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

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

Paper submitted to the ICA General Assembly by:

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

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

*Karl J. Fogelstrom
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CO-OPERATIVES AND PEACE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION

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I. Introductory Note

ICA Rules: Article 2 Objects

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

The Aims of the ICA Gender Equality Committee: Article 3.9:

"It shall strengthen the efforts of women and men in the promotion of lasting peace and security".

Peace advocacy has constituted an early and constant ideological concern of ICA. Its economic philosophy and social vision, as well as its activities and working relationship with International Agencies, NGO Organisations and offices responsible or caring for peace, are an inestimable source of important documentary elements and data with reference to the subject of Peace.

More precisely, such documents are found in ICA's Rules, reports and proceedings of its Congresses and General Assemblies, in resolutions, in statements and decisions, in articles of ICA's leaders, published in the *Review of International Co-operation*, in studies of well known co-operators concerning ICA's History, in the annual messages for the celebration of International Co-operative Day. Therefore, any attempt to thoroughly study this subject (peace) under its numerous facets, should take in account: firstly, the text itself of each ICA's resolutions, by investigating and highlighting historical circumstances, challenges and conditions of proposal and approval, either by ICA's Central or Executive Committee or scientists and members commissioned by ICA or moved by representatives of the member organisations. Secondly, external facts such as threats to peace, menaces of war, post-war decisions, and positions on political neutrality and freedom. Equally, ICA's internal structure, policy, co-operative principles and democracy, inter-co-operative trading relations, working relationship with the State, gender equality and co-operatives, provoked in several occasions an impact on ICA's positive attitude and decisions concerning peace and action taken.

ICA was also (and still is) in close working relationship with agencies of the United Nations (UN) system, non-governmental institutions, trade unions and other international fora concerned with nuclear weapons and the non-proliferation of armaments. ICA therefore was present at all regional and international meetings and events, which were concerned with important problems and crises such as human rights, energy (petroleum), raw materials, trade unions, refugees, environment, technical co-operation, and poverty. Its interest to share responsibility and to be associated with

* This Paper is the author's contribution to the ICA General Assembly, Seoul (16-17 October 2001). It is a summary of his research and study on co-operative development, peace and Human Rights.

others in finding common solutions to these problems, created additional opportunities for ICA to take steps towards peace and peaceful settlement of conflict situations.

At the twilight of the 20th century, in the rise of the 21st and of the third millennium as well, it is wise and necessary to take a rapid retrospective look at ICA's global attitude in regard to peace and the close relationship with co-operative development. This excursion through ICA's documentary sources will remind us of the important decisions taken over the years and from one Congress to another. It will also offer an excellent occasion to compare the past with current situations in the hopes that lessons may be drawn from the solutions of the past to challenges to peace, with a view to study, elaborate and apply new policies and plans of action, in the context of new challenges generated from the globalisation of markets, labour, raw materials, trade and capital. Further merging of the profit-oriented multinational enterprises risk to increase the role of monopolies against which ICA has struggled from the beginning of the 20th century. Other possible consequences of these changing rules of competition is the weakening of the State's positive attitude towards co-operatives in many countries, and also the reduction of social care services and health protection provided to disadvantaged strata of the population of both developed and developing countries including women, youth, the ageing, disabled, economic migrants, and political refugees, in addition to challenging the conditions of employment and decent work.

There is no doubt that by virtue of its wide membership of voluntary organisations of physical persons, the International Co-operative Movement - from both an ideological and organisational point of view – today is considered strong both in economic terms but also in terms of its human capital, its genuine social concern, and its ideological system of ethical rules and values. Led by the oldest and largest NGO institution, the ICA, some one billion co-operators scattered around the world, possess a tremendous political power. Through and together with the ICA; they strive through their national and international organisations, for social justice, employment, education and better advantages to their members. But still they experience fear of economic distress and human insecurity. Such menaces, although of unknown origins and levels, have a strong and negative economic and psychological impact and on the destiny of their families and children, and prevent them from being quiet and totally productive.

Peace and ICA's concern and subsequent action has been investigated and referred to by several research scientists and co-operators during the last two decades. The most extensive references to peace are made by Dr Rita Rhodes (1995), W.P. Watkins, A. I. Krashennnikov among others¹.

The ICA publication, *Thematic Guide to ICA Congresses (1895 – 1995)*, reviews ICA's activities in a number of areas including peace. It shows that among the 22 main themes discussed repeatedly over the span of ICA's 31 Congresses in the last century, resolutions on peace were among the most frequently proposed, moved and adopted by the plenary sessions of the Congresses. The second most discussed item was inter-co-operative trading relations². As a matter of fact, from the 5th Congress (Manchester, 1902) up to the General Assembly of 1999 (Quebec), 25 resolutions were adopted which expressly referred to peace.

In addition to the specific discussions and resolutions on peace, ICA Congresses also addressed other related themes such as political neutrality, arbitration, co-operative principles, co-operative development, monopolies, gender equality, co-operatives and the State, all of which necessarily touched on the problem of peace, thus proving ICA's concern and its strong role as a "Peace-Watcher" and "Peace-Maker".

For methodological purposes, it would be more informative to start with by a brief presentation of each resolution, since each differs considerably from the other. Subsequently some conclusions

may be drawn on the main features of this important and historical effort of the ICA and of its member organisations as well as from associating co-operative development with peace and vice-versa throughout the 20th century.

II. Commented Texts of Resolutions and others

ICA since its creation in 1895 has made clear that one of its main ideological premises that is “no interference with politics or religion”. This option drafted by the Provisional Central Committee and agreed upon by the 1st Congress (London, 1895), should be scrupulously respected individually or together with the connected issues of neutrality and of freedom of action.

The following three Congresses (2nd: Paris 1896, 3rd: Delft 1897 and 4th: Paris 1900) primarily addressed questions related to organisational matters and to the direction of the Organisation. However, time was also made for the presentation and discussion of three other issues of great importance for the identity and future of ICA. These were: (a) a resolution urging Governments take legal measures to promote the various forms of association applied to co-operatives, thus urging them to establish a strong relationship between co-operatives and the State; (b) the important question of the participation of women in co-operatives; and (c) the definition of the social role of co-operatives (1900). These resolutions indicate the road the organisation was to take in the near future.

The 5th Congress (Manchester, 1902) had opened the door for ICA to consider peace and to also broaden its scope and objectives in such areas as arbitration, industrial and commercial relations. The resolution on peace moved by Professor Charles Gide was based on a report presented by Hodgson Ratt, a British member of ICA, at the 2nd Peace Congress in Monaco. ICA's Congress unanimously adopted the resolution recommending the establishment of relations with the International Peace Bureau and participation in the campaign for universal peace. Through this declaration of solidarity began ICA's involvement in peace issues. The resolution on development and the handling of commercial and industrial matters had proposed that workers should be protected by co-operatives and that existing rivalries between social classes and countries should be settled according to the Rochdale Principles. This resolution established ICA's role of “Peace-Maker” which it would pursue and accomplish through co-operative advantages.

As for arbitration, the resolution, moved by British and French delegations, proposed a permanent Treaty of Arbitration between the U.K. and France, with a view to further develop and broaden this peaceful procedure to resolve differences between nations by conciliation, arbitration and consensus.

The 6th Congress (Budapest, 1904) discussed the Romanian proposal that advanced co-operative organisations assist the less advanced co-operatives of Eastern Europe. These discussions raised the issue of inter-co-operation for the first time and were the origin of the addition of inter-co-operation as a new Co-operative Principle in 1966. The Congress adopted an ad hoc resolution moved by the Italian delegation which provided for solidarity with less developed co-operative movements and underlined the need for State support to co-operatives in the countries concerned. A second resolution on peace, moved by ICA's Central Committee, re-iterated the Manchester Congress resolution of 1902 and repeated “the readiness of ICA to enter into relations with the International Peace Bureau and to collaborate with it for the establishment of universal peace”.

Discussions at the 7th Congress (Cremona, 1907) were focused, on the one hand, on women's participation in co-operatives and on the other on co-operative solidarity between the industrial labouring population and rural labourers to facilitate the purchase of agricultural products at the national and international levels. Both these subjects were of a strong and recurring concern

within the ICA and of an importance equal to peace. This was why a resolution emphasizing the importance of the principle (value) "of solidarity opposed to egotism" was adopted.

During the 8th Congress (Hamburg, 1911), a resolution moved by ICA's President re-affirmed the independence and autonomous action of the International Co-operative Movement from the Socialist Movement on the basis of no involvement in questions of politics, while it was greeting "with satisfaction the resolution of the International Socialist Congress of Copenhagen", which recognised that workers' political parties, trade unions and co-operatives shall have a separate although complementary existence. The Congress underlined the particular nature of the Movement, its structure and action, while it expressed complementary links between the three institutions. In addition, the Congress invited worker parties (socialists) and trade unions to use consumer co-operatives with a view to achieving economic and political power and thus to improve conditions of work and life.

The first 'full-meaning' resolution on peace proposed by ICA's two Committees and moved by G. Goedhart from the Hague was adopted by the 9th Congress (Glasgow, 1913), and this for several reasons; firstly, the resolution called upon public opinion of all nations and not only on co-operative member organisations or on co-operators in general; secondly, the ICA's forward-looking position announced on this occasion was that War is a phenomenon of the capitalist economic system and therefore co-operators are not responsible for it given their peaceful identity; thirdly, it was clarified that monopolistic capitalism and rules of antagonism hamper co-operative progress and constitute a menace to world peace; and fourthly, ICA expressed the strong belief shared by all co-operative organisations that co-operative values, principles and activities are able to promote and ensure peace. The resolution therefore had rightly invited people of all countries to join co-operative organisations and give to them growth and power for preserving and maintaining peace.

The 10th Congress (Basel, 1921) took place eight years after the previous one. During that period the World War I had broken out and had caused the well-known and serious damage on human lives and on co-operators lives and activities. The Congress therefore reviewed the various war events and their negative impact. The Resolution on Peace, adopted following an important paper prepared by Prof. Charles Gide on 'International Principles of Right according to the Spirit of Co-operation', and re-affirmed and revised the text of the 1913 basic resolution on peace, adding to the new text two additional components: firstly, support to the peaceful arbitration in international relations so that war clashes may be avoided. And secondly, the educational system and public instruction in schools should include components of co-operative ideals and advantages so that young people start learning as from their childhood about peaceful economic and social relations. This new ideological parameter about co-operative instruction would lead many co-operative organisations and countries as well to organise and promote the well-known school co-operatives, co-operative training and co-operative education.

The 11th Congress (Ghent, 1924) had to deal with several serious subjects resulting from the War and the Revolution of 1917 in Russia. It also discussed other co-operative topics such as the Women's Committee and women's place in the co-operative movement, relations between different forms of co-operatives (Paper of Albert Thomas on relationship of agricultural co-operatives with consumer societies), the role of banks and the organisation of the first insurance co-operatives (Belgium).

But the main problem raised during that Congress was the one concerning the issue of the neutrality of co-operatives, which apparently had not been respected during the War. ICA therefore again raised the matter submitted and moved by the British Delegation (W.R. Rae). The

consequent resolution drew the attention of members to the infringements to political and religious neutrality during the War and demanded "to strictly observe the neutrality of the Alliance".

The problem of war and peace came up again during the 12th Congress (Stockholm, 1927) where debates revealed for the first time a gap in ideology and positions between delegations from Western countries and that of Soviet side. Two texts for a resolution on peace were proposed and moved, one from the British Co-operative Union and the English Women's Guild and the other from the Soviet side. After debates, both the texts were rejected, although a third version was carried based on the original British proposal amended by the Central Committee.

The approved resolution recognized "that the fundamental purpose of Co-operation is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth, without distinction of colour, race or creed". It also called upon "fraternity and mutual aid" and "urged Co-operative Movements of all countries to promote, by all means in their power, free intercourse between the peoples of every land". The Congress also asked all co-operative organisations to declare themselves definitely committed against war. All the same, "they should make known to their National Government their hostility to all policies, economic and militarist, which may provoke war or raise barriers to the realisation of the co-operative programmes".

The text of the resolution was for the first time quite radical, not only as far as the wording was concerned, but also from an ideological point of view. Mention "of a Co-operative Commonwealth without distinction of colour, race or creed", had advanced by more than twenty years the UN Declaration of Human Rights, adopted after the Second World War (1948), and re-affirmed the unity of the international co-operative movement and enhanced ICA's role as a "Peace – Watcher".

As from the 13th Congress (Vienna, 1930) and until the 15th (Paris, 1937), the international co-operative movement began to experience crucial political problems and to feel the impact of new economic situations. To the ideological particularities of co-operatives in the socialist countries of Europe, the shake occurred in the field of neutrality following the Fascist outbreaks in Italy, the political persecutions in Hungary and in Ukraine, the Russian and the Georgian famine, the growth of trusts and cartels and the Spanish situation, were added new conditions of the international economy which had an immediate effect on the identity and on the methods of working of co-operatives.

At the 11th Congress of Stockholm (1927) the question as whether the co-operative system would continue to be attached to the Rochdale principles and practices was already raised. The report of Albin Johanson's (Sweden) in 1927 tried to reply. The future policy and activities of the Alliance were then put on the table for discussion during the Congress of 1930. Equally important and subsequent topics were raised, discussed and highlighted, on such topics as the review of the Rochdale principles (1937), the place of co-operation in different economic systems (Report of Vaino Tanner, Finland), co-operation and the planned economy and the need for ICA to re-clarify the basic principles and practices of the Co-operative Movement (1937) and more importantly the role of the international co-operation in present-day economic development. As a matter of fact, the economic recession which followed the economic crises of 1929-1931 had pushed governments to increase their executive power and to impose strict regulations on industrial and commercial activities, while trusts and cartels created new and negative conditions for economic relations. To this external and adverse political and economic environment which prevailed during this time in Europe and other parts of the world, ICA was experiencing its own structural, ideological and operational difficulties due to the variety and differences of the co-operative traditions of its main European member organisations. The organisation therefore had to struggle at the same time and in parallel to the redefinition of its neutrality, the condemning of the Fascist regimes and the revision of the co-operative principles, while it went on in sustaining efforts in

favour of peace and disarmament. However, it was difficult for ICA during that critical period to work out and put forward an adapted strategy to the new conditions co-operative policy, economic and trade. The struggle seemed to be limited rather to the ideological ground.

The resolution on peace and disarmament of the 14th Congress (London, 1934) and the bold debates on two proposals for a resolution, one proposed by the Central Committee and the other by the Soviet Delegation, reflected the inherent difficulties of naming enemies of peace and ways to react to those who menace it so as to enable co-operatives to avoid further prejudices and damages. The ICA finally adopted a resolution which stated: "Faithful to its traditions, to its principles and to the (previous) resolutions of its Congresses, the ICA once again declares its indissoluble attachment to the cause of peace and disarmament". But this time, the resolution was not addressed to governments or to the general public or to the people of all nations as had been the case in previous resolutions probably because all the above external receivers were no longer entrusted by the organisation. The text of the resolution further noted the underlying members' duty and responsibility to defend the cause of peace: "(...ICA) counts with complete confidence on all co-operators in every country of the world.."

On the eve of the Second World War and as the general political and economic situation became increasingly difficult, ICA made a particular effort, within its member organisations and outside the movement, to defend the interests of the co-operative system while associating itself officially as from 1936 to the work of the Universal Peace Campaign.

The 15th Congress (Vienna, 1937) through its resolution on 'co-operative financial policy needed for member organisations to cope with current economic conditions' drew "the attention of the various national movements to the necessity of maintaining the strictest control of the financial development of their societies and federations.... in order that they may continue to provide the greatest guarantee for the security of the savings of the members, and also that they may demonstrate to the world at large the impregnable character of our co-operative economic system". In order to ensure the control of finances and therefore the independence of co-operative movements, the resolution "recommends the co-operative organisations of credit and of production, in the towns and in villages, to create Central Co-operative Banks which would be the supreme financial organisations of the co-operative movement and would also be able to assure its financial independence".

Upon adoption of the new Co-operative Principles (1937), ICA had made a substantial Declaration on the significance of the co-operative economy which should always be read together with the text itself of the Co-operative Principles and alongside those texts concerning World Peace. Among the six points of that Declaration, some continue to have a tremendous importance for the co-operative identity, the co-operative values and the economic advantages: Point II : "It (the co-operative economy) dethrones capital from the dictatorship of economic life and puts in its place the association of mankind on the basis of mutual and active participation in the enterprise". Point III: "It provides... an access of independence to the wage-earner consumer". Point VI: "It provides a solution of the problems of employment, wages and general conditions of labour on the highest plane of advantage to the employees...".

The resolution on peace therefore, as proposed by the Central Committee, reaffirmed the conviction that the co-operative system of economy "furnishes the truest basis of international understanding and the surest guarantee of Universal Peace" to which, as it is been said, ICA had associated since the previous year (1936).

The 16th Congress convened in Zurich in 1946, addressed several important questions. In those post-war euphoric days, things seemed to be easier and opinions quite optimistic. Special papers

were presented, such as the one of Prof. de Brouckère (France) on several co-operative topics (agricultural co-operatives, attitudes of the public authorities towards co-operation and vice-versa, relief operation activities to the victims of war, the role of co-operation in economic and social restoration, housing co-operatives and re-employment of the working people, the organisation of the international trade, the co-operative unity and the International Bank).

The resolution on peace condemned the forces of aggression, deplored "all forms of economic nationalism which endanger the future peace of the world and of the destiny and lives of millions of men, women and children" and claimed support to "the ideals of equity, justice and freedom". The resolution reaffirmed the Congresses' faith and firm belief that international co-operative solidarity could defend liberty, democracy and just and lasting peace.

The 17th Congress (Prague, 1948) adopted a resolution on peace which, besides condemning the "barbarism of war, with its repercussions on the work of material and cultural progress of humanity", declared support to the United Nations Organisation and appealed to co-operators of the world to defend peace in collaboration with trade unions and other democratic organisations; to work for the development of the Co-operative Movement and for the independence of nations as well, in close collaboration between all people. Reconciliation and understanding with people was also sought. The careful wording of the text used for presenting the main ideological and economic topics responds to the economic and social problems of great interest to ICA and its membership, such as : "free and equal access to the raw material resources of the world for the maintenance of a lasting peace", position taken on co-operation, on nationalisations and conflicting approaches, the future policy and programme of ICA, promotion of co-operation (principles and practices), collaboration with the United Nations system, relations between co-operation and the State, joint enterprises of national co-operative wholesales. It was the obvious wish and hope of ICA that economic causes of conflicts become extinct.

The 18th Congress (Copenhagen, 1951) had pursued previous ICA concern about development and structural changes of the world economy, co-operative policy and programmes of ICA, relations again between co-operatives and the public authorities particularly in less-developed countries, promotion of co-operation in lesser developed countries, international co-operative trade, co-operation and health, improvement of management within co-operatives, full support and close collaboration with the UN Agencies (ILO, FAO and others). The Resolution on Peace adopted (the result of combined text from several proposals) was primarily and clearly putting the accent on economic and co-operative development (such as production, distribution of the resources, monopolies and cartels), collaboration in the implementing the programmes and the principles of the Charter of UN, and the international control of all types of armaments, including atomic bombs.

The 19th Congress (Paris, 1954) discussed and needed to take decisions on two groups of topics: one was the progress made in promoting co-operatives and elaborating policies and programmes, and the other was the worrying arms race, once again, in the context of the two adversary ideological blocs of countries. ICA and its membership was called by the resolution on peace to ask the Governments for control and inspection of arms production, reminded the need to abolish poverty and insisted on the coordination of economic policies, on employment of all human and material resources, on a steady economic expansion which would offer to the common people the prospect with peace and abundance. It became clear to all that as from 1954 and onwards, co-operative and world economic development would be pursued in the conditions of the "Cold War" period marked by fanaticism and hostility.

Worthy of mention too is the distressing intervention of two Japanese delegates (S. Tanaka and A. Aoki), as they related the catastrophes related to the dropping of the atomic bomb in Japan. They

proposed “No more Hiroshima” - an immediate cessation of hydrogen bomb experiments, the prohibition of production of atomic weapons and an effective international control of atomic energy for peaceful only uses.

The 20th Congress (Stockholm, 1957) witnessed a considerable widening of ICA's concern and discussions on co-operative development and on new opportunities for further activities. The report of the Central Committee presented an account of ICA's work during the previous years and opened debate on the future of ICA's policy. External political events in Eastern countries had provoked some reactions from the West, but the danger of an Alliance splitting was only just avoided. The presentation of four basic technical papers on the promotion of the co-operation in lesser-developed countries, international co-operative trade, co-operation in world economic development and peace, and on management within co-operatives engaged debates and discussions. For the first time, there was a split in the membership on peace which resulted in two separate resolutions. This was not surprising at all given that that peace relates directly to war, armaments and to discussions about them which now occurred between countries was now the responsibility of the UN, seconded only by international organisations such as ICA. Economic and social activities of the co-operative system leading to peace, and peace and the development of co-operatives continued to be of ICA's exclusive concern and interest supported by the UN agencies (ILO, FAO and others).

The text of what was to become the usual resolution on peace and war, made for the first time an appeal “to the UN to adopt a more courageous and decisive attitude towards any Government member which, in violation of the Charter of the UN, may deny to its own or to any other people, basic human rights”. The Congress urged also the governments for “the immediate cessation of the invention, manufacture and testing of these weapons”.

The text of the second resolution on the ‘Place and the Role of Co-operation in the World Economic Development’ was of a more technical, economic and social character. It stated point by point about the scientific research and the technical progress made in the history of the mankind. This progress requires co-operation and in order to be full effective, existing barriers at national level should be reduced, if not abolished. The Congress asked the ICA to work for the introduction in all economic systems the free and voluntary form of co-operatives given that co-operation is involved and takes part in the promotion of the technical progress. As a conclusion to the above statements, the Congress expressed its unanimous conviction that peace and security could contribute in the success of co-operative programme if nations were convicted to open their borders.

During the debates on the resolution on peace and war, S. Nakabayashi, of the Japanese Delegation, reported on the terrible consequences and memories of the bombing in Japan. “Even 10 years later, its dreadful influence still remains and we are very much afraid of the effects of the explosion of these bombs in some peaceful city of your countries”, he said.

The 21st Congress (Lausanne, 1960) had further pushed the technical issues of the programmes of promoting co-operatives in developing countries, including close collaboration with the UN and its specialised agencies, and the role of governments in supporting the promotion of co-operatives in those countries in which already ICA had started working with the assistance of some national co-operative organizations, as was the case of the Kooperativa Forbundet (Sweden). Also proposed was the establishment of an ICA Regional Office and launching several technical assistance projects which had already been discussed during the Asian Conference of Kuala Lumpur (1958).

The resolution on peace, the text of which was proposed by the Central Committee, was brief and precise. It declared the conviction of the Congress that conditions should be created so that any

will to aggression be weakened. It also urged the resumption of negotiations for a general agreement on universal and complete disarmament, and called for the increase of technical and financial resources for assisting the newly emancipated people in their economic and social progress. The Congress also emphasised the need for "the dignity and the independence of those nations which have recently attained self-government". Some eight ICA specialised bodies, committees and associations had on this occasion reported to the Congress about their activities.

The inaugural address of ICA President, Dr. M. Bonow, as did the discussions of at the 22nd Congress (Bournemouth, U.K., 1963) described the political and economic conditions existing at the time of decolonisation, ICA's concern on women's place in co-operation and long-term programmes and the conditions needed for their realisation. It also focused on the possible solutions offered by co-operative development to various, old and new, economic systems.

The establishment of a special committee to strengthen the co-operative movement against international monopolies, to promote co-operative processing industries in developing countries and to define duties towards the young people were sought through the adoption of resolutions. As for peace, the Congress welcomed the treaty banning nuclear tests, greeted efforts to prevent thermo-nuclear war and stressed the need for more productive resources being devoted, not to armaments, but "to the constructive tasks of banishing hunger and economic insecurity". Six specialised committees and one association produced their technical reports on their work for the information of the Congress.

During the important 23rd Congress (Vienna, 1966), the resolution on peace proposed by the Central Committee seemed to reflect ICA's belief that under the UN progress had been made to bring peace to the world. It also echoed the terms of the previous resolution on Peace (1963) on the need reduce hunger, economic insecurity and the risk of an imminent famine whose dark shadows were already over the world.

The main achievement of the Congress was the adoption of the revised and new six Co-operative Principles, the Report on the Technical Assistance, the Report on Structural Changes in Co-operation, so that, by applying the conclusions of the study on this subject among 19 countries (Europe, N. America and Asia), member organisations could better respond to profound "alterations" and changes of the economic and social situation.

Specialised bodies and committees reported also to the Congress about their activities.

The Resolution on Peace of the 24th Congress (Hamburg, 1969) was probably the most ever discussed due to the proposed amendments from delegations from both the East and West. The Congress gave priority to the process of economic development and of social progress and reaffirmed that co-operation promotes harmony between all races and peoples. It also recognised the work achieved by the UN and asked the organisation to strengthen its efforts to reduce persisting tension. The member organisations of ICA were asked to contribute to disarmament and to work for raising standards of living, the elimination of hunger, and for economic security. Debates were engaged too on important theoretical and practical issues, such as contemporary co-operative democracy and co-operatives in the Socialist countries.

The 25th Congress (Warsaw 1972) went through a considerable number of important topics connected with international economic and social problems and the resulting in growing ideological positions and differences displayed during the sessions of the Congress by several national delegations. Debates on the crucial problems of co-operative identity and development were followed-up by and reflected in a large number of resolutions proposed mostly by delegations of Eastern countries. The text of the Resolution on Peace itself, long and detailed, was focused on

threats to peace and warnings about peaceful negotiations to settle any differences among nations under the UN's initiatives and responsibility. However, mention was made, as it was done in Resolutions on Peace of previous Congresses, of the 'Spirit of Co-operation' which should be observed by all.

The two main reports referred to multinational corporations and to the Co-operative Movement on the one hand and on the other, to the problems of technical assistance for co-operatives in developing countries. It was decided that another ICA Regional Office be established in Africa, while ICA's President (Dr. M. Bonow) was elected as the first President of COPAC. The concern of the Congress about the role of co-operation in economic and social development, international trade, co-operative housing and education, trade unions and youth, was shared unanimously by delegations in spite of long discussions and even disputes, without however dissident clashes and voting. Resolutions were also voted and declarations made in support to Bangladesh and in condemning military dictatorships (Greece).

Further collaboration between co-operatives was proposed to the 26th Congress (Paris, 1976) by the Soviet delegation, while technical assistance matters, tourism, and women and co-operatives, retained the attention of all. The Congress also decided the creation of an International Co-operative University.

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

The Resolution on Peace adopted by the 27th Congress (Moscow, 1980) curiously did not made any express mention of co-operation and its role towards world peace and the like. Brief and concise, it confirmed Congress's belief to the peaceful co-existence, insisted on UN authority for promoting lasting peace and while referring to peace resolutions of previous Congresses, it acclaimed the UN's "constructive programming for peace and international co-operation".

However, other technical, economic and social subjects were widely discussed and the views and positions of the Congress were reflected in some 12 resolutions including the most interesting themes of 'Co-operatives in the year 2000' reported by Dr Laidlaw (Canada), collaboration between co-operatives, co-operation of ICA with other organisations, the role of ICA in the consolidation of the co-operative movement, ICA and technical assistance, women, the disabled and others.

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

But the agenda of the Congress was very heavy, as various other subjects were reported and had to be discussed and decided upon as well. Worthy of mention are the activities of the first three ICA Regional Offices: Asia (N. Delhi), East and West Africa, through which ICA was implementing its growing programme of technical assistance. Through these offices, ICA continued to promote its relationship with the UN and other NGOs, organised the First African Ministerial Co-operative Conference (Botswana, 1984), elaborated ICA's first work programme on the Co-operative

Development Decade (1985-1995) which addressed global problems and included preparing case studies on changes in co-operatives.

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

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

The 30th Congress (Tokyo, 1992), the first Congress organised outside of Europe, emphasised the importance of the co-operative movements of all other continents and countries. It discussed two important reports, one on 'Co-operative Values in a Changing World' introduced by Professor Sven Ake Book (Sweden), head of the 12 member Advisory Committee of International Experts, and the other on the environment and the sustainable development. During the Congress the Japanese co-operative movement made an extensive presentation on their co-operative approach to the concern on environment and its problems. ³

There was no proposal of any specific resolution on peace. Instead, the well-known recommendation on Basic Global Values of Co-operatives, Sustainable Development and the Implementation of the New ICA Structure and ICA's workplan for the coming years, were largely discussed and unanimously supported and agreed upon by all delegations.

The Centennial Congress convened in Manchester (31st, 1995) was particularly important as far as its agenda was concerned. Historical was the report on Co-operative Principles for the Challenges of the 21st century, introduced by Professor Ian MacPherson (Canada), who headed the Drafting and Consultative Committees.⁴ After the message from the Secretary-General of the UN, Lars Marcus, President of ICA, made a Statement on what ICA was and what it had accomplished. Other important subjects were been discussed including a paper on the Sustainable Human Development and the Reports of the Global Women's Committee, of the Research Committee and the topic of youth and co-operation.⁵

The long text of the Resolution on Peace proposed and moved by the Japanese Consumers Co-operative Union, recalled ICA's rules about "International Peace and Security", the resolution of the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen (1995) about "reducing the gaps between rich and poor nations", as well as Resolutions of UN and of other international bodies about disarmament. Finally, it called upon co-operators "to continue to creating a climate for world peace through the mobilisation of the public opinion".

The Resolution on Peace of the last General Assembly of ICA (Quebec, 1999) proposed and moved again by the Japanese Consumers Co-operative Union, summed up previous understandings and decisions taken at and by various UN fora in regard to peace and to menaces to peace, highlighting the existing risks of a war. It encouraged co-operators to use human and material resources for constructive purposes, urging them to ask the governments of their respective countries "to pursue ways for peaceful settlements of conflicts".

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

Also worthy of note were ICA's specific and important advisory services provided to its member organizations in Central and Eastern Europe following the economic and political transformations in the region starting as from the end of '80s. Technical consultations, conferences, seminars and short-term missions were organised together with member organisations, about restructuring, institution building and transition to conditions of the market economy. Among these activities, the most significant were several seminars organized jointly with ILO in Poland (1989 and 1990), two conferences convened in Geneva (1990 and 1992), a Seminar on Co-operative Legislation hosted in Prague (1990) in collaboration with ILO. and the French Co-operative Movement and the elaboration of case studies concerning conditions of transition in national co-operative organisations in Poland, Estonia – Latvia – Lithuania, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania.⁶ ICA also assisted ILO in studying the existing co-operative legislation and in advising many countries of the region on amending or proposing new legal texts adapted to the conditions of privatisation (Soviet Union 1988, Poland 1990, the Czech Republic 1990 and 1991, Mongolia 1989 and 1990, Lithuania 1993 and others).

National co-operative organisations in Poland and of Bulgaria too managed to avoid total collapse of their structure due to the personal recommendations and useful advice (1990 and 1991) of Lars Marcus, President of ICA, the World Bank and ILO in regard to the sharp reduction of the administrative structure, without unduly wasting human and property resources.⁷

By these early initiatives and activities in Central and Eastern Europe, ICA contributed to the peaceful and smooth restructuring of important member organisations, facilitating their transition to the market economy conditions.

III. Concluding Remarks

ICA's ideological declarations, resolutions and concern in supporting peace, were transformed in concrete action and became integral part of its co-operative development programmes for almost one century. As a matter of fact, ICA was the first international organisation which put on an equal basis of interest peace and co-operative development. To its initial declarations and concern about political and religious neutrality, it added relevant proposals on resolving national differences by arbitration. Further important was its struggle against monopolies which prevent mechanisms of competition and against the raising of barriers to free trade and the use of raw materials by all. Therefore, by condemning or avoiding such conflict situations generated by and within the capitalist economy, ICA built up its own and distinctive system of ethic values and principles applicable in form of guiding rules by its member organisations, societies and enterprises.

With the assistance of such institutional, egalitarian and democratic instruments, ICA managed to create, to co-ordinate and to promote new productive, labour and consumer conditions and relations, profiting of the existing peace but, at the same time, contributing from its side to the universal and lasting peace.

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

ICA's role in regard to peace was much more amplified before and after the Second World War, under the well-known conditions of the rise of Fascism and Nazism which caused millions of victims and destroyed important material resources and productive infrastructure. But ICA, backed by its member organisations, expressed its determination to go through with the establishment of the universal peace, pre-requisite of any expansion of the co-operative movement around the world. In its tasks ICA was also supported by and has itself supported United Nations action, whose primary objectives and concern is among others, the Right of peoples to Development and the Right to Peace, the peaceful settlement of conflicts, and the control of armaments.⁹

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

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

Endnotes

¹ The most documented and relevant study related to Peace is Dr Rita Rhodes' book entitled *The International Co-operative Alliance during War and Peace*, special centennial edition, ICA, Geneva, 1995, 423 p. W.P. Watkins' books *Co-operative Principles Today and Tomorrow*, Manchester 1896, 168 p. and *International Co-operative Alliance (1895 – 1970)*, London, 1970, 400 p. display historical facts and data about peace and co-operatives. Equally informative and well documented is the study of Alexander I. Krasheninnikov *International Co-operative Movement*, Moscow, 337 p

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

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

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

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

⁶ Legal texts concerning co-operatives of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which participated in the Seminar of Prague (1990) as well as the Proceedings were collected by ICA (Ms Aline Pawlowska) and I.L.O. (Prof. D. Mavrogiannis) and published in two volumes, Geneva, 1991. The Case Studies concerning eight countries of Central Europe were published by ICA in the Series of Studies and Reports, nos 20 to 25, Geneva, 1992 – 1999. In regard to the Second ICA International Conference on Co-operative Property and Privatisation (Geneva, 7-8 September 1992), see the Proceedings (Presentations), ICA Geneva, 1992, 145 p.- See a summarized account of the ICA activities in favour of its member – organizations of the region in the *Journal of Co-operative Studies*, Special Centennial Issue, no 84, Dionysos Mavrogiannis, "Services to Central and Eastern Europe", p. 48-53.

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

⁸ See the various statements, views and comments of the ILO constituents on the proposal for a new Recommendation on Co-operatives, the Report of the ad hoc Committee, ILO Conference, 89th Session, Geneva 2001, no 18.

⁹ UN Declaration on the Right to Development, A/RES/41/128 of 4 December 1986. Article 7 prescribes that "all nations should promote the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security". See also UN Resolution A/RES/41/133 providing for a "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States". See, on the other hand, U.N. Resolution about the Right of Peoples to Peace, A/RES/39/11 of 12 November 1984. Similar Declarations and Resolutions on the Right to Development and to Peace are adopted by UN up to the end of the century. Furthermore, see specific UN Reports and Resolutions on the Role of Co-operatives, adopted periodically, in collaboration with UN Agencies, ICA and other Organisations.

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