - 132 and 193 - 196). The morning of the Third Day was devoted to co-operative banking, with a background paper prepared by H.W. Wolff (pp. 141 - 144), and two country papers from Belgium (pp. 144-146) and Italy (pp. 146 - 152). On the Fourth Day, during consideration of co-operative distribution, a British delegate gave a detailed description of the store movement (pp. 174 - 185) in England. On the Fifth Day, Horace Plunkett from Ireland spoke at length on agricultural co-operatives (pp. 217 - 226), followed by French and Serbian delegates (pp. 226 - 230).

The first Congress appointed a provisional Central Committee to draft the ICA's Rules. Its preliminary report was presented before Congress rose, and the following points were agreed, or acted upon:

- *That the Alliance, comprising both associations and individuals, would promote 'co-operation and profit-sharing in all their forms'.*
- *A Provisional Central Committee was elected consisting of British, French, Belgian, German, Italian and American members. It was empowered to form an Executive, comprising a Chairman,*

*Deputy Chairman who could also act as Treasurer, and a Secretary. Congress further agreed that 'This Bureau shall sit in London'.*

- *The Provisional Central Committee was charged with finalising the Alliance's Constitution, including the provision that Congresses would be held at intervals of not more than three years.*
- *Until the next Congress new members of the Alliance could be admitted by the Provisional Central Committee.*
- *Until the next Congress subscriptions were to be at least 'two shillings per annum for an individual and at least £1 for an organisation'.*
- *It was also agreed that 'The new Alliance does not interfere with politics or religion'.*

This last point reflected the influence of Rochdale co-operation in which religious and political neutrality had been a marked feature.

The Objects of the new organisation were:

*'To make known the co-operators of a country and their work to the co-operators of all other countries by congresses, the publication of literature, and other suitable means.*

*To elucidate by international discussion and correspondence the nature of true co-operative principles.*

*To establish commercial relations between the co-operators of different countries for their mutual advantage.'* (pp. 34 - 40)

In connection with the last point, we should note that the Congress agreed that, while the Alliance should not become a trading organisation it should set up a committee to encourage inter-co-operative trade.

Anticipating the dropping of individual membership, the Congress agreed that:

*"The Alliance will be careful to act, as much as possible, through the organisations existing in the various countries".*

From the above it will be seen that the 1895 Congress largely determined the future form and substance of the Alliance. It provided for periodic Congresses; the creation of a Central Committee, which would elect an Executive Committee or 'Bureau'; and suggested activities including the propagation of Co-operative Principles, developing relations between co-operators in different countries and inter-co-operative trading links. The Alliance was to remain politically and religiously neutral.

One particular feature of the Congress, which began a tradition, was that of the presentation of reports on the co-operative situation in various countries. The First Congress thus received papers on United Kingdom and Ireland (p. 249); Belgium (p. 271); Germany (p. 278); France (p. 306); Austria-Hungary (p. 346); Denmark (p. 359); the Netherlands (p. 371), the USA (p. 376); Servia (p. 382) and Spain (p. 410). These reports are of interest to co-operative historians as they touch upon late 19th century co-operative progress in different sectors (consumer, dairy, production, agriculture, banks etc.), including detailed statistics. They also cast light on theoretical issues such as profit sharing, relations with the State, etc. This exchange of information influenced and facilitated the development of co-operative thought in early days.

### **Resolutions adopted**

*14 resolutions were adopted, including those on:*

1. Creation of the ICA
2. Profit-sharing
3. Co-operative banking
4. Agricultural co-operatives

## **Second Congress: Paris, France, 28-31 October, 1896**

**ICA President:** *The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, United Kingdom*

**Congress President:** *Jules Siegfried, France*

**Representation:** *398 participants from 15 countries*

**Report:** *French, 176 pp.*

An international trade exhibition, the objective of which was to foster collaboration between producer and consumer co-operatives in various countries, was set up in the premises of the Musée Social at the time of the Congress (p. 8-13).

A definitive Constitution was agreed at this Congress (pp. 51-56 and 110-127), and was closely in line with the proposals made in London a year earlier. Membership of the Central Committee was set at 37 (France 6, United Kingdom 6, Italy 4, Belgium 3, Germany 3 and the remaining 12 countries, mostly European, each had one or two members). The non-European countries were Australia, the United States and the West Indies (Barbados) (pp. 128-129). Future Congresses were given the right of determining each country's representation on the Central Committee according to the size of its co-operative movement. Half the Central Committee would retire, but would be eligible for re-election, at each Congress.

The format of the 1896 Paris Congress prefigured that of subsequent Congresses in that business and constitutional matters were considered alongside wider co-operative issues. Consequently, the following papers were also considered:

### **I. Co-operation and its Practical Application (pp. 20-28) by Henry Buisson, France**

Buisson argued that Co-operation showed the way to a new social order through its ability to reconcile the returns to labour, talent and capital. Buisson further believed that the principle of equity should be the guiding principle of all co-operative theory. Although his paper was eventually accepted, it aroused a heated debate in Congress, which produced no recommendation on how co-operatives should divide their surpluses, i.e. profits. Instead, it agreed that they should 'in the spirit of justice . . . distribute the value of the products of labour in proportion to the contributions made by the different factors of production, taking account of the financial and physical risks incurred by each'. We should remember that, at this time, the Alliance contained many advocates of co-partnership and profit-sharing, as can be seen from the next proposal.

### **II. An International Commission on Profit-sharing (pp. 29-31) by Edward Owen Greening, United Kingdom**

Greening, who had played a large part in the founding of the ICA, often at his own expense, was a staunch supporter of profit-sharing. In this paper he not only explored issues concerning this, but also proposed that Congress should set up a permanent international commission on the question of more precisely defining the concepts of co-partnership and profit-sharing, and organise the collection of producer co-operatives' statistics. The Paris Congress approved Greening's paper and established the Commission with 20 members from 10 countries, Britain and France each having five representatives.

### **III. Co-operation as Applied to Agriculture (pp. 32-36) by Dr. D. Haverstein, Germany**

Although his paper was on agricultural co-operation in Germany, Haverstein also argued the need for closer co-operation between rural agricultural co-operatives and urban consumer societies, necessitated by increasing urbanisation and industrialisation. His paper marked the beginning of a long strand of debate within the Alliance about the rela-



tionship between consumer and agricultural co-operatives. It was followed by another by Henry Wolff, also arguing for closer relations between co-operatives, but from a different direction.

**IV. Commercial Relations to be Established Between Co-operators (pp. 37-42) by Henry Wolff, United Kingdom Member of the Executive Bureau**

Wolff argued that close commercial relations would assist co-operative development, and he proposed the setting up of local and national committees. The functions of these would be to advise the ICA's Head Office and also form an International Trading Relations Committee within the Alliance. The Paris Congress agreed to Wolff's proposals, and also called on consumer co-operatives to purchase their goods, as far as possible, from industrial and agricultural productive societies.

**V. Collection of International Co-operative Statistical Data (pp. 44-46 and 131-134) by M. Moron, France**

Moron proposed the setting up of another Committee in the Alliance to collect statistical data from national co-operative organisations. This should then be published in an ICA Yearbook. The Committee, comprising 20 representatives from 13 countries, was elected and Congress decided that the Yearbook should be funded by a special grant from ICA subscriptions, together with donations and revenue from advertisements. This move began a long strand of ICA activity which stemmed from its original objects of making known the co-operators of one country to those of other countries.

**VI. The Role of the Press and the International Co-operative Alliance (pp. 47-50) by Edouard de Boyve, France**

Like Edward Owen Greening, de Boyve had been a pivotal figure in the founding of the ICA. He was also a leader of those French consumer co-operatives that were based on the Rochdale model, rather than on earlier ones influenced by the followers of Saint-Simon. In his paper he argued that a Co-operative Press Committee should be formed in each country in order to promote the idea among the press.

It was at the Second Congress that the idea for the International Co-operative Day and the Co-operative Flag was first mentioned. Both proposals were advanced by a noted French Co-operator, Charles Robert, in the name of Mr Bernardot from the Familistère de Guise. The symbol suggested for the flag was the 'seven colours of the prism' adopted by followers of Saint-Simon\*, and the proposal was referred to the Central Committee for its consideration (pp. 140-141). Robert also suggested that the Alliance should organise an international co-operative festival along the lines of the British co-operators' annual festival at the Crystal Palace in London. Both ideas were eventually implemented by the ICA in the 1920s.

Although much of what was agreed at the Paris Congress was over ambitious, it showed the liveliness of the new organisation.

There were additional reports on co-operative progress in Italy (pp. 68-69), France (pp. 8-15, 76-77), England (pp. 69-70), Germany (pp. 70-71), Russia (pp. 71-74), Belgium (pp. 74-75), Spain (p. 75), the USA (pp. 75-76), Holland (pp. 77-80, 98-100), Switzerland (p. 80).

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Co-operation and its Practical Application (pp. 81-92)
2. International Commission on Profit-sharing (pp. 95-97)
3. Trading Relations between Co-operatives (pp. 101-108)
4. Role of the Press (p. 135)
5. Documentation for the Congress to be Published in Four Languages (p. 136)
6. Universal Co-operative Festival (p. 136)
7. Diverse Proposals re. Co-operative Trade (pp. 136-137)
8. Compulsory Co-operative Education within Secondary Schools (p. 139)
9. Co-operative Credit (pp. 139-140)

*\*Comte de Saint-Simon (Claude Henri) 1760-1825, was widely considered to be founder of French socialism and usually known as just Saint-Simon.*

## **Third Congress: Delft, Holland, 14-17 September, 1897**

**ICA President:** *The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, United Kingdom*

**Congress Presidents:** *J. C. Van Marken and Dr M. W. F. Treub, Holland*

**Representation:** *109 co-operative societies, 213 individual members and representatives of other bodies, 14 countries*

**ICA Report:** *French, 229 pp.*

The Delft Congress was the last at which profit-sharing and co-partnership played any significant part. From now on this declined as a force within the Alliance as consumer co-operation grew in strength. This Congress was also the last in which individual members were prominent. After 1897 momentum gathered for the Alliance to be formed from co-operative organisations rather than a mixture of these and individual members.

Another discernible trend was that of exchanging national co-operative experiences. Each of the four subjects considered was illuminated by a number of country papers.

### **I. Profit-sharing and Co-partnership (pp. 5-24) by Dr. P. Teenk-Willink (Holland)**

The main paper, presented by Dr P. Tjeenk-Willink was followed by a lengthy discussion (pp. 132-145, 158-162 and 164-171). Difficulties in defining co-partnership were revealed, but it was generally understood to mean the system under which co-operatives' worker/members participated in the net profits realised by their societies. It was agreed that the term 'profit-sharing' might be more appropriate.

**II. Co-operative Legislation in Different Countries (pp. 25-39) by Drs. A. E. Elias and A. Slotemaker (Holland); and a second paper (pp. 40-43) by Karl Wrabetz, Austria-Hungary (pp. 40-43)**

An animated discussion followed the presentation of the report and proposed resolution (pp. 149-158). These discussions illustrated the different legislative systems under which early co-operatives were operating. They also showed how much successful co-operative development was dependent on an appropriate legislative framework. The resulting resolution (p. 150) urged Governments not to put obstacles in the way of co-operatives, and to assist them by disseminating knowledge of various forms of association and passing suitably supportive legislation.

**III. Agricultural Co-operation - discussion on the resolution (pp. 173-185)**

These underlined the diversity of agricultural co-operatives - collective purchasing and marketing, processing, use of machines, cattle improvement, etc. - and the resulting resolution recognised the need to take into account the different needs in different places at different times.

**IV. Co-operative Trading Relations**

This discussion built on the initial work of the two previous Congresses. The debate led to the proposal that a Co-operative Trading Agency should be established to facilitate the exchange of goods and develop an exhibition centre for the use of consumer co-operatives. It also encouraged direct contacts between consumer and agricultural co-operatives, and good relations between trades unions and productive societies (pp. 186-211).

In addition to the above subjects the Congress received reports on co-operatives in the USA (pp. 44-45) and Australia (pp. 46-48). There were also reports from the ICA Committee of Statistics (pp. 49-50), and one on the Co-operative Press in the Netherlands following the resolution of the 1896 Congress that National Co-operative Press Committees should be established (pp. 51-52).

A resolution on women's participation in co-operatives was also passed, calling for co-operatives to delete rules which hindered women's admission to co-operatives or their election to committees and boards.

**Resolutions adopted**

1. Profit-sharing (pp. 133-145 and 158-162)
2. Relationship between Co-ops and State (pp. 149-158)
3. Promotion of Co-partnership (pp. 164-171)
4. Co-operation Applied to Agriculture (pp. 173-185)
5. Trade Relations between Co-operatives (pp. 186-204)
6. Women's Participation (pp. 205-206)

## **Fourth Congress: Paris, France, 18-21 July, 1900**

**ICA President:** *The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, United Kingdom*

**Congress President:** *Jules Siegfried, France*

**Representation:** *160 representatives, 145 societies, 16 countries*

**ICA Report:** *French, 203 pp.*

This Congress saw several changes. It was attended by representatives of 145 societies, including internationally-known co-operative personalities such as George Holyoake and Charles Gide, and a few newcomers who were soon to become prominent on the international scene. The latter included G.J.D.C. Goedhart, future President of the ICA, who reported on the Netherlands, and H. Müller, future General Secretary, who spoke on the co-operative position in Switzerland. A report on Austria was given by Karl Wrabetz, and another on Finland by Prof. Gebhard. Both were eminent members of the Central Committee.

Another change was that, although the exchange of national co-operative experience continued, this was done through written reports rather than by verbal presentation to the Congress. In this way Co-operative Movements in 13 countries gave information on their development (pp. 41-137).

The overall impression given by this Congress was that little was happening. In its Report, the Central Committee indicated that two ICA Commissions, that on Profit Sharing and another charged with collecting Co-operative Statistics, had not met since the previous Congress. Against this, however, the Committee on Trading Relations had met. It had also distributed 3,000 copies of a catalogue of co-operative products, funded by the sale of advertising space. Additionally, the Alliance had become solvent (p. 37).

### **Means of Developing the Action of the Alliance by Henry Wolff, United Kingdom (pp. 123-137)**

Only one paper, other than the country reports, was presented to the Congress. This was by Henry Wolff, who, as Chairman of the Executive Bureau and the Central Committee, had oversight of the young ICA's administration. It suggested ways in which the Alliance could move forward and stressed the importance of two-way communication between the Alliance and its member organisations. While Wolff suggested that this could be strengthened by the ICA developing its own publications, he felt that national co-operative movements had to play their part by keeping the ICA informed about their progress and by supplying it with copies of their own publications.

In approving Wolff's paper, Congress urged that there should also be an increase in exchanges between ICA members movements. It particularly recommended the sending of fraternal delegates to other co-operative movements' Congresses.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Means of Developing the Alliance's Activities (pp. 137-139)
2. Profit Sharing in Production Co-operatives (p. 147)
3. Setting-up of the Commercial Co-operative Bureau (p. 174)
4. Wholesale Trade (p. 174)
5. Assistance Consumer Societies Should Give to Workers' Societies (p. 175)
6. Co-operative Communications and Education (pp. 194-195)
7. Social role of Co-operation (p. 195)

## **Fifth Congress: Manchester, United Kingdom, 21-25 July, 1902**

**ICA President:** *The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, United Kingdom*  
**Congress President:** *Henry Wolff, United Kingdom*  
**Representatives:** *546 delegates, 261 societies, 18 countries*  
**Report:** *English, 445 pp.*

The Manchester Congress reflected some progress. It was well attended. With the inclusion of individual ICA members, those representing co-operative organisations, and invited guests, the total number of persons attending amounted to 575.

This was the second ICA Congress to hold a co-operative exhibition at which co-operative goods were displayed by 59 British and 32 other (Belgian, Danish, French, German, Italian and Dutch) co-operatives. It was the first Congress at which the subject of peace was formally raised. The location of the Congress enabled delegates to visit Rochdale, where Prof. Charles Gide, President of the Central Committee of the French Co-operative Union of Distributive Societies, who was rapidly becoming the Alliance's most notable theorist and historian, delivered a lecture on the Rochdale Pioneers (pp. 424-426).

Congress received a series of 19 reports on the co-operative movement in various countries, and with 11 upon the position of profit-sharing. The authors of the latter were well-known authorities on the question and their papers provide a valuable contemporary account of profit-sharing methods and their results.

It is interesting to note that Alphonse Desjardins, Chairman and Managing Director of the Caisse Populaire de Lévis, reported on the founding of the first 'caisse populaire' in Canada two years before.



Papers presented to the Congress came under three main headings:

### **I. Reports on Profit-sharing in Various Countries**

The following papers were presented:

*The British Empire* by D.F. Schloss, Labour Department of the Board of Trade (pp. 153-163)

*France* by Mr A. Trombert, Secretary of the Société pour l'étude pratique de la participation aux bénéfices (pp. 164-179)

*Germany, Austria and Switzerland* by Prof. V. Böhmert (pp. 179-197; 203-206; 206-212)

*The United States* by Rev. N. Paine Gilman (pp. 198-203)

*Belgium* by Mr A. Micha, Secretary of the Belgian Federation of Peoples Banks (pp. 213-215)

*The Netherlands* by Mr P. Tjeenk Willink (pp. 215-219)

*Denmark* by Mr S. Högsbro, Honorary Secretary of the Co-operative Union of Denmark (p. 220)

The discussion of the papers presented concluded with a resolution, moved by G.J. Holyoake, saying that there should be more propaganda in favour of profit-sharing so as to show employers the advantages of this practice (p. vii).

### **II. How can Co-operation Assist in Housing the Working Classes (pp. 277-342)**

Eight papers were presented.

Co-operative Societies as Providers of Workmen's Dwellings by Mr Omer Lepreux, Director General of the Belgian National Savings Bank (pp. 277-288)

Co-operative Building Associations in Germany by Landrath Berthold (pp. 289-301)

A successful Housing Experiment in Edinburgh by Sir Hugh Gilzean Reid (pp. 301-306)

How a Society may House its Members by Mr D. McInnes (pp. 307-322)

Co-operative Building in Holland by Mr G.J.D.C. Goedhart (pp. 323-324)

Garden Cities by Mr Ralph Neville (pp. 324-327)

The Artisans Dwellings' Co. by Mr G. Whichelo (pp. 327-330)

Woolwich Co-operative Housing Scheme by Mr T.G. Arnold (pp. 330-336)

The debate concluded with a resolution which urged co-operative societies to provide housing, and argued that it was legitimate to use the savings which workers had entrusted to them for this purpose (Resolution p. viii).

### **III. Land Settlement (pp. 343-384)**

Four papers were presented. They were:

What can Co-operation do to Help Solve the Problem of Settling Small Cultivators on the Land by Mr R. Winfrey C.C. (pp. 343-353)

Surigheddu and Crocevia: Two Experiments in Co-operative Land Settlement by Dr L.A. Perussia (pp. 354-361)

How to Create Small Holdings by Sir Robert Edgcumbe (pp. 361-371)

The Settlements at Winterslow and Bishopstone by Major R. Poore (pp. 371-376)

Discussion was followed by a resolution arguing that co-operatives were well placed to help in this matter (p. viii).

We should also note two powerful contributions which were made during the Congress. They were on:

**The necessity of the ICA as a means of drawing together those who desire the solution of social questions by peaceful means (pp. 399-403)** was stressed by Edouard de Boyve, from "Emancipation", and M. Gillemain, representative of the Bourse coopérative socialiste des coopératives de France (pp. 403-408). Both French, their contributions reflect the tone and stance of the ICA in the earliest years of this century. Like Edward Owen Greening, de Boyve had been a prime mover in the establishment of the ICA. At the end of the debate he moved a resolution in which he argued that co-operatives should seek both to protect the workers and to lessen the rivalries between classes and countries. The resolution was strongly supported by Prof. Gide, also from France, who argued that commercial and industrial organisation should be encouraged to develop according to Rochdale Principles (pp. ix and 410).

At the Congress, the question of peace arose in the Alliance through two resolutions.

**Co-operators and Arbitration (pp. 395-398)**

The resolution, proposed by a British delegate and seconded by a French one, urged that there should be a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United Kingdom and France (p.ix). The proposal was enthusiastically endorsed. It began a long ICA tradition of concern for peace, which led it to encourage systems of conciliation and arbitration in international disputes, and which eventually widened into its support for the League of Nations and later the United Nations.

**Co-operators and Peace (pp. 392-395)**

However, the Alliance's first real peace debate, and its first peace resolution, moved by Prof. Ch. Gide, arose from a report submitted by Mr Hodgson Pratt. An individual British member of the Alliance, he had

recently presided at the 11th International Peace Congress in Monaco, which had passed a resolution calling on the International Peace Bureau and national peace organisations to collaborate with co-operatives and other working class organisations in campaigning for peace. Congress agreed unanimously to establish relations with the International Peace Bureau, and to campaign with it for universal peace (pp. xii-ix).

We should conclude this summary of the fifth Congress by noting changes to Rules which encouraged the shift towards organisational, rather than individual, membership of the Alliance. Rule 3 of the ICA's Constitution was amended to read that the International Co-operative Alliance should be a Union composed, so far as it was possible, of 'Co-operative Societies and Organisations'. It was accepted, though, that some countries had not achieved sufficient co-operative development to make this feasible for them. Where that was the case, the ICA Central Committee was given the power to elect individual co-operators from such countries to become individual members of the Alliance.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Election of ICA members (p. 227)
2. Profit-sharing (p. 235)
3. Rules of the ICA (p. 270)
4. The Housing Question (p. 341)
5. Land Settlement (p. 380)
6. Co-operators and Peace (p. 393)
7. Co-operators and Arbitration (p. 395)
8. The ICA as an Industrial Peacemaker (p. 410)

## **Sixth Congress: Budapest, Hungary, 5-8 September, 1904**

<b>ICA President:</b>	<i>The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, United Kingdom</i>
<b>Congress President:</b>	<i>Count Alexander Karolyi, Hungary</i>
<b>Representation:</b>	<i>213 delegates, 213 societies, 17 countries</i>
<b>Report:</b>	<i>English, 607 pp.</i>

In connection with the Congress, an exhibition of co-operative products, both industrial and agricultural, was held in the Industrial Art Museum.

The report of this Congress was the longest of any ICA Congress so far, and was printed, for the first time, in German as well as in English and French. Approximately one quarter comprised reports from co-operative movements in 25 countries, including accounts of their Women's Co-operative Guilds and co-operative education provisions. Published also for the first time, was a document which was soon to become familiar on succeeding Congress Agendas, namely the report of the Central Committee on the work of the ICA between Congresses (pp. 63-69). For the first time also, the Central Committee moved resolutions (on legislation and on co-operation in less developed countries) thus indicating that it was becoming an important part in the ICA's policy-making process.

Just as the Manchester Congress saw the first airing of the ICA's concern for world peace, the Budapest Congress was the first to discuss co-operatives' relations with the State. The question arose because much of the Congress was concerned about how undeveloped co-operative movements could be assisted, either by the State or by stronger co-operative movements.

**I. The Organisation and Work of Co-operative Distributive Societies in Rural and Semi-rural Districts (pp. 71-86 and 203-220) by Dr. Hans Müller, Switzerland**

Dr. Müller was later to become the Alliance's Continental Secretary, and helped bring into being some of its earliest publications. For a brief period in 1913 he moved to London to become the ICA's first General Secretary. His paper at Budapest was about the relationship between consumer and agricultural co-operatives, and argued, among other things, that the latter should distribute consumer goods, as well as agricultural requisites to their members. A resolution supporting this was passed, but Müller's paper raised controversial questions, including whether the co-operative rules about cash trading and trading only with members could be relaxed in rural communities because of their special circumstances.

Müller's paper was essentially about when and where it was appropriate to establish consumer societies. Apart from possibly competing with agricultural co-operatives, there was also the question of how far they should challenge private enterprise. German consumer co-operative leaders, who would shortly leave the ICA, did not see this as a function of co-operatives.

Dr. H. Müller paper was augmented by a report from the United Kingdom by D. McInnes, member of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union (pp. 204-215) and by one from Denmark by S. Jørgensen, Chairman of the Union of Danish Distributive Societies (pp. 215-220)

**II. The Duty of the State Towards Co-operation: Should it subsidise it or not? (pp. 111-127) by Count de Rocquigny, France**

To some extent, the question of relations between co-operatives and the State had been raised at the Delft Congress, when six papers had been presented on co-operative legislation. Then, the general feeling had been that the State should enable, but not interfere with, co-operatives.

At the Budapest Congress Count de Rocquigny, who had a background in agricultural co-operation, tried to get the ICA to take a more favourable attitude towards the State. He suggested that it could be a positive element in co-operative development, and not necessarily prejudice the self-help and mutual aid elements in the Movement. Even so, he agreed that any State help should be 'moderate and temporary' and should 'scrupulously respect' co-operative self-government.

His paper prompted a heated, but inconclusive, debate. Representatives from consumer and Schultze-Delitzsch credit societies in Germany strongly opposed de Rocquigny's line and tabled five amendments to the resolution following his paper. Agricultural co-operative delegates tended to be more favourably inclined (see pp. 221-319). However, a vote was avoided when, on a motion moved and seconded by German and British delegates, it was agreed to pass on to next business and not put the question to the vote.

This seems to have been the first example of the Alliance backing away from an issue that could have caused a dangerous split. Even so, this debate, and a later one in the Congress, appears to have influenced some German consumer co-operatives, and thrift and credit societies in Germany and Austria, to withdraw from the Alliance. Moreover, a number of agricultural co-operative movements which had been expected to join did not do so. Consequently, consumer co-operatives came to be ever more significant within the ICA.

Again the main paper was supported by a number of country reports.

Ireland by the Congested Districts Board for Ireland (pp. 221-223)

France by Count de Rocquigny, Chairman of the French National Section of the ICA (pp. 223-229)

Austria by Dr. Ertl, Privy Councillor in the Austrian Ministry of Agriculture (pp. 229-268)

Germany (pp. 268-287).

Italy (pp. 287-294)

Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by Henri Neuman, Privy Councillor, and Luis Klein, Agricultural Engineer (pp. 295-309)

Switzerland (pp. 309-310)

Belgium (pp. 310-312)

The Netherlands by G.J.D.C. Goedhart (pp. 312-313)

Denmark by M.P. Blem, Chairman of the Danish Co-operative Committee (pp. 313-316)

Finland by Dr. H. Gebhard, President of the Society "Pellervo" (p. 316)

Norway by I. Bjerkes, Secretary of the Norwegian Ministry of Agriculture (pp. 316-317)

Sweden by G.H. von Koch, Secretary of the Swedish Co-operative Union (pp. 317-319)

Iceland (p. 319)

### **III. Centralization of Co-operative Banking by means of a Central Bank (pp. 171- 181) by Henry Wolff, Chairman of ICA Executive**

Wolff reviewed experiences in Austria, Belgium, France and Germany, and was augmented by reports on The Central Bank of Prussia by Dr. Heiligenstadt, President of the Bank (pp. 320-327)

The German Co-operative Societies' Bank by F. Thorwart, Member of the Board of the Dresdener Bank (pp. 328-345)

The Central Banks of the Darmstadt Union by C. Heuzeroth, Comptroller of the Bank of Jena (pp. 345-362)



The Central Bank of Neuwied (pp. 362-375)

The Württemberg Agricultural Co-operative Central Bank (p. 376)

The Central Bank of Polish Co-operative Societies in Prussia by Dr. Kuzstelan, Director of the Bank (pp. 377-382)

The Genossenschaftscentralcassee of Lower Austria (pp. 382-385)

Regional Banks in France (pp. 385-389)

Regional Banks and State Help in France by L. Durand, Chairman of the French Union of Agricultural and Artisan's Banks (pp. 390-398)

The Central Credit Society of the Belgian "Boerenbond" by Dr. E. Vlierebergh, Secretary of the "Boerenbond" (pp. 398-403)

Wolff's paper led to a resolution which spelled out the advantages of developing centralised facilities. It also recommended that all co-operatives should use co-operative, rather than private, banks (see also pp. 320-403).

Relations between co-operatives arose in another paper which proved significant for a number of reasons. It was:

#### **IV. The Backwardness of Co-operation in Eastern and Northern Countries of Europe: Its Causes and Proper Remedies (pp. 184-191) by Mr M. J.G. Duca**

A Romanian delegate raised the question of how more advanced co-operative movements could assist less well developed ones, particularly those in Eastern and Northern Europe.

Contributions made in the debate came from:

Hungary by Mrs Helene Kolosvary (pp. 404-409) Russia by S. de Brodaevsky and Dr. Totomianz (pp. 410-412)

Finland by Dr. H. Gebhard, President of the Society "Pellervo" and V. Tanner, Abo (pp. 413-416)

Polish Provinces by Count Zamoyski (pp. 416-429)

Norway by O. Delhi (pp. 429-431)

Romania by M. Duca, Director-General of the Creditul Agricol of Romania (pp. 431-433)

Greece by Prof. C. Vournazos, G. Philaretos and A. Theodorides (pp. 433-438)

Iceland by T. Bjarnarson (pp. 439-440)

Congress passed a resolution encouraging older co-operative movements to assist younger ones, and agreed that the ICA should make periodic reviews of the situation (see also pp. 404-439).

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Rules of the Alliance (p. 69)
2. Distributive Societies in Rural District (p. 108)
3. Co-operation and Legislation (p. 110)
4. Central Banks (pp. 181 and 184)
5. Co-operation in Backward Countries (p. 191)
6. Co-operation and Peace (p. 192)

## **Seventh Congress: Cremona, Italy, 22-25 September, 1907**

<b>ICA President:</b>	<i>Henry Wolff, United Kingdom</i>
<b>Congress President:</b>	<i>Luigi Luzzatti, Italy</i>
<b>Representation:</b>	<i>177 delegates, 297 societies, 15 countries</i>
<b>Report:</b>	<i>English, 212 pp. excluding Country Reports</i>

Large as the attendance was at the Sixth Congress of the ICA, that at the Seventh far surpassed it. In addition to delegates there were 930 members of the Congress, the great majority (865) of these being Italians who had attended the National Congress which immediately preceded the ICA meeting. The total attendance, including 14 official representatives sent by 9 different States, amounted to about 1,100.

Unlike that at Budapest, the Cremona Congress was fairly uncontentious and had two broad themes. The first centred on agricultural co-operation under the heading:

### **I. The National Organisation of Agriculture (pp. 68-122) on which three papers were presented**

One from Denmark revealed a difference in attitudes towards Limited Liability. Whereas co-operatives elsewhere campaigned vigorously to operate under them, S. Högsbro, Minister of Public Works, reported that co-operatives in Denmark saw unlimited liability of members as the basic principle of co-operation, and proved that this practice worked satisfactorily (pp. 77-85). The second paper, by Dr. Raineri, Chairman of the Italian Federation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies, described the state of agricultural co-operation in Italy (pp. 86-104), while the third paper, prepared by Henry Wolff, ICA President, and presented on behalf of the Executive Committee, returned once more to the dis-

cussion held during the Budapest Congress. He stressed the position of the ICA towards agricultural co-operation, and explained once again the fundamental difference in co-operative doctrine as applied in Germany and the United Kingdom. The co-operative movement "is a composite organism. Agriculture, distribution, production, banking, insurance, the medical care of its members, it is all one.." said Wolff, emphasising the potential benefits of trade between agricultural and consumer co-operatives (pp. 70-77).

The second broad theme was that of wholesale co-operation, and was introduced in a paper entitled:

## **II. The Importance of Wholesale Co-operation (pp. 127- 133)**

The paper, prepared and presented by William Maxwell, President of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd, described the benefits that effective wholesaling and vertical integration into primary production had brought to British retail societies. Maxwell suggested that lessons from this experience could be applied in other countries, particularly if national co-operative wholesale organisations traded with each other. Two resolutions were passed following Maxwell's paper. One encouraged the formation of a single wholesale society in each country, and the other proposed the setting up of an ICA Committee to study international joint buying.

There were also two smaller themes at the Cremona Congress. One was:

## **III. What can Co-operation do to Help Working Men and Small Cultivators in their Daily Life? (pp. 142-154 and 189-191) by L. Bertrand, Chairman of the Federation of Belgian Socialist Co-operative Societies and (pp. 154-168) by M. Garibotti, Italian Co-operative Union (pp. 154-168)**

Answers to this question were suggested in a paper by Mr L. Bertrand, who also proposed that co-operation should not merely aim to provide

benefits to members, but also attempt to 'transform the present organisation of commerce and production'. This emerging philosophy and shifting rhetoric mark an advance from the attitude taken by German consumer and thrift and credit societies, at the Budapest Congress in 1904, which was that co-operatives should not seek to replace the Capitalist system, but attempt to enable the weakest in society to operate effectively within it.

The other smaller theme at the Cremona Congress was:

#### **IV. Women's Participation in Co-operation (pp. 169-181)**

This question was explored in a paper by Ms Treub-Cornaz, President of the Dutch Women's Co-operative Guild. Like peace, and relations between consumer and agricultural co-operatives, it became a recurring, but less strong, theme during later Congresses. We should note, however, that women had been involved in the meetings leading up to the first ICA Congress, and in all Congresses held since. The resolution which followed Ms Treub Cornaz's paper was unusual inasmuch as it was proposed by the Central Committee rather than by a national delegation.

#### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Inviting each country to set up a Co-operative Wholesale Society (pp. 133-134)
2. Setting up an International Committee of Co-operative Wholesale Societies for Joint-Buying (p. 138)
3. Promotion of Women's Guilds (p. 181)

## **Eighth Congress: Hamburg, Germany, 5-7 September, 1910**

**Congress President:** *William Maxwell, JP, ICA  
President, United Kingdom*

**Representation:** *380 delegates, 595 societies, 17 countries*

**Report:** *English, 192 pp.*

In 1910 the ICA registered further expansion. For the first time a delegate from Japan attended the Congress, and there was also a representative from Argentina. William Maxwell presided over this Congress, the first since his election as ICA President at Cremona three years earlier. It had now become customary for the ICA President to chair all Congresses.

The Report of the Central Committee on the ICA's work since the Cremona Congress (pp. 34-44) gave information on the establishment of the monthly International Co-operative Bulletin in 1908; on membership expansion; on new publications; and on the establishment of the International Co-operative Library and of the Centre for the Collection and Supply of Lantern Slides. The salient aspect of the report was the importance attached to the 'propaganda work' at international level. Communication and information were clearly the priorities of the Central Committee, and the ICA was steadily developing into an active organisation for the promotion of the co-operative movement. There were two important questions at Hamburg:

### **I. The Development of the Co-operative Movement - Present and Future**

Six papers examined the question from the point of view of co-operative distribution, agriculture, production, thrift and credit and housing.

This wide-ranging conspectus led to issues being aired rather than resolved.

1. Co-operative ethics by Dr. Hans Müller, Switzerland (pp. 77-93)
2. Agricultural co-operation in Denmark by A. Nielsen (pp. 93-108)
3. Agricultural Co-operation in Ireland by R.A. Anderson (pp. 108-121)
4. Credit and Industrial Co-operation by C. Korthaus, Germany (pp. 121-130)
5. Development and Results attained by the German Co-operative Building Societies by Dr. H. Albrecht (pp. 130-147)
6. Co-partnership Housing Movement in England by H. Vivian (pp. 148-157)

At the end of discussion, the resolution proposed by the Central Committee (pp. 173-176) stated the basis of co-operation, and therefore the aims of its international organisation. Far more concrete results emerged from the other item of main business at the Hamburg Congress.

## **II. Changes to ICA Rules (pp. 44-76)**

By 1910 the ICA was 15 years old and had developed experience in constitutional matters. No significant changes were made at Hamburg, but a number of refinements completed a definitive constitution which gave the ICA much wider scope. During the next 80 years no major changes would occur to the ICA's authorities: namely the Congress, Central and Executive Committees and General Secretary or, later, the Director/Director-General.

Between 1895 and 1910 'National Sections' had played an important part in ICA organisation: travel difficulties and costs of travel had limited meetings of the Central Committee, which were traditionally held immediately prior to Congresses. Similar reasons accounted for the Executive being all-British. By 1910, though, it was becoming easier for the Central Committee to meet between Congresses, and changes

to Rules at the Hamburg Congress reflected this. While Congress was to remain the highest authority within the ICA, the powers of the Central Committee were strengthened and defined more clearly. Like the Congress its membership comprised delegates from national organisations whose representation was determined by the level of their annual subscriptions.

The Central Committee now became responsible for fixing the dates and venues of Congresses, and for drawing up their Agendas. It also controlled the ICA budget and work programme, being accountable to Congress for both. To help with this work the Central Committee was empowered to elect an Executive Committee from among its own members.

On the recommendation of the Executive, the Central Committee could admit new ICA members. Individuals could be elected honorary members without voting rights. The Committee could also confirm the appointment of a General Secretary, provision for this post being made by the Rule changes at Hamburg.

The ICA showed its growing maturity in another, and perhaps even more significant, way at the Hamburg Congress.

### **III. Co-operative Autonomy and Independence from the Socialist Movement (p. 185)**

Over recent years some Socialists had attempted to subsume both co-operatives and trade unions into a single organisation. However, this move was defeated at an International Socialist Congress, held in Copenhagen, only a few days before the ICA's own Congress. At the earlier Congress it was agreed that workers' parties, trade unions and co-operatives would retain a separate, but complementary, existence. Before that, many co-operative organisations had resisted the Socialist moves, and the ICA Congress therefore readily welcomed the Socialist International's affirmation of Co-operative autonomy. We should note,



though, that the resolution passed at the ICA's Congress urged members of workers' parties and trade unions to use consumer co-operatives as a means of achieving economic and political power.

To conclude this summary of the Hamburg Congress, we should note another interesting decision.

#### **IV. Seat of the ICA (p. 166)**

Congress decided that, for a further three years, the seat of the Alliance should remain in London. This decision represented a defeat for the behind-the-scene moves to shift the ICA Head Office to Hamburg.

#### **Resolutions adopted**

1. The Future Seat of the Alliance (p. 166)
2. Co-operative Societies and Housing Reform (p. 171)
3. Restrictions to the Freedom of Action of the Co-operative Movement (p. 185)
4. Resolution of the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen (p. 185)

## **Ninth Congress: Glasgow, Scotland, 25-28 August, 1913**

**Congress President:** *William Maxwell, J.P., ICA President,  
United Kingdom*

**Representation:** *600 delegates, 355 societies (including  
253 British), 24 countries*

**Report:** *English, 163 pp.*

The Glasgow Congress in 1913 was interesting for a number of reasons. It was the last to be held before the start of the First World War a year later; it would be another eight years before the next ICA Congress was held, and then in a greatly changed world. It was also the Congress at which, almost by accident, the Alliance gained a General Secretary who was to hold that post with great distinction for over a quarter of a century. It was also the Congress at which the Alliance passed its most notable Peace Resolution, which set its attitudes not only to the coming war but to events way beyond.

Two major papers were considered at the Congress. The first was:

### **I. Direct Exchange of Goods Between Distributive Societies, Agricultural and other Productive Societies, also Between the Wholesale Societies in the Different Countries (pp. 48-95) by Heinrich Kaufmann, Germany**

As we have already seen, the subject of inter-co-operative trade and relations recurred with great regularity in early ICA Congresses, and was to do so until after the 1939-45 War. The comprehensive title of Kaufmann's paper reflects the thoroughness with which he had tackled the subject, including numerous statistical tables showing the direct exchange of goods, nationally and internationally, by co-operative organisations in Austria, Denmark, Germany, United Kingdom, Hungary,

the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland. Although these tables reflected considerable inter-trading, Kaufmann anticipated difficulties in marrying the demand for co-operative production and its supply.

No resolution followed Kaufmann's paper, an indication that it was the intention to continue the debate at a later Congress. This did happen, but only after the Great War, and in the next decade.

The second paper, looking at relations between co-operatives, was entitled:

**II. The Closer Relationship and Mutual Help of Co-operative Societies and the Comprehensive Character of the International Co-operative Alliance (pp. 90-109) by Aneurin Williams, United Kingdom**

Although the Alliance was now 18 years old, there were some still active in it who had been present at its founding. Along with de Boyve and Edward Owen Greening, Williams had long been at the centre of the Alliance and was now the Chairman of its Executive Committee, a position distinct from the Presidency.

He opened his 1913 paper by recalling that, although a supporter of profit-sharing, he had recognised that it was desirable that the Alliance should be open to all forms of co-operation. While for some years the ICA had remained fairly representative, it had become less so following the formation of the International Federation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies in 1906.

Williams then argued that the most effective inter-co-operative relations could only be developed through the International Co-operative Alliance. Although he accepted that, in particular circumstances, groups of co-operatives or federations might wish to form their own organisations and not affiliate to the ICA, he believed that the Alliance must appear to keep its doors open to them.

Williams also suggested that there were dangers in the ICA becoming dominated by national federations of consumers' co-operatives. He quoted the arguments of Ms Beatrice Webb, in her writings on British consumer co-operation, that there could be economic and social limits to the extension of consumer co-operation.

After discussion on Williams' paper, Congress unanimously passed a resolution reaffirming that the Alliance was open to all forms of co-operation (p. 100).

The second main theme of the Glasgow Congress was the Co-operative Press, and only one paper was presented.

### **III. The Development of the Co-operative Press in the Interests of Co-operative Education (pp. 111-131) by Dr. Oscar Shaer, Switzerland**

The Alliance had always been conscious of the need for co-operatives to have their own press. Shaer referred to the lessons that the ICA had learned from publishing its first International Directory of the Co-operative Press. During the rest of his paper he spoke with particular reference to Swiss experience, but his footnotes reflect the ideas of Robert Owen and Dr William King.

The debate that followed Shaer's paper was interesting inasmuch as one of the contributors was Emmy Freundlich, Austria, attending her first ICA Congress. She was later to become the only woman member on the ICA Executive until 1984 and President of the International Co-operative Women's Guild. Freundlich emphasised the need for co-operative journals to reflect the needs of women, and this point was incorporated in the resolution passed at the end of the debate (p. 131). The resolution also stressed co-operative members' needs for journals, and looked forward to the development of the *International Co-operative Bulletin* as a vehicle for propagating co-operative ideas and theories.

One other paper, outwith the main Congress themes, was presented. It was:

**IV. The Plurality of Distributive Societies Having their Seat in the Same Locality (pp. 131-155) by Luigi Buffoli and Camillo Mellini, Italy**

The paper discussed the trading problems arising when a number of consumer societies operated and overlapped in the same area. It advocated the rationalisation found in Switzerland, where Co-operative Unions' Rules prevented overlapping occurring.

As in earlier papers at this Congress, the authors revealed their knowledge of other co-operative movements, suggesting a high degree of exchange of information between ICA member movements and good research capacities.

We end this summary of the 1913 Congress with a note about the best known feature of the Congress: its Peace Resolution.

**V. ICA Peace Resolution (pp. 39-48)**

By 1913 threats to peace in Europe had become very apparent. Co-operatives feared war, not only because it offended their sense of fraternity but also because it hampered co-operative progress. The threat to peace led the ICA to develop a new rhetoric to the effect that competition, and the monopoly capitalism it engendered, inevitably threatened world peace. It would be conducive to peace if industry and commerce were reorganised according to co-operative principles.

A notable feature of the Peace Resolution was that, apart from the proposers, whose country remained neutral, the main speakers came from those countries which would be the major protagonists in the coming war. The mover, G.J.D.C. Goedhart, Holland, became ICA President in 1921. It was seconded and supported by William Maxwell, United Kingdom, Adolf von Elm, Germany, and Albert Thomas, France. Passed unanimously and with acclamation, the resolution read:

“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.

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 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 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.” (pp. 39-40)

This resolution, and similar ones passed by other peace-seeking organisations, did little to prevent the outbreak of war a year later. However, it should be noted that good personal relations continued throughout the war between co-operative leaders in the belligerent countries. Later, the ICA claimed that the war was one between the capitalists and the imperialists, rather than between co-operators.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. International Peace (pp. 39-40)
2. ICA Membership (p. 100)
3. Co-operative Press (pp. 128-131)
4. Co-existence of Co-operative Societies in the Same Locality (pp. 154-155)

## **Tenth Congress: Basel, Switzerland, 22-25 August, 1921**

<b>ICA President:</b>	<i>Sir William Maxwell, United Kingdom</i>
<b>Congress President:</b>	<i>G.J.D.C. Goedhart, Holland</i>
<b>Representation:</b>	<i>500 delegates, 50 individual and 13 collective societies, 23 countries</i>
<b>Report:</b>	<i>English, 192 pp.</i>

The Glasgow Congress of 1913 had agreed that, from the next Congress scheduled to be held in Basel in 1916, the ICA Executive should comprise more than one nationality. As we have already noted, travel costs and difficulties had limited meetings of the Central Committee between Congresses. The same constraints applied to the Executive. Moreover, because of its need to work with the London-based Secretariat, the custom had developed for it to be all-British. Despite the 1913 decision, the fact that the 1916 Congress could not be held meant that the Alliance had to continue with a single-nationality Executive throughout the war. This could have assisted its survival by limiting possible bitterness and recriminations from being involved in Executive business. However, any Central Committee members visiting London were welcome to attend Executive meetings as Observers, a practice which increased in the immediate post-war period.

Nevertheless, good personal relations between ICA leaders were maintained despite the length and bitterness of the war. The ICA Executive's concern to avoid political splits within the ICA caused it to take a strictly neutral line.

War-engendered bitterness, as well as post-war travel problems, caused the Executive to delay calling a meeting of the Central Committee which



did not meet until April, 1920, 18 months after the end of the war. Even then, it was held in Geneva, in neutral Switzerland. Similar considerations applied in convening the first Congress, which again was held in Switzerland, in Basel, in August, 1921.

Eyewitness accounts testify to the good spirit of this, with war-time animosities held well in check. Although the ICA had changed little during the war, the world around it had changed much. Three empires (the Russian, German and Austrian) had collapsed. Those of the British, French and Dutch survived, but Western Europe had been seriously weakened by the war, with economic power shifting markedly towards the USA and, later, Japan.

Revolutions had occurred in Russia, bringing independence for the Baltic and other States. Alongside such upheavals, the makings of a new international order began to appear in the setting up of the League of Nations and, within its system, the International Labour Organisation. The first Director of the latter was Albert Thomas, a leading member of the French Consumer Co-operative Movement and a member of the ICA Central Committee, who had spoken in the debate on the Peace Resolution at the ICA's 1913 Congress.

The ICA's Basel Congress warmly welcomed the setting up of the League and the ILO, although it had been unsuccessful in gaining representation with either. It soon became clear that some pre-war concerns in the ICA had been carried forward into the post-war period.

**I. The Relations to be Established Between the ICA and an International C.W.S. (pp. 144-158) by Heinrich Kaufmann, Germany**  
Although it subsequently proved difficult to establish an International Co-operative Wholesale Society, in 1921 many assumed that the ICWS would develop naturally from existing national wholesale societies, and that it would be necessary to consider how the ICWS should be linked to the ICA. This was the subject of Kaufmann's paper. The Central

Committee proposed a resolution encouraging close relations, but British delegates, arguing that the issue was premature, moved an amendment proposing delay, and this was accepted.

While the ICA resumed its quest for improved inter-co-operative trading relations, the war had brought new issues onto its agenda, including the need to make a co-operative response to post-war economic conditions. Among these were growing economic nationalism and protectionism. Two papers at the Basel Congress showed the ICA's concern about its changed economic environment.

## **II. The Policy of International Co-operation (pp. 84-99 and 101) by Albert Thomas, France**

Throughout the inter-war years the ICA advocated the gearing of production as closely as possible to consumers' needs, to ensure that such production would be neither speculative nor exploitative. It therefore condemned Governments that developed protectionist policies which restricted trade. Thomas acknowledged that the antithesis of protection was free trade, but he was uncertain whether this was the right course for the ICA to support, because it could increase the danger of economic nationalism.

Now an international civil servant as the first Director of ILO, Thomas remained a French member on the ICA's Central Committee. He reported on the League of Nations' concern and that of the ILO, about post-war problems with the efficient distribution of foodstuffs and raw materials. He supported the League's proposed establishment of an International Statistical Office to record commodity movements. In passing, we can perhaps mention that Thomas's enthusiasm for statistics may have been a factor in his setting up a Co-operative technical section within the ILO to process statistical information on co-operatives as he believed that the ICA was deficient in this respect. Although the ILO's Co-operative Section, headed by Dr Georges Fauquet, another French member of the ICA's Central Committee, developed close and

friendly relations with the ICA, fears were expressed in the ICA that Thomas was setting up a competing organisation. This may have been one reason why the ICA went on to develop a notably improved research capacity. In his Basel Congress paper, Thomas argued that co-operatives should oppose war in all its forms, including trade wars. He also denounced competition if it weakened the association between all nations, so beloved by co-operators since Robert Owen.

In the debate which followed, Congress showed that it was still inclined to favour free trade. Protectionist import duties were condemned because they reduced the purchasing power of co-operative members' wages, and so lowered their living standards. Moreover, Congress was not convinced by Thomas's argument for more and longer commercial treaties, and the resolution passed following his paper reflected this (p. 101).

There was a second paper on the subject of:

### **III. The Policy of International Co-operation (pp. 101-120) by Anders Oerne, Sweden**

Despite having the same title as Thomas's paper, it differed vastly and can be argued to have been the first manifestation of a sustained, but distinctive, Scandinavian tradition within the Alliance. This could be summed up as a kind of co-operative fundamentalism that saw co-operation in only economic terms. Oerne suggested that co-operatives could be seen either as social groupings of people or as economic enterprises. Under the former, they tried to include the social and political aspirations of their members. But this could cause confusion and lead to danger, and such matters would be better left to trade unions or political parties. If, however, co-operatives concentrated on their economic function, Oerne believed that "Solely by reason of its economic principles will the co-operative form of economy advance towards its goal, winning ground from the businesses carried on for personal profit".

A resolution, passed unanimously (p. 120), agreed to refer the whole question to ICA member organisations who were urged to air it in their journals, collect observations and forward them to the ICA Executive so that further discussion could follow.

Two other important papers were given at Basel.

#### **IV. The Principles of International Right According to the Spirit of Co-operation by (pp. 127-143 and 159-162) Prof. Charles Gide, France**

The paper was intended to begin a revision of the 1913 ICA Peace Resolution in the light of co-operative experiences in the First World War.

Although the 1913 Peace resolution had anticipated that war would damage co-operative development, many movements had in fact grown stronger as a result of the war. Gide warned, however, that co-operatives had benefited because the war had generated high prices and inflation. Putting their real strength in context, he said that if all co-operatives' capital were aggregated, it would hardly represent five or six days' cost of a war which had lasted 1,570 days. Prof. Gide believed that, despite some superficial benefits brought by the war, peace was still a prerequisite of successful co-operative development and the propagation of the Movement's ideals. He now doubted whether international conflict would lessen if the economic life of nations was organised on co-operative lines, but he welcomed attempts to create a new international order represented by the setting up of the League of Nations. He suggested that this should be considered 'the younger sister of the International Co-operative Alliance'.

Congress went on to pass unanimously a resolution (pp. 161 - 162) reiterating much of the 1913 Peace Resolution, but adding support for peaceful arbitration in international relations. The Resolution also urged co-operative instruction and propaganda in schools. It called upon co-operatives to expose the disasters of war and the blessing of peace.

The other paper we should note concerned co-operation and trade unionism, a recurring theme throughout ICA Congresses.

#### **V. The Relations Between Co-operation and Trade Unionism (pp. 163-177) by Victor Serwy, Belgium**

Serwy noted that, whereas before the war trade unions and co-operatives had been at peace with one another, postwar conditions had threatened that position. While the Co-operative Movement had suffered from price instability, chaos in supplies, and currency fluctuations, trade Unions had been affected by postwar unemployment and growing militancy among members, particularly among inexperienced recruits. As a result, the previously close and harmonious relations between co-operatives and trade unions were becoming threatened.

Serwy's paper led to the adoption of a resolution (pp. 176 - 177) appealing to trade unions to acknowledge that co-operatives were anti-capitalist organisations and to agree to collective labour contracts that did not reduce their ability to compete against capitalist enterprises. Before concluding the 1921 Basel Congress we should note an important debate which had considerable ramifications for the Alliance until the end of the Cold War.

#### **VI. Relations with Centrosoyus, USSR (pp. 27 - 32 and 45 - 55)**

Besides the changing system of international relations with the founding of the League of Nations, and a different trading climate following the war, the ICA also had to adjust to the Russian Revolution. That had repercussions throughout the whole world, but the ICA was directly affected because Centrosoyus had been a member of the Alliance since 1903.

Congress was informed of the ICA's 'Relations with Russia' since 1918 in the Report of the Central Committee, within which a number of shifts of response and policy were apparent. The Central Committee had welcomed the lifting of the blockade against Russia and had urged that

co-operatives should play a large part in resumed trading relations. It had also protested against Russian co-operative organisations' loss of independence and full autonomy, and had stated that the Central Committee would only acknowledge those representatives that had been appointed by free democratic co-operative organisations.

Later the position became blurred when a Russian Trade Delegation was appointed to London and claimed to be the new representatives of Centrosoyus. The delegation went on to contest the right of Centrosoyus members of the Central Committee, appointed at the 1913 Glasgow Congress, to continue holding their seats.

This question had not been settled by the time of the Basel Congress. The Executive had become more favourable to the new leadership in Centrosoyus and proposed to the Central Committee, meeting immediately prior to the Congress, that the representation should pass to them.

Unusually, the Central Committee decided otherwise, and Congress therefore had to choose between the Executive and the Central Committee. A very powerful debate followed. After changes to Rules at the 1927 Congress no country, or union of countries, could exercise more than one-fifth of the total votes at ICA Congresses or have more than 14 members on the Central Committee. In 1921 there was no such limitation, and the vote on the Centrosoyus issue, which had widened to include the issue of whether Centrosoyus could remain affiliated to the ICA because its true co-operative nature was now in doubt, resulted in 733 in support of the Executive's position and 474 against. The vote for the Executive, which we should remember was all British until the election of a new Central Committee at the end of this Congress, is likely to have been weighted by the votes of 111 British delegates at the Congress.

This account had been greatly simplified. Issues behind this decision are complex and sometimes difficult to determine. Nevertheless, the

result was that Centrosoyus remained in the ICA. This had many consequences, particularly during the Cold War.

Finally, in connection with the Basel Congress, we should note that the Alliance recognised that not only did it need to respond to events in Russia but also to the beginnings of the rise of Fascism in Italy. A resolution condemning the "Fascist" Outrages in Italy" (p. 189) was passed unanimously.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. The International Co-operative Bank (p.68)
2. Policy of International Co-operation (pp.92 - 101 and 120)
3. Establishment of the International Co-operative Wholesale Society (p. 155)
4. The Principles of International Right (pp. 139 - 143 and 159 - 162)
5. The League of Nations (pp. 177 - 180)
6. The International Labour Bureau (pp. 180 - 182)
7. The Russian and Georgian Famine Appeal (pp. 182 - 184)
8. Political Persecution in Hungary (pp. 184 - 188)
9. Polish Persecution in the Ukraine (p. 188)
10. Fascist Outrages in Italy (p. 189)

## **Eleventh Congress: Ghent, Belgium, 1-4 September, 1924**

**Congress President:** *G. J. D. C. Goedhart, Holland,  
ICA President*

**Representation:** *455 delegates, 165 societies (120 British), 29 countries*

**Report:** *English, 261 pp.*

The Tenth ICA Congress has been dealt with in some length because it was an important Congress. It showed how the ICA had responded to the First World war and the Russian Revolution, and how it was shaping up to changes in the post-war world, particularly those in the system of international relations. It is hoped, however, to cover the inter-war Congresses a little more briefly.

Like some previous Congresses, the eleventh Congress was accompanied by an Exhibition, in which co-operative movements from 32 countries in Europe, America and Asia participated. A sculpture was commissioned from the artist, Sarteel, to depict a group of working men and women supporting the Globe and representing co-operation in action. The silver version of this survives in the ICA Head Office to the present day, and the Movement has used the motif widely in many different settings. For the first time, the colours of Alliance - the Rainbow Flag - were displayed in the Congress Hall.

Another feature of the Congress was that its Guests of Honour included representatives from the International Federation of Trade Unions and other international organisations and, for the first time, from the International Labour Organisation as well as ten Governments, an indication of the Alliance's growing significance.



The Congress also amended the Rules in order to strengthen the ICA's finances and to eliminate individual membership. Decisions were also taken which were aimed at bringing the ICA back to its original tasks: documentation, statistics and the promotion of co-operative principles. The report on ICA work, presented on behalf of the Central Committee by the General Secretary (pp. 43-107), gave a prominent place to the analysis of the political situation affecting members in Russia, Georgia, Italy, Bulgaria and the Ruhr region. It also showed that the International Co-operative Day, introduced a year before in 1923, had proved to be a success with movements.

This was the first Congress at which a Centrosoyus delegation attended under the new Soviet regime, and it soon became clear that they would have a distinct view on most issues.

Looking first at the papers presented, we should note the following:

**I. The Relations Between the Different Forms of Co-operation (pp. 133-164) by Albert Thomas, France**

This paper built on the earlier ones by Heinrich Kaufmann and Aneurin Williams on inter-co-operative relations. However, it more strongly reflected co-operatives' continuing preoccupation with the concept of a 'fair price'. As Thomas observed, co-operators wished to establish a fair price rather than have to rely on the blind play of economic forces which is itself often thrown out of gear by combinations of private interests'.

In his paper, Thomas focused on two areas. One was how to fix reasonable prices for transferring the produce of agricultural societies to consumer co-operatives. The second was how to make the wages system more co-operative. In both cases, Thomas argued that the heart of the problem was what co-operatives should do if they felt that existing market rates inadequately distributed just regards. If this were the case, Thomas suggested that co-operatives should develop reciprocal services and show a just respect for labour.

We can perhaps remind ourselves that the question of a fair price had also concerned the Rochdale Pioneers. Their mechanism of the dividend was used not only to blunt the hostility of private traders, but also to trade with fair, or just, prices, a concept which they had taken from Robert Owen who, in turn, had been inspired by David Ricardo (1771-1812), the English political economist. The concept had been at the heart of the struggles between producer and consumer co-operation. Now, in 1924, Thomas' paper showed that it still concerned co-operative thinkers. Focusing on relations between consumer and agricultural co-operatives, Thomas questioned the prevailing belief that consumer societies could organise and manage agricultural production. Because of the diversity of agricultural production, which had reached different stages in different countries, he felt, therefore, that it might be oversimplistic to believe, as many co-operators did, that an international co-operative economic system could emerge, based, in large part, on consumer movements' wholesales. He believed that the proposed International Co-operative Wholesale would have to take account of the diversity of agricultural production and the way in which consumer and agricultural co-operatives were continually evolving.

Moving onto industrial producer co-operatives, Thomas asked whether these might not come to 'embrace the whole working class'? He was not necessarily opposing the views of Beatrice Webb in Britain, whose criticisms of the sectional nature and degenerative weaknesses of workers' co-operatives had done much to endorse consumer co-operation. Instead, Thomas wanted to see more of these societies as a means to 'co-operativise' the wages system. Like Gide, though, he recognised that they had shortcomings, particularly in 'administering capital'. Thomas therefore proposed a form of workers' co-operative that might get round this problem. It would be self-managing inasmuch as it contracted for work, organised its members to perform it, and equitably distributed the payment received for it. But the organisation for which these co-operatives worked, such as the State, municipality or existing co-operative, would supply the necessary capital and raw materials.

It will be seen from this that Thomas' proposals had more to do with the co-operativising of wages, rather than the creation of totally independent workers' co-operatives. The 1924 Congress was not convinced of his arguments, and the resolution embodying Thomas' proposals had to be amended before being passed (p. 164). It urged co-operatives to consider hiving off their technically separable operations to groups of their workers, and also commended the organic development of relations between agricultural and consumer co-operatives.

Two complementary papers were then presented under the general heading:

## **II. The Tasks, Extension, and Limits of Co-operative Production**

The first of these, (pp. 173-182) by Max Mendel, Germany (pp. 173-182), concentrated on the type of production that consumer societies might legitimately undertake, such as bakery, milling, butchery, limited agriculture, clothing and furniture. The scale of such production should be governed by the size of a society's membership, its turnover and capital resources. However, standardised articles that could be produced on a mass basis or national scale should be left to the wholesale societies. The practice of several societies' federating to form factories was frowned upon, as it was considered that that kind of production should also be left to the wholesales.

The second paper, (pp. 183-191), was by Sir Thomas Allen, United Kingdom and argued forcefully for the benefits of wholesale society production. These included mass production, greater variety and specialisation. Production by co-operative wholesales also allowed the economic use of capital, eliminated duplication and minimised productive risks.

Allen argued that centralised co-operative production enabled the highest form of business, and also provided a stout defence of the co-operative market by inhibiting competition.

Two final papers were presented at the 1924 Congress, both on subjects which had been aired at earlier Congresses.

### **III. The Role of Banks in the Development of the Co-operative Movement (pp. 227-244) by Gaston Levy, France**

At the Budapest Congress in 1904, Henry Wolff had presented a paper on the Organisation and Functions of Central Banks in Co-operative Banking and Credit Co-operatives. Levy's paper, 20 years later, widened the question to all types of co-operative, and summarised the position in a useful table. This gave the date of foundation, and the total balance sheet resources, total of profit and loss and rate of discount of 45 Co-operative Banks in Europe, including Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, Russia, Palestine (Israel), India and the USA. Generally speaking, the paper noted that, since the War, banks were taking a more central position in Capitalist economies. Not only had they grown in number during the War, but credit organisations were becoming increasingly significant in the post-War world. Levy believed that co-operatives must follow these trends.

He then reviewed co-operatives' savings needs, noting three sources of capital: purveyors of goods to societies, loans from banks outside the Movement, and co-operatives' savings or those of their members. Whereas co-operatives had no control over the first two sources, they could control the third. The rest of the paper, therefore, focused on how best to build up co-operative savings, and stressed the desirability of concentrating them in national central co-operative banks. Such a process should assist not only co-operative development but also, eventually, that of international co-operative banking.

A resolution embodying these points was passed by a large majority (pp. 242-244).

We should note that the final paper was presented by the only woman on the ICA's Central Committee:

#### **IV. The Place of Women in the Co-operative Movement (pp. 197-218) by Emmy Freundlich, MP, Austria**

The first paper on this subject had been presented at the Budapest Congress in 1904. Between the Basel and Ghent Congresses three Committees had been set up and were working closely with the ICA. These were for Women, Banking and Insurance. The International Co-operative Women's Committee had been set up as a result of the Women's Conference held during the Basel Congress. In 1924 it became the International Co-operative Women's Guild, with Emmy Freundlich as its President.

Her paper started from the premise that, if co-operatives were to succeed, women needed to be persuaded to support them. In most countries little had been done to win women over to Co-operation. Freundlich therefore wanted Congress to encourage ICA member movements to foster increased women's participation through education and training, and greater coverage of women's issues in co-operative journals. She held this position for the next 23 years. Until 1934 she was also a member of the ICA Central Committee, the Executive Committee and the Commission on Co-operative Principles, in addition to her national responsibilities at the Konsumvereine and, later on, in the Government. She was also involved, at international level, with the League of Nations, and was a leading force in women's economic and political empowerment.

We should conclude this review of the Eleventh ICA Congress by noting that the question of ICA neutrality was set to become an active issue. It would be redefined by the Central Committee, at its meeting in Paris in October, 1925, but the move for this began at Ghent. The precipitating factor had been growing Soviet Communist propaganda among western co-operative movements. At Ghent, the British Co-operative Union introduced a motion which asked Congress to authorise the Central and Executive Committees to demand that ICA member movements observe the Alliance's neutrality and desist from interfer-

ing with foreign co-operative movements. Congress agreed by passing a resolution to this effect by 397 votes 'For' to 183 'Against' (pp. 225-226).

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. International Co-operative Day (p. 118)
2. Relations with the International Federation of Trade Unions (p. 119)
3. Relation between the Different Forms of Co-operation (p. 164)
4. The Place of Women in the Co-operative Movement (p. 211)
5. Neutrality of the ICA (p. 219)
6. Co-operative Banking (p. 243)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Co-operative Banking (pp. 83-93)**

The previous Congress at Basel had decided that a special conference on this subject should be convened, with a view to formulating a scheme for an international co-operative bank. The conference had been held at Brussels in January 1922, when a report on the general question was presented by Mr Gaston Lévy (France). The Committee met six times over the next two years, showing a considerable enthusiasm among national banking institutes towards expansion of international relations.

#### **International Co-operative Assurance (pp. 93-100)**

The Belgian Co-operative Assurance Society, "La Prévoyance" of Brussels, had taken the initiative in 1921, in an endeavour to establish international relations with other co-operative assurance societies. An international conference had been held at Rome, in April 1922, which had appointed Mr Joseph Lemaire (Belgium) the Secretary of the Committee of Study on Questions of Insurance. The first decision of the Committee was to make an international survey of co-operative insurance societies. Interest shown by societies led eventually to convocation of the First Conference on International Co-operative Assurance at Ghent at the same time as the ICA Congress.

**International Co-operative Women's Committee (pp. 101-106)**

The attempt to organise co-operative women internationally had been decided upon at the Women's Conference held in connection with the Basel Congress, 1921. As a first step, the Conference set up a temporary committee which was entrusted to prepare the way for a permanent international organization. The Conference elected Emmy Freundlich (Austria) president of this committee. In 1924, in Ghent, the International Co-operative Women's Guild came into being, electing Freundlich as its president.

## **Twelfth Congress: Stockholm, Sweden, 15-18 August, 1927**

- ICA Presidents:** *G.J.D.C. Goedhart, Netherlands and  
Väinö Tanner, Finland*
- Congress Presidents:** *A. Whitehead, United Kingdom and  
E. Poisson, France (ICA Vice-Presidents)*
- Representatives:** *340 delegates, 112 societies (including  
58 British), 32 countries*
- Report:** *English, 293 pp.*

G.J.D.C. Goedhart had already resigned the Presidency, and the two Vice-Presidents therefore chaired this Congress. When it concluded the reconstituted Central Committee elected Väinö Tanner, Finland, as the Alliance's new President. Originally an individual member of the Alliance, he had sat on the Central Committee since 1910. At the time of his election, he was Finland's Prime Minister and, thereafter, held a number of Finnish Government posts.

A further aspect of the 1927 Stockholm Congress was that it reflected the growing maturity and stability of the Alliance. For example, there was an increase in the matters reported to Congress and questions which were handled by resolution. Both became part of the policy-making process of the ICA.

We should recall that the Central Committee had hardly begun to meet on a regular basis before the First World War. Once the hiatus that had been created had passed, the work of the Executive and Central Committees increased and this was reflected in the growing size of the latter's Report to each Congress (pp. 51-115). In Stockholm this included reports regarding the action taken on issues raised at the previous Con-



gress, including Communist Propaganda and the Policy of International Co-operation. Other reports related to questions such as World Peace, the Activities of National Organisations between 1924 and 1926, and Future Activities of the Alliance. The report on collaboration with the League of Nations and the International Federation of Trade Unions had stimulated a heated debate. Pro-Communist delegates had vigorously criticised the ICA participation at the International Economic Conference in Geneva in May 1926. Nevertheless, a resolution supporting the League of Nations' efforts to maintain economic peace had been adopted by a large majority (pp. 125-129). The Russian resolution calling for the formation of the Joint Permanent Commission with trades unions organisations had been declared lost because of opposition from the German delegation (pp. 235-237).

There were only two main papers at the Congress:

**I. Relations Between Consumers' and Agricultural Co-operative Societies (pp. 149-172) by Dr. Bernardt Jaeggi, Switzerland**

This was another return to the question of inter-co-operative relations and, in particular, those between consumer and agricultural societies. Jaeggi extended the debate that Kaufmann and Thomas had contributed to earlier. Like Thomas, he doubted whether a new co-operative economic order could be based on consumer co-operatives undertaking agricultural production because they were unlikely to be able to do so on a sufficiently large scale. Neither would they be easily able to correlate their demand with the supplies of independent agricultural societies. Even so, Jaeggi argued, the overall aim should remain that co-operatives should seek to convert as much private enterprise into co-operative social ownership as they could. They were likely to be able to do this more easily if they and agricultural co-operatives made special arrangements with each other. Jaeggi therefore advocated that they develop organic relations with each other, including the creation of joint institutions to further common interests.

We could perhaps note that the question of relations between consumer and agricultural co-operatives now had a wider audience. In 1927, four months before the Stockholm Congress, the League of Nations called a World Economic Conference, which was held over a three-week period in Geneva. The ICA was invited to send two delegates, and Henry May and Emmy Freundlich were appointed. A number of other prominent Co-operators also attended, either as part of their Governments' delegation or as experts.

The conference appointed a number of Commissions, including an Agriculture Commission, on which co-operative representatives made their strongest mark. A resolution from the Agriculture Commission went to the full Conference, calling for the fostering of closer relations between consumer and agricultural co-operatives by setting up joint committees at national and international levels in order to develop programmes of research and documentation.

The League was not able to implement this proposal but, in 1931, the ILO took the initiative. Albert Thomas, Director of the ILO and still a member of the ICA's Central Committee, persuaded the International Commission of Agriculture to join with the ICA to establish an Inter-co-operative, or Joint Committee. Seven representatives from each organisation comprised the Committee, which was chaired by Albert Thomas and serviced by the Co-operative Service of the ILO. After Thomas's untimely death a year later, the Chairmanship of the Committee was taken by his successor at the ILO, Harold Butler.

The Joint Committee continued its work until the outbreak of the 1939-45 War. As a result, the question became a matter of report to ICA Congresses through the Report of the Central Committee and as an Appendix to the Report of the Thirteenth Congress, Vienna, 1930 (pp 265-280). No further Congress papers were presented on the subject. It is interesting to note, however, that a further paper was discussed at a war-time Conference organised by the British Members of the Central Committee in London in 1943. During the war, the Alliance found it

politically expedient to appear to be an organisation representing all types of co-operatives, and not just consumer co-operatives. This led to renewed interest in agricultural co-operation within the ICA, but in the post-war period the Alliance became preoccupied with other issues: the control of the world's oil resources; co-operatives' attitude to nationalisation and their relations with the State; and, of course, the Cold War. However, it can be seen that inter-co-operative relations, and particularly those between consumer and agricultural societies, had a long tradition within the Alliance.

Returning now to the 1927 Stockholm Congress, we should note the second paper presented:

## **II. Problems of Modern Co-operation (pp. 173-209) by Albin Johansson, Sweden**

We have already observed that, during the Alliance's first half century, its intellectual leadership shifted between the British, French and Swedes. However, each was firmly based on Rochdale Co-operation. Johansson's 1927 paper underlined Swedish attachment to Rochdale, but illustrated yet again that the Swedes saw co-operation in economic, rather than social, terms. For this reason, Johansson emphasised the importance of co-operatives being self-financing. He also argued that they should trade for cash rather than credit, and urged them to maximise member benefits by maintaining strict stock control, exercising attractive price policies, and remaining financially stable and independent. Without such foundations at the national level co-operatives could not hope to challenge trusts and cartels at the international level.

A benefit of studying the themes of ICA Congresses is that it enables us to see the development of trends and ideas. For example, the call for a review of Co-operative Principles would not be made until the next Congress in Vienna. But the debate on Johansson's paper in Stockholm already showed that some ICA member movements were moving away from certain Rochdale tenets because of changes in their trading environment. For example, the French delegation, which would propose a

review of Co-operative Principles at the 1930 Vienna Congress, reported in Stockholm that restricting credit trading was becoming increasingly difficult and unrealistic. Even so, the resolution following Johansson's paper was passed by a large majority (p. 212).

### **III. Activities of the National Organisations constituting the International Co-operative Alliance 1924-1926 (pp. 215-228) by H.J. May, ICA General Secretary**

In line with decisions taken at the previous Congress in Ghent to bring the ICA back to its initial tasks of documentation, statistics and promotion of the purely co-operative aims, the Secretary General introduced the volume *Reports on the Activities of Forty-eight National Co-operative Organisations in Thirty-one Countries* prepared by himself on the basis of information received from national organisations and submitted to the Congress separately.

In addition to the above, Congress dealt with amendments to Rules, the most significant of which was the limitation of voting power in the Congress and membership of the Central Committee. Under the changed Rules no country, or union of countries, could exercise more than one-fifth of Congress Votes (p. 132) or have more than 14 members on the Central Committee (p. 242). A further factor we should note about the 1927 Congress was that it was accompanied by a Special Conference on Methods of Co-operative Propaganda and Education, which took place during the Congress and was reported in the Congress Report (pp. 249-268). This illustrated the growing practice of specialist conferences, such as the Women's Conference, being held in conjunction with the main ICA Congress.

#### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Policy of International Co-operation (pp. 125-129)
2. Relations between Consumers and Agricultural Societies (pp. 163-172)
3. Consumer Co-operation and Rochdale Principles (pp. 203-212)
4. Report of National Organisations (p. 228)

5. World Peace (pp. 229-235)
6. Future Activities of the Alliance (pp. 237-242)
7. Representation on the Central Committee (pp. 242-245)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Co-operative Wholesale Society (pp. 85-89)**

This had been officially formed by 26 national wholesale societies during the Ghent Congress of 1924. By 1927, it still existed only in documentation and deliberation. Its principle activity was the gathering of information from members regarding the levels of their imports and exports.

#### **International Co-operative Banking (pp. 89-102)**

The work of this Committee was to create closer relations between the Co-operative Banks, so as to make it possible to service them with documentation and information, and create stronger business between Co-operative Banks. The report gave detailed information on capital and reserves, deposits and overdrafts for members in 27 countries.

#### **International Co-operative Assurance (pp. 102-106)**

The Committee had made good progress promoting the fire reinsurance societies and developing the business among members. The next objective was to create an international re-insurance organisation by its 20 societies in 17 countries.

#### **International Co-operative Women's Guild (pp. 106-115)**

The three years since the formal foundation of the Guild at Ghent had been years of unbroken progress. The affiliated National Guilds all recorded increases in their membership, branches and activities. Following the Ghent resolution, special attention had been given to women's place in the co-operative press. In addition to studying common problems such as electricity in the home, the Guild was present on the international scene through its action in defence of peace, and its attendance at the League of Nations Economic Conference and International Migration Conference.

## **Thirteenth Congress: Vienna, Austria, 25-28 August, 1930**

- Congress President:** *Väinö Tanner, Finland, ICA President*
- Representation:** *554 delegates, 169 societies (including 112 British), 35 countries*
- Report:** *English, 302 pp.*

This was an important Congress because it initiated the 1930s review of Rochdale Principles. Before considering the resolution giving effect to this we should note the main themes of the Congress. As at the previous Congress, only two major papers were presented but weighty issues also came up in a number of reports. For example, that of the Central Committee (pp. 51-113) covered issues such as the ICA's economic policy, which focused particularly on the barriers, such as trusts and cartels, to free international exchange; the Alliance's economic activities since the last Congress; the activities of monopolistic concerns.

The first of the two major themes of the Congress was on:

### **I. The Marketing, Pooling and Financing of Co-operative Productions in Relation to the Consumers' Movement (pp. 165-182) by Sir Thomas Allen, United Kingdom**

Sir Thomas's paper echoed an important part of Albert Thomas's paper to the Ghent Congress of 1924, namely that the diversity of agriculture permitted no simplistic view of agricultural co-operatives' trading relations with the European co-operative wholesales. Sir Thomas pointed out that the largest of these no longer traded primarily with peasant producers in their own countries or elsewhere in Europe because their trade was becoming increasingly inter-continental. More-over, as in the case of the Canadian Wheat Pools which had just joined the Alliance, agricultural production was becoming increasingly large-scale

and less peasant-based. As a result, the two British Co-operative Wholesale Societies now included amongst their suppliers joint organisations, which they had sometimes helped to create, such as co-operative farmers' and marketing organisations in North America, Australia and South Africa.

At most ICA Congresses in the inter-war years, Soviet delegates had distinct points of view on many issues, and in the debate on Sir Thomas Allen's paper they argued that the Canadian Wheat Pools were not true co-operatives. Because they were part-controlled by banks and could not therefore be fully intent on raising consumers' living standards. This would not happen in the USSR, where agricultural societies covered the poorest sections of the peasantry, and aimed to improve their benefits through collective production.

A Hungarian amendment to the resolution following Sir Thomas's paper reflected the growing economic crisis in European agriculture. It also seems to have been an appeal to large consumer co-operative movements not to overlook European agricultural producers. The amendment proposed an Agricultural Co-operative Credit Institution, which would be organised through Co-operative Banks, to provide cheap credit for agricultural countries. Although the amendment was withdrawn, it provided an insight into the changing nature of contemporary agriculture, and the pressures these brought for small co-operative producers, as well as the changing demands of large-scale consumer co-operative movements. Congress eventually passed the resolution based on Allen's paper by a majority vote.

Linked to Sir Thomas Allen's paper was a smaller descriptive one by Andrew Cairns, Canada, on the Canadian Wheat Pool. This organisation had recently joined the ICA, but its membership was short-lived and had been withdrawn by the time of the next Congress (London, 1934).

The other major paper was:

**II. The Principles of Rochdale Co-operation and Modern Systems of Credit Trading (pp. 221-256) by Volrath Klepzig, Germany**

Klepzig's paper reflected continuing concern over the erosion of the co-operative principle of cash trading. He acknowledged that the Movement's competitors were increasingly using credit and instalment payments, but he had conducted a survey among ICA Member organisations which showed that co-operatives still believed that credit had a harmful effect on consumers and were, therefore, opposed to using it.

In passing, we can perhaps note that the German movement was speaking out of experience. Germany had recently undergone a period later described as 'prosperity on credit', which came to an abrupt end with the collapse of one of the largest German banks in 1931.

Dr Georges Fauquet, Head of the Co-operative Section of the ILO but, like Albert Thomas, attending Congress as a member of the French delegation, argued that a distinction should be drawn between the kind of credit trading that co-operatives disapproved of and that which was conducted by organisations such as thrift and credit co-operatives, where credit was based on previous savings. The French moved an amendment recognising this distinction and this was supported by the Belgian, British, Argentinian and Austrian delegations. When accepted, it became part of the substantive motion then agreed by a majority vote.

**III. Rules**

Limited changes to ICA Rules were made at the 1930 Congress (pp. 143-158). We previously observed that the Stockholm Congress changed the rules so that a country, or union of countries, could not exercise more than one-fifth of the votes in Congress. In effect, this limited only the voting power of the British and Soviet delegations. It was not surprising, then, that at the next Congress, Centrosoyus proposed that the subscription of any country, or union of countries, should also be limited to one-fifth of the total subscription income of the Alliance. The



Vienna Congress did not agree. It did, however, endorse a Central Committee recommendation that the Alliance's Committee of Honour be abolished (p. 144). At the Basel Congress, 1921, this had been the mechanism that was agreed to allow remaining individual members to stay within the ICA.

#### **IV. Review of Rochdale Principles**

The question of a review of Rochdale Principles arose at the Congress not in the form of a paper, but through a Resolution from the French National Federation of Consumer Co-operatives (FNCC) (pp. 155-166). This asked Congress to authorise the appointment of a Special Committee to enquire into the conditions under which the Principles were being applied in various countries and, if necessary, to define them.

The French pointed out that, in almost a century of Rochdale Co-operation, there had never been a definitive statement of the Principles. It was, therefore, desirable to know how they were being applied by ICA member movements, and to consider how economic changes since 1844 might have impacted on their observance.

While Centrosoyus agreed that the time had come to redefine Co-operative Principles, the British were unconvinced, though not opposed to the review. Thus it was agreed, by a majority vote (pp. 155-161), that it should be undertaken. The Special Committee, to be appointed by the Central Committee, would report to the next Congress.

#### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Barriers to Free International Exchange (p. 65, pp. 123-143)
2. Trusts and Cartels (p. 65-66 and p. 123-143)
3. International Co-operative Banking (pp. 139-142)
4. The Rochdale Principles (pp. 155-161)
5. Relations between Consumers and Producers (pp. 177-178 and 205-219)
6. Credit Trading (pp. 232-256)
7. Credit and Savings Societies (pp. 245-256)

## **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

### **International Co-operative Wholesale Society (pp. 80-88)**

The ICWS did not engage in trade, but discussions had consistently looked towards the setting up of joint, or group, buying arrangements as the best means of meeting members' requirements. The main obstacle to progress had been the variation of currencies in many countries. Nevertheless, the creation of a special Agency in London was recommended.

### **International Co-operative Banking Committee (pp. 88-94)**

The Committee had not yet succeeded in establishing an International Co-operative Bank, but its detailed statistics revealed the growing importance of Co-operative Banks. The Committee had very thoroughly examined every possibility of joint action between these members.

### **International Co-operative Assurance Committee (pp. 95-99)**

The Committee had reported that the studies it had undertaken and the discussions to which they had given rise, particularly regarding relations between Societies, had led several members to enter into business relations with one another. At the time of the report, at least five out of eleven societies had concluded re-assurance contracts between themselves. It was hoped that an International Co-operative Re-assurance Society would soon be established.

### **International Co-operative Women's Guild (pp. 99-113)**

In the three years under review, considerable strides had been made. The membership of the Guild had increased to 31 countries, and it had been possible to undertake more systematic organising work. Besides promotion of the co-operative idea among women, the Guild had engaged itself in actions favouring peace and disarmament, conducted an inquiry into services provided in different countries for maternity and child welfare, and had lobbied the League of Nations regarding the nationality of married women.

## **Fourteenth Congress: London, United Kingdom, 4-7 September, 1934**

- Congress President:** *Väinö Tanner, ICA President, Finland*
- Representation:** *433 delegates, 247 societies (including 209 British), 26 countries*
- Report:** *English, 300 pp.*

The Congress scheduled for 1933 was not held for two main reasons. World recession and the economic crash of 1931 had caused a number of Governments to impose currency restrictions, thus limiting likely representation at the Congress. Moreover, a number of co-operative leaders felt that the difficulties created by the recession necessitated their concentrating on home, rather than on international, co-operative affairs. After extensive consultations it was decided to postpone the fourteenth Congress until 1934. In its place, a Special Conference was organised, and held in Basel, Switzerland, for those ICA member organisations that could be represented. None of the usual Congress business was discussed, and only two papers were considered: one by the General Secretary on the Present Position of the Co-operative Movement in Various Countries and another by Ernest Poisson, France, one of the ICA's two Vice Presidents, on the International Co-operative Movement and the World Economic Crisis. It can therefore be seen that the conference was one of review rather than decision. However, it became best known for the part it played in worsening relations between the German movement, now coming under the Nazi regime, and the ICA (pp. 76-79 and 82-86).

The fourteenth Congress, held a year later, was both inward and outward looking.

The Central Committee's Report (pp. 52-103) contained a wealth of information on the work of the ICA. The progress made in research, especially in collecting statistics, in issuing new publications, the success of special conferences on education and on the co-operative press, and co-operative summer schools were reported on. In addition, the international activities such as collaboration with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office (ILO) had taken a prominent place in the ICA work. Moreover, the Central Committee had considered reports regarding coupon trading and night work in bakeries. At the end of the report a short item "The Future Orientation of the ICA" (pp. 99-103) elaborated policy options that faced the Alliance in the worsening economic and political difficulties of the 1930s.

### **I. Report of the Special Committee on the Present Application of the Rochdale Principles**

The major report was that from the Special Committee on the Present Application of the Rochdale Principles (pp. 131-158). We should note that the Special Committee based its proposals on close examination of documentation relating to the Rochdale Pioneers' Society as well as a survey of the current co-operative practices of ICA member organisations. The Special Committee concluded that there were seven essential principles: Open Membership, Democratic Control, Dividend on Purchase, Limited Interest on Capital, Political and Religious Neutrality, Cash Trading, and Education. Of these, the first four were obligatory for an organisation to be genuinely co-operative, and the last three highly desirable. Two further Principles, believed to be inherent in Rochdale practices, were also endorsed and recommended, namely trading exclusively with members, and voluntary membership. In addition, the Special Committee noted other distinctive features of co-operatives, such as sale at current market prices, the individuality of net assets, and allocations to indivisible reserves. At the end of its Report, the Special Committee concluded that it was not necessary, or desirable, to modify the existing Principles.

A wide-ranging, but inconclusive Congress debate followed (pp. 159-177), at the end of which a large majority voted to refer back the whole question. Congress felt that the Special Committee should measure its conclusions against co-operatives' present economic environment, and that it should also shift its emphasis from consumer co-operatives so as to take into greater account other kinds of co-operative as well as secondary and tertiary societies such as wholesales and banks.

The only paper to be considered by the 1934 Congress was entitled:

**II. The Role of International Co-operation in Present-day Economic Development (pp. 211-246) by Albin Johansson, Sweden**

This was another example of the Alliance trying to reposition itself in a changing environment. Since the mid-1920s, and encouraged by the League of Nations' World Economic Conference in 1927, the Alliance had struggled, rather unsuccessfully, to draw up a distinctive and coherent international co-operative economic policy. This quest was difficult for a number of reasons. One was that the ICA was an amalgam of different co-operative traditions: British, French, Scandinavian, and now Soviet. Another was that problems had been created by the world economic collapse in 1931 and the recession which followed. By the mid-1930s the ICA recognised that it needed to respond to two developing trends. One was the move away from free enterprise and exchange towards increasing State regulation of industry and commerce. The other was the growing internationalism of trusts and cartels, which were part of the capitalist response to the world economic crisis.

Johansson's paper represented an ICA reaction to these changes. He repeated the argument that the Rochdale Principles should be the basis of co-operatives' activities. These should have the overall aim of protecting co-operative members from capitalist combines which detrimentally affected not only consumers, but also the producers of raw materials and wage earners. His paper also urged consumer co-operative organisations to help farmers and other small producers who had

been badly affected by the current depression, and called for a strong International Co-operative Wholesale to help increase the international exchange of goods.

These points were readily acceptable, but Johansson's reviewed call for co-operative political neutrality was less so. It aroused Congress opposition, and reference to it was deleted in the resolution carried following Johansson's paper (pp. 250-252).

In concluding our review of the 1934 Congress, we should briefly note traditional items of business, including some very limited changes to Rules (pp. 179-184 and 189-192) which only affected subscription levels, and a restatement of the Alliance's commitment to world peace. The latter came in a resolution (pp. 192-198), and had been prompted by the Disarmament Conference held in Geneva between 1932 and 1934. As with the World Economic Conference in 1927, the Alliance had tried to gain representation but had had to settle for observer status (pp. 69-73). However, an ICA statement had been submitted to, and circulated by, the Disarmament Conference. Reference to this was made by the Conference President, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, during the opening ceremonies.

It is interesting to note that the Danes objected to the Peace resolution at the ICA London Congress. This was not because they were against peace, but because they believed that its consideration would breach ICA political neutrality. Moving in the other direction, the Soviet delegates urged a stronger line which would encourage co-operatives to mobilise with other workers' movements to campaign against growing armaments and the threat of fascism. An amendment to this effect was defeated, and the Centrosoyus delegation then supported the rest of Congress in approving the peace resolution by a large majority.

The other main item of business we should note also arose through a resolution. This was moved by the French Federation of National Consumer Co-operatives under the heading of the Leisure of Consumers

and Producers (pp. 199-207). The FNCC argued that co-operatives should note the growing importance of workers' leisure as working hours decreased. It suggested that, in addition to their social and educational work, co-operatives should now begin to organise leisure facilities. The resolution called on the Central Committee to conduct a survey of ICA affiliated organisations' leisure facilities, and to organise periodic international conferences on the question. The resolution was passed unanimously (p. 202).

### **Resolutions Adopted**

1. Peace and Disarmament (pp. 192-198)
4. The Leisure of Consumers and Producers (p. 199)
5. The Role of International Co-operation in Present Day Economic Development (pp. 247-252)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Co-operative Wholesale Society (pp. 263-271)**

The work of the ICWS had suffered an unwelcome check because of the national economic conditions and political embargoes, as was evident from figures quoted at the end of the report.

#### **International Co-operative Banking Committee (pp. 271-277)**

The Committee's initial work had been to appraise the repercussion of the international monetary crisis on its affiliated banks and to assess its effects on co-operative activities. It also sought to find practical solutions to the problems encountered.

#### **International Co-operative Assurance Committee (pp. 277-283)**

The insurance companies had not been greatly affected by the depression. The Committee had declared that, contrary to the stagnation which had overtaken nearly all industrial and commercial enterprises, the majority of co-operative assurance societies were in a flourishing condition, comparable to that which they had experienced during the most prosperous years.

**International Co-operative Women's Guild (pp. 283-291)**

The four years since the Congress in Vienna had been the most difficult, both for the co-operative movement as a whole and for the housewives comprising the Guild, whose budgets were the true measure of the world's prosperity or want. These difficulties had necessarily affected the Guild's rate of progress but, nevertheless, a substantial advance had been made, not only in membership by the affiliation of three new organisations, but in the more intangible gains of prestige, consciousness of strength and capacity for combined action.



## **Fifteenth Congress: Paris, France, 6-9 September, 1937**

- Congress President:** *Väinö Tanner, Finland, ICA President*
- Representation:** *477 delegates, 119 societies (including 72 British), 26 countries*
- Report:** *English, 344 pp.*

When the Fifteenth Congress convened in Paris the fear of war was increasing. However, it could not have been realised that this would be the last ICA Congress for another nine years. There were customary items of business, but the approach to the 1939-45 War was reflected in parts of the Central Committee's Report, in particular its proposed response to the Spanish Civil War. Its resolution on Spain led to one of the most stirring, but contentious, ICA Congress debates: how could the Alliance take an effective stand on peace and not breach its political neutrality. Inevitably, Congress was divided. Before looking at this question we should note an item of business carried forward from the last Congress, namely the Special Committee's Second Report on the Present Application of the Rochdale Principles (pp. 145-173). Little new emerged from this, with the Committee's further work tending to confirm its original conclusions: in other words, the seven Principles listed in its first report were revalidated, and the Special Committee found, with occasional and limited rewording, these were applicable to all forms of co-operation.

### **Rules**

Among the customary items of business were limited amendments to ICA Rules (pp. 175-181), amounting to no more than the clarification of the Article on 'Eligibility', extending the 'Rate of Subscription' to larger societies, and limiting representation of any country or union of countries on the Central Committee to nine.

## **Central Committee**

Within the Central Committee's Report, considerable space had been devoted to the analysis of movements' positions in Germany, the USSR, the Balkans, the Baltic States, and especially in Austria where co-operative leaders, Dr. Karl Renner and E. Freudlich, had been thrown into prison and the societies placed under Government control (pp. 85-103). The intervention of the General Secretary on behalf of the ICA had helped in gaining the release of Dr. Renner and Freundlich and the freeing of Austrian consumer co-operatives from Government control.

Two following papers were presented at the Congress:

### **I. The Development of International Exchange (pp. 233-295) by A.J. Cluet, France**

This paper was both a return to the question of inter-co-operative trading and an update on changes in international trade. Extensive descriptions of the International Co-operative Wholesale Society's experiences were also included. Unusually, the paper was divided into two, and led to two resolutions, both approved by Congress. The first part of the paper noted increased protectionism in many countries, and the accompanying resolution called for the freeing of international trade, criticised the impact of trusts and cartels on raw material markets and condemned the practice of dumping.

The second half of the paper concentrated on the development of inter-trading between national co-operative wholesale societies. It provided an excellent historical summary of the setting up of the International Co-operative Wholesale Society. The difficulties experienced in this had led to proposals for setting up an International Co-operative Trading Agency, although Cluet stressed that this was intended to complement, rather than to replace, the ICWS. It was hoped that part of the ICTA would assist schemes of mutual purchasing, particularly those with agricultural and producer co-operatives.

The resolution which followed also proposed the setting up of specialised International Co-operative Societies to safeguard consumers' interests against international trusts and cartels, and to assist consumer wholesale societies in world markets.

Both resolutions arising from Cluet's paper were passed, the first by a large majority and the second unanimously.

## **II. The Place of Co-operation in Different Economic Systems (pp. 185-229) by Väinö Tanner, Finland, ICA President**

It can be argued that this was the more important of the two papers presented to the Paris Congress, because it provided an insight into the intellectual calibre and leadership of the ICA President, Väinö Tanner, and gives another illustration of the Alliance responding to its changing environment. An example of the latter occurs in the paper's opening statement: "The Co-operative Movement was born and adopted its Principles and organisational forms in the liberalist period", which prompted immediate comparison with the changed conditions of the 1930s. It went on to trace changes in the world economy, precipitated by the First World War, and acknowledged that Communist and Fascist regimes, not existing when the Alliance was founded, had since had a strong impact on ICA member organisations.

It is perhaps appropriate to quote the resolution passed at the end of the debate on Tanner's paper because it reflected the Alliance's position immediately prior to the Second World War. It also paved the way for a debate which continued in *The Review of International Co-operation* during the War and resumed in the immediate post-war ICA Congresses of 1946 and 1948:

*"That Co-operation, as a form of expression in social activity of its own, is possible and necessary in all the different kinds of economic and political systems, even though its tasks and importance vary in different systems, principally depending upon the character of the social groups which have obtained possession of the State power.*

*That the Co-operative Movement in all economic systems demands for itself complete freedom of activity on the basis of its own principles, and repels all efforts to control politically its activity.*

*That the Co-operative Movement, wherever a regulated economy in some form or other has been put into power, rejects measures that hinder the national or international development of its activity, just as it rejects any efforts in a socialist economic system to concentrate the whole economic activity in the hands of public bodies. (p. 229)*

The most poignant part of the 1937 Congress, however, was its consideration of the Spanish situation and the passing of a Peace Resolution that was to be the last before the Second World War.

### **III. The Situation in Spain**

The Spanish situation was dealt with by the Central Committee, both in its Report to Congress and in the resolution it proposed. The latter was not readily accepted. Many felt that, in face of the growing threat of Fascism, the ICA had to take a firmer position, even if this meant compromising its political neutrality. This dilemma split the British delegation, the major, although not official, part of which moved an amendment which was intended to make the Central Committee's Resolution far stronger. However, the Central Committee opposed the amendment on grounds that it breached ICA neutrality. Nevertheless, at the end of an eloquent but tortured debate, the movers of the amendment had so persuaded the rest of the Congress that the substantive resolution was passed unanimously. This was to be the very last business that the ICA conducted before the Second World War. We should note, however, that a Peace Resolution had been passed earlier, also unanimously (p. 126).

After the Paris Congress, and as the threat of war grew, the Alliance markedly stepped up its campaign for peace, mainly through *The Review of International Co-operation* and its membership of the Universal Peace Campaign.

The Appendices to the Congress Report, which were for note by the Congress rather than action, contained two further reports, both building on earlier business:

### **Co-operation and Planned Economy (pp. 70-75 and 309-318)**

The subject had already been dealt with in the Central Committee's Report to the previous Congress in London. It was another attempt to determine the position of the Alliance with regards to recent developments in this field. This had eventually led, in 1936, to the issuing of a Declaration by the ICA on the Significance of Co-operative Economy, which was reiterated in 1937. The Declaration clarified the basic principles and practices of the movement, so as to help members establish what they were standing for in times of economic turmoil.

### **Special Report on Co-operative Financial Policy (pp. 75-77 and 319-334)**

This report, which was prepared by the Secretariat at the request of the Central Committee, presented in detail the financial position of the national movements.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Co-operative Financial Policy (p. 125)
2. Peace (p. 126)
3. The Spanish Situation (p. 127 and pp. 296-302)
4. The Place of Co-operation in Different Economic Systems (pp. 210-229)
5. The Development of International Exchange, 1st Chapter (pp. 249-250 and 251-287); 2nd Chapter (pp. 288-295)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Co-operative Wholesale Society (pp. 131-136)**

The introduction of tariffs, currency and import restrictions, quotas, etc. had caused artificial barriers to appear in many parts of the world, thus making inter-trading very difficult. It was felt that the formation

of the International Co-operative Agency would help to foster the commercial relations between more than twenty national wholesales.

**International Co-operative Assurance (pp. 137-142)**

Since the London Congress, the question of particular importance which had dominated the debates in Committee meetings had been the Programme of the Insurance Committee and the Organisation of Mutual Reinsurance. Since the creation of the Committee, reinsurance relations had been established between several societies. However, some members had felt that, on account of the monetary and political conditions, the time was not ripe to create an International Reinsurance Company.

**International Co-operative Women's Guild**

There was no report from the Guild. From 1937 to 1963 the Guild's Presidents were attending the Congresses as official guests.

## **Sixteenth Congress: Zürich, Switzerland, 7-10 October, 1946**

- Congress President:** *Lord Rusholme, United Kingdom Acting President,*
- Representation:** *319 delegates, 88 societies (including 55 British), 19 countries*
- Report:** *English, 206 pp.*

The first post-war Congress of 1946 found ICA leadership changed. A number, including May and Poisson, had died. Tanner, cut off by the war and compromised by his controversial war-time position, resigned. Vice-President, R.A. Palmer, now Lord Rusholme, United Kingdom, had become Acting President. Despite such changes, the style of the 1946 Congress, and the format of its report, were remarkably similar to those of preceding Congresses. There were, of course, changes in content.

For much of that period (January, 1939 to January, 1946) the full Central Committee had not met, but British members continued to do so and to act as both the Central Committee and ICA Executive. The Executive had not been able to meet since March, 1940. Even so, the Central Committee's Report to Congress was unusually full because, when it had started meeting again, it had approved the handling of the Alliance's war-time policy and administration (pp. 17-77). This had involved ICA links with co-operative movements in occupied countries: the setting up of ICA Relief Funds and Alliance involvement in schemes for relief and rehabilitation. Reported also were the ICA's attempts to gain recognition with pre-UN organisations such as the UN's Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA), and the UN Conference

on Food and Agriculture, the forerunner of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). The Central Committee's Report also contained accounts of the ICA's attempts to influence the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories and various Governments exiled in London, all in connection with the co-operative movements in their countries. In 1946 the Alliance would gain consultative status with the UN's Economic and Social Council. Events leading up to this were also well documented in the Central Committee's Report to the Zurich Congress.

While much of this Report was necessarily retrospective, the rest of the Congress was forward-looking. Congress papers dealt with contemporary situations. Although the first of the two papers echoed the previous debate on inter-co-operative relations, this time it was in a post-war context.

**I. The International Exchange of Goods from the Consumers' Point of View (pp. 122-149) by Anders Oerne, Sweden**

Oerne represented another type of continuity in the ICA. He had been a notable inter-war leader and, by happy coincidence, he had also presented a paper at the first post-war Congress in Basel in 1921, namely that on the Policy of International Co-operation.

In his 1946 paper, Anders Oerne returned to the well-established ICA thesis that international trade barriers were bad because they restricted total trade and hindered consumer co-operatives from trading with co-operatives in other countries. Trade barriers therefore limited the expansion of the co-operative form of enterprise. He urged a quick and complete return to multilateral trade, in which the International Co-operative Trading Agency was likely to be able to play a valuable part. Oerne's paper should be viewed against the immediate post-war background, which included proposals for an International Trade Organisation to which the ICA gave enthusiastic support in a resolution which followed Oerne's paper (pp. 182-183).



## **II. Co-operation and the Public Authorities (pp. 150-176) by Prof. Louis de Brouckère, Belgium**

This began by noting the help that co-operatives had given public authorities in organising war relief, and went on to deal with co-operatives' attitudes to public authorities and vice-versa. To some extent, de Brouckère's paper built on the ILO paper of 1944 entitled 'Co-operative Organisations and Post-war Relief,' which had encouraged the idea of 'co-operative intervention' in solving post-war problems. De Brouckère, therefore, emphasised the distributive capacity of consumer co-operatives, and underlined the role in rehabilitation that agricultural and housing co-operatives could play. He also argued that co-operatives in general could make significant contributions to 're-employment' as national economies were restored.

De Brouckère recognised, however, that States had not always been well disposed to co-operatives and suggested that, in return for co-operatives' help in post-war reconstruction, they should be allowed to keep their distinctive structures, have clear legal status and retain their independence and autonomy. He reminded Congress of the resolution adopted by the Central Committee at its first post-war meeting, in which the ICA acknowledged that the war and its aftermath had increased State involvement in economic and social life but also observed that the State had limits and needed the 'collaboration of co-operative institutions of all kinds'.

A lively debate followed de Brouckère's paper. A resolution, which was adopted unanimously, (pp. 163 and 176) called for a general co-operative statute and protection of the 'co-operative name'. It also urged the creation of representative national co-operative institutions, which would assist the State to determine its economic and social policies. The resolution ended by calling for State help in teaching Co-operation.

The 1946 Congress was also significant for the resolutions it passed. One called for the freedom of the co-operative movement in Spain (p. 181), while another emphasised the Alliance's wish to work closely with the World Federation of Trade Unions and with Co-operative Organisations of Agricultural Producers (p. 180). Two further resolutions concerned the Alliance's links with post-war institutions. One welcomed the proposed International Trade Organisation (p. 182), while another called for the International Bank, established by Governments to channel credit for post-war reconstruction, to set up an administrative unit to liaise with, and represent, co-operative interests.

Perhaps, in view of the fact that it was being moved in the aftermath of the most devastating war mankind had known, the most moving resolution was that on Peace. Not surprisingly, it was adopted unanimously (p. 178). It not only restated traditional ICA opposition to economic nationalism and all forms of aggression, but added wholehearted support for the United Nations.

The most exciting resolution, though, was that proposed by the Americans. It urged that all the world's oil resources should be brought under the authority of the United Nations (pp. 184-185). For the next five years the ICA would work hard within the UN to achieve this, but without success. The experience provided interesting case-study material of an International Non-Governmental Organisation attempting to influence policy within the newly-created UN system. Despite the lack of success, the 1946 Zurich Congress resolution showed that the Alliance's post-war leaders were as dynamic and creative as their predecessors had been.

Whereas the 1946 Congress reflected a reasonably united International Co-operative Alliance, that held in Prague only two years later showed early cold-war strains.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Control of the World Oil Resources (pp. 102-104 and 184)
2. Exchange of Goods (pp. 140-149)
3. Co-operation and Public Authorities (pp. 163-176)
4. Peace (pp. 178-179)
5. Relations between the ICA and the World Federation of Trade Unions; also Co-operative Organisations of Agricultural Producers (p. 180)
6. Freedom of the Co-operative Movement in Spain (p. 181)
7. The International Bank (pp. 181-182)
8. The International Trade Organisations (pp. 182-183)
9. International Memorial to Henry J. May (p. 184)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

**International Co-operative Wholesale Society (pp. 191-194)**

**International Co-operative Trading Agency (pp. 194-196)**

At the meeting held in Paris in September 1937 it had been proposed to set up an International Co-operative Petroleum Association. The question had been raised again in 1945, and a special sub-committee had been appointed to work out a plan for the establishment of such an association.

At the meeting of the ICWS and ICTA held in London in 1945, it had been decided on the fusion of the two Societies. It was agreed that the functions which the ICWS had previously carried out could, with advantage, be executed by the ICTA, and in view of the fact that, with few exceptions, the Wholesale Societies which were members of the ICWS were also members of the ICTA the two bodies should be amalgamated.

The ICTA had operated for only 18 months before the war. Its mainstay was the purchase of overseas produce, such as coffee, tea, spices, oils for members in Europe and the purchase of butter, cheese, eggs and other dairy produce from other co-operative organisations on the

Continent for the English and Scottish CWS. During the war, the marketing of food produce had been severely restricted by Governments.

**International Co-operative Assurance Committee (pp. 196-198)**

The first information which had reached the Committee suggests that the member societies had not suffered too greatly. It even appeared, paradoxically, that turnover in general had considerably increased during the period of hostilities. An examination of balance sheets received gave the impression that premiums in 1945 were approximately double the amount of those obtained in 1939. The war had caused a great upheaval in the social order. The nationalisation of assurance had suddenly reappeared on the programme of many Governments.

## Seventeenth Congress: Prague, Czechoslovakia, 27-30 September, 1948

**Congress President:** *Lord Rusholme, United Kingdom, ICA President*

**Representation:** *424 delegates, 69 societies (including 35 British), 24 countries*

**Report:** *English, 215 pp.*

The Central Committee's report covered the years from 1946 to 1948 (pp. 16-46) and contained a detailed account of the ICA Relief and Rehabilitation Fund (p. 27) and its participation in the work of United Nations bodies (pp. 27-33). Separate reports described the position of co-operative movements in Germany, Italy, Japan and Austria (pp. 35-44).

By now a distinct Soviet bloc had emerged in the form of Centrosoyus, which had resumed responsibility for the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian co-operative movements, and also directed those in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria and Romania, and (to a lesser extent) that in Yugoslavia. The Italian Lega also tended to follow Centrosoyus lines.

In the inter-war years Centrosoyus had frequently taken a distinct position on many questions. The Cold War accentuated the differences between eastern and western co-operative movements, with the latter fearing that the former were trying to gain control of the Alliance by a number of means. These included attempts to determine the agendas of meetings and Congresses; to propose amendments to ICA Rules so as

to increase east European and Soviet influence; to increase the affiliated membership of Communist co-operative movements; to gain greater influence over the ICA Secretariat by downgrading the Executive and creating a Management Bureau; and to achieve greater influence on the Alliance's policy on peace. Successful resistance to these moves by the other sections of the Alliance helps to explain how the ICA survived the Cold War. Not all organisations were similarly successful. In 1949, a year after the ICA's Prague Congress, the World Federation of Trade Unions split under similar pressures.

The Prague Congress provided examples of this, particularly relating to proposed Rules' changes. Before examining these, we should observe that there were also strong clashes over the Central Committee Report, (pp. 16-94) and the Central Committee's proposals on the Future Policy and Programme of the ICA (pp. 94-104). The latter were eventually adopted by 526 votes for, to 423 against, a much closer vote than at previous Congress, but a token of things to come. Another example came shortly after, with the proposed changes to Rules (pp. 105-129). These were significant because Centrosoyus wished to amend 14 out of 35 Articles, with the obvious intention of facilitating its greater influence over the Alliance. However, the Centrosoyus proposals were handled neatly and expeditiously, by being considered en bloc and separately from the Central Committee proposals. When they were defeated, by 435 votes in favour, to 566 against, the Central Committee's proposals could be considered on their own. These were clearly laid out alongside existing Rules, thus assisting comparison. They amounted to no significant changes, but had the effect of tidying up existing Rules and allowing them to reflect recent developments such as the creation of the position of Director. After a French proposal clarifying and strengthening Article 8 on membership eligibility was accepted, the Central Committee's proposed amendments were approved by a show of hands (p. 111).

Two main papers were presented at Prague:

**I. The Practical Development of International Co-operative in the Economic Sphere (pp. 132-158) by Albin Johansson, Sweden**

It could be argued that the theme of inter-co-operative trade (to which this represented a return) had run its course. Johansson's paper reflected a further shift away from the idea of an International Co-operative Wholesale Society, or the International Co-operative Trading Agency. In their place, he proposed the establishment of joint international enterprises which would manufacture raw materials provided by agricultural marketing societies and then distribute the finished products through consumers' societies. Such joint enterprises were intended to complement the work of consumers' wholesale societies. In the resolution which followed Johansson's paper (p. 158) Congress welcomed the greater freedom which was occurring in international trade, and reiterated co-operative support for the proposed International Trade Organisation.

**II. The Co-operative Attitude to Nationalisation (pp. 160-189) by James M. Peddie, United Kingdom**

We noted that Väinö Tanner, at the 1937 Paris Congress, had touched on this question in his paper on Co-operation in Different Economic Systems, as did Prof. Louis de Brouckère, in his paper to the 1946 Zürich Congress entitled Co-operation and Public Authorities. This paper was a continuation of the Alliance's attempt to adapt to increased State involvement in economic and social affairs. During the 1939-45 War there had been an important debate in *The Review of International Co-operation*. It arose out of fears expressed by the American co-operative leader, Dr J.P. Warbasse, that the British Co-operative Movement was limiting its potential by supporting the Beveridge Proposals on Social Security and Labour Party proposals for nationalisation. One of the contributors to the ensuing debate had been R.A. Palmer, Vice-President, and later President of the ICA. Writing in his capacity as General Secretary of the Co-operative Union, Palmer had developed

the thesis that there were complementary places for State and co-operative enterprises. Peddie's 1948 paper elaborated that argument, suggesting that nationalisation and co-operation shared the same economic objectives of social ownership, while acknowledging that co-operatives could bring a degree of democracy that was impossible in State corporations.

The Central Committee had proposed a resolution (p. 176) to follow Peddie's paper, and this was passed. A Polish amendment, reflecting the Communist bloc point of view, was rejected in the process. In the resolution that it passed, Congress acknowledged that nationalisation had a legitimate place alongside co-operation in any economy's collective sector. Warbasse's original objections had effectively been cast aside, but subsequent experience may suggest that they could usefully be re-examined.

Not surprisingly, it was on the question of peace that the effect of the Cold War on the ICA was seen at its sharpest (pp. 189-190). Whereas, in the immediate post-war years, references to peace were agreed relatively easily at the Zurich Congress and in the International Day Manifestos, by 1948 this was no longer the case. At Prague, the Central Committee proposed a Peace Resolution but the Soviet delegation submitted an amendment which the Congress Bureau felt was irreconcilable with the original resolution. As a result it was decided that both should go before Congress.

Had this occurred it would have meant a straight vote. It was then likely to have been close and, on the pattern of previous voting, the Centrosoyus amendment would have been lost. Such a prospect may have led the Soviet delegates to hold a meeting with the French and Swiss delegations.



From this meeting emerged a new and composite text which stressed the need for Co-operation to work for peace “with all the resources and energies at its disposal” and to support the United Nations to the “full-est extent”. The new resolution also called for national co-operative organisations, in their respective countries, to celebrate International Co-operative Day by mass meetings “in support of peace and democracy and the raising of the standard of the toilers”. It also urged them to fight for peace in collaboration with Trade Unionism and other democratic organisations.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. The Promotion of Co-operation (pp. 83-88)
2. Co-operation and Housing (pp. 89-91)
3. World Oil Resources (pp. 92-94)
4. Peace (pp. 189-190)
5. International Co-operation in Economic Sphere (p. 158)
6. The Co-operative Attitude to Nationalization (p. 176)

### **Recommendation on the Future Policy and Programme of the ICA (p. 95)**

### **Reports of Specialized Bodies**

Additional reports, which were presented in the Appendices of the main Congress Report (pp. 198-206).

### **International Co-operative Trading Agency (pp. 198-199)**

Founded in October 1937, it had 19 members. The turnover amounted to £41,000 in 1946 and £128,000 in 1947. Trading conditions had continued to be very difficult owing to controls, rationing, governmental purchases and difficulty of supplies.

### **International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 199-200)**

Founded in September 1947, the ICPA had ended its 1948 fiscal year with modest savings and anticipated a growing volume of trade. Or-

ganisations in 20 countries were in the process of becoming members and had pledged an initial capital in excess of US\$1,000,000. The ICPA was looking to acquire crude oil sources with strategically and economically located refineries and pipelines to assure its members of the supply of petroleum at reasonable prices.

### **International Co-operative Assurance Committee (pp. 201-203)**

It had 14 member societies from 10 countries. Two major questions had occupied the Committee since the Zurich Congress: the co-operative movement's attitude towards nationalisation, and international reinsurance.

### **International Co-operative Banking Committee (pp. 204-206)**

Founded initially in 1922, the Committee had resumed its work in 1948. In order to facilitate communication between members it had decided to start the collection of balance sheets and constitutions, and to invite members to submit their observations concerning the prevailing conditions nationally and internationally.

### **Auxiliary Committee of Representatives of Workers' Productive and Artisan's Societies (CICOPA) (p. 21)**

Initiated in 1932, CICOPA had finally been officially founded by five national organisations by the end of 1947, and had held its first meeting at Prague.

**The International Co-operative Press Committee** had been constituted following a recommendation of the International Press Conference at Zürich in 1946. Its outstanding task was the creation of an International Press Agency (p. 21).

## **Eighteenth Congress: Copenhagen, Denmark, 24-27 September 1951**

**Congress President:** *Sir Harry Gill, United Kingdom, ICA President,*

**Representation:** *529 delegates, 67 societies (including 30 British), 23 countries*

**ICA Report:** *English, 270 pp.*

The Central Committee report (pp. 16-167) covered the ICA's work from 1948 to 1951. The main concerns were first, collaboration with the UN Organisations and second, the duty of the co-operative movement to reduce differences in standards of living and economic development between developed and less-developed countries. Concerted action in this field had emerged between ICA, IFAP, ILO and FAO since the last Congress. The Director Thorsten Odhe, in office since January 1948, resigned in March 1951. W.P. Watkins was appointed in June 1951. New, more suitable, Headquarters had been acquired at 11, Upper Grosvenor Street, London.

A very animated debate began on the question of the eligibility of co-operative organisations from people's democracies to join the ICA. Centrosoyus (USSR) posed the question and was backed by representatives from Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Lega Nazionale (Italy). Previously, the Executive Committee, at its meeting in Paris (1949), had clarified the provisions of the Rules concerning the admission of new members. The main features of this clarification were that ICA members should maintain open admission; democratic functioning at all levels; independence from the State and public authorities. In addition to approving this clarification, the Congress adopted amendments to its Rules (pp. 152-163).

## **International Co-operative Day**

Inception in 1923. In 1949 and 1950 the ICA had made Declarations on World Peace and the fundamental principles of co-operation.

## **The Future Policy and Programme of the ICA (pp. 106-171)**

The formulation of an economic policy of the ICA started in the Inter-Allied Conference at Paris in 1919, where a Resolution was passed on Principles of International Co-operation. Two new papers on the same subject were presented to the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of Basel (1921). Moreover, a Sub-Committee had been constituted in the Stockholm Congress (1927) to study the question. Further proposals were submitted to the London Congress (1934) and to the ICA's Conference in London in 1945. Preliminary Reports on the ICA Economic Policy had been adopted by the 16<sup>th</sup> Congress at Zurich (1946), while two interim Recommendations were adopted by the 17<sup>th</sup> Congress of Prague (1948) (pp. 108-151). During the three-year period between Prague and Copenhagen Congresses, the issue had been extensively discussed by the Policy Sub-Committee.

A further task was to examine the relationship between the co-operative movements and public authorities. A questionnaire had been sent to ICA Member organisations (analysis of replies in Appendices I to III, pp. 118-124) and a resolution was agreed.

The newly-created Agriculture Committee moved a resolution on Agricultural Co-operation, which was subsequently adopted (pp. 165-167).

Two main papers were presented to the Congress:

### **I. The Development of the World Co-operative Movement: its Difficulties and its Chances (pp. 168-201) presented by Charles H. Barbier, Switzerland**

The paper began by recalling previous studies (pp. 169-175), proposals, discussions and resolutions of the ICA and of co-operative leaders

and theoreticians about the relationship between co-operatives and State and public authorities in the inter-war years and the immediate post-war period. It was noted that all ICA Congresses, resolutions and decisions had insisted upon the voluntary character of the co-operative movement.

In 1937, following Väinö Tanner's paper on the place of Co-operation in different economic systems, the Paris Congress passed a Resolution stating that "...Co-operation...is possible and necessary in all the different kinds of economic and political systems". Earlier, in 1924, Charles Gide published a study on Relations between Co-operation and the Public Authorities, in which he claimed that "...Co-operation refuses to let itself be State-ised, but on the contrary, it tries to co-operatise the State". Gide further stressed the need to establish a division between the three types of enterprises: public, individual and co-operative. Later, in his book, *The Co-operative Sector*, Dr Georges Fauquet, former Chief of the Co-operative Service, ILO, had formulated the essentials of the theme State-ism and Co-operation. He had illustrated the characteristics of mixed economies comprising different sectors, and thus rejected the idea of simple economic systems. After the Second World War the most fundamental problem facing co-operatives and the ICA was to define the position of the public sector relative to the Co-operative sector. Elsewhere, Co-operation had been accused of being both Bourgeois and Communist. According to Prof. Louis de Brouckère's paper on Co-operation and the Public authorities, submitted to the 16<sup>th</sup> Congress (Zurich, 1946), and the Resolution of the ICA Central Committee "there is identity of aims between co-operative action and the action of the State", provided that it places an economy of service above an economy of profit. "...The Co-operative movement is, therefore, entitled to claim from the public authorities the liberty of its development in the large fields of economic life..." Reference was also made to the paper that James Peddie, United Kingdom, presented to the 17<sup>th</sup> Congress (Prague, 1948), namely *The Co-operative Attitude to Nationalisation*, which had reviewed the different forms of nationalisation,

mainly in United Kingdom, and referred to underlying dangers and advantages. The Resolution then adopted stated that nationalisation and co-operation may have complementary functions and a division of tasks. The 1948 Congress had claimed full and complete recognition of voluntary co-operation in the new collective economy.

The second part of Ch.-H. Barbier's Report to the Copenhagen Congress, 1951 (pp. 175-184), was devoted to an analysis of the difficulties and opportunities experienced by the Co-operative Movement in the context of a changing economy. In particular, reference was made to the major obstacles which hinder its development, such as men's post-school education to encourage personal responsibilities; the recruitment and training of societies' directors; the wage systems and the perspective of shareholder-employee.

Co-operation and the wage system has been dealt with by Albert Thomas, in his paper on *The Relations Between the Different Forms of Co-operation*, which had been presented to the 11<sup>th</sup> Congress (Ghent, 1924). In this, he stated that the organisation of labour, in the case of co-operatives, should conform to the aspirations and convictions of the workers. Dr Georges Fauquet had also elaborated on the *Organisation of Labour by Co-operative Teams* in a publication of 1943.

Finally, Ch.-H. Barbier quotes Professor Edgar Milhaud, who had advocated the reintroduction of liberty into liberty and a greater equality into the distribution of the product of co-operative enterprises. He also advocated the recreation of human and interdependent communities so as to restore the idea of service and a sharing of responsibilities.

## **II. Co-operatives and Monopolies (pp. 203-254) by Thorsten Odhe, Sweden**

The first part of this paper highlighted the main characteristics of monopolies, origins and development of cartels within the free enterprise

system, and the principle of *laissez-faire*. It also looked at the concentration of international monopolistic power and its impact on raw materials, patents and trade cycles. Anti-trust, anti-cartel and other policies were also described, as well as national and international action to reinforce these through appropriate legislation, and controls proposed by the United Nations.

The Co-operative Movement had had many successes in fighting monopolies on behalf of the consumer. For example, its federated structure allowed economies similar to those of large-scale operations and, by virtue of its non-profit principle, these savings were passed on to the consumer. The defensive action taken by co-operative productive enterprises had resulted, in almost every case, in improved productivity, increased demand and higher employment levels. Some Governments had recognised the vital role played by co-operatives in anti-monopoly policies. Moreover, the ICA had, on many occasions, advocated the establishment of tools by which Governments and the United Nations might keep the activities of international monopolistic organisations in check. The Report went on to trace methods of defence against monopolies, and the anti-monopoly policies of the Co-operative Movement both within national economies (UK, USA, Sweden, Finland) and at international level. A resolution, which illustrated the dangers of monopolies and showed the co-operative achievements in fighting monopolistic developments, including shaping public opinion, support for the international control of international monopoly organisations, and the demand for free and equitable access to the world's raw material resource of all nations was adopted.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. The Rationalisation of Commodity Distribution (pp. 85-92)
2. The Principles of Co-operation (pp. 94-103)
3. International Co-operative Trading Relations (pp. 103-105)
4. Future Policy and Programme of the ICA (pp. 106-117)

5. Consultation with International Bodies on Co-operative Development Programmes (pp. 105-137)
6. Peace (pp. 138-151)
7. Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 165-167)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

**The International Co-operative Trading Agency (p. 260)** presented a Report on its activities, published as Appendix I and focused mainly on its membership (24 societies).

**The International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 261-262)** reported on its membership (members from 23 countries) and its modest growth but sound financial operations (its 4<sup>th</sup> fiscal year ended in April 1951). Its capital was 15 millions and its headquarters in New York City, USA.

**The International Co-operative Assurance Committee (pp. 262-263)**, founded in Rome in April 1922, had 12 members. The Executive studied several questions raised by branches: fire-assurance, group life insurance, investments by insurance companies, the issuing of mortgages, social activities and life assurance policies.

**The Specialized Body on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 21-22)** was to be constituted during this Congress, according to the desire expressed during the 17<sup>th</sup> Congress of Prague (1948) and the Draft Constitution elaborated by the Provisional Committee appointed by the Central Committee at its Meeting at Stockholm.



## **Nineteenth Congress: Paris, France, 6-9 September, 1954**

**Congress President:** *Sir Harry Gill, United Kingdom, ICA President*

**Representation:** *611 delegates, 120 societies, 24 countries*

**ICA Report:** *English, 265 pp.*

The Central Committee Report on the Work of the ICA from 1951 to 1954 (pp. 14-126) recorded that in November 1953 the Secretariat had moved to new premises, which became its Headquarters for almost thirty years until the transfer to Geneva. Member organisations had generously provided the new offices with furniture and works of art. A library was established, and subsequently a Working Party of Librarians came into being. Other auxiliary committees had greatly expanded their work (Appendices I-VII). Following the Resolution on Housing passed at the Prague Congress of 1948, a new Housing Committee was established. Equally new was the Liaison Committee of the ICA and the International Committee of Women's Guilds (ICWG). On the financial side, subscriptions had increased significantly (£20,000), yet the relocation cost was more than double the estimated budget. The balance sheets for 1951-1953 can be found in Appendix XII (p. 261). It should be noted that two Japanese societies had resumed their membership after ten years' absence, and African societies from the Gold Coast and Nigeria became members. The ICA Relief and Rehabilitation Fund, launched in 1943 to assist societies in war-stricken countries, had been closed, while an International Fund to aid flood victims in Europe had been started (pp. 27-28). The Annual International Co-operative School had been organised in France, jointly with UNESCO, and in Switzerland. UNESCO again helped with setting up a seminar for Women Co-operators under the theme: women's place and influ-

ence in national co-operative, economic and social life. When considering the Report of the Seminar, the ICA Executive approved five Recommendations on the question of women's promotion within the national co-operative movements and circulated these amongst affiliated organisations (pp. 29-30). The Central Committee's Report revealed that ICA collaboration with United Nations bodies (pp. 32-37) had mainly focused on the question of the international control of restrictive business practices. A regular flow of information had been established with other agencies on matters of mutual interest, including technical assistance to developing countries. It was felt that such collaboration with UNESCO had been particularly fruitful.

As during previous Congresses, membership problems led to a particularly stormy debate (pp. 42-54) which appeared to be a struggle for control over the ICA. A Soviet delegate was critical of the fact that no great progress had been made in widening the membership during the past three years. Applications from Poland, Albania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic had been rejected by the Executive. Consequently, the Soviet delegation moved a resolution which requested Congress to reconsider the matter. Although initially centred around procedural questions regarding the interpretation of the Article 8 of Rules on 'Eligibility for Membership', the discussion turned into an ideological clash. The Soviet allegation of a discriminatory policy and misinterpretation of the Rules was firmly rebuked by western European representatives. Finally, the resolution was defeated by 671 votes to 366. Later on, the request of a Romanian organisation to change membership status from individual to collective met with similar resistance. The reason given for this was an unwillingness to increase the numbers of State co-operative systems within the ICA.

### **Future Policy of the ICA: Report of the Sub-Committee on Policy (pp. 101-126)**

The ad hoc Sub-Committee on Future Policy continued its studies on 'Relations between Consumers' Co-operation and Agricultural Co-operation, and Relations between Co-operation and the Public Authori-

ties in Countries with Mixed Economies'. Other subjects touched upon internal policy, recruitment, associate membership, external policy, freedom and elimination of restrictive policies and practices, the three economic sectors, inter-co-operative relations, multilateral exchanges, co-operative expansion, access to raw materials, human rights and social responsibilities. In order to bring organisations from developing countries into the ICA membership, the report proposed the introduction of associate (collective and individual) membership. Eventually the amendment, together with minor alterations to a few other articles, was approved by 669 votes for, to 380 votes against.

Two main subjects were submitted for the deliberation of the Congress:

**I. International Co-operative Trade, the Possibilities of Practical Collaboration between National Organisations and its Development by the Alliance (pp. 135-176) by J. Roos, Holland**

The paper's central theme reiterated the ICA's desire, dating from early this century, to encourage inter-co-operative trade. It examined past experiences of international co-operative trade (pp. 137-144): attempts to set up the International Co-operative Wholesale Society (ICWS) following discussions at the Congresses of Cremona (1907), Hamburg (1910) and Glasgow (1913); the setting up of the International Co-operative Trading Agency (ICTA) in 1936, representing a rebirth of the idea of regional wholesales; the experiences of Nordisk Andelsforbund (NAF), established in 1918 as the joint buying agency for the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland and Denmark; and, finally, the work of the International Co-operative Petroleum Association (ICPA), established in 1947.

Analyses were made of the possibilities and prerequisites for the development of international co-operative trade (pp. 144-150), and the report focused on a comparison of NAF and the ICTA.

As far as practical collaboration between national co-operative organisations was concerned (pp. 150-157), it was felt that this could be achieved through a number of projects, including expert assistance in specific areas. Anticipated projects and approaches included: the exchange of business data; meetings of experts; joint research; the rationalisation of distribution; and staff training. As far as the role of the ICA (pp. 155-157) was concerned the seventeen-point programme of the ICA, discussed in the Basle Congress of 1921 (Report presented by H.J. May) was recalled. This proposed a direct approach to practical collaboration, but urged that projects and ideas should regard the ICA as the real and practical centre of world co-operation. Congress adopted a Resolution advocating a more extensive collaboration between national co-operative movements in the international field (inter-co-operative trade, joint purchasing, exchange of business data, meetings of experts, training programmes and joint research) (pp. 157-158).

## **II. Co-operative Development in Under-Developed Countries, with special reference to the Activities of Inter-Governmental Organisations (pp. 177-220) by W.P. Watkins, ICA Director**

This was an historic report for a number of reasons. It identified, for the first time, co-operative development as a priority within the ICA, and eventually led to the establishment of the international development fund in 1954. This was to become the principal financial tool for many years ahead, indeed up to 1990 when it became exhausted. The paper attempted to define an 'under-developed' country and identified those regions in the world awaiting economic development. Conditions and programmes of co-operation in the economic advance of such countries were suggested including co-operation, industrial change and social solidarity; international governmental organisation (emphasising the role of the UN); technical assistance in administration, methods and limitations; co-operatives' initiative and action in different regions and countries; the programme of the ICA and national co-operative movements in providing funds and acting as 'co-operative missionaries'. The Resolution adopted urged the extension of the co-operative movement in under-developed countries, welcomed the work of the

UN and its Specialised Agencies in this area, emphasised the desirability of close consultation between intergovernmental organisations and the ICA, and asked all members of the Alliance to supply every kind of aid to the co-operative pioneers in under-developed countries (p. 190).

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Peace and the dangers of war (p. 82)
2. The Removal of Legislation restricting Technical Progress within the Field of Retail Distribution (p. 89)
3. International Co-operative Trade (p. 157)
4. Extension of the Co-operative Movement in under-developed areas (p. 190)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Co-operative Assurance Committee (pp. 76 and 232-235)**

The Report (Appendix I) recalled the Committee's 32 years' activities and briefly presented the problems discussed by the Committee over the past three years. These included: nationalisation, international co-operative re-insurance, restrictions and discrimination regarding transport insurance, marine insurance, composition of the Executive, affiliated societies (32 societies from 17 countries).

#### **International Banking Committee (pp. 76 and 236)**

This Report (Appendix II) referred to the activities of the Committee reconstituted at the Prague Congress in 1948. The Committee decided on reciprocal banking arrangements between members in order to streamline business operations.

#### **Committee of Representatives of Workers' Productive and Artisans Societies CICOPA (pp. 77 and 237-238)**

The Report (Appendix III) focused on future work, including proposals for a statistical study, a comparative study on legislation, technical courses for specialist employees, publication of an Information Bulletin, and exchange study tours.

**Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 77-79 and 238-240)**

The Report (Appendix IV) began by recalling the objectives of the Committee, which had been approved by Resolution of the Copenhagen Congress in 1951. By 1954 the Committee had 14 members from 13 countries, and considered itself to be responsible for agricultural affairs within the ICA. Following its initial mandate, it had extensively promoted ICA membership among agricultural organisations.

**International Housing Committee (pp. 79-81 and 241-245)**

The Report (Appendix V) covered the constitution of the Committee in 1952, following discussions started at the Prague Congress in 1948. Information was given about its Constitution, programme and priorities, and the work of its two Sub-Committees, one on Finance, the other on Building Materials. The Conference of Housing and Building Co-operative Societies at Paris (1954) had stated that housing was a human problem and that all branches of national co-operatives should co-ordinate and encourage it.

**Committee on the Rationalisation of Commodity Distribution (pp. 81 and 246-251)**

The Report (Appendix VI) referred to the creation of the Committee following a Resolution of the Kooperativa Förbundet at the Copenhagen Congress in 1951. Representatives of retail and wholesale organisations had held their first meeting in London in 1951. The Committee had proved to be a very dynamic organisation, and had a full agenda for the coming years. Reports presented by four of its sub-committees dealt with technical matters of interest to distributors such as: cash control, self-service, stocks and stock control and inter-co-operative trading.

**The International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 81 and 252-254)**

The Report (Appendix VII) gave an account of the activities of the Association, organised in 1947, with 25 member Wholesale Co-opera-

tives from 18 countries. Its headquarters were based in New York, USA, but it had a Branch Office in London to handle non-dollar business. Unfortunately, exchange controls and restrictions continued to hamper operations. Nevertheless, the Association had a sound financial basis and was extending its services. It had also entered the oil production field for the first time, by agreement with the Co-operative Refinery Association in the USA.

## **Twentieth Congress: Stockholm, Sweden, 4-7 August, 1957**

**Congress President:** *Marcel Brot, France, ICA President*  
**Representation:** *612 delegates, 72 societies, 29 countries*  
**ICA Report:** *English, 344 pp.*

### **Report of the Central Committee on the work of 1954-1957 and the future Policy (pp. 21-108)**

The membership debate reported to Congress had been greatly influenced by the political events of the previous year, particularly the Russian intervention in Hungary. The danger of the Alliance splitting had returned as the Swiss and Dutch movements were considering withdrawal from the ICA if the membership of co-operative organisations from Communist countries were not re-examined. However, thanks to Scandinavian mediation they had withdrawn their motion to this effect. The Soviet bloc now tried to link the membership question to that of the ICA's financial position. For example, the Romanian delegation felt that "the revenue of the Alliance should be increased not by increasing the subscriptions but by increasing the number of organisations admitted to membership". Nevertheless Chinese, Romanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian applications had been turned down by the Executive.

Thereafter, with the membership question becoming less urgent, the Central Committee had had more time to devote to institutional matters. It had observed that the Auxiliary Committees were becoming more numerous and their activities independent from mainstream events at the ICA. The Central Committee felt that it was necessary to establish guidelines on contacts between all auxiliary committees and the leading organs of the ICA (pp. 25-27). With a few modifications in 1984, these are still in force today. Under these, the Committees were



invited to convene their meetings in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Central Committee, to submit an Annual Report, and to be consulted in the carrying out of ICA policy. Furthermore, their Chairmen were entitled to become ex-officio members of the Central Committee. The Committees were also asked to help to strengthen the ICA membership and to provide documentation on technical problems for ICA representatives attending United Nations meetings.

Regarding the ICA's finance, the Central Committee had established different methods of calculation for subscriptions.

Regarding Future Policy, the Central Committee decided that the following questions should be studied: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the Organisation for Trade Co-operation; the stabilisation of world prices for staple commodities; the establishment of new economic communities and the unification of markets; the peaceful use of atomic energy, its administration and economic consequences (p. 28).

The Central Committee reported on the follow-up of Resolutions passed at the last Congress. The Resolution of the Paris Congress (1954) on Peace still constituted the Alliance's Peace Policy (pp. 34-35). Little action had been possible on the Resolution of the same Congress on International Co-operative Trade (pp. 36-37).

The 25<sup>th</sup> International Co-operative School had been held in Brussels in 1955, its main theme being Co-operation and Family Welfare. A second seminar on women had taken place in Austria in 1956, when the theme was Education and Peace (pp. 38 and 390).

Four technical conferences of the ICA had been held between 1955 and 1957: the Working Party on Co-operative Films (London, 1955), which considered international exchange of films; the Working Party on Documentation (Basel, 1956), which concerned co-operative libraries and co-operative literature; the Conference of Co-operative Publicity

Officers (London, 1956), which considered co-operative publicity, advertising, audio-visual aids, and the organisation of publicity departments; the Conference on Self-Service Retailing (Stockholm, 1957), which discussed retailing policy and the evolution of self-service techniques (p. 39).

Regarding the question of the Promotion of Co-operation, the ICA had collaborated with the U.N. agencies and other organisations, in missions and conferences in S.E. Asia and in the establishment of an International Fund to foster, encourage and develop co-operatives in developing countries` (pp. 40-60).

Congress adopted minor amendments to the Rules without dissent. Art. 4; Art.17; Art. 28; Arts. 33, 35 (pp. 134-137).

Three papers had been presented to the Congress:

#### **I. Promotion of Co-operation in Lesser-Developed Countries (pp. 147-198)**

Three Papers were prepared on this subject and presented to the Congress:

##### **The Progress of International Technical Assistance (pp. 147-152) by David Owen, Executive Chairman, United Nations Technical Assistance Board**

This Report gave a wide account of the structure of the UN Programme of Technical Assistance and the countries contributing to the finance of the activities. Reference was made at the beginning to the role of the UN in the political sphere of the post-war world. It was estimated that UN shortcomings in this field were counter-balanced by economic and social co-operation led by specialised agencies (eight of them including ILO, FAO, UNESCO and WHO were mentioned in the Report). Examples of the main objectives pursued and activities undertaken for achieving them were provided by the document: among these objec-

tives, was the improvement of living standards, production techniques, and educational and medical services, the creation of social welfare activities, and the strengthening of public utilities and administration. Among the methods for achieving these objectives was the contribution of international experts, on-site training, and supplies and equipment.

It was argued that programmes of technical co-operation must meet the needs and procedures of Governments, including the priorities of their national development plans. By 1957 some 83 countries had made voluntary contributions amounting to US\$31.5 million to a UN Special Account for Technical Assistance.

**The role of Governments in Less-Developed Countries (pp. 153 161) by W.J. Cheesman, former Registrar of Co-operatives.**

The speaker reviewed the value of different types of co-operatives outside Europe, including many countries in Asia and Africa. Concrete examples were drawn from various countries including Egypt, Cyprus and Nigeria in order to illustrate the progress made and its economic effects.

From his experience the speaker made suggestions and proposals about what should be the future objectives of technical assistance, including relationships with Governments, the role of co-operative legislation, the functioning of co-operation departments, and the need for co-operative education and training. The report did not go so far as to suggest, at that early date, what the philosophy should be of the technical co-operation conducted by industrialised countries and the UN system in the new and emerging, and under-developed countries of the Third World. But it was significant in the sense that it reflected the end of the period of European administration and the start of technical assistance conceived and implemented at the request, and to the satisfaction of the less-developed countries, old and new.

**The promotion of Co-operation in Less-Developed Countries (pp. 162-172) by B.J. Patel, Hon. General Secretary, All-India Co-operative Union.**

This paper began by referring to the setting-up of the ICA Technical Assistance Committee and to Watkins' Report to the 19<sup>th</sup> Congress (1954). It highlighted conditions of development in the Indian Co-operative Movement and illustrated how national co-operative organisations were attempting to stimulate genuine co-operative activity in accordance with basic co-operative principles and practices, and were also making efforts in the field of research and evaluation.

**II. International Co-operative Trade. Its Difficulties and Possibilities and the Widening of Contacts with a View to the Exchange of Experiences in Co-operative Activities (pp. 199-236) by A.P. Klimov, President of Centrosoyus, USSR**

This question had arisen at the Alliance's First Congress (London, 1895). It was now reasserted that international co-operative trade could promote national and international economy, create fraternity among co-operative organisations and contribute to the creation of mutual understanding and confidence, in both developed and under-developed countries. The Report referred to possible common ties between the East (Soviet co-operative movement) and the West. Commenting on the development of International Economic Co-operation, the speaker recalled the Resolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> ICA Congress (Copenhagen, 1951) on the role of capitalist monopolies, the conclusions of the British Co-operative Union's Congress in 1956, and the draft Resolution of the 22<sup>nd</sup> session of the ECOSOC (1956) presented by the USSR representatives, which called for furthering of international co-operative trade. Also reviewed were various methods of developing trade. The Conference of the FAO and ILO (Karachi, 1950), which had discussed trade problems, was also cited by Klimov. The development of foreign trade relations between Centrosoyous and co-operative organisations from other countries was extensively highlighted at the end of the Report. During the long discussion of the paper Klimov expressed reservations about the European Common Market.

**III. Co-operation in World Economic Development and Peace (p. 238-284) by Dr. Albin Johansson, Sweden, Member of the Central Committee, ICA**

The paper was a theoretical and factual attempt, based on statistical data and examples, to integrate co-operatives into free enterprise economic systems, to define their positions against private monopolies and to point out obstacles to the development of International Trade. Another theme of the paper was legislation and the exploitation of patents and inventions in the context of industrial development. The second part of the paper was devoted to peace and its connections with basic economic problems such as oil conflicts and equal access to raw material resources and their exploitation. In conclusion, the paper reaffirmed that the freedom of international trade was a prerequisite of international co-operative trade, successful industrial organisations and lasting world peace.

**IV. Memorandum on Management in Our Times (pp. 291-306) Presented by the Co-operative League of the USA**

This paper analysed and defined the content of the management, and differentiated between ownership-management and business or professional management. It also studied the role of management within co-operatives and discussed ways of improving this.

**Resolutions adopted**

1. Peace (pp. 128-133)
2. Co-operation and Health (pp. 138-146)
3. The Promotion of Co-operation (p. 197)
4. Co-operation in World Economic Development and Peace (p. 283)
5. International Co-operative Trade (p. 285)
6. Management in Our Times (p. 296)

## **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

### **International Co-operative Insurance Committee (pp. 109 and 316-318)**

The report (Appendix I) re-emphasised two major questions which had dominated the Committee's work for a long time: nationalisation and international reinsurance. In 1956 the Committee had had to deal with the nationalisation of its member, the Life Assurance, in India. The International Re-Insurance Bureau had made very good progress with more than 200 contracts, bringing in premiums in excess of £2 million. The Committee was concerned with the image of co-operative societies and had suggested that public relations should be one of the principal subjects to be discussed by the Committee.

### **International Co-operative Banking Committee (pp. 111 and 319)**

The Committee had decided to establish the International Co-operative Bank with a subscribed capital of US\$310,000 (Appendix 2).

### **Committee of Representatives of Workers' Productive and Artisanal Societies (CICOPA) (pp. 112 and 319-322)**

The report (Appendix III) described the numerous activities undertaken by the Committee, including international technical courses for building workers, the publication of monographs on workers' co-ops in member countries, the collection of statistics and legislative texts, participation in national congresses, and visits to and representation on international organisations.

### **International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 115 and 322-325)**

The Committee (Appendix IV) had concentrated its work on questions regarding the position of co-operatives inside the agricultural sector of member countries. In its report the Committee urged the ICA to pay more attention to co-operative agriculture so as to increase the numbers of agricultural co-operative organisations applying to join the Alliance. A recommendation was made to constitute a special section, which would be able to provide the necessary technical assistance, within the Secretariat.

Agricultural progress within developing countries had also been reviewed by the Committee. Moreover, the question of closer collaboration between producers' and consumers' co-operatives was being debated.

**International Committee on Housing (pp. 122 and 325-326)**

The Housing Committee (Appendix V) had published a study on Housing Finance in Western Europe in three languages, and had also collected statistics regarding housing co-operatives. Its representatives had attended sessions of the Economic Commission for Europe and the International Labour Office and had proposed changes to resolutions which affected the co-operative sector. The German member of the Committee had undertaken to prepare Model Rules for Co-operative Housing Societies.

**Report of the International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 124 and 327-329)**

Despite many difficulties that had beset international trade, the ICPA (Appendix VI) had progressed, and had rendered service to its members. The membership included both consumer and agricultural co-operatives. The bulk of lubricating oils and greases originated from the world's only Co-operative Lubricating Oil Refinery in the USA. The largest consumers were Holland, Sweden and Egypt, but shipments were made to many other countries as well. Following the Middle East crisis it was suggested that the ICA Central Committee should call once again on the United Nations to study procedures and regulations that would ensure the peaceful settlement of differences over access to petrol.

**The ICA Mission to Asian Countries in 1955-1956**

Appendix VII (pp. 330-336) of the Congress Report reproduced the Report of the Mission to S.E. Asia by Dr. George Kéler, Kooperativa Förbundet, Sweden. Analysed within the Report were the development conditions of co-operatives in the region, the scope for technical assistance from the ICA, the need to set up an ICA Asian Regional Office and the importance of good working relationships between the Co-operative Organisations of Europe and North America and UN agencies (the ILO and UNESCO).

## **Twenty-first Congress: Lausanne, Switzerland, 10-13 October, 1960**

- Congress President:** *Marcel Brot, France, ICA President*
- Representation:** *640 delegates, 133 societies, 35 countries  
(pp. VIII-XXI)*
- ICA Report:** *English, 338 pp.*

### **I. Business and Constitutional Matters (pp. 18-120)**

This Congress took place during a period marked by technological achievements, fear of a Third World War, the granting of independence to various countries, desire for economic development and higher standards of living, and the creation by the UN of its Special Fund for Economic Development. Within the ICA, membership policy continued to create dissension between the Communist and non-Communist blocs which, by now, had firmly established their respective positions. However, the debate, even at its fiercest, never led to a split in the Alliance. In addition, the admission of several organisations from non-European countries helped to shift discussion from East-West conflict to the ICA's development programme. By the time of this Congress this had become a well established priority.

### **Eligibility for Membership**

This question had been raised at the Stockholm Congress (1957), and measures taken in respect of member organisations converted into State-controlled movements were considered. The Sub-Committee on Eligibility for Membership had been formed to study the problem and to propose, where appropriate, amendments to Rules. However, it soon became apparent that no compromise was possible between the Soviet and Western positions. Consequently, the Sub-Committee had not agreed on any alterations of recommended Rules and reaffirmed the existing position. For the past ten years this had stipulated that full ICA mem-



bers should be genuine and free co-operative organisations; that associate members should, after a transitional stage, and only if they had developed into free co-operatives, be eligible for full membership; and that the ICA's activity should not be hampered by party political propaganda or other non-co-operative interference (pp. 19-22). Soviet delegates felt that this policy was undemocratic and discriminatory.

A Resolution on ICA membership eligibility, submitted by CENTROSOYUS, was defeated (410 votes for, 810 against). The already lengthy debate was given new impetus when amendments to Rules were considered later in the Congress Agenda.

### **Development programme**

Since the Stockholm Congress, the development programme had become a priority. The Technical Assistance Sub-Committee had been responsible for the S.E. Asian Conference of Kuala Lumpur (1958), plans for setting up of the Regional Office, and a Seminar on the Problems of Leadership, as well as several projects of Technical Assistance. The main purpose of the Conference at Kuala Lumpur had been to consider the setting-up of an ICA Regional Office in Asia. Representatives of the ILO, FAO and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions were invited to attend. Questions of Technical Assistance were also discussed at the Conference, including plans and policy, promotion of co-operation, and membership from the region. In connection with the Conference, meetings were organised in Pakistan, India (with Prime Minister Pandit Nehru), Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Singapore, Thailand, Burma (now Myanmar), Japan and Israel. A report to the 1958 Central Committee meeting gave full information on the scope, functions, location, staffing and financing of the proposed ICA Regional Office. With the assistance of Kooperativa Förbundet (Sweden), it was envisaged that the office would be based in New Delhi as an ICA Educational Centre, and it was subsequently officially opened a few months after the Congress, in December 1960. Several ICA technical assistance projects, as well as two seminars on co-operative leadership

were organized as a follow-up to the Kuala Lumpur Conference. It was suggested that Latin America should be the second region for which the ad hoc Sub-Committee would study the co-operative situation, and problems and needs (pp. 22-39).

The Long-Term Technical Assistance Programme was adopted (pp. 201-204), including a decision of the utmost importance to all ICA activities for many years ahead, namely financing technical assistance from the regular ICA budget. The Programme advocated the continued work with co-operative movements in developing countries. This would include intensive research work on major co-operative problems and issues; the promotion of Co-operative Education at all levels; collaboration with the UN and other Agencies; promotion and expansion of Trade between Co-operative Organisations in Developing and Developed countries; and the encouragement of co-operative insurance, credit and banking.

**Technical Assistance Projects of affiliated Organisations (pp. 325-328)**

A summary of such projects is shown as Appendix IX. These projects were concerned with technical assistance initiatives and activities undertaken by co-operative organisations in Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, Germany, United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, the United States of America, and the USSR.

**Amendments to the Rules (pp. 122-146 and 288-293)**

The most important amendments referred to Articles 18 (Subscription Rate) and 23 (Representation at Congress), which was henceforth to be calculated according to financial contribution instead of membership. Other articles discussed included Article 8 (Eligibility for Membership); Article 28 (Central Committee); and Article 33 (Duties of the Executive).

Two additional subjects were proposed to the Congress:

## **II. The Promotion of Co-operation in Developing Countries (pp. 147-213)**

### **How the Work of the ICA Might Be Co-ordinated With That of the United Nations and International Bodies (pp. 149-161). Paper presented by R.N. Henry, FAO**

The speaker informed the Congress about the use of Funds (Regular Budget and Technical Assistance Programme) belonging to the UN and Specialised Agencies, particularly the FAO and ILO, and spoke about technical assistance activities. He elaborated on these activities, which included collection, analysis and dissemination of information; studies and publications; technical meetings; training, fellowships, seminars; the establishment of institutes and centres; and technical assistance from experts. He believed that the co-ordination of the ICA's Programme of Technical Assistance with those of UN Specialised Agencies should result in a division of activities and be implemented in a flexible manner. He argued that the ICA should aim to improve co-operative organisations' standards of organisation and management, as well as the education of their members and office bearers. Mr Henry believed that the Specialised Agencies of the UN should advise and assist Governments and their Co-operative Services.

### **The Role of Governments in Developing Countries in promoting Co-operation (pp. 162-169). Paper presented by B.J. Surridge, Co-operative Adviser, British Colonial Office, London**

The speaker recalled the four economic sectors of the economy proposed by Dr G. Fauquet in his classic book *The Co-operative Sector*, (public or State, capitalist, private or family economy, and co-operative) and outlined their relationship with the political and economic views of the State. He illustrated this approach to economic analysis with examples drawn from Denmark, where the movement played a prominent role in the economy but was independent of the State. In the

British tradition, co-operatives provided not only economic advantages but were also of important educative value. SurrIDGE argued that co-operatives' healthy development required State support in the early stages, by the provision of a proper legal framework (co-operative societies' law) and administrative machinery through a Registrar of Co-operatives with the appropriate staff. Further examples of such support included Turkey where, according to an ILO mission report, there was a shortage of educated men. The Federal Credit Union Act of USA was cited as providing registration, supervision and guidance, while in India, according to an FAO technical meeting held at Lucknow, Government help was needed to promote and assist co-operative societies. Such help was also required in Cyprus, to protect small peasant farmers from private moneylenders by improving transport facilities, and providing education and credit.

In conclusion, SurrIDGE suggested that the problem was to find ways of reconciling the Western conception of an independent, autonomous co-operative movement, and the needs of co-operatives in developing countries which frequently needed to be organised and promoted with the State's support and partnership.

**The Needs of Co-operative Organisations in Developing Regions and the Contribution of the ICA (pp. 170-176). Paper presented by Dr Mohamméd Hatta, Indonesia**

The speaker, who based his case on Indonesian experience, underlined the advantages of the co-operative system. He also explained where Government assistance had become necessary, and defined the ICA's contribution towards co-operative development in promoting the spirit of self-help, co-operative education, training for managers, and information and documentation.

**III. Co-operation in a Changing World: A Survey of Objectives and Methods with Special Reference to the Western Co-operative Movements (pp. 244-299). Paper presented by Dr M. Bonow, Sweden**

This was an extended report of the main conditions governing the or-

ganisation of co-operatives in developed countries, the various organisational types of co-operative activities, the impact of co-operatives on economic and social policy, the ICA's collaboration with other world organisations and the position of co-operatives in countries with different economic systems. Bonow's analysis of the situation was supported by statistical data. The resolution recommended ICA affiliated members to promote co-operative enterprises, coordinate the activities of their organisations, increase international co-operative trade, encourage member participation and apply the co-operative idea to economic and social problems. The resolution also urged the ICA Central Committee to promote close contact with the UN and its Specialised Agencies, as well as with other international Non-Governmental Organisations. This would help liberalise trade and develop economic resources, thus assisting in improving standards of living.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. A Resolution on Peace (p. 120)
2. Co-operative Pharmaceutical Organisations (pp. 211-213)
3. The Duty of the Co-operative Movement to Women (pp. 294-299)

### **Reports of Specialized Bodies(pp. 23-24)**

#### **International Co-operative Insurance Committee (pp. 308-310)**

The insurance sector (Appendix I) had expanded considerably over the past three years. The subjects discussed in meetings touched upon various fields of insurance activities: financing, co-operative principles, investment, life policies and research. The Reinsurance Bureau had been recognised as being of vital importance to societies, avoiding the transfer of funds out of the sector. The Committee had been vested with a new mission, which was to help create co-operative insurance in developing countries.

#### **International Co-operative Banking Committee (p. 310)**

The eleven member banks (Appendix II) had enjoyed a considerable expansion of their assets and current account turnover. There had also

been an increase in business between co-operative banks due to the British CWS Bank's putting substantial transactions through other co-operative banks in Europe. The question of finance for the developing countries had been raised, but the statutes of most banks prevented their making loans for this purpose.

### **Committee of Representatives of Workers' Productive and Artisanal Co-operatives (CICOPA) (pp. 311-213)**

The Committee (Appendix III) had continued its technical activities by organising study visits, the exchange of workers, and attendance at the meetings of international organisations. It had published statistics and studies since the Stockholm Congress, and these had met with great interest and would be continued. The Committee had decided to concentrate its work around an intensification of technical exchanges, and the promotion of business between societies in different countries.

### **International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 313 314)**

Three points had figured prominently in the report of the Committee (Appendix IV) during the period under review: the role of consumers' and wholesale societies in the marketing of agricultural produce and the supply of agricultural requirements; promotion of co-operation in developing countries; and internal matters, especially the promotion of the ICA membership among agricultural organisations. Following the appointment of an agricultural expert at ICA Headquarters, a new monthly publication had been started: *The Agricultural Co-operative Bulletin*. A conference on buying and importing dairy produce had been convened in Denmark in 1960, and had met with considerable interest.

### **International Committee on Housing (pp. 315-316)**

The Committee's work (Appendix V) had been focused on collaboration at the international level, and on the dissemination of information on housing finance, technical questions relating to building construction, the social and cultural requirements in housing communities and the promotion of housing in less-developed countries.

### **Co-operative Wholesale Committee (pp. 316-319)**

This relatively young Committee, formed only in 1956, had quickly found its place within the ICA structure (Appendix V). Much attention had been devoted to European economic integration. When the 'Community of National Organizations of Consumers' Co-operatives in the Common Market' had been constituted arrangements were made to secure collaboration between it and the ICA Co-operative Wholesale Committee. A joint meeting between EEC Wholesales and those in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) had also been held at Paris in 1960. At this, it had been agreed that, as long as the division of Europe in two separate trade blocs existed, the Wholesales had no choice but to avail themselves of the possibilities for closer collaboration offered by the liberalisation of trade within their own areas. They urged, however, the avoidance of anything that could endanger the unity of the Movement. The Committee reported that considerable efforts were being made to develop inter-co-operative trade with organisations in less-developed countries.

### **Committee on Retail Distribution (pp. 320-322)**

The Committee had been constituted at a meeting in Brussels in 1958, attended by representatives from eighteen member organisations. The Committee's meetings had discussed thematic studies on assortment policy, profit from retailing, education and training of personnel etc. A technical conference on new developments within the consumer co-operative movement had been held at Hamburg in 1960.

### **International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 323-324)**

The ICPA (Appendix VIII) had further extended its activities. Many member organisations had experienced a phenomenal growth in volume of business over the past two or three years. Egypt, the Netherlands and Sweden had seen a steady increase in the volume of distribution. Progress was also good in the USA and Canada.

## **Twenty-second Congress: Bournemouth, U.K., 14-17 October, 1963**

**Congress President:** *Dr Mauritz Bonow, Sweden,  
ICA President*

**Representation:** *450 delegates, 69 societies, 34 countries, plus observers and visitors (pp. VII-XVII)*

**ICA Report:** *English, 289 pp.*

### **Inaugural Address By the President of the ICA (pp.3-7)**

The President's Address stressed the political and economic circumstances existing at the time of decolonisation, affecting some 770 million people, the problem of nourishing over-populated countries, and Prof. Gunnar Myrdal's proposed solutions put to the World Food Congress. The ICA President also spoke of the role of co-operation in the less-developed countries and of the favourable reactions to the co-operative model in India (from Prime Minister Pandit Nehru) and Tanganyika (from President Julius Nyerere).

One of the most important decisions taken by the Congress had not been introduced by a special paper, but by resolution moved by a Soviet Member organisation, Centrosoyus, and adopted with an overwhelming majority. It was decided to constitute a Commission to reformulate the Fundamental Principles of Co-operation under modern conditions and to include them in the Agenda for the 23<sup>rd</sup> ICA Congress. There was a brief discussion about the motivation of the proposed Resolution and reference to the meaning of the traditional Rochdale Principles, as well as to similar initiatives taken by ICA Congresses in Vienna 1930, London 1934 and Paris 1937 (pp. 127-129).



### **Report of the Central Committee (pp. 14-90)**

The paper of the Central Committee reported on the implementation of the decisions of the 1960 Lausanne Congress against a background which had been dominated by the idea of a changing world, the rapid expansion of co-operation in the newly-developed countries, the establishment of the Regional Office and the Education Centre for S.E. Asia, the development of long-term technical assistance programmes and close collaboration with UN Agencies and Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations.

The Secretariat of the ICA had been reorganised and a new Director was appointed in 1963 (Mr W.G. Alexander, United Kingdom) (pp. 19-20). Other reported activities concerned Finances, Publications, Economic Research, the Annual International School and Co-operative Education as a whole, as well as the staffing and functioning of the Regional Office of S.E. Asia, the Education Centre, the Development Fund, the Consumer Protection Programme (The Health of the Consumer) and the International Co-operative Day (pp. 20-38).

### **Women's Place in Co-operation (pp. 34-36)**

The Report of the Central Committee made a summarised but complete review of the ICA's concern about women co-operators, as well as women non-co-operators. First, it recalled the conclusion of the Report to the Basel Congress of 1921 about the important role to be played by women in the future of Co-operation. In 1921, the International Co-operative Women's Guild had been created as an independent policy-making organisation. Information about this and its services was reported at its Triennial Conferences. In 1962, the decision had been made to appoint a woman specialist within the ICA Secretariat and to constitute an Advisory Committee for Women's questions and women co-operators. The Resolutions on 'Health and the Consumer' adopted at the Stockholm Congress (1957), and on 'The Duty of the Movement towards Women' taken at the Lausanne Congress (1960) had increased ICA responsibilities for women. The 'Seminar for Women' (New Delhi,

1962) and the subjects discussed had showed the great value of co-operation for women. A recommendation to appoint a women specialist in the Regional Office was under consideration.

### **Amendments to the Rules (pp. 103-107)**

The Congress adopted technical changes to Article 35 (The Director), Article 8 (Eligibility) and Article 14 (Associate Membership). The Soviet proposal, backed by delegates from Romania, Italy and Yugoslavia, to suppress Article 14 had been rejected by 355 votes against to 122 votes for.

### **I. Long-Term Programmes of Co-operative Promotion and the Conditions of their Realisation (pp. 132-146) by W.P. Watkins, ICA Director**

The paper emphasised the role played by the ICA in recent years through its Sub-Committee in the promotion of Co-operation in regions other than Europe and North America. It analysed the necessity for such a long-term programme and emphasised the importance of co-operative development programmes' being framed within national planning. It also highlighted the conditions favourable to co-operative development, which included co-operative education, the training of administrators, ensuring elementary human rights beyond constitutional principles and legal enactments, and the non-interference of Governments and political parties in co-operatives. The paper also described on the one hand the role of international aid and, on the other, the priorities laid before the ICA for the immediate future.

### **II. Economic Integration and Co-operative Development (pp. 170-234) by Thorsten Odhe, Sweden**

This Report followed on that made by Dr M. Bonow to the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of Lausanne (1960). It referred to the external conditions in which the Co-operative Movement was working to solve the problems of a new society characterised by new economic systems and the appearance on the international economic scene of developing countries needing assistance and support.

Thorsten Odhe's paper analysed the prospects for the Co-operative Movement to speed up its expansion in the context of the great common markets created by zonal integration in various parts of the world. It also described the possibilities of co-operation and collaboration between the two main regions and systems, even though they functioned according to different principles. Linked to this was a review of the main features of the 'State Socialist' sector, the 'Third Sector' of the developing countries and the free exchange countries. The position of the Co-operative Movement was to function as a 'countervailing power' against the monopolistic tendencies of private enterprise, and to do so under certain conditions which included structural reforms and organisational rationalisation and strong collaboration 'across boundaries' of different types of co-operatives. In conclusion, the paper averred that the development of the Co-operative Movement was progressing with the democratic form of society. Radical changes in the world economy, and extensive integration between different zones of world economy and trade were likely to further encourage and accelerate the Co-operative Movement in all regions, whether developed or developing.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Peace and Security (pp. 101-102)
2. Consumer and Processing Industries in Developing Countries: (pp. 108-112)
3. Distribution of Co-operative Literature (pp. 112-116)
4. The Duties of the Co-operative Movement towards Young People (pp. 117-121)
5. Establishment of an Investigation Committee for Membership Eligibility (pp. 121-122)
6. Establishment of a Special Committee for Meetings and Seminars to Strengthen the Co-operative Movement against International Monopolies (pp. 122-123).
7. Strengthening Unity and Collaboration in the International Co-operative Movement (pp. 124-127)

8. The World Housing Situation and the Role of Co-operatives (pp. 129-131)
9. Long-Term Technical Assistance Programme (pp. 146-169)
10. Economic Integration and Co-operative Development (pp. 209-234)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Co-operative Insurance Committee**

##### **(Appendix 1, pp. 240-242)**

The major problem attracting the attention of the members had been the organisation of the Common Market and its impact in the field of insurance. The gradual suppression of customs barriers was expected to result in Societies' being able to work in the other Common Market countries on an equal footing with the respective national societies, without having, as was then the case, to fulfil a number of administrative formalities and to deposit funds, sometimes large.

#### **International Co-operative Banking Committee**

##### **(Appendix II, p. 243)**

At the last meeting in 1962 the view had been strongly expressed that the time was ripe for the establishment of an International Co-operative Bank, and a Sub-Committee had been appointed to discuss with the existing International Co-operative Bank at Basel the possibility of strengthening its capital structure so as to extend its activities.

#### **International Committee of Representatives of Workers'**

##### **Productive and Artisanal Co-operatives (CICOPA)**

##### **(Appendix III, pp. 243-247)**

In the report it was noted that in many countries where workers' productive co-operation could render tremendous service, no such co-operatives existed. The co-operators of the most advanced movements were still failing to make the best possible use of their technical contacts and commercial potential. Co-operation among the disabled remained on the agenda, no longer as a means of temporary aid to those

disabled in war or at work, but as a method of re-education and permanent rehabilitation of those who found it difficult to fit into society.

### **International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (Appendix IV, pp. 247-248)**

Besides the series of conferences on the importation and exportation of agricultural produce, the Committee had continued its work with the UN and the FAO on the financing of agricultural and co-operative development. The all-important problem of the integration of agricultural and consumer co-operative organisations had been the main theme of the triennial conference's agenda.

### **International Co-operative Housing Committee (Appendix V, pp. 249-251)**

The promotion of co-operative housing in developing countries had been constantly under consideration, and the Committee was very mindful of the appalling (and increasing) need. Some help had been given in the form of courses for co-operative officials from the movements in developing countries, and through its contact with the ICA Regional Office in New Delhi the Committee had contributed information to conferences and seminars organised by the ICA Education Centre.

### **Co-operative Wholesale Committee (Appendix VI, pp. 251-253)**

The matter of great importance, extensively dealt with by the organs of the CWC, was the question of closer collaboration between members in the fields of production and trade so as to promote the further economic integration of Western Europe. A related issue was the creation of an institutional framework for such collaboration, and how the co-operative movement could maintain regular contacts with the EEC authorities and obtain representation on its advisory committees. As a temporary solution to this question, the Wholesales situated within Common Market countries set up a Committee of the European Production and Wholesale Centres of the Consumers' Co-operatives, mem-

bership of which would be open to the wholesales of all countries joining the Common Market.

**International Co-operative Petroleum Association  
(Appendix VII, pp. 253-255)**

Organised in 1947 to unite all petroleum co-operatives and expand their oil activities, the ICPA had continued its work with the assistance of its members around the globe. In May 1963 the ICPA flag was raised over a lubricating oil blending plant in Dordrecht, the Netherlands, signifying the first co-operative petroleum manufacturing facility. Plans for the immediate future included the search for crude oil in Libya.

## **Twenty-third Congress: Vienna, Austria, 5-8 September, 1966**

**Congress President:** *Dr Mauritz Bonow, Sweden,  
ICA President*

**Representation:** *528 delegates, 79 societies, 58 countries*

**ICA Report:** *English, 310 pp*

### **Report of the Central Committee on the work of the International Co-operative Alliance 1963-1966 (pp. 18-76)**

A large number of subjects related to ICA activities were reported and discussed. The Central Committee continued to study structural changes, having received a background Report on Co-operative Technical Assistance from the Research Section and Secretariat in 1965. The Executive Committee prepared proposals and established the terms of reference for a Commission on Co-operative Principles, appointed in 1964. In 1964 the ICA appointed a Secretary to the Women Co-operators' Advisory Council. The Council's terms of reference were defined in 1965 (pp. 31-33). It held two meetings in 1965 and 1966, and organised a Conference for Women Co-operators in conjunction with the 1966 Congress. It was reported that there was strong interest in the development of ICA activities in S.E. Asia, funded mainly by the Co-operative Movement and Government of Sweden. Membership continued to increase with new affiliations from Europe, Asia, Africa and America (pp. 18-20). The Central Committee also heard that an ICA Consumer Conference (with 130 participants) had been held in Basel in 1965 (p. 33).

### **International Co-operative Day**

The ICA Declaration on this occasion had placed emphasis on the development, and the role of the Co-operative Movement in achieving economic and social progress (pp. 33-35). Detailed account was also

given of the ICA's working relationship with the UN Agencies and other Organisations (pp. 35-45).

### **Amendments to the Rules**

Art. 8 (Eligibility); Art. 18 (Subscription); Art. 23 (Representation at Congress); Art. 28 (Central Committee); Art. 32 (Composition of the Executive).

The representatives of Communist countries had again proposed to abolish individual and associate membership, which they considered to be discriminatory and against co-operative principles, and to increase the size of the Executive so as to ensure the equal representation of co-operatives from various socio-economic systems and different geographical areas. Due to opposition from the British delegation, the motions were declared lost by a majority of votes (pp. 127-145).

Besides the long-awaited report of the Commission on Co-operative Principles, the Congress considered two more important papers: a Report on Co-operative Technical Assistance, reviewing national experiences in providing development assistance; and a Report on Structural Changes in Co-operatives, which analysed the relationship between primary societies and their apex organisations.

### **I. Report of the ICA Commission on Co-operative Principles (pp. 154-215)**

The Commission, composed of five members (from the UK, India, the USA, USSR and FRG), had been constituted in 1964 by Resolution of the Central Committee. The Commission's work was organised on the basis of the terms of reference adopted by Resolution of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of Bournemouth in 1963 (p. 157): first, to ascertain how far the Rochdale Principles, as defined by the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of Paris (1937), were currently observed and the reasons for any non-observance; second, to consider whether the Rochdale Principles met the needs of the Co-operative Movement in contemporary economic, social and politi-



cal situations or whether any of the Principles needed to be reformulated in order to contribute to the fulfilment of the aims and tasks of the Co-operative Movement in its different branches; and third, to recommend, if appropriate, new texts.

The Commission's Report gave the historical background to the review (p. 158) and then proceeded to show how it analysed and approached each of the existing Co-operative Principles. The Resolution, adopted following a long discussion and several amendments, approved the Recommendations and conclusions of the Commission regarding the six new principles: a) open and voluntary membership; b) democratic organisation and administration; c) limited reward from share capital; d) distribution of surpluses among members according to rules stipulated in the Resolution; e) co-operative education of members, staff, employees and the general public; and f) the duty of co-operative organisations to actively co-operate at all levels.

## **II. Report on Co-operative Technical Assistance (pp. 217-250)**

This Report gives a comprehensive picture of the technical assistance rendered by co-operatives from developed countries to co-operatives within developing countries (of the 53 countries affiliated to the ICA, 26 were recipients of such technical assistance) according to the decision of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of 1963 in Bournemouth. Information regarding this matter was distributed under three headings: Technical Assistance rendered by National Co-operative Movements and other Bodies (summarised country-by-country and organisation-by-organisation); Technical Assistance rendered by the UN Agencies and other Organisations; and the ICA's Long-Term Programme of Co-operative Technical Assistance. A Resolution discussed and adopted recalled the Long-Term Programme outlined at the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of Lausanne (1960), and noted that the assistance rendered in response to the demands of developing countries was grossly inadequate in meeting their immense and urgent needs. Affiliated Organisations were requested to

develop their programmes and all movements were urged to renew their financial support for the ICA Development Fund.

### **III. Report on Structural Changes in Co-operatives (pp. 252-298)**

A paper on the above topic was made available in 1965, with an introduction by Andreas Korp, President of Konsumerverband of Austria. The Report was a response to the discussion held at the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of Lausanne (1960) on Co-operation in a Changing World. The Report was based on existing data in ICA files, two Special Issues of Austria and Denmark and replies to an ICA questionnaire circulated amongst Member Organisations from 19 countries within Europe, North America and Asia. The study focused on co-operative structural changes so as to respond to profound alterations in the social and economic situation; the productive, distributive and competitive conditions, techniques and methods; market size; the integration of private chains for buying, stocking, advertising and pricing; and to the relations between co-operative organisations.

A Resolution proposed, and adopted following amendment, by the National Federation of Consumer Co-operatives of France, found that the structure of co-operative movements depended on the social and economic conditions and national legislation of their countries. It also stressed the need for Structural Change to be brought constantly into line with the Co-operative Principles; recognised the interdependence of organisational structure and the level of education of members and leaders; and recommended the concentration of co-operative efforts to maximise efficiency under modern competitive conditions (p. 280).

#### **Resolutions Adopted**

1. Resolution on Peace moved by the Central Committee (pp. 111-126)
2. Composition of the Executive Committee (pp. 141-145)
3. Struggle against Capitalist Monopolies (pp. 148-149)
4. Co-operative Housing (pp. 149-150)
5. International Trade (pp. 151-152)

6. Co-operative Principles (pp. 183-215)
7. Long-Term Programme of Technical Assistance (pp. 236-250)
8. Structural Changes within the Co-operative Movement (pp. 280-298)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Insurance Committee (pp. 78-81)**

The meeting began by paying tribute to Joseph Lemaire, of La Prévoyance Sociale of Belgium, who had founded the Insurance Committee in 1921 and who had recently died. It was unanimously decided that a new international company, to be called All Nations Inc, with its headquarters in Columbus, Ohio, USA, should be established. It was agreed that the Committee's member companies should take up shares in the new company. They would thus be able to help insurance in developing countries with capital as well as technical assistance.

#### **International Banking Committee (pp. 81-82)**

It was reported that co-operative banking was the fastest growing sector of the international co-operative movement. In North and South America, credit unions were busy building a new international organisation. In Latin America, the national financial institutions had established an international institution concerned with technical assistance and the promotion of co-operative ideas. In Asia, special attention was attached to capital formation by co-operatives.

#### **International Committee of Representatives of Workers' Productive and Artisanal Societies (CICOPA) (pp. 84-88)**

The total number of workers' societies had remained about the same during the previous years, although they had increased in size, membership and turnover, and had expanded into new fields such as drama, medicine and the law. New perspectives were being opened up by the expansion of the service industries, and co-operatives had to play their part. The Committee had published comparative studies on legislation and the development of workers' co-ops in several European countries.

**International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 89-92)**

The Committee had increased its membership to 24 organisations in 18 countries. However, there were still some agricultural co-operative members of the ICA who were not members of the Committee. An important event had been the 13th FAO Conference, where the Committee had presented two reports: one on the development of the processing industries established and managed by agricultural co-operatives, and the other on the role of co-operatives in agricultural finance. At the session in Vienna the Committee had established a Fisheries Sub-Committee as a separate body. Its programme was to train fishermen in the developing countries and to analyse concentration in the fisheries industry at the international level.

**International Co-operative Housing Committee (pp. 96-98)**

The Committee had had frequent discussions regarding assistance for co-operative housing in developing countries. The scale of the problem was enormous, as the developing countries considered other economic problems to be more urgent than housing. Furthermore, even where the funds were available, there was an acute shortage of trained personnel capable of helping others with the complex problems of law, finance and construction, which were inevitably encountered by housing societies.

**Co-operative Wholesale Committee (pp. 102-103)**

The heads of co-operative wholesale societies and their buyers had helped to sponsor inter-trading, either by means of joint purchasing or by the greater use of existing purchasing offices operated by members in foreign countries. About half the trade had been in commodities other than food, and transactions had taken place in situations as diverse as California and Hong Kong.

## **Twenty-fourth Congress: Hamburg, Germany, 1-4 September, 1969**

**Congress President:** *Dr Mauritz Bonow, Sweden,  
ICA President*

**Representation:** *438 delegates, 92 societies, 43 countries*

**ICA Report:** *English, 302 pp.*

### **Inaugural Address by the ICA President (pp. 6-11)**

On this occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the ICA, the President recalled the successive stages of the Alliance since 1895.

### **The Work of the ICA 1966-1969 (pp. 19-58)**

At its meetings of 1967 and 1968 (Glasgow) the Central Committee had been concerned with two major questions: first, Co-operatives and Monopolies in Contemporary Economic Systems, and second, the Structure of the ICA. In addition to this, a Consumer Conference on European Co-operatives was held in Vienna. A Spanish version of *The Review of International Co-operation* began to be published. A Travel Conference was also organised by the ICA in London in 1968. A Liaison Committee in the field of Agricultural Co-operation was setup with the participation of the FAO, IFAP, the ICA and the ILO. In 1968 approval was given for the establishment of an ICA Office for East and Central Africa. In South-East Asia, W. Eisenberg conducted a fact-finding mission on Co-operative Trade and his subsequent Report was published in 3 volumes. With regard to Latin America, the ICA supported the Integration Institute, set up by the Organisation of Co-operatives of America. The adoption of UN Resolution 2495 (XXIII) on the Role of the Co-operative Movement in Economic and Social Development was welcomed because it strengthened working ties with ICA's activities and concerns.

### **Women Co-operators**

It was reported that the Women Co-operators' Advisory Council (WCAC) had 22 Member organisations, a Conference was organised in 1969 and meetings were held annually (pp. 40-41).

### **Development Programme**

The ICA Office for East and Central Africa began to operate with effect from 1 October 1968. Substantial financial support towards its costs was provided by Sweden.

The ICA's Declaration on International Co-operative Day made an appraisal of UN Resolution 2459 and the collaboration of the ICA with the UN Specialised Agencies and other Organisations, particularly in S.E. Asia and Africa (pp. 42-43).

Discussion of the Report and Motions/Declarations (pp. 59-118)

Discussion further highlighted ICA activities during the period under consideration, with particular emphasis on Technical Assistance and the Development Fund and collaboration with the UN Agencies.

### **Amendments to ICA Rules and Standing Orders (pp. 150-167)**

Those proposed by Member Organisations from Central and Eastern Europe: Article 2 (Membership); Article 32 (Executive Committee); Article 33 (Duties of the Executive), were aiming at reinforcing the representativeness of ICA members "irrespective of political, economic and social systems of the countries in which they develop their activities" and election to the Executive "with regard to the membership and importance of the respective co-operative movements". However, after a short procedural debate led by the British delegation, they had all been withdrawn. Those recommended by the Central Committee: Article 1 (Name); Article 3a (Objects); Article 8 (Eligibility); Article 13 (Obligations of Members); Article 23 (Representation at Congress); Article 24 (Voting at Congress); Article 25 (Motions); Article 29 (Duties of the CC), were considered necessary following reformulation of the Co-operative Principles at the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress of Vienna (1966) and were carried by a majority of votes.

Only one special subject had been presented for the deliberation of delegates, but it was necessary to prepare three separate papers to accommodate divergent points of view between the Communist bloc and mixed economies.

**Contemporary Co-operative Democracy (pp. 168-225 and 226-264)**

It was stated that this very important subject was directly connected with co-operative values and principles, co-operative structure, education, training and participation of members and workers, economic efficiency and the improvement of managerial skills.

**Three reports were presented on this theme:**

**ICA Secretariat Paper (pp. 168-184) presented by the ICA Secretariat**

This posed the multifaceted question of Co-operative Democracy under the following aspects: representation at general meetings or assemblies, elected bodies, and the shared responsibilities of elected members and managers; the involvement of members, workers' participation and trade union activities; the role of Governments in countries with mixed economies (Western countries), in those with a State-planned economy and in developing countries.

**Theory and Practice of Co-operatives in Socialist Countries (pp. 185-204) presented by A.P. Klimov, Centrosoyus, USSR**

Accounts of the theory and practice of co-operative development in socialist countries as witnessed in various countries throughout the region and in Mongolia were supplemented by data about co-operative activities, education and training.

**Contemporary Co-operative Democracy (pp. 205-225) presented by R. Kerinec (France) and N. Thedin (Sweden)**

This paper focused on an in-depth analysis of the content and importance of co-operative democracy. In its introduction the document re-

ferred to the vision of liberty and human rights within mixed economy countries. Co-operative democracy at the Movement level meant a fair distribution of tasks, interests and efforts, and efficient service to members. In addition, there was the need for a permanent dialogue assisted by group mechanisms and a certain spirit of optimism, co-operation, tolerance and humanism. Democracy at the co-operative society level was reflected in the decisions taken, and in members' participation in co-operative life and in the mechanism of the elected bodies. Other significant indicators of democracy were the education and training of members, administrators and others and open discussions, including press coverage, advertising and the exchange of information and opinions on matters concerning co-operative action.

A long discussion of the three papers followed, which led to the unanimous adoption of a Resolution on Contemporary Co-operative Democracy, proposed by the Central Committee and moved by Ch.-H. Barbier (Switzerland) (pp. 226-264)

#### **Resolutions Adopted (pp. 86-105 and 265-290)**

1. Technical Assistance and the ICA Development Fund (pp. 86-98)
2. Peace (pp. 99-105)
3. International Declaration of Consumer Rights, (pp. 106-118)
4. Contemporary Co-operative Democracy (pp. 226-264 and 234-235)
5. Setting-up of an ICA Office in Africa (p. 265)
6. Inter-Co-operative Trade in Developing Countries (pp. 265-269)
7. Women in the Co-operative Movement (pp. 269-272)
8. Consumer and Agricultural Processing Industries in Developing Countries (pp. 272-274)
9. Training of Personnel in Developing Countries (pp. 280-283) proposed by the National Co-operative Union of India.
10. Co-operative Housing (pp. 283-284)
11. Action on UN Resolution 2459/XXIII (pp. 284-286)
12. Co-operative Legislation (pp. 286-288)
13. Emergency Resolution on the Co-operative Situation in Greece (p. 289)



### **Reports of Specialised Bodies (pp. 119-149 and 21-22)**

#### **International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 119-128)**

The Committee's areas of special interest were: membership, promotion of co-operative processing, follow-up of the FAO/ICA study on agricultural credit through co-operatives and other institutions, agricultural co-operative trade, promotion of the work of the Fisheries Committee, establishment of the Sub-Committee for Agricultural Co-operation in South-East Asia, close co-operation with United Nations agencies, co-ordination of the work with IFAP and other non-governmental organisations working in the field of agricultural co-operatives.

#### **International Banking Committee (pp. 129-130)**

International Co-operative Banking Company (INGEBA) (p. 148)

The International Co-operative Bank, established in 1957 as a co-operative association with headquarters in Basel had been transformed into a joint-stock company in 1965, since when it had undergone a stormy transformation.

#### **International Co-operative Housing Committee (pp. 131-136)**

Housing co-operatives in the industrialised countries, in spite of difficulties with finding finance, increasing costs and charges had, in general, been able to keep their share of the market. In several countries, especially in Eastern Europe, the co-operatives had been given new and big tasks in the fulfilment of the respective national housing programmes. The situation was more complicated in developing countries, where the problem of housing shortage was comparable to that of malnutrition.

#### **Co-operative Insurance Committee (pp. 137-139)**

The insurance sector was developing remarkably well. The Committee had been affiliated to by all ICA members from the sector and thus represented 57 societies from 25 countries, insuring more than 60 million people.

### **Committee of Workers Productive and Artisanal Co-operative Societies (CICOPA) (pp. 140-142)**

The Committee had developed its educational activities by organising annual seminars for leaders and technicians from industrial and construction co-operatives and by publishing several monographs on national movements, statistics, comparative laws etc.

### **Committee on Retail Distribution (pp. 144-145)**

### **Co-operative Wholesale Committee (pp. 146-147)**

Owing to the general trend towards an integration of wholesaling and retailing, and also to the fact that the CWC and CRD mainly had the same members, a merger of the two committees had been proposed at a members' meeting in 1968, and had been unanimously approved. Under its work programme, the CWC would develop an exchange of experiences and information among its member organisations on structural, organisational and commercial questions and other relevant matters.

### **International Co-operative Petroleum Association (p. 149)**

Since the last ICA Congress, the ICPA had continued to grow in volume, membership and services rendered. The organisation was continuing to work in developing countries, aiming at a more co-operative distribution of petroleum in these areas. It was also continuing to emphasise training of personnel through technical and co-operative information supplied to the membership, through seminars and group conferences, and through the training of individual employees.

## **Twenty-fifth Congress: Warsaw, Poland, 2-5 October, 1972**

**Congress President:** *Dr Mauritz Bonow, Sweden,  
ICA President*

**Representation:** *435 delegates, 94 sovieties,  
40 countries*

**ICA Report:** *English, 357 pp.*

### **Report of the Central Committee on the work of the ICA during 1969-1972 (pp. 15-183)**

In 1970, the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ICA was celebrated and the Central Committee declared the seventies to be the Decade for Co-operative Development. At its Meeting in Bucharest (1971) two important subjects were discussed: the situation and role of Women in the Co-operative Movement, and the financial problems facing co-operatives in some advanced countries. Two Sub-Committees were appointed by the Central Committee, one responsible for Technical Assistance to Developing Countries, the other was to be in charge of Financial and Secretarial matters. The Report reviewed actions taken on the implementation of the Resolutions adopted by the 24<sup>th</sup> Congress at Hamburg (1969).

The Joint Committee for the Promotion of Co-operatives (COPAC) had been created in 1971 by the ICA, FAO, ILO, IFAP and IFPAAW. Dr. M. Bonow, ICA President, was elected as its first chairman.

Several Amendments to the Rules were adopted (pp. 145-148, 151-153 and 155-157): Article 3 (Objects); Article 8 (Eligibility); Article 12 (Rights of Members); Article 14 (Associate Membership); Article 18 (Subscriptions); Articles 20 and 23 (Congress); Articles 28, 29, 30 and 31 (Central Committee); Articles 32 and 33 (Executive Committee).

The Central Committee had decided to propose to Congress the abolition of the controversial Article 14 on Associate membership, on the grounds that Government influence over co-operative institutions in developing countries was linked to aid. This represented a break with the position agreed over twenty years earlier. The Central Committee had also proposed that Congress should grant voting rights in the Central Committee to the representative of the Women Co-operators' Advisory Council (Article 28).

Two main papers were presented to the Congress: the first on the emergence of Multi-National Corporations, the second on International Technical Assistance.

**I. Multi-national Corporations and the International Co-operative Movement: Financial and Managerial Imperatives (pp. 184-265), introduced by Sir Robert Southern, United Kingdom, and Dr. W. Peters, Federal Republic of Germany**

The Document analysed the various situations and problems created for co-operatives by multi-national enterprises organised on an international basis and operating within a global market. As their decision-making power was not necessarily located within the country of operation they could escape from the influence of Governments, consumers and trade unions. The Report highlighted three main topics regarding the impact of multi-national corporations on co-operation:

**Co-operatives and Multi-national Corporations**

It was predicted that in the eighties some 200 Multi-nationals would control 80 per cent of the world market. Figures were provided about Gross National Product in selected countries within Europe and North America, and the budgets and turnover of selected international companies. The estimated growth of the multi-nationals could enhance the economic power of a few managers and concentrate wealth in the hands of a relatively small number of private shareholders. The social obligations of these vast industrial and trading empires were thus the concern

of millions of workers, farmers and consumers, affecting job security, collective bargaining and workers' participation, national sovereignty and tax liability. They also distorted international trade and the free market. Co-operatives could reduce these abuses by acting as a countervailing force because they could channel the benefits of economic growth to the many. Examples had been reported of co-operative action against multi-national monopolies in countries of North Europe, particularly in the field of petrol-oil trading. Similarly, co-operative action could preserve the interests of farmers and secure advantages to the developing countries.

### **Co-operative Management - "The brain capital"**

No financial means would help Co-operatives to fight the Multi-nationals unless the former were efficient and well managed. Thus, the role of the ICA regarding training in co-operative Management was underlined (an ICA questionnaire on Management and Training had previously been circulated among selected co-operative organisations).

### **Co-operative Finance**

Its various dimensions and parameters, such as increasing financial needs, and the low interest paid on members' share capital fixed by law in several countries (e.g. 5 per cent in Sweden, 10 per cent in Japan) were discussed. Forms of raising share capital so as to make it more attractive to investors, and financial collaboration between co-operatives and trade unions were also examined. The existing difficulties of co-operative finance in comparison to those of private businesses operating for profit and to the multi-national corporations were highlighted. It was argued that improved management and finance could counterbalance the economic power and impact of multinationals. A Resolution was adopted, urging members to promote the democratisation of economic and social life.

## **II. Technical Assistance for Co-operatives in Developing Countries (pp. 266-326). Paper presented by Tadeusz Janczyk, Poland, and Dr. S.K. Saxena, ICA Director.**

This paper should be read in conjunction with several chapters of the Cen-

tral Committee's Report (pp. 59-76 and 77-82) as well as the review of activities carried out since the adoption of the Long-Term Programme of Technical Assistance at the 21st Congress of Lausanne (1960). That Programme had led to the launch of the Co-operative Development Decade. The paper refers to UN decisions regarding this matter, and to the activities of the ILO (Recommendation 127 of 1966), FAO, UNESCO and UNIDO as well as to the role of ECOSOC and the Report of the UN Secretary-General on the "Role of the Co-operative Movement in achieving the goals and objectives of the Second UN Development Decade". It also reported on ICA initiatives and action taken through five Conferences and Seminars which had been organised between 1970 and 1972. As regards Movement-to-Movement Assistance, the paper suggested that four means of channelling such an aid could be used: training courses and study tours organised in developed countries; similar courses and tours in developing countries; international experts; fund-raising schemes.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Peace (pp. 158-162 and 329).
2. The role of the Co-operative Movement in Economic and Social Development (pp. 163-164 and 330)
3. The role of Agricultural Co-operatives in Economic and Social Development (pp. 165-169 and 331)
4. International Trade (pp. 170 and 331-332)
5. Co-operative Housing (pp. 171-172 and 332)
6. Co-operative Education (pp. 173-175 and 333)
7. Unified action of the Co-operative and Trade Union Movements (pp. 176-178 and 333-334)
8. Youth and the Co-operative Movement (pp. 179-183 and 334-335).
9. Multi-National Corporations (pp. 234-263 and 335-337)
10. Co-operative Aid to Developing Countries (pp. 282-326 and 337-338)
11. Emergency Resolution on Bangladesh (p. 339)

## **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

### **International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 38-42 and 115-123)**

The Committee's most visible achievement was the Open World Conference on the Role of Agricultural Co-operatives in Economic and Social Development held within the framework of the Co-operative Development Decade at the FAO Headquarters, Rome, May, 1972 and attended by 400 delegates from 95 countries. In 1969 the Committee had 37 members from 27 countries. By 1971 the membership had increased to 45 and 32 respectively.

### **International Banking Committee (pp. 42-44 and 123)**

Promotion of better co-operation between co-operative banks had been discussed by representatives of the affiliated organisations. The Committee published the Directory of Co-operative Banking and Financial Institutions and its representatives attended the 3rd International Conference on Co-operative Thrift and Credit.

### **International Co-operative Housing Committee (pp. 44-48 and 123-127)**

The Committee looked back with satisfaction on the activities undertaken during the period under review. In 1971, the established membership comprised 26 organisations from 18 countries, while several newly-formed housing federations from the developing world had shown an interest in joining the Committee.

### **International Co-operative Insurance Committee (pp. 48-49 and 127-128)**

It was reported that the Committee had expanded its membership to 71 companies in 26 countries. The International Co-operative Reinsurance Bureau had been able, in addition to its existing reinsurance agreements, to set up a special reinsurance facility providing for additional cover for specific purposes. It had also allocated a special budget to finance technical assistance projects and scholarships. Incidentally, the

post-Congress Conference had decided to change its name from 'Committee' to 'Federation'.

**INTER-COOP (pp. 50-52 and 128)**

INTER-COOP had been created in London in 1970 as an Auxiliary Committee of the ICA, and had begun its work in its Head Office in Hamburg during January 1971. INTER-COOP was the result of the merger of the Co-operative Wholesale Committee (CWC) and the Committee on Retail Distribution (CRD). Its membership comprised thirty Central Consumer Organisations from 20 countries.

**International Committee of Workers' Co-operative Productive and Artisanal Societies (CICOPA) (pp. 52-53)**

The Committee had paid particular attention to the various possibilities of increased collaboration with developing countries and had completed the groundwork for a large-scale programme, in accordance with the Principles of Co-operation and the ICA's "Co-operative Decade". The International Open Conference on Artisanal and Productive Co-operatives held in Warsaw in September 1972 was a further step in the promotion of industrial co-operatives, with UNIDO's support.

**International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 53-54)**

During the past three years, a growth in business had been recorded. Its 41 members had continued to receive substantial savings from the Association, as patronage refunds and other benefits in the form of services. The first co-operative refinery had been opened in Sweden.



## **Twenty-sixth Congress: Paris, France, 28 September - 1 October, 1976**

- Congress President:** *Roger Kerinec, France, ICA President*
- Representation:** *490 delegates, 114 societies, 49 countries plus 300 observers and visitors (p.XI-XXI)*
- ICA Report:** *English, 294 pp.*

### **Report of the Central Committee on the Work of the ICA during 1972-1976 (presentation pp. 17-71 and debate pp. 72-107)**

This report highlighted a number of important developments in the ICA's work during the period under review.

Two new Auxiliary Committees had been created. First, the former Consumer Working Party was dissolved, and the Organisation for Co-operative Consumer Policy set up in its place. Second, the Women Co-operator's Advisory Council was replaced by the Women's Committee in 1974. In addition to this, in 1973 the Advisory Group for International Training of Co-operators (AGITCOOP) was established to advise on education and training for co-operators in and from developing countries (p. 17). Descriptions of AGITCOOP's objectives, and of its educational projects, are found on pp. 28-29 and 49. The Co-operative Development Decade had also progressed considerably, with the expansion of the work of the two ICA Regional Offices (S.E. Asia and Africa) (p. 17). The Second ICA Youth Conference took place in Romania in 1973, while a third one was held in Moscow in 1976.

Membership had increased since the last Congress, with 166 Member Organisations from 66 countries, representing more than 300 million people.

**Amendments to Rules (pp. 262-266) and Appendix 2 (p. 277)**

Article 1 (Name); Article 3 (Objects); Article 5 (Official Languages); Article 9 (Membership); Article 24 (Motions); Articles 27 and 28 (Central Committee); Article 31 (Executive Committee). The additions to Article 3 complied firstly with the long-standing demands of Communist countries to have their position inside the ICA acknowledged. It reads as follows: "The ICA (is) uniting co-operative organisations of various social and political orientation and of differing socio-economic systems...", and secondly with the adoption of Spanish as an official language of the ICA.

The Congress went on to debate two inward-looking subjects: the ICA's Long-Term Programme, and Collaboration between Co-operatives.

**I. Report of the Central Committee on the ICA's Programme of Work for 1977-1980 (pp. 108-183) by Roger Kerinec, ICA President, and S.K. Saxena, ICA Director**

Preparation and presentation in advance of the ICA programme of work had been decided by the 25<sup>th</sup> Congress of Warsaw (1972). Such action was intended to ensure that the ICA's efforts would become more further rationalised and efficient, while the priorities proposed should respond to the needs of various co-operative movements around the world. In its Introduction the paper reviewed methodological problems and approached the future tasks of the ICA (pp. 108-109). The Second Part displayed the types of activities to be undertaken, as well as the responsibilities and contributions of the various bodies towards the achievement of the programme (pp. 109-125). The Third Part presented and analysed emerging problems such as the Environment, Energy, Population and Food. It was felt that the International Co-operative Movement, represented by the ICA, must respond to these problems in collaboration with UN Agencies and other Organisations (pp. 125-126). The Fourth Part outlined the detailed programme of work for the period of 1977-1980, establishing priorities and making approximate estimates of the financial cost (pp. 127-139). The debate on the ICA Pro-

gramme of Work for 1977-1980 led to the adoption of a Resolution which emphasised the primary importance of better planning, co-ordination, forecasting and control of activities. It also noted that a vital pre-condition for the execution of all these tasks was the strengthening of the ICA Secretariat. The Resolution adopted the ICA's Long-Term Programme of Work for 1977-1980 (pp. 139-183) and underlined the need for increased resources to provide for its implementation.

**II. Collaboration between Co-operatives (pp. 185-250), prepared by the ICA Working Party and introduced by A. Klimov, USSR, ICA Vice-President and L. Harrison, United Kingdom, Chairman of the Working Party**

Members of the Working Party and Terms of Reference are mentioned on pp. 204-205. The subject was based on the 6<sup>th</sup> Co-operative Principle adopted by the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress of Vienna (1966), but was also linked to themes discussed at the Warsaw Congress (1972) and subsequent Meetings of the Central Committee.

The Working Party's Report suggested that collaboration between co-operatives could take place at international levels within the co-operative sector and should also be sought between co-operatives and other types of organisation (such as UN Agencies, Non-Governmental Organisations, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), Trade Unions).

The resulting Resolution (pp. 205-250) recommended that research should be undertaken by co-operative organisations and academic institutions to establish how such collaboration could best be expanded. It also called upon Member-Organisations to do all that they could to collaborate with other co-operative organisations to compete more effectively with monopolies and multi-national Corporations, and asked the Central Committee to report to the 27<sup>th</sup> Congress of the ICA in 1980 on progress made in the promotion of increased collaboration between co-operatives.

## **Resolutions adopted**

1. Peace. The text, unanimously approved (pp. 251-252)
2. ICA Programme of Work (1977-1980)
3. Collaboration between Co-operatives (pp. 205-250)
4. The Tasks of the Co-operative Press (pp. 253-254)
5. Standards for Non-Food Products (pp. 254-256)
6. Technical Assistance and Co-operative Housing (pp. 256-257)
7. Tourism and the Co-operative Movement (pp. 257-259)
8. Conference on European Security and Co-operation held in Helsinki (pp. 259-260)
9. Women and the Co-operative Movement (pp. 260-262)

## **Reports of Specialized Bodies**

### **Agricultural and Fisheries Committees (pp. 32-35)**

The agricultural co-operatives, together with fisheries co-operatives, represented a membership of 33.71 per cent of all ICA member co-operatives. The members of the Committee came from 34 countries and included organisations dealing with processing, distribution, lubricants, electricity, fertilisers and machinery, credit services for farmers, sales, exports, retail and wholesale. The First Open World Conference on Co-operative Fisheries in Tokyo (1975) had gathered together 300 participants from 26 countries.

### **Banking Committee (pp. 35-36)**

The Committee had represented the ICA on the International Liaison Committee for Co-operative Thrift and Credit, and had collaborated in the Third Conference on Democracy and Efficiency in Thrift and Credit Co-operatives held in London during June 1974.

### **Organisation for Co-operative Consumer Policy (pp. 36-37)**

The Organisation had been set up at a constituent meeting, held in Paris in March 1973 and attended by the representatives of 22 organisations in 15 countries.

**Housing Committee (pp. 37-38)****International Co-operative Housing Development Association (pp. 38-39)**

The Committee members had represented the ICA at the UN World Conference Habitat at Vancouver in June 1976. The ICHDA had 19 members, most of whom were also members of the Housing Committee. Its principal task had been to promote co-operative housing in developing countries.

**International Co-operative Insurance Federation (pp. 39-42)**

The Insurance Development Bureau had continued to assist co-operative organisations to establish their own insurance programmes, having made several feasibility studies of prospects for co-operative insurance in developing countries.

**INTER-COOP (pp. 42-44)**

The members of INTER-COOP came from 19 West and East European countries, as well as Israel and Japan, and represented 28 consumer co-operative central organisations. In Western Europe alone they achieved an annual turnover of approximately US\$20 billion with 45,000 stores and were therefore by far the largest European trade group.

**Women's Committee (pp. 44-46)**

The creation of the Women's Committee in 1974 had ended the ambivalent relationship between the ICA authorities and women's co-operative movements. At the Bournemouth Congress (1963), after a heated debate, with half of members voting against the motion, it had been decided to suspend the International Co-operative Guild for three years and to transfer its activities to the Women's Advisory Committee. The post of Women's Specialist was created within the Secretariat and adequate funds for a work programme had been provided. Subsequently, the Advisory Committee had been granted the status of an Auxiliary Committee working to promote the interests of women in developing countries.

**International Committee of Workers' Co-operative Productive and Artisanal Societies (CICOPA) (pp. 46-48)**

Several activities had been reported: the Gdansk (Poland) "Centre for the Promotion of Industrial Co-operatives" had established rewarding contacts with UNIDO and the ILO. The first seminar for industrial co-operative leaders of Latin America had been held in June 1974. In the spring of 1975 a second seminar for the training of co-operative leaders from the developing countries had been organised. The seminar took place in Gdansk, and was followed by study tours to Hungarian, French and Swiss co-operatives.

**International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 48-49)**

The ICPA's deliveries to its members had been increased steadily over the past three years, and net savings had also been appreciably greater. The fiscal year of 1974 was a record year in terms of savings returned to members.

## **Twenty-seventh Congress: Moscow, USSR, 13-16 October, 1980**

- Congress President:** *Roger Kerinec, France, ICA President*
- Representation:** *584 delegates, 113 societies, 52 countries and 512 visitors (pp. 165-168)*
- Documentation:** *Agenda and Reports, English 174 pp. and Congress Summary, English 16 pp.*

### **Report of the Central Committee (pp. 1-72) on the work of the ICA during 1976-1980 introduced by Dr. S.K. Saxena, ICA Director**

The Report summarised the main activities of the ICA Secretariat according to policies and decisions taken by the authorities of the Alliance and its Regional Offices. The role of the ICA in its relationship with the UN and its Specialised Agencies had increased in significance.

### **International Co-operative Day**

The main topics of the Declarations made from 1977 to 1980 were recorded on pp. 10-11 of the Report.

### **Development Programme**

The Congress had decided to establish a Regional Office for West Africa. The official inauguration took place one year later, in March 1981.

### **ICA Working Parties and Groups**

#### **Advisory Group for International Training of Co-operators (AGITCOOP).**

Established in 1973 as a Working Group, its role was to advise the ICA Authorities on matters concerning education and training for co-operators in developing countries. It also worked closely with the Co-operative Education Materials Advisory Service (CEMAS) of the ICA and

Material and Techniques for Co-operative Management Training (MATCOM) of the ILO and attended meetings in this field (pp. 54-56).

### **International Working Party of Co-operative Librarians and Documentation Officers**

In existence since 1954, it had a Membership of 90 organisations from 28 countries. Several meetings took place from 1976 onwards, four bibliographies were issued during the same period and other publications were in preparation (pp. 56-57).

### **Working Party on Co-operative Press**

Formed in 1970, its membership (varying between 30 and 35 participants from 20 countries) was open to all co-operative journalists. Its work was of great value in the exchange of material between national movements. A similar Working Party was being formed in S.E. Asia and others were planned for Africa and Latin America.

### **Research Officers' Group**

The 18<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup> Meetings of the Group, composed of research officers and representatives from planning departments, took place between 1976 and 1980 (pp. 58-59).

### **Working Party on Co-operative Tourism**

This was created at the Conference on Tourism, held in Copenhagen in 1978 (with 45 delegates from 31 organisations of 18 countries). The Working Party organised an International Conference on "Tourism and the Co-operative Movement" attended by 32 delegates from 15 countries in Brussels in 1979. A Charter of Co-operative Tourism was under preparation (pp. 59-60). A report was also made concerning the ICA's working relationship with UN Agencies, ECOSOC, the EEC, ESCAP, ECA, UNEP and International Non-Governmental Organisations (COPAC, ILC and others) (pp. 68-72).



### **Amendments to Rules (pp. 92-95 and 102-104)**

Article 9 (Application for Membership); Article 11 (Cessation of Membership); Article 13 (Obligations of Members); Article 17 (Rate of Subscription); Article 22 (Representation at Congress); Article 28 (Duties of Central Committee); Article 32 (Duties of the Executive).

Two very important Papers were presented to the Congress:

#### **I. Report on the Co-operative Development Decade 1971-1981 (pp. 73-105) introduced by Peder Soiland, Norway, Vice-President of the ICA and Member of the Co-operative Development Committee**

The paper provided an in-depth and detailed account of the ICA's activities in the promotion of Co-operation in the Developing Countries, and was divided into three parts. The ICA recognised the need for such a co-operative development at its 19th Congress of Paris (1954), prior to the UN's first decade (1960). Activities were directed mostly towards development strategies in the rural sector, employment in rural communities and development of human resources. Major problems were systems of landholding, lack of capital, poor industrial and commercial infrastructure, absence of technology and abundance of manpower (First Part, pp. 75-78).

The Second Part (pp. 78-100) gave a detailed account of various ICA activities undertaken in connection with the Co-operative Development Decade. These included conferences and seminars, education and training, research and planning, the development of various types of co-operatives, the involvement of women and young people, co-operatives and the poor, publications, the transfer of expertise, activities of the ICA Regional Offices, individual projects, and the financing of co-operative development.

#### **II. Co-operatives in the year 2000 (pp. 107-163) prepared and introduced by Dr A.F. Laidlaw, Canada**

Full report published as: "Co-operatives in the Year 2000", Studies and Reports, N° 15, ICA, London 1980, 75 pp.; bibliography.

The Study represented an important review of the past and future conditions of development and functioning for co-operatives. It was divided into six parts:

**Part I (pp. 111-118)** introduced methodological questions, and provided a global look at the various facets of co-operatives and their potential role.

**The Second Part (pp. 119-130)** reviewed some of the key indicators (economic, social, political) prevailing worldwide and analysed the importance of some crucial problems such as: energy and resources, population and food, employment, the environment, science and technology, and corporate power which sometimes exceeded the power of Governments. It also referred to the impact of urbanisation, the most important data relating to the Third World and the role of co-operatives at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**The Third Part (pp. 130-143)** focused exclusively on the theory and practice of co-operation. It elaborated upon co-operative principles, structural issues, the nature of co-operative societies, co-operative democracy, and relations between co-operatives and the State. It went on to examine the concept, place and role of the co-operative sector and the ideological differences in approach between Western European countries and those of Eastern Europe, as well as noting the situation for co-operatives within the developing countries (Third World).

**The Fourth Part (pp. 143-151)** gave a concise account of the performance of co-operatives, including their weaknesses and short-comings, and of possible expectations and improvements for the future. In this respect it examined factors such as the commitment of members, democratic participation, the neglect of education, and the roles of technocrats, managers and members. It went on to consider the involvement of the poor in economic and co-operative life, the impact of common national problems, the employer-employee relationship between co-operatives and workers and, last but not the least, co-operation between co-operatives and the place of the co-operative sector in the international economy.

**The Fifth Part (pp. 151-159)** suggested choices for the future of Co-operation. The author proposed four of them: the first concentrated on production, processing and distribution of food with the aim of ending world hunger. To help accomplish this, co-operatives should bridge the gap between producers and consumers. Co-operatively-organised movements should develop food policies, and national co-operative movements should assist peasants and small farmers from the Third World. The second priority concerned co-operatives and productive labour. Workers' co-operatives should be encouraged. Their rebirth could mark the beginning of a second industrial revolution. They enabled the reversal of the practice where labour was employed by capital to one in which capital was employed by labour. The third priority appealed for a better organisation of consumer co-operatives. They should better reflect Co-operative Principles and the Rochdale tradition, drawing their strength from their members and stressing the philosophy of "the primacy of the consumer". The fourth, and last, choice concerned the need for co-operative communities (village, town, region etc.) to be created so as to strengthen the Movement at both regional and national levels.

**The Sixth Part (pp. 160-165)** summarised the main points and proposals of the paper, which were: co-operative leadership; co-operative communication system and effectiveness; the education of co-operative personnel and the general public; the relationship between co-operatives and Government; managerial competence; the role of women co-operators; support for Third World co-operatives; and the role of the ICA and co-operatives as a way in which citizens may resist the power of private enterprise.

In addition to the above, a third report was made available on the development of co-operatives in countries with planned economies:

**Co-operation within Socialist Countries in the Year 2000  
(pp. 43-47)**

Introduction to the report by A.A. Smirnov, USSR, ICA Vice-President. Full text in: "Co-operatives in the Year 2000"; Studies and Reports, N° 15, ICA, London 1980, 75pp.; bibliography

Member organisations from several countries in Central and Eastern Europe presented the above Report and highlighted the particularities, concerns, functions and perspectives of co-operative societies operating within the Socialist system. The development of co-operatives in this region was subject to economic, social and other considerations such as women, youth, education, particular types of co-operation, the global problems of our times, democratic principles and people's desire for peace, security, collaboration and progress.

### **Resolutions adopted**

1. Collaboration between Co-operatives (p. 39)
2. Co-operatives in the Year 2000 (p. 49)
3. ICA and Technical Assistance (p. 96)
4. Peace (pp. 97-98)
5. Aid to Self-Help in Housing Provision (p. 98)
6. Measures on Consumer Protection (pp. 98-99)
7. The Role of the Family in Housing Co-operatives (p. 99)
8. International Year of the Disabled (pp. 99-100)
9. Co-operation of the ICA with other Mass Organisations (p. 100)
10. Role of the ICA in the Consolidation of the Co-operative Movement (pp. 100-101)
11. The Use of the Mass Media in the Co-operative Movement (p. 101)
12. Women and the Co-operative Movement (pp. 101-102)
13. Emergency Resolution: The Seat of the ICA (p. 102)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

#### **International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 30-33)**

An important initiative aimed at further economic collaboration between co-operatives had been the setting up of the economic Sub-Committee. Under the initiative of the Committee's Bureau, and following requests from co-operatives in many countries, particularly in developing countries, agreements and commercial transactions amounting to US\$250 million had been signed.

### **Banking Committee (pp. 33-35)**

The setting up of an office to liaise between the ICA Banking Committee and the EEC in Brussels had been suggested. In later discussions between the Secretary and representatives of the EEC, it became apparent that the idea had been favourably received there. The constituent meeting had been held in September 1979.

### **Organisation for Co-operative Consumer Policy (Consumer Committee) (pp. 36-37)**

The main priority in the short term was to improve communications between member organisations by issuing a consumers' bulletin called *Co-op Consumers*. It was expected that in the long run the Consumer Committee would probably find itself dealing with a different set of problems.

### **Fisheries Committee (pp. 37-39)**

The Chairman had outlined the long-term work programme during meetings with members in Asia. Its main points were: to expand the membership; to increase technical assistance; to establish a centre for the promotion of fisheries co-ops, and to strengthen collaboration with the FAO.

### **International Co-operative Housing Committee (pp. 39-42)**

International Co-operative Housing Development Association

A successful workshop on co-operative and self-help housing had been organised in conjunction with the Economic Commission for Africa and the Government of Lesotho. The main purpose of the workshop had been to explore the possibilities for establishing co-operative housing schemes in other parts of Africa, with particular emphasis on low-income groups.

### **International Organisation for Consumer Co-operative Distributive Trades (INTERCOOP) (pp. 42-44)**

Two decisions of great importance had been taken. Firstly, the INTERCOOP Board had decided to open a joint purchasing Office in

Hong-Kong, together with Nordisk Andelsforbund (NAF). The Office, formally opened on 1st October 1979, had been organised as a separate legal company. Secondly, in January 1979, INTERCOOP had signed a long-term trade agreement with the five different Chinese import-export corporations for non-food products.

### **International Co-operative Insurance Federation (pp. 44-47)**

#### **International Co-operative Re-insurance Bureau**

#### **Insurance Development Bureau**

An important development in the affairs of the ICIF had been the formation of two regional associations. The 1976 Conference had approved the formation of the Association of European Co-operative Insurers and later, in 1979, member societies in North America had formed the North American Members' Association. By 1980 the membership of the ICIF had increased to 81 societies, representing 31 countries. The Re-insurance Bureau had successfully introduced the Co-operative EEC Cover re-insurance arrangement. The Development Bureau had assisted a number of newly-created societies in Africa, South America and Europe and had held several international conferences and seminars.

### **Women's Committee (pp. 48-51)**

An important task in the Committee's long-term programme had been the up-dating of the report on the "Role and Situation of Women in the Co-operative Movement", which had been adopted in 1971.

### **International Committee of Workers' Productive and Artisanal Societies (CICOPA) (pp. 51-53)**

The main event in the Committee's programme had been the World Conference on Industrial Co-operation, held in Rome in October 1978. This occasion, without precedent in the history of industrial co-operatives, brought together several hundred delegates.

**International Co-operative Petroleum Association (pp. 53-54)**

Because of the oil crisis, and of the drastic changes in the oil-pricing situation, net savings had decreased, although these were still considered to be at a satisfactory level. The Board was discussing the possibility of the ICPA itself becoming more active in crude and fuel oil supplies.

## **Twenty-eighth Congress: Hamburg, Germany, 15 - 18 October, 1984**

**Congress President:** *Roger Kerinec, France, ICA President*

**Representation:** *443 delegates, 114 societies, 56 countries; plus 322 observers and guests (List of Member organisations in Appendix 1, pp. 219-224)*

**Documentation:** *Agenda and Reports English 233 pp. and Congress Summary Report English 141 pp.*

**Report of the Central Committee on the Work of the ICA 1980-1984 (page numbers refer to Agenda and Reports)**

### **Membership**

Since the previous Congress of Moscow (1980), 23 new members had been admitted to the ICA. In 1984 the ICA had 165 members plus 8 international co-operative organisations from 70 countries (pp. 6-9).

### **International Co-operative Day (p. 9)**

The ICA Messages (Declarations) in celebration of this event for the years 1981-1985 were focused primarily on co-operative advantages which should also benefit the masses of peasants, farmers and industrial workers.

### **UN Meetings**

Special consultations had been organised by UNESCO in 1983 and 1984 with the ICA and International Trade Unions; preparation of the World Conference in Nairobi to review the Decade of Women (p. 10).



### **Regional Office for S.E. Asia (New Delhi)**

Its various Sub-Committees were useful for identifying new areas of activities and for planning support necessary to satisfy the needs of the region.

### **The Regional Office for East, Central and Southern Africa (Moshi)**

They reported priorities, activities and membership details of the Office which served co-operatives in some nine countries within the region.

### **First African Ministerial Co-operative Conference, Botswana 1984**

(Participation of Ministers from 9 countries, engaged to support national co-operative movements). 1985-1995 was declared the **Co-operative Development Decade**.

### **Regional Office for West Africa (Abidjan)**

The establishment of the Office had been decided by the 27<sup>th</sup> Congress of Moscow (1980) and had become operational in 1981. It served 16 countries (pp. 34-49).

### **The ICA's relationship with the UN and other international non-governmental organisations**

The ICA was represented at the UN General Assemblies, as well as at the ECOSOC sessions, the UN Commission for Social Development and the Conferences of the Specialised Agencies: UNCTAD, FAO, UNIDO, ILO and UNESCO. Pages 73-74 contain the Resolution of the Economic and Social Council, which was passed on the occasion of the UN Secretary-General's Report on "The National Experience in Promoting the Co-operative Movement" (pp. 72-78). Working relations between the ICA and the International Liaison Committee for Co-operative Thrift and Credit (CLICEC), and COPAC, were reported on pp. 78-80.

### **Amendments to Rules (pp. 103-114 of the Summary Report)**

At its meeting in July 1983 the Executive Committee had decided that there was a need to bring the Rules up to date and more in line with current practice. While a majority of amendments had been adopted unanimously, a particularly animated debate followed the changes proposed in Article 2 (Constituent Members); Article 8 (Eligibility); Article 27 (Executive Committee); Article 30 (Specialised Organisations); Article 26 (Congress Reception Committee).

Besides the report of the Central Committee, two main papers and four special studies were discussed at the Congress.

### **I. ICA Work Programme 1985-1987: Objectives - Structures - Methods (Agenda and Reports pp. 83-153) prepared and introduced by Yvon Daneau, Canada, member of the Central Committee**

This was the second time that the ICA had proposed its Work Programme to Congress. It included the expansion of world-wide membership, the establishment of regional structures (Offices), and increased technical assistance and support to Member organisations of developing countries. These inevitably raised questions regarding theoretical, structural and practical issues of Co-operation, which were linked to the ICA because it was custodian of co-operative values, principles and practices.

From 1980 onwards, the ICA had started wondering whether its objectives, its policy-making structures and sectoral activities responded to the concerns and needs of its growing Member organisations.

The paper was divided in two Parts and several Chapters. In Part one, the author proceeded to re-appraise the effectiveness of the ICA Secretariat by suggesting what was vital under current conditions: in other words, when something could be done, on what basis, according to which method and for what ends. In Part two, he highlighted more concrete, practical and organisational matters, such as elements of the

work programme (relations with Member organisations; research work; the role of communication; promotion of co-operation; and relations with the UN Agencies) and made two proposals for the up-grading of the structure and functions of the Secretariat. There could be a less ambitious option, namely the reduction of the heavy load on the financial and human resources of the ICA, but this should still include assistance to Third World co-operatives.

The aim of the study was to raise the ICA's levels of activity and efficiency. It included budget estimations, projections and an organisational diagram. Each chapter ended with a recommendation for concrete follow-up action.

## **II. Global Problems and the Co-operatives (Agenda and Reports pp. 155-218) prepared by Centrosoyus, USSR and introduced by P. Trunov, Member of the ICA Executive Committee**

The document constituted a thorough study of the global problems experienced by co-operative societies and efforts made by the UN and national co-operative movements to resolve them. Such concerns were: peace, and international action and the co-operative approach to its achievement; co-operative priorities regarding the production and distribution of food (the USSR's Food Programme and its international impact was cited); the conservation of energy; the co-operative contribution to environmental protection; a new international economic order and social progress in developing countries.

In conclusion, the author stressed the need for an action programme. In this respect, he considered that the 27<sup>th</sup> ICA Congress should be the starting point for working out a long-term strategy of co-operation in the search for solutions to contemporary global problems. The elaboration of such a programme should result from the collective efforts of the national co-operative organisations, the ICA, its Auxiliary Committees and the co-operative membership worldwide.

### **III. Case Studies on Changes in Co-operatives (page numbers refer to Congress Summary Report)**

The ICA had commissioned four case studies from different countries and co-operative sectors, with a view to informing Congress delegates about the ways and means utilised by some national co-operative movements to adapt themselves to the profound changes which they were then experiencing. All were short country reports, which are not included in this publication. Details are, however, given below for further reference:

A. The Finnish Position (pp. 77-83) presented by E. Rantala, Chairman, EKA Corporation, Finland

B. What Strategy should Co-operative Insurance Adopt to Face Changes in the Future?(pp. 83-86) presented by P.W.D. Smith, Co-operative Insurance Society (CIS), U.K.

C. America's Agricultural Co-operatives in the '70s and '80s (pp. 86-90) presented by Dr L.A. Freeh, Vice-President, International Development and Governmental Affairs, Land O' Lakes

D. The Changing Role of Co-operatives in the Development of the World Socialist System (pp.90-102) presented by I. Pramov, Central Co-operative Union, Bulgaria

### **Resolutions adopted (pp. 115-135)**

(page numbers refer to Congress Summary Report)

1. Peace (pp. 115-116)
2. Global Problems and Co-operatives (pp. 116-118).
3. ICA Work Programme 1985-1987 (pp. 119-120).
4. Co-operative Research (pp. 120-123)
5. Promotion of Co-operatives (pp. 123-124).
6. Future Leaders for Co-operatives and International Youth Year (pp. 124-126).

7. International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace (pp. 126-131).
8. Equality for Women in the Co-operative Movement (pp. 131-133). The Resolution called for implementation of the ICA Women's Committee policy statement "Women as Equal Partners in Third World Co-operative Movement".
9. International Co-operative Trade (pp. 133-135).

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

Having revised the relationship between the ICA bodies and auxiliary committees, the Congress went on to amend the Rules to incorporate a specific article providing for the status of these. Article 30 defined their duties and rights. The major change was that the specialised organisations were required to be financially independent, introducing separate subscription fees (i.e. not included in ICA subscriptions). They were, however, granted the right to comment on topics discussed by the Central Committee and Congress, and each specialised organisation was permitted to send one representative to the Central Committee. The post of Liaison Officer had been created and was opened at the Secretariat, an arrangement that continued until the Tokyo Congress in 1992.

### **International Committee on Agricultural Co-operation (pp. 49-50)**

Three important events were organised by the Committee, namely: the Second International Trade Conference, held in Moscow in 1980; the Joint Conference on Agricultural Co-operative Strategy in Relation to Multi-National Corporations; and the Third International Trade Conference, held in Cairo, in November 1982.

### **Banking Committee (pp. 50-53)**

The Committee had worked on the following topics: the introduction of new technology in the banking sector; growth of savings in developing countries, trends in international capital markets; interest rates within financial markets and the possibility of introducing an International Co-operative Credit Card.

**Organisation for Co-operative Policy (formerly the Consumer Committee) (pp. 53-54)**

At its Annual Meeting in 1981, the Committee had approved a Consumer Policy Programme.

**Fisheries Committee (p. 54)**

There were several exchanges of fisheries delegations between fisheries organisations in order to share the experiences regarding management, the organisation of work and other relevant topics. Educational activities were increased through the organisation of seminars by members from Japan, Hungary, the Republic of Korea and Malaysia.

**International Co-operative Housing Committee (pp. 54-57)**

**International Co-operative Housing Development Association**

As from 1st November 1982 the ICHDA had been dissolved. Founded by 6 societies in 1966, it had 18 members in 1980. Following this dissolution, the Housing Committee felt it important that the agendas of its future meetings should include items on housing in developing countries.

**International Organisation for Consumer Co-operative Distributive Trade (INTERCOOP) (pp. 57-58)**

The working programme of INTERCOOP had comprised the following tasks: promotion of joint purchasing for food and non-food on world markets; promotion of the exchange of products from Members' factories; and promotion of exchanges of experience in matters concerning retailing, warehousing and distribution.

**International Co-operative Insurance Federation (pp. 58-62)**

**International Co-operative Reinsurance Bureau**

**Insurance Development Bureau**

**Association of European Co-operative Insurers (AECI)**

Membership of the ICIF had continued to increase. At the beginning of 1984 there were 86 member societies representing 34 different coun-

tries. The Federation had held annual conferences which attracted an increasing number of delegates every year. The work of the Reinsurance Bureau had continued to expand steadily. The Development Bureau had managed projects in Africa, and had completed feasibility studies in Latin America and organised training sessions in Asia. The AECI was closely monitored, proposed EEC legislation and had made representations on issues affecting co-operative societies.

**Women's Committee (pp. 62-64)**

Since the last Congress, the Committee had campaigned for increased representation on the boards and committees of co-op organisations. Moreover, the Committee had decided to prepare a further policy statement on the Co-operative Contribution to the Education of Girls and Young Women, designed as the committee's contribution to International Youth Year in 1985.

**International Committee of Workers' Productive and Artisanal Societies (pp. 64-66)**

The Committee had established a close relationship with UNIDO, including collaboration within the framework of the organisation of the Second World Conference on Industrial Co-operatives, Warsaw, Poland, 1983.

## **Twenty-ninth Congress: Stockholm, Sweden, 7-10 July, 1988**

- Congress President:** *Lars Marcus, Sweden, ICA President*
- Representation:** *407 delegates, 175 societies, 69 countries and 570 observers*
- Documentation:** *Agenda & Reports, English 156 pp. Congress Report, English 11 pp. in Review of International Co-operation, Volume 1, No 3/1988 Part II; Appendices to ICA XXIX Report, English 33 pp.*

### **The Report on the work of the ICA since the Hamburg Congress (pp.15-94) prepared by the Secretariat**

This report, which was divided into seven parts, provided a concise account of the most important events which had occurred since 1984.

**The First Part** (pp. 15-22) provided information regarding internal matters of an organisational and technical nature, as well as policies for follow-up action, all with the aim of revitalising the work of the ICA. There was also a synopsis of the activities undertaken to fulfil the Resolutions adopted at the 28<sup>th</sup> Congress of Hamburg in 1984. A Summary Plan, with its goals, was being drawn up and was mentioned in the Report (pp. 21-22) for the period 1989-1992.

**Part two** of the Report (pp. 23-24 and 84-93) gave details of the ICA's membership, including organisations newly admitted to membership, regional statistics, the main types of co-operatives, and the countries in which they could be found, their members, societies and employees.

**Part three** (pp. 25-28) was devoted to ICA Committees, such as the Central Committee, the Executive, and the Audit and Control Committee (established in 1984).



**Part four** of the Report (pp. 29-35) described the ICA's working relationship with the UN and its Specialised Agencies.

**Part five** (pp. 36-47) gave details of the Communications Policy. This included publications, education materials, contacts with co-operative press and the mass media, documentation, and International Co-operative Day declarations between 1985 and 1988.

**Part six** (pp. 48-55) went on to outline the ICA's development strategy since 1984, including a description of the new development strategy and priorities identified by the Central Committee at its Basel Meeting in 1986. In 1987 an evaluation of the ICA's entire Development Programme had been conducted by external consultants. Four major conclusions were reached: the overall performance of the ICA development activities from the late 1970s up to 1985 had been most unsatisfactory; the restructuring of the ICA Development Programme was healthy and had resulted in clarified objectives; the restructuring, and staff changes, however, had caused substantial delays in the implementation of some project activities; the administrative standards were expected to reach a satisfactory level.

**Part seven** of the Report (pp. 56-83) reviewed the activities of Specialised Organisations (former Auxiliary Committees) and Working Parties. The International Co-operative Insurance Federation (ICIF) and the Women's Committee had both held International Conferences in conjunction with the Stockholm Congress (a separate volume of the ICIF Conference Proceedings exists too in French). The ICA's Report on its activities since 1984, as well as on its future Programme and the new Development Strategy, was the most elaborated and documented review of the work of the Organisations.

Two special papers were presented to the Congress:

**I. Co-operatives and Basic Values (pp. 95-108) by Lars Marcus, President of the ICA**

The Report aimed to respond to the question regarding how the servic-

ing of co-operative organisations' members might be improved within capitalist market economies and how the efficiency of co-operatives might be increased. In search of the co-operative identity, it was important that co-operative ideology, co-operative principles and co-operative values should be thoroughly examined. Two lists of co-operative values were proposed: the first was a list of eight concepts considered the most advanced values, i.e. self-help, mutual-help, non-profit interest, democracy, 'voluntariness', universality, education and purposeful values. The second list of values, presented in a recent book by W.P. Watkins, former ICA Director, were: association and unity, economy, democracy, equity, liberty, responsibility and education. The speaker's analysis and discussion of values were aimed at making co-operators more aware of their contribution to the work of the co-operatives as a whole and improving co-operatives' efficiency, so as to be best able to serve the members and users. The basic values which he identified were participation, democracy, honesty and caring. A resolution, adopted unanimously, accepted Lars Marcus's paper and proposals.

## **II. From Stockholm to Stockholm: The Lessons of Three Decades of Co-operative Development (pp.109-131) by Bruce Thordarson, ICA Development and Associate Director**

In his introduction to the report, the author referred to the background of the question of co-operative development during the last 30 years. He highlighted the conditions for co-operative development in the developing world and emphasised the apparent advantages and benefits that genuine co-operatives could provide to both national economies and individuals. While co-operatives in the developing world were making substantial progress and achieving notable successes, they were also facing problems and contradictions which slowed down, and even menaced, the future of the movement. These problems were: the threat to co-operative democracy and autonomy from State interference in co-operative administration and management; external assistance, the diverse quality of such assistance, and the channels through which it is made available; and difficulties Governments had in determining their developmental priorities and activities, and the role of co-operatives as

a tool for such a development. After analysing the situation, the Report attempted to identify potential co-operative action, based on lessons gained from the experience of the last 30 years. Three major areas of action were suggested: efforts to promote the 'de-officialisation' of co-operative movements in under-developed countries; increased movement-to-movement assistance; and a more integrated programme of development in selected areas of priority such as institution building, education and training, women's involvement in co-operatives, and research and innovation.

In conclusion, the speaker reaffirmed that the results of co-operative development had been the same as for international development of the economy: much had been done, but not enough. Co-operative structures, proper organisation and strong membership were some of the positive lessons of thirty years' co-operative action.

The conclusion of the ICA's 1982 Policy for Co-operative Development was still valid: "voluntary co-operation without boundaries is a necessary instrument to achieve worldwide equity, welfare and peace". In the follow-up debate, the ICA's strategy was endorsed. Delegates stressed the importance of the co-operative approach in resolving problems facing countries of the South and called upon co-operative movements in the North to strengthen their commitment to movement-to-movement assistance.

### **Resolutions adopted**

(page numbers refer to Congress Report published in the *Review of International Co-operation*, Volume 81, No 3/1988, Geneva, pp. 49-63)

1. Basic Co-operative Values (pp. 49-50)
2. Three Decades of Co-operative Development (pp. 51-52)
3. Peace (pp. 53-54)
4. International Year of Co-operatives: (p. 55)

This called upon the United Nations to declare an International Year of Co-operatives, preferably to coincide with the ICA's centennial in 1995.

5. The ICA to Meet the Challenges of the New Century (p. 56)  
The Resolution, proposed and sustained by EKA, Finland, and adopted by the Congress, urged member organisations and the ICA to consider its objectives, structures, strategies and procedures, so that it could meet the challenges of the new century.
6. ICA Permanent Representative at EEC Headquarters (p. 57)  
In order to benefit from the financial and technical aid given to NGOs by the European Community, the ICA should have a permanent representation at EEC headquarters.
7. To Achieve Social and Economic Equality for Women (p. 58)  
The progress made during the UN Decade for Women was noted and the need to further strengthen the position of women within the co-operative movements was underlined.
8. The Co-operative Movement and International Debt (pp. 59-60)
9. Literacy (p. 61)
10. Twinning of Co-operatives (p. 62)
11. To Protect Children's Rights and Interests (p. 63)

### **Reports of Specialised Bodies**

According to the decision of the previous Congress (Hamburg, 1984) the Specialised Organizations had taken a progressively more active role in shaping the discussions of the Central Committee. By 1988 Housing, Consumer, Agriculture and Banking Committees received secretarial services from a Liaison Officer. The Women's Committee also received financial assistance from the ICA's central budget, but had a voluntary Secretary.

### **Agricultural Committee (pp. 57-59)**

In an attempt to strengthen the work of the Committee, it had been agreed that a four-year programme, based on the wishes and priorities expressed by members, would be drawn up. It would contain the following elements: a membership campaign, and a meeting programme assigning a special theme to each meeting of the full Committee.

**Fisheries Committee (pp. 59-61)**

Having received grants from the Japanese Government's Overseas Development Assistance Fund, the Committee had been able to organise a series of seminars for leaders of fisheries co-operatives in Asia.

**Consumer Committee (pp. 61-62)**

The Committee had held a number of joint meetings with other ICA specialised organisations. The Executive met with the General Secretary of the International Organisation of Consumer Unions (IOCU) to establish working relations with that body.

**Banking Committee (pp. 62-64)**

One of the Committee's main objectives had been the improvement of co-operation among financial institutions. The meetings had provided a forum for each member to present his or her institution and its activities. In order to facilitate communication the Committee had compiled a Directory of its members.

**Housing Committee (pp. 64-66)**

The Committee had devoted a number of studies and discussions to examine the problems facing housing co-operatives in modern industrialised States and had sought to improve its contacts with existing societies outside Europe.

**International Committee of Workers Productive and Artisanal Co-operative Societies (CICOPA) (pp. 66-67)**

The Committee had increased its membership as a result of the World Conference on the Future of Democratic Enterprise, held in Paris in February 1988. Steps had been taken to strengthen co-operation with international organisations such as UNIDO and the ILO.

## **Thirtieth Congress: Tokyo, Japan, 27-30 October, 1992**

- Congress President:** *Lars Marcus, Sweden, ICA President*
- Representation:** *909 representatives, more than 100 societies, 67 countries*
- Documentation:** *Agenda & Reports (English) in the Review of International Co-operation, Volume 85, N°s 2/3 1992, 316 pp; Co-operative Values in a Changing World, by Sven Ake Bööck, Studies and Reports, Nineteenth in the series, 252 pp; 'ICA XXXth Congress Reports, Presentations and Resolutions Tokyo, 1992', Review of International Co-operation, Volume 85, N° 4/1992, 210 pp.*

### **From Congress to Congress - 4 Years of Change (pp. 21-23) by Lars Marcus, Sweden**

Lars Marcus highlighted the main economic, social and structural changes which had occurred since the 29<sup>th</sup> Congress of Stockholm (1988) in developed countries, in Central and Eastern Europe, in Asia and in less-developed countries in general. Within this context, the ICA had made the best possible use of its relatively limited resources in supporting the co-operative sector of the economy in the former socialist countries, assisting younger co-operative movements and proposing a new structure which would be more in line with the future role of the Alliance. This had been influenced by: an increasing number of donors, Governments' creation of favourable conditions for co-operatives following several Ministerial Conferences, and the expected new economic collaboration between co-operatives (joint ventures and mergers).

## **Secretariat Report**

The Director, Bruce Thordarson, introduced a concise Report on the main activities of the ICA, its structural changes and the plan of work for the coming years (pp. 25-29).

Annual subscription payments had improved and had assisted the ICA's budgets, while staff stability and working capacity in all five official languages had strengthened its effectiveness. Latin America, and co-operative movements within Central and Eastern Europe, had received special attention.

In this respect, the most significant event to be reported was the introduction of Structural Changes of the ICA, to be proposed to the Congress for approval. These had been initiated and implemented following a Resolution proposed by EKA, Finland, and adopted by the 29th Congress of Stockholm (1988), and comprised:

- amalgamation of the functions of Congress and Central Committee into a new governing body, namely the ICA General Assembly;
- creation of four new Regional Assemblies: Asia/Pacific, Africa, the Americas and Europe. These would meet on alternate years, during those years in which the General Assembly did not meet;
- provision for the regional nomination of Vice-Presidents in order to ensure effective regional representation on the ICA Board (the current Executive Committee);
- clarification of the relationship between ICA and the Specialised (sectoral) Organisations which should be able to finance their own activities in the future;
- the gradual increase of membership subscription fees.

With regard to **the ICA's Workplan for the coming years**, the Structure Committee had identified five priorities:

- promoting and defending values shared by the ICA Members
- stimulating the interchange of ideas and collaboration

- spreading information about the co-operative system
- acting as a catalyst for co-operative development
- speaking on behalf of ICA members with international organisations and governmental authorities.

The remainder of the Central Committee's Report briefly reviewed all ICA activities between 1988 and 1992:

**Development activities**, carried on mainly by the Regional Offices and ICA projects, were further reported on pp. 30-35, as were relations with the UN and its Agencies (pp. 36-41). Also reviewed were the activities of the ICA in the field of communications, publications, documentary services, special projects and meetings of the Committees, and messages on the occasion of International Co-operative Day, namely Promotion of Women Co-operators (1988); Unity in Diversity, Collaboration North/South and East/West (1989); Protection of the Environment (1990); Solidarity with Co-operatives of Central and Eastern Europe (1991); and the Basic Values of Co-operation (1992) (pp. 30-55).

**ICA membership** details were shown in the Central Committee's Report (pp. 56-64). In 1992, universal membership by sector and number of co-operators involved was as follows: financial 33 per cent, multi-purpose 27 per cent, agricultural 21 per cent, consumer 14 per cent, housing 3 per cent, workers' 1 per cent and fisheries 1 per cent. The activities and future priorities of the ICA Working Parties were reported on pp. 109-122.

**ICA Rules:** amended, and redrafted, they were divided into seven sections: constitution, membership, finance, governing bodies and Congress, administration, specialised bodies and special disposition (pp. 125-143).

**ICA Policies, Procedures and Standing Orders:** similarly amended, these were shown on pp. 144-154 of the Central Committee's Report.



A detailed list of Member Organisations affiliated to ICA by country and year of affiliation is published on pp. 293-304 of the Congress Report.

Besides the above Presidential Messages and the ICA Report on its past activities and future workplan, two special papers were presented to Congress:

**I. Co-operative Values in a Changing World (pp. 157-169) introduced to the Congress by Sven Ake Böök, Sweden (page numbers refer to Agenda & Reports)**

Following adoption of the Resolution on Basic Co-operative Values adopted by the 29th Congress of Stockholm (1988), the ICA Executive Committee had appointed Sven Ake Böök (in 1989) to serve as Project Director for its examination of Basic Co-operative Values and to be responsible for compiling the resulting Report. The Report was drawn up by means of research, meetings with co-operative leaders and sectoral contributions from the Research Working Party, and with the aid of a representative Advisory Committee from 11 countries and the ILO.

The Report identified the traditional co-operative values and then analysed those which had emerged in recent years through experiences and practices, with regard to their likely effect upon co-operative principles.

**Traditional Basic Co-operative Values**

The Report identified three kinds or types of basic values:

**Basic ideas**, which were regarded as essential ideas and eternal values of Co-operation represented by the ICA. Three topics were emphasised: Equality and Equity (Democracy); Voluntary Participation and Mutual Self-Help; and Economic and Social Emancipation.

**Basic ethics**, i.e. personal qualities of the committed co-operators and values relevant to the co-operative spirit and the co-operative culture.

These characterised the relationship between members, between members and their co-operatives and between co-operatives and the community in which they operated. Basic ethics included honesty, caring, pluralism (democratic approach) and constructiveness (or faith in the co-operative way).

**Basic principles**, the instrumental expression of values which should be utilised as guidelines to create and run genuine and viable co-operative organisations and enterprises (the Report cited eight such basic principles).

### **Recommendations on Basic Global Values**

The Report identified basic global values as being those which constituted some overall priorities for the future, for the long-term programme of the ICA and for the global co-operative identity. These values were reflected in, and based on, the following concepts:

- Economic activities for meeting needs
- Democratic participation
- Human resource development
- Social responsibility
- National and international co-operation

### **Recommendations about the ICA Co-operative Principles**

Co-operative principles were the guidelines for the practical application and implementation of the basic values. The Report outlined the way in which the existing co-operative principles, laid down since the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress of Vienna (1966), might be reformulated.

It suggested two approaches:

Under the first, the more modest, current Principles should include:

- a new principle on capital formation
- the principle about democracy should be widened to include the employees' participation in the management of co-operatives
- a new principle to emphasise the autonomy and independence of co-operatives.

According to the second approach, which would involve a more ambitious revision, the Report recommended two types of principles:

- the basic co-operative principles which express, at the universal level, the essence of Co-operation
- the basic co-operative practices or rules which relate to the different co-operative sectors and express essential rules and practices of, and for, co-operative action.

The first category was not subject to change; the second type could be revised and adapted to the needs and changes occurring in modern societies. Co-operative principles should be monitored by the ICA and its Specialised Organisations. The Executive Committee had appointed Ian MacPherson, Professor of the University of Victoria, Canada, and Member of the Executive Committee, to proceed with the reformulation of the co-operative principles, assisted by expert advisors and a large consultative committee. The Report was to be presented to the 31<sup>st</sup> Centennial Congress of Manchester, September 1995.

## **II. Environment and Sustainable Development (pp. 173-253)(Page numbers refer to Agenda & Report)**

The document provided an account of the ICA's concern, initiatives and activities in the field of environmental protection through co-operative action.

### **The Situation in Asia (pp. 189-220)**

Daman Prakash, Regional Adviser, ICA Regional Office, New Delhi, prepared and published a thorough study entitled "A place to live". This elaborated on the roles that co-operatives can play in protecting the environment, based on ICA experiences in several countries of Asia. A summary was presented to Congress.

### **The Japanese Co-ops' Approach (pp. 221-252)**

The Japanese Co-operative Movement presented an extended Report on the Japanese Coop's Approach to Environmental Problems.

### **Co-operative Values and Development Aid (pp. 253-281)**

This report, presented by H.-H. Münkner, Germany, focused on co-operatives in developing countries, external aid, State-controlled co-operatives and the promotion of self-reliant organisations.

### **Resolutions adopted (pp. 283-293, Agenda & Reports and pp. 180-187, Congress Report)**

1. Implementation of the New ICA Structure, proposed by the Executive Committee, (pp. 285-286 and 180-181)
2. Co-operative Values in a Changing World, proposed by the Executive Committee, (pp. 287-288 and 182-183)
3. Declaration on the Environment and Sustainable Development, proposed by the Executive Committee, (pp. 289-290 and 184-185)
4. 1994: the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Rochdale Pioneers, proposed by the Co-operative Union Ltd, UK, (pp. 186-291)  
The Congress expressed gratitude to, and admiration for, the memory of the Rochdale Pioneers who had founded the modern Co-operative Movement and invited Members Organisations to join with the U.K. in celebrating this international anniversary (p. 291).
5. 1995: the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ICA, proposed by the Co-operative Union Ltd, UK, (pp. 187-292)  
The Congress noted that 1995 would mark the Centennial (Anniversary) of the Alliance and accepted the invitation from the British Movement for the event to be held in Manchester, UK.

### **Reports of Specialised Organisations**

The Reports of the Specialised Organisations (pp. 65-108, Agenda and Reports and pp. 147-174, Congress Report) were detailed, substantial and informative regarding activities, meetings, membership and organisational matters.

### **Agricultural Committee (pp. 70-73 and 147-149)**

The agricultural co-ops represented some 30 per cent of all ICA member societies.

**Fisheries Committee (pp. 150-152)**

The Committee members stressed the importance of the protection of resources from over-exploitation and protection of the environment as a basic requirement to ensure the survival of the fishing industry.

**International Co-operative Banking Association (pp. 153-155)**

During the past four years the main problem which had awakened the interest of members was capital formation and basic co-operative values.

**International Committee of Industrial, Artisanal and Service Producers' Co-operatives (CICOPA) (pp. 156-157)**

CICOPA had been engaged in the creation of co-operative federations where they did not exist. The goal was to sustain the development of grass-root co-operatives in two main directions: drafting specific legislation and promoting a support and advice service relating to marketing activities. Such programmes were, or would shortly be, underway in all regions.

**Consumer Committee (pp. 158-160)**

The Committee had been concentrating its work during the past years on issues related to environment. The Committee was promoting environmentally-friendly agricultural production and green products.

**Housing Committee (pp. 161-162)**

The housing of migrants had been a major topic discussed by members at the international seminar held in Budapest in 1991.

**International Co-operative and Mutual Insurance Federation (pp. 163-164)**

The Federation had revised its rules so as to admit insurers which follow the principles of co-operation or of the social economy. There was a strong correspondence between these two sets of principles. The idea was gaining recognition in Europe, and it was of particular note that it had been accepted as a distinct sector by the European Commission.

**INTERCOOP (pp. 167-170)**

In 1991 the 19 members of INTERCOOP had had a total turnover of US\$ 88.6 billion, and represented 2,816 regional co-operative societies.

**ICA Tourism Committee (TICA) (pp. 171-173)**

Over the past two years, members had been engaged in negotiations regarding the merger between the International Federation of Popular Travel Organisations and the International Union of Co-operative and Associative Tourism. The merger had been accepted during the meeting in Manchester in May 1992 and was confirmed at the Tokyo meeting. The new organisation has 25 members from 24 countries, mainly in Europe.

**INCOTEC (pp. 165-166)**

The INCOTEC work programme had several strands: an investigation of the possibilities for an ICA/INCOTEC consultancy network focusing mainly on Eastern Europe; an international survey of current teaching methodologies in co-operative colleges around the world, with an emphasis on identifying innovative techniques; the development of the new regional structure and the gradual widening of the Committee's remit from training and education for Third World development to co-operative development in both developed and developing countries.

**Women's Committee (pp. 174-177)**

The Committee reported several activities regarding its Gender Awareness, Gender Planning and Gender Integration Programme. Following the ICA decentralisation, the Committee was preparing regional structures which would make its work more efficient, and had participated in the establishment of the ICA Policy on Women in Co-operative Development.

## **Thirty-first Congress: Manchester, United Kingdom, 20-23 September 1995**

- Congress President:** *Lars Marcus, Sweden, ICA President*
- Representation:** *1,210 representatives, 207 national and 8 international organisations; more than 90 countries*
- Documentation:** *Agenda and Reports, special issue of the Review of International Co-operation, ICA, vol. 88, no 3, red pages 1 to 68, green pages 1 to 67, yellow pages 1 to 118 + XIII, plus issue no 4/1995, vol. 88, of the Review of International Co-operation.*

### **Message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations.**

Earlier in the year, the Centennial Congress had been greeted by the UN Secretary-General on the occasion of the first International Co-operative Day (1st July).

This Message announced the UN decision to declare the first Saturday of July International Co-operative Day, with effect from 1995. It also recognised that co-operatives, members of the ICA, 'one of the closest and oldest collaborators' of the UN were 'becoming an indispensable factor in the economic and social development of all countries'. Through co-operatives, many millions of people are able to create productive employment, overcome poverty, and achieve social integration. The UN Message stated that co-operatives represented a people-centred model for the organisation of society, acting on the basis of human values such as solidarity, equity and justice.

**The ICA: What it is and What it has done (from the *Review of International Co-operation*, vol. 88 no. 4/1995, pp 7-12)**

President Lars Marcus addressed the participants at the Opening Ceremony with a speech on the development of the ICA's overall structure, policy and main concerns since 1976, the date he first attended an ICA meeting as a Swedish member of the Central Committee; the 1980 Central Committee Meeting, when he was elected member of the Executive; and the Hamburg Congress of 1984, when he was elected President.

**I. ICA Annual Report 1994-95 (yellow pages, 1 to 118)**

The Director-General, Mr Bruce Thordarson, introduced the ICA Report for 1994-95 by setting forth the progress made in implementing the decisions of the 30th Congress in Tokyo, 1992 as far as the new ICA structure is concerned. On the other hand, he reported on the reduced costs of the ICA Offices and the subsequent increase in resources for sustained developmental activities.

**II. Paper on Co-operative Principles for the 21st Century**

(red pages 1 to 68, plus speech to the Congress by Professor Ian MacPherson, Dean of Humanities, Victoria University, Canada)

The Paper is composed of two parts: the Statement on the Co-operative Identity and its Background Document, and the Declaration towards the 21st Century.

**A. ICA Statement on the Co-operative Identity (pp. 1 to 28)**

The text begins with the Definition of co-operatives, the Values on which they are based, and the reformulated Principles.

According to the **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'.



**The Co-operative Values**, discussed by the 30th Congress (Tokyo, 1992), are immediately after the Definition in recognition of their primary importance with regard to the Principles.

The text reads as follows:

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

The revised Principles are considered to be Guidelines by which organisations put the values into practice:

### **1. 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’.

### **2. 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, one vote), and co-operatives at other levels are also organised in democratic manner’.

### **3. Member Economic Participation**

‘Members contribute equitably to, and democratically control, the capital of their co-operative. At least part of that capital is usually the common property of the co-operative. Members 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, possibly by setting up reserves, part of

which at least would be indivisible; benefiting members in proportion to their transactions with the co-operative; and supporting other activities approved by the membership’.

#### **4. Autonomy and Independence**

‘Co-operative 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’.

#### **5. Education, Training 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’.

#### **6. 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’.

#### **7. Concern for Community**

‘Co-operatives work for the sustainable development of their communities through policies approved by their members’.

Two of the Principles (numbers 4 and 7) are relatively new, while others based on the corresponding principles of 1966. However, the Principle of 1966 (no 3), concerning the moderate compensation of social capital has been dropped.

The Definition, Values and Principles are commented on from an historic, economic and ideological point of view in the Background Paper (pp. 5 to 28). The main elements of this Paper were outlined by Profes-

sor MacPherson in his speech presenting the new Principles to the Centennial Congress. The text of this speech is the most up-to-date document on the new Principles, and has been published in the *ICA Review of International Co-operation* vol. 88, no 4/1995, pp. 13-25.

#### **B. Declaration towards the 21st century (red pages 29 to 68)**

In this Second Part of his Paper, the author examined the role of Co-operatives Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.

#### **The Co-operative Promise**

Professor MacPherson ended his presentation with a final statement on the distinctive profile of the Movement, and its future role in the economy and society of tomorrow. He emphasised the two broadly-related contexts which frame co-operators' choice: on the one hand, internal concerns about co-operative effectiveness, on the other, external relationships and social obligations.

These choices indicate to co-operatives the road which they must take to benefit members and their communities. Because, as the author said, 'the Co-operative Movement is a Movement of perpetual promise, a Movement of becoming, not of ending. ... It is a Movement that is always torn between what its philosophy suggests and (what) the contemporary world requires... It is a Movement that fails unless committed ... in achieving broader goals, and in adhering to co-operative principles in (their) daily activities'.

#### **III. Paper on Co-operatives and Sustainable Human Development (green pages 1 to 67 plus RIC Vol.88 No.4/1995, pp. 43-45)**

In his introduction to the subject, Mr Bruce Thordarson, Director-General, pointed out that the Paper presented to the Centennial Congress in a summarised form, reviewed the ICA's efforts in this field during the last three years.

### **The Paper on Co-operatives and Sustainable Human Development is composed of three Parts.**

The First Part (pp. 3 to 11) refers to the Global Perspective of the theme. It begins by recalling how the concept, and its improved wording of Sustainable Human Development, emerged.

The Second Part of the Paper (green pages 12 to 47) is a factual account of programmes conducted, and activities undertaken, at regional level: in Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific, and Europe.

The Third Part of the Paper (pp. 53 to 67) contains a programme of co-operative action to promote Sustainable Human Development. The programme is broken down by type or sector of co-operative activity (agricultural, consumer, fishing, housing, industrial/handicraft production, tourism, energy, finances and education/public information). Each sub-programme is composed of three elements: a short statement on the importance of the co-operative sector to environmental issues and Sustainable Development; objectives to be pursued; and methods to be utilised to achieving the goals established. The document is described as a 'Co-operative Agenda 21', in reference to the proposals made at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development.

### **Other Meetings**

Besides Meetings and Reports of ICA Specialised Bodies, a summary of which is found in the Minutes of the General Assembly published in the Review of International Co-operation, vol. 88 no 4/1995, a few other meetings also took place during the Congress. Papers were presented and discussed, while conclusions were drafted and communicated or submitted to the Congress and the General Assembly.

### **International Forum of the ICA Committee of Co-operative Research**

Information about its organisation, the debates and the informal conclusions was presented to the Centennial Congress by Professor Sven Åke Bööck, President of the Committee.

### **ICA Global Women's Committee**

The Report of the Meeting was submitted to the General Assembly by Katarina Apelqvist. The Report is composed of a review and evaluation of the activities of the Committee and of a programme for future action, its ultimate aim being to continue to pursue Gender Integration in the Co-operative Movement worldwide.

### **International Forum on Co-operative Health and Social Care**

The 2nd International Forum was held in conjunction with the Centennial Congress as a follow-up of the 1st Forum, organised in Tokyo during the 30th Congress of 1992, and of other Meetings which had taken place since then in the various ICA regions.

### **Joint Project on Participatory Democracy**

A Report on the above Project was presented to the Centennial Congress by Mr Masayaki Yamaguishi (Japan) and Mr Jack Craig (Canada). The Study on Democracy and Participation was undertaken on co-operatives in five countries: Japan, the United Kingdom, Italy, Canada and Sweden. A Summary of the Report is published in the *Review of International Co-operation* vol. 88, no 4/1995, pp. 27-34.

### **Youth and Co-operation. The Present and the Future**

A brief Report on the 3rd ICA International Youth Seminar was introduced to the Centennial Congress by Mary Rose Gavieres (Philippines), Jeppe Jorgenson (Denmark) and Monica Kai Medri (Canada). The Seminar was hosted at the Co-operative College, in Stanford Hall, Loughborough and 60 young people representing 21 countries participated. The Report is published in the *Review of International Co-operation*, vol. 88, no 4/1995, pp. 35-38.

**Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, following the Congress (RIC vol. 88 no. 4/1995, pp. 82-94)**

1. The ICA Statement on Co-operative Identity and the Declaration on Co-operatives towards the 21st century (submitted by the ICA Board);
2. The International Co-operative Alliance Statement on the Co-operative Identity (submitted by the ICA Board and amended by the General Assembly);
3. Co-operatives and Sustainable Human Development (submitted by the ICA Board);
4. Participatory Democracy in the Co-operative Development (submitted by KF, Sweden and amended by JCCU, Japan, on behalf of the Joint Project);
5. Peace (submitted by the Japanese Consumers' Co-operative Union);
6. Gender Equality in Co-operatives (submitted by ICA Europe);
7. Strategic Alliances (submitted by the National Cooperative Business Association, NCBA, USA);
8. Vote of Thanks to President Lars Marcus.

**Part II**  
**Thematic Index**





## Thematic Index

Having made a synoptic overview of the 31 ICA Congresses between 1895 and 1995, we now move on to the second part of our study, which will classify Congress themes according to the frequency with which they occurred. Because this study constitutes a guide to Congress themes, and because there is a need to ensure the manageability of material and observe space constraints, we shall limit ourselves to the papers which came before Congresses. We will not attempt to classify the myriad items that came up in Reports of the Central Committee. Neither will we cover Congress amendments to Rules, on the grounds that these would also take us into too much detail. In any event, there were few significant changes until 1992, and any such changes have been covered by the synoptic review.

In Part Two we are concerned to assist co-operative researchers who wish to study themes in greater detail in two ways. One is by showing how the subject changed or progressed through time. The second is to give page references to facilitate access to the material. To gain entry to this section a theme, in various forms, must have recurred at least three times.

The classified themes are as follows:

Congress & page Number

(F) French Report

(E) English Report

List of Themes Discussed:

**1. Profit-Sharing and Co-Partnership**

i) Co-operation and its practical application: 2, 1896, 20-28 and 81-92 (F)

Connected themes: 5

- ii) An International Commission on Profit-Sharing: 2, 1896, 29-31 (F)  
Connected themes: 11
- iii) Profit-Sharing and Co-Partnership: 1, 1895, 78-132 and 193-196 (E) 3, 1897, 5-24 (F); 5, 1902, 153-220 (E)
- iv) The Relations between Different Forms of Co-operation: Profit-sharing and Co-partnership: 11, 1924, 133-164 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/A, 5
- v) Co-operative Principles of Wages and Profit-Sharing: 4, 1900, 139-143 (F)

## **2. Inter-Co-operative Trading Relations**

### **A. Relations between Different Kinds of Co-operatives**

- i) Developing Inter-Co-operative Trading Links: 1, 1895 (E); 2, 1896, 101-108 and 136-137 (F); 4, 1900, 158-162 (F)  
Connected themes: 5, 18
- ii) Co-operation as Applied to Agriculture: 2, 1896, 32-36 (F), 5, 1902, 343-384 (E)  
Other themes concerned: 7
- iii) The Closer Relationship and Mutual Help of Co-operative Societies and the Comprehensive Character of the ICA: 9, 1913, 90-109 (E)  
Connected themes: 18, 5
- iv) Relations between Consumers and Agricultural Co-operative Societies: 12, 1927, 149-172 (E)  
Connected themes: 16, 7
- v) The Marketing Pooling and Financing of Co-operative Productions in Relation to the Consumer's Movement: 13, 1930, 165-182 (E)  
Connected themes: 16, 7

### **B. International Co-operative Trade**

- i) Commercial Relations to be Established between Co-operators: 2, 1896, 37-42 (F)  
Connected themes: 16

- ii) Co-operative trading relations: 3, 1897, 186-211 (F)
- iii) Direct exchange of goods between distributive societies, agricultural and other productive societies, also between the Wholesale societies in the different countries: 9, 1913, 48-85 (E)  
Connected themes: 7, 16
- iv) The relations to be established between the ICA and an International Co-operative Wholesale Society: 10, 1921, 144-158 (E)  
Connected themes: 16, 18
- v) Trading relations with Centrovosov. USSR: 10, 1921, 27-32 and 45-55 (E)  
Connected themes: 18
- vi) The tasks, extension and limits of co-operative production: 11, 1924, 173-182 (E)  
Connected themes: 16
- vii) The development of International Exchange: 15, 1937, 233-295 (E)  
Connected themes: 16
- viii) The Policy of International Co-operation: The International Exchange of goods from the consumer's point of view: 16, 1946, 122-149 and 182-183 (E)  
Connected themes: 16, 18
- ix) The Policy of International Co-operation: 10, 1921, 84-99 and 101 (E)  
Connected themes: 16, 11
- x) The Policy of International Co-operation: 10, 1921, 101-120 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 5, 9
- xi) International co-operative trade: the possibilities of practical collaboration between national organisations and its development by the Alliance: 19, 1954, 135-176  
Connected themes: 15, 16, 17, 18
- xii) International co-operative trade: Its difficulties and possibilities and exchange of experiences: 20, 1957, 199-236 (E)  
Connected themes: 15, 19, 20
- xiii) Co-operative Trade in S.E. Asia (Mission Report): 24, 1969, 19-58

Connected themes: 20

- xiv) Inter-Co-operative Trade in Developing countries (Resolution)  
24, 1969, 265-269 (E)

Connected themes: 20, 15

### 3. **Peace**

Constant concern of the Congresses and of the ICA connected to various vital problems of Co-operation. Resolutions on this theme were adopted mostly by Congresses: 5, 1902, 393-398 (E), 6, 1904, 192 (E), 9, 1913, 39-48 (E),

The Principles of International Right According to the Spirit of Co-operation: 10, 1921, 127-143 and 159-162 (E),

Resolutions: 12, 1927, 229-235 (E), 14, 1934, 192-198 (E), 15, 1937, 127-130 and 296-302 (E), 16, 1946, 178 (E), 17, 1948, 189-190 (E), 24, 1969, 99-105 (E), 26, 1976, 251-262 (E).

### 4. **Co-operation and the State**

- i) The duty of the State towards Co-operation: Should it subsidise it or not?: 6, 1904, 111-127 (E)

- ii) The place of Co-operation in different economic systems: 15, 1937, 185-229 (E)

Connected themes: 17, 5

- iii) The Spanish situation and the growing threat of Fascism: 15, 1937, 126 (E)

- iv) Co-operation and the Public Authorities: 16, 1946, 150-176 (E)  
Connected themes: 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 18

- v) The Co-operative attitude to Nationalisation: 17, 1948, 160-189 (E)

Connected themes: 2/B, 3, 5, 10

### 5. **Co-operative Values and Principles**

- i) Problems of Modern Co-operation: 12, 1927, 173-209 (E)

Connected themes: 17, 2/B, 3, 6, 9, 18

- ii) The Principles of Rochdale Co-operation and modern systems of

- Credit Trading: 13, 1930, 221-256 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/B, 16, 18
- iii) Review of Rochdale Principles (Resolution): 13, 1930, 155-166 (E)
- iv) The present application of the Rochdale Principles: 14, 1934, 131-158 (E)  
Connected themes: 16, 18
- v) The present application of the Rochdale Principles: 15, 1937, 145-173 (E)  
Connected themes: 18
- vi) Reformulation of the Fundamental Principles of the Co-operative Movement (Resolution): 22, 1963, 127-129 (E)
- vii) Report of the ICA Commission on Co-operative Principles: 23, 1966, 154-215 (E)
- viii) Contemporary Co-operative Democracy (3 Papers): 24, 1969, 168-264 (E)  
Connected themes: 9, 14, 17, 18, 21
- ix) Co-operatives and Basic Values: 29, 1988, 95-108 (E)  
Connected themes: 14
- x) Co-operative Values in a Changing World: 30, 1992, 157-169 and full Report (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 12, 21
- xi) Statement on the Co-operative Identity, Revision of Co-operative Principles and Declaration Towards the 21st Century: 31, 1995, Red Pages 1-68 (E) and RIC 4/95, vol. 88, 13-25 (E)  
Connected Themes: 4, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22
- 6. Women and Co-operatives**
- i) Accounts on Women's Co-operative Guilds: 6, 1904, 557-590 (E)  
Connected themes: 14
- ii) Women's Part in Co-operation: 7, 1907, 169-188 (E)
- iii) The place of Women in the Co-operative Movement: 3, 1897, 205-206 (F), 11, 1924, 197-218  
Connected themes: 14

- iv) Equality for Women in the Co-operative Movement (Resolution): 28, 1984, 131-133 (E)  
Connected themes: 20

**7. Agriculture and Co-operatives**

- i) Agricultural Co-operation: 2, 1897, 173-185 (F)  
ii) What can Co-operation do to help solve the problem of settling small cultivators on the land: 5, 1902, 343-376 (E)  
Connected themes: 5  
iii) The National Organisation of Agriculture: 7, 1907, 68-122 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/A, 16  
iv) What can Co-operation do to help working men and small cultivators in their daily life?: 7, 1907, 142-164 and 188-191 (E)  
Connected themes: 115, 16

**8. Co-operative Press, Publications, Communications**

- i) The role of the Press and the ICA: 2, 1896, 47-50 (F)  
Connected themes: 5  
ii) Means of developing the action of the Alliance: 4, 1900, 123-137 (F)  
Connected themes: 15, 18  
iii) The development of the Co-operative Press in the interests of Co-operative Education: 9, 1913, 111-131 (E)  
Connected themes: 6, 14, 18

**9. Co-operatives and Trade Unions**

- i) Co-operative Autonomy and Independence from the Socialist International: 8, 1910, 185 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 5, 18  
ii) The relations between Co-operation and Trade Unionism: 10, 1921, 163-177 (E), 12, 1927, 116-129 (E), 16, 1946, 180 (E)  
iii) Co-operative and Trade Union Movements: 25, 1972, 329-342 (E)

**10. Co-operative Banks and Credit Co-operatives**

- i) Centralisation of Co-operative Banking by means of Central Bank 6, 1904, 171-181 and 320-403 (E)
- ii) The role of Banks in the Development of the Co-operative Movement:  
11, 1924, 227-244 (E)  
Connected themes: 17

**11. Co-operative Statistical Data**

- Collection of International Co-operative Statistical Data: 2. 1896, 44-46 (F)  
Connected themes: 8, 18, 17

**12. Co-operative Legislation**

- i) Co-operative Legislation in different countries: 3, 1897, 25-41 and 149-159 (F)  
Connected themes: 17, 5
- ii) Co-operative Laws in Developing Countries: 24, 1969, 286-288 (E)  
Connected themes: 20, 5

**13. Housing Co-operatives**

- How can Co-operation assist in Housing the working classes: 5, 1902, 277-342 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 20

**14. Co-operative Education, Training and Management**

- Compulsory Co-operative Education at Secondary Schools: 2, 1869, 139-140 (F)
- Special Conference on Methods of Co-operative Propaganda and Education : 12, 1927, 249-268 (E)
- Management in our Times (Memorandum and Resolution): 20, 1957, 291-308 (E)

**15. Inter-Co-operation and Movement-to-Movement Assistance**

- i) The Backwardness of Co-operation in Eastern and Northern Countries of Europe. Its Causes and Proper Remedies: 6, 1904, 184-191 and 404-439 (E)  
Connected themes: 20
- ii) Collaboration between Co-operatives: 26, 1976, 185-250 (E)  
Connected themes: 3, 5, 9, 19, 22

**16. Consumer Co-operatives**

- i) Benefits of the Wholesale to Co-operatives: 4, 1900, 164-174 (F)
- i) The organisation and work of Co-operative Distributive Societies in Rural and Semi-Rural districts: 6, 1904, 71-86 (E)  
Connected themes: 7
- ii) The importance of Wholesale Co-operation: 7, 1907, 126-161 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/B, 18

**17. Co-operative Development**

- i) Development of the Co-operative Movement: Present and Future;  
8, 1910, 76-162 and 170-192 (E)  
Connected themes: 7, 16, 10, 13
- ii) The role of International Co-operation in Present-day Economic Development: 14, 1934, 211-246 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/B, 3, 5, 7, 4, 16, 18
- iii) The Practical Development of International Co-operation in the economic sphere: 17, 1948, 132-158 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/B, 3, 4, 16, 18
- iv) The Development of Co-operation in the World: its difficulties and its changes: 18, 1951, 168-201 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 14, 21
- v) Co-operation in the World Development and Peace: 20, 1957, 238-284 (E)  
Connected themes: 3, 2/B, 19



- vi) Economic Integration and Co-operative Development: 22, 1963, 170-234 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/B, 19, 20
- vii) Co-operatives in the year 2000: 27, 1980, 107-163 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 5, 6, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22
- viii) Global Problems and the Co-operatives: 28, 1984, 155-218 (E)  
Connected themes: 3, 18, 20
- ix) Environment and Sustainable Co-operative Development: 30, 1992, 173-281 (E)  
Connected themes: 20, 5, 4
- x) Co-operatives and Sustainable Human Development: 31, 1995, Green Pages 1-67 (E) and Review of International Co-operation, 4/95. vol. 88, 43-45 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21

**18. ICA's Structure. Policy Changes and Rules**

- i) Changes to ICA Rules: 2, 1896, 51-56 and 110-127 (F), 8, 1910, 44-76 (E), 12, 1927, 132-242 (E), 13, 1930, 143-158 (E), 14, 1934, 179-184 and 189-192(E), 15, 1937, 175-181(E), 17, 1948, 105-129 (E), 18, 1951, 152-163 (E), 20, 1957, 134-137 (E), 21, 1960, 122-146 and 288-293 (E), 22, 1963, 103-107 (E), 23, 1966, (E), 24, 169, 150-167 (E), 25, 1972, 145-148 and 151-153 and 155-157, (E), 26, 1976, 262-266 and 277 (E), 27, 1980, 92-95 and 102-104 (E), 28, 1984, 103-114 (E), 30, 1992, 125-143 (E).  
Connected themes: 5
- ii) The Future Policy and Programme of the ICA: 17, 1948, 94-104 (E)
- iii) Co-operative Day and Co-operative Flag: 2, 1896, 136 and 141-142 (F), 11, 1924, 118 (E)  
ICA's Programme of Work 1977-1980: 26, 1976, 108-183 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 20
- iv) ICA's Programme of Work 1985-1987: Objectives. structures. methods:  
28, 1984, 83-153 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 20, 5

- v) ICA's Development Strategy and Programme: 29, 1988, 48-55 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 20, 14
- vi) Structural Changes and Co-operatives (from Congress to Congress):  
30, 1992, 21-23 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 20, 21, 4, 2/B, 14
- vii) Structural Changes and ICA's Main Activities: 30, 1992, 25-29 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 20, 5, 15, 4, 14
- viii) ICA's Annual Activities 1994 - 1995: 31, 1995, yellow Pages 1-101 (E) and ICA Review of International Co-operation, Vol. 88, 49-82 (E)

**19. Co-operatives and Monopolies**

- Co-operatives and Monopolies: 18, 1951, 203-254 (E)  
Connected themes: 2/B, 8, 12, 17

**20. Co-operative Development in Developing Countries and Technical Assistance**

- i) Co-operative Development in Under-Developed Countries: 19, 1954, 177-220 (E)  
Connected themes: 15, 17
- ii) The Promotion of Co-operation in Less Developed Countries: 20, 1957, 147-198 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 15, 17
- iii) The ICA Mission to S.E. Asian Countries: 20, 1957, 330-336 (E)  
Connected themes: 18
- iv) Promotion of Co-operation in Developing Countries: 21, 1960, 147-213 (E)  
Three Papers on this subject:
  - a) Coordination of the ICA Work with that of the UN Agencies and of the International Bodies.
  - b) The role of Governments in Developing Countries in promoting Co-operation.

- c) The needs of Co-operative Organisations in Developing Countries and the contribution of the ICA.  
Connected themes: 4, 12, 15, 17, 18
  - v) Long-Term Programmes of Co-operative Promotion and the Conditions of their realisation: 22, 1963, 132-169 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 15
  - vi) Technical Assistance to Co-operation: 23, 1966, 217-250 (E)  
Connected themes: 15, 17, 18
  - vii) Technical Assistance and the ICA Development Fund: 24, 1969, 86-98 (E)  
Connected themes: 18, 15
  - viii) Technical Assistance for Co-operatives in Developing Countries: 25, 1972, 266-326 (E)  
Connected themes: 18, 14, 15
  - ix) Co-operative Development Decade: 27, 1980, 73, 105 (E)  
Connected themes: 18, 14, 15, 17, 6
  - x) Lessons of Three Decades of Co-operative Development (from Stockholm to Stockholm): 29, 1988, 109-131 (E)  
Connected themes: 18, 17, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 21
- 21. Co-operation and Structural Changes**
- i) Co-operation in a Changing World: A Survey of Objectives and Methods with Special Reference to the Western Co-operative Movements: 21, 1960, 214-299 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 18, 5, 6
  - ii) Structural Changes of Co-operatives: 23, 1966, 252-298 (E)  
Connected themes: 5, 12
  - iii) Case Studies on Changes in Co-operatives: 28, 1984, 77-102 (E)  
Connected themes: 17, 18, 7
- 22. Multinational Corporations and Co-operation**
- Multinational Enterprises: 25, 1972, 185-265 (E)  
Connected themes: 4, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17



# Concluding Remarks

## 1. Facts and Findings

Part One of this Study summarised and analysed the papers and Reports presented to ICA Congresses between 1895 and 1995 and the responses made to these by delegates from ICA Member Organisations. It was noted that Congress Papers and Reports, presented by eminent co-operators and specialists, were commissioned in a number of ways. This was sometimes by an ICA Congress asking that a subject be examined at the next Congress. At other times, ICA Member Organisations proposed issues for debate while, at others, the Executive and Central Committees, and more recently the Director/Director-General, initiated Papers or Reports. Whatever their origin, the subjects considered by ICA Congresses highlighted topical practical and theoretical issues which faced the International Co-operative Movement at specific times. Thus, in attempting to summarise these, Part One of this Study has sought to trace the evolution of international co-operative ideas through the ICA's first one hundred years.

In doing so it has shown that some important topics, such as Co-operative Principles and Values or Co-operative Development, recurred at a number of Congresses. Other topics, such as International Co-operative Trade, occurred less frequently, while others changed with time. For example, an early ICA preoccupation was with co-operative production and profit-sharing whereas a more recent one has been with co-operatives and the environment.

Part Two of the Guide comprised a Thematic Index constructed under 22 headings. Ideally, each heading would have been accompanied by the name of the speaker, his or her organisation, and some indication of the previous frequency with which the topic had been raised. Pressures of space, however, prevented this and it was therefore decided to give a Roman serial number under each principal theme to show how many

times the subject was subsequently discussed in ICA Congresses. In addition to the titles and frequency of principal Themes, we indicate by numbers 1 - 31 the Congress concerned, its year and the pages in the Report produced by the ICA which refer to the paper and discussion on it. Shown also is the language in which the Congress Report was published, i.e. E = English or F = French.

A study of Congress Papers reveals that many touched upon related matters. Where this happened, we felt that it was desirable to draw attention to it thus enabling researchers and more general readers to make cross references if they so wished. These related or secondary topics are therefore indicated under each principal Theme by the Congress Number.

## **2. . Lessons to be drawn**

In using a thematic approach to study ICA Congresses, it was inevitable that the outcome would be partial or in summarised form. Even so, it permits us to draw conclusions and to offer a few final remarks.

### **I. Shifting Organisational Balance**

Between 1895 and around the end of the First World War, the ICA's highest 'authority' was its Congress. Under ICA Rules, this remained the case although some later shift occurred in the balance of influence between Congress and the Alliance's other 'authorities', namely the Central and Executive Committees, and the General Secretary, later Director/Director-General.

During the interwar years, the Central and Executive Committees increasingly became the initiators of policy, although the Congress, to whom both were accountable, still proposed some Papers and Reports. Since shortly before the Second World War the Alliance took increasing account of co-operative developments beyond Europe. This trend increased after the war when the ICA showed that it had the interest and capacity to develop policies, and take initiatives, that encouraged

co-operation in the third world. As a result, the Secretariat became increasingly significant. The ICA's concern with third world co-operative development continued despite divergent views on theoretical and practical questions which emerged in the Cold War including the relationship of co-operatives with the State, eligibility for ICA membership and attempts to change ICA Rules and Standing Orders.

From the early 1960s until the restructuring of the Alliance under Rules changes at the Tokyo Congress in 1992, the influence of the Congress and ICA Secretariat became more evenly balanced. Whereas ultimate power still rested with the Congress, the standing of the Secretariat increased as technical assistance to younger Alliance member organisations grew, as did collaboration and joint action with UN Specialised Agencies and other international non-governmental organisations. The restructuring of the State-economy countries, and the far-reaching structural changes within the ICA itself, such as the creation of Regional Offices and Assemblies, have reinforced the growing significance of the ICA Secretariat.

## **II. Shifts in Topics and Member Organisations**

Each Congress developed ideas and formulated policy to be implemented by the Executive and Central Committees, which in turn delegated to the Secretariat the day to day running of the Alliance. It was to be expected that over a period of one hundred years there would be shifts of interest, or changing emphases, within the Alliance's Congresses. Throughout there was concern for economic, social and developmental problems in one form or another, and for the transfer of co-operative experience from the more well-developed co-operative movements to those emerging in other parts of the world. There was also recurring interest in the role of women in co-operatives and, throughout, there was concern for co-operative principles and values.

Other shifts which have occurred have been in connection with ICA membership. Up till, and shortly after, the Second World War consumer

co-operatives predominated but there has since been an ever-growing diversity. In turn this has influenced the types of Papers presented to ICA Congresses. For example, during the Alliance's first half century, there were attempts to develop international co-operative trade but Congress papers on this assumed that such trade would be based on large-scale consumer co-operative movements. Their decline in Western Europe and elsewhere is probably the reason why this subject has not been debated in Congress for many years. Moreover, the fact that consumer co-operatives have declined as a proportion of overall ICA membership has necessitated a broadening of the Co-operative Principles. Initially, these were largely synonymous with consumer co-operatives. The widening of ICA membership, however, to include agricultural, savings and credit, workers' and handicraft co-operatives, and more recently new types such as health co-operatives, has made it important for contemporary statements of co-operative values and principles to be wide enough to encompass these. Thus the restatement at the Centennial Congress covered in the summary of the 31st Congress in Manchester in 1995 is particularly relevant.

### **III. Relations with the State**

After some hesitation and some theoretical ambiguities about the place and role of Co-operation in its relationship with State authorities and private enterprises, the ICA and its Congresses clearly defined the scope and action of the co-operative system. It was to be a self-reliant, private and autonomous economic and social movement, which would compete with the other two sectors. It has been from Governments, however, that ICA Congresses have repeatedly urged that co-operatives should remain independent and autonomous.

### **IV. Congress Representation**

The number of delegates participating in Congresses, the Member Organisations they represented and their countries of origin, undoubtedly influenced Congress business. This could be seen in the subjects chosen for debate and in the decisions taken, either as resolutions or as



recommendations. There is obviously a link between what kind of subjects are proposed for consideration by ICA Congresses, and the type of co-operative movement, its state of development and that of its country, which makes the proposal. It should also be noted that, despite often wide differences in their backgrounds, delegates to ICA Congresses reached decisions through debates which led either to consensus or the taking of a vote. Such a readiness to seek agreement occurred even in the Cold War. It was a process which legitimised decisions thus making it easier for these to be accepted and respected by ICA member organisations.

## **V. The Tokyo and Manchester Congresses**

The Tokyo Congress, 1992, marked a decisive turn for the future of the ICA. One reason was that it followed the end of a certain 'co-operative duality' arising from the different co-operative practices in countries that either had state-planned economies or those which had operated mixed or free market economies. Another reason was that from 1990 onwards, it became possible to share views on international co-operative values and on the role of Co-operation in a changing world. Under this co-operatives were freed from State control and thus moved towards operating in liberalised economies.

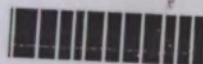
Within the ICA itself, the Tokyo Congress saw major changes to ICA Rules. These resulted in the regionalisation of the organisation and the replacement of the Congress with the General Assembly. Thereafter only "Special Congresses" would be held of which the Centennial Congress in Manchester, 1995, was a good example. Its recommendations were ratified by a meeting of the General Assembly held immediately afterwards. The Centennial Congress was significant, though, for the seal that it set on internal and external changes. By then the new structure was in place and beginning to operate. The "arsenal" of new opportunities it made possible was strengthened by the finalisation of the debate on Co-operative Values and Principles begun by ICA President Marcus at the Stockholm Congress, 1988, and continued under the

guidance of Sven Åke Bööck in Tokyo, 1992. A clear statement of Co-operative Identity emerged from the work of Prof. Ian MacPherson at the Centennial Congress in Manchester in 1995. It was intended to assist the ICA and its Member Organisations as the second century of international co-operation began but it also reflected the co-operative tradition, activities and ideology that had successfully brought the Alliance through its first one hundred years.

The ICA was established in 1895. It brought many co-operative ideas into the twentieth century. As it gained organisational maturity, the Alliance proselytised those ideas vigorously and effectively. Now, as it begins its second century, and the world faces the 21st century, the Alliance is even better placed to encourage co-operative solutions to the challenges that the new century will bring, not least those of employment, housing, health and the environment.

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