

R E P O R T

of the

**7TH INTER-UNIVERSITY NATIONAL
DEBATING CONTEST ON COOPERATION**

held on

January 12, 1967

Committee for Co-operative Training
(National Co-operative Union of India)
34-South Patel Nagar,
New Delhi.

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I. Introduction

The Committee for Cooperative Training of the National Cooperative Union of India has been sponsoring inter-collegiate debating competitions on Cooperation for the last four years. Prior to 1963-64, these competitions were sponsored by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation (Department of Cooperation) for three years. According to the scheme, the debating competition is held at two stages; first, at the inter-collegiate level in which a team from each of the constituent colleges, affiliated colleges and faculties of the Universities are eligible to participate and second, at the inter-university or national level, in which the successful teams from the universities as had earlier held the inter-collegiate debates, are eligible to participate.

The first five national debates were held in Delhi in collaboration with the University of Delhi and Delhi University Planning Forum. During the year 1965-66, the national debate was held for the first time outside Delhi, in the Banaras Hindu University as a part of the silver jubilee celebrations of the Commerce Faculty of the University. This year the National Debating Contest, which was the seventh in the series, was held by the Committee for Cooperative Training on 12-1-1967 in the amphi-

theatre of the Ferguson College in collaboration with the University of Poona.

At the university level, debates were held on one of the three subjects mentioned below :

- (i) Only, consumers cooperatives organised in a big way can save the consumers from exploitation;
- (ii) Cooperatives are the only suitable agency for the amelioration of the conditions of backward classes;
- (iii) The only antidote to the growth of monopolistic tendencies is the expansion of the cooperative sector.

The last named subject was chosen for the Inter-University Debate. The debate was inaugurated by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, chairman of the Committee for Cooperative Training and the Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University.

In his inaugural address he mentioned that the main purpose which a debate like this should fulfil was to induce large numbers of the more intelligent among the university men and women to give real consideration to the basic aspect of cooperative philosophy. Earlier, Shri P.R. Dubhashi, Member-Secretary, Committee for Cooperative Training welcomed the participants to the National Debate.

52 students, including 10 girl students from 26 universities participated in the debate which was presided over by Dr. D. K. Garde, Head of the Department, Political Science and Public Adminis-

tration, Poona University. The following constituted the panel of judges :

1. Shri V. Subramanian, Registrar, Cooperative Societies, Maharashtra.
2. Shri N. A. Mavalankar, Retd. Principal of the Commerce College, Poona.
3. Prof. P. N. Driver, Ex-Director, National Cooperative College and Research Institute, Poona.

As adjudged by the judges, the debate was of a high academic order and the views expressed by the students not only represented the knowledge gained from books and reports but also gave evidence of their insight into the problem. The exposition of the subject on both sides was scholarly based on a comprehensive analysis of the proposition debated upon. In general, the speakers in favour of the motion based their talks on the principles of economics, political democracy and cooperation, while the opposition had the usual advantage of a scathing criticism of the operational weakness of the cooperative movement. Both sides spiced their exposition with colourful epithets.

The National scroll for the team merit was won by the University of Bombay. The first three prizes went to the following :—

First prize — Km. Shirin Anklesaria of Gujarat University.

Second prize—Km. Royana Sawheney of Delhi University.

Third prize —Km. T. Gurushree of Bangalore University & Shri C. M. Korde of Bombay University.

Three consolation prizes of Rs. 50 each were also given to the following :—

1. Mr. W. Verdes of Karnatak University.
2. Km. Khurshid Wadia of Indore University.
3. Mr. B. Ranganathan of Madras University.

In terms of the participation by the Universities as well as the students, the response has been the most encouraging this year despite the disturbed conditions at some of the Universities. A comparative statement of the participation during the last four years is given in the table below :

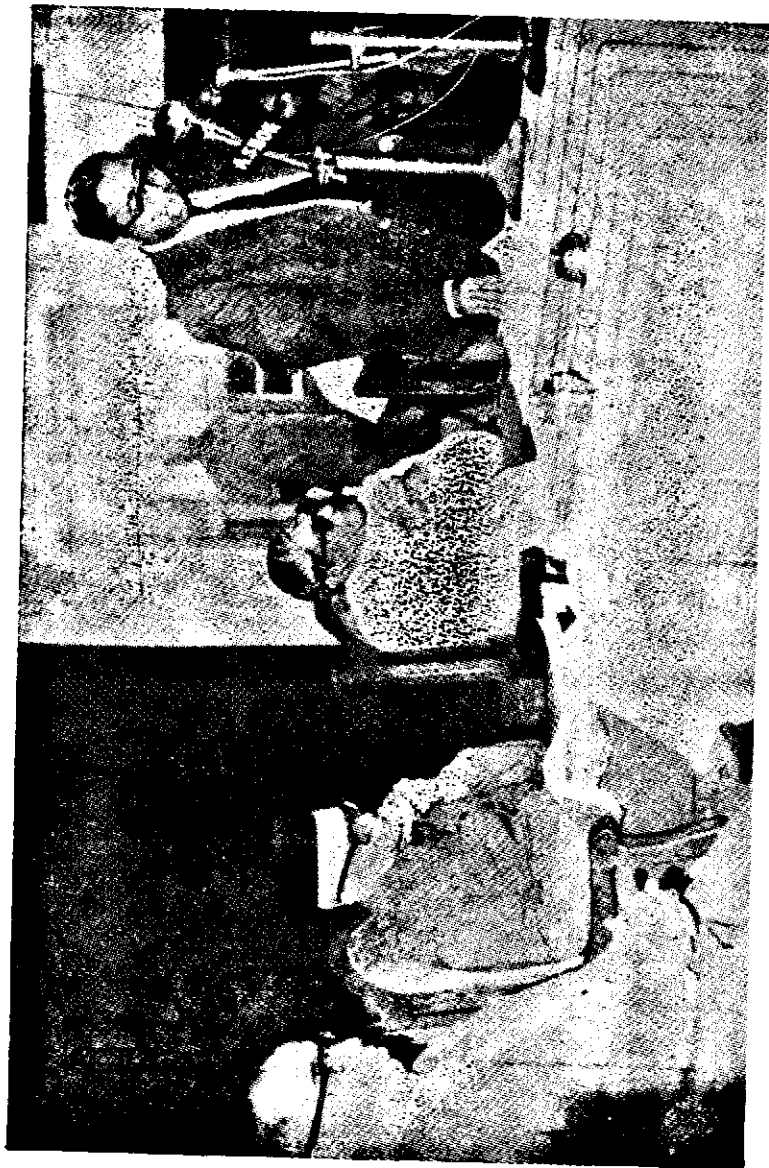
| Year : | Number of Universities | participant Students |
|---------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1963-64 | 21 | 41 |
| 1964-65 | 22 | 40 |
| 1965-66 | 26 | 49 |
| 1966-67 | 26 | 52 |

The growing participation of the Universities in the national debate is indicative of the greater interest the university youth of the country are evincing in the development of the cooperative sector.

In the chapters that follow, we have reproduced the speeches made in the brief inaugural as well as the concluding sessions and also a gist of the points

made out by the participants in the debate for and against the proposition. List of the participants and a copy of the scheme of the debating competition is given in the annexure.

It is hoped that the publication will stimulate the interest and enthusiasm of the persons concerned in the cooperative field as well as the Universities, specially of those belonging to the younger generation.



Shri P. R. Dubbashi, Member-Secretary Committee for Coop. Training, welcoming the Students and the Guests

2. Inaugural Function

Welcome Speech by Shri P. R. Dubhashi Member,
Secretary, Committee for Cooperative Training
(National Cooperative Union of India.)

*Hon. Vice-Chancellor, Principal of Ferguson College,
Poona, Distinguished Judges, young cooperators and friends:—*

It gives me a great pleasure to welcome you on behalf of the Committee for Cooperative Training of the National Cooperation Union of India to this All India Inter-University debate on Cooperation. This is the seventh debate of its kind in the series. The first five debates were held at Delhi under the auspices of the Delhi University. It was only last year that we moved outside Delhi to Banaras at the invitation of Banaras Hindu University where the debate was held as a part of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Commerce Faculty of B. H. U. I think it is extremely appropriate that this debate is being held this year under the auspices of the University of Poona, particularly because, as you know, the Vice-Chancellor of this University also happens to be the president of the National Cooperative Union of India and the chairman of the Committee for Cooperative Training.

A word may be said about the purpose of this debate. For quite some last few years, the Com-

mittee, the National Cooperative Union of India and the Govt. of India have all been feeling that it is necessary and important to interest the youth of this country, particularly the University youth, in the cooperative movement. The subject of co-operation has been introduced in a number of academic courses in the universities. More recently, cooperative consumers stores have been opened on the campus of the universities and this particular debate is also with the same purpose of involving the youth in the cooperative movement. I am glad to say that this Debate has evoked a magnificent response year after year from the universities too and this year, despite the disturbed conditions in many universities, particularly in the northern part of the country, as many as 28 universities have taken part at the inter-collegiate university debates. As you know, this debate is held in two stages. In first stage, there is inter-collegiate competition in every University and then the successful team, the best team at the University level is deputed to participate in the national debate. This year 28 Universities organised this debate at their own level and today in the national debate we have teams from as many as 26 universities with 52 participants—41 boys and 11 girls and this is indeed an extremely heartening response. At the University level, we had suggested three subjects for this debate :

- (i) Only consumers' cooperatives organised in a

Prof. D. R. Gadgil, inaugurating the debate



- big way can protect the consumer;
- (ii) It is only the cooperative movement which is a suitable agency for amelioration of the conditions of the backward classes;
 - (iii) Only the expansion of the cooperative sector can be antidote to the growth of monopolistic tendencies in the economy;

Now the last subject has been chosen for the Inter-University debate. According to the procedure for the national debate, the subject will first be introduced by one of the teams selected by lot and Dibrugarh University is fortunate in taking precedence in introducing the subject. After the subject is introduced, the pros and cons will, no doubt, be discussed by the teams that follow. Before the sound and fury of this debate starts, and I am quite sure you are very anxious for it, I think the participants would like to derive some inspiration from our eminent Vice-Chancellor.

May I, therefore, request him kindly to inaugurate the debate.

Inaugural Speech by Prof. D. R. Gadgil President,
National Cooperative Union of India and Vice-
Chancellor, Poona University :

Friends,

It is a matter of convention that occasions like these are inaugurated and, I suppose, it is a matter of protocol that inauguration comes to the lot of people like Vice-Chancellors and, in a sense, therefore, I am functioning in an ex-officio capacity. However, as the secretary of the CCT has indicated, I have also another function, so that before formally inaugurating, I suppose, it is proper that I should add to the words of welcome of the secretary of the CCT—my own welcome to you in my double capacity, the capacity of Vice-Chancellor of the host University, and the capacity of the chairman of the organisation which has extended the invitation to you to come here and participate in the debate and which you so kindly have accepted. I, therefore, welcome you and thank you for this response on your part.

I do not think it necessary that you require any words of guidance or advice. I am sure, as University Students who have obviously given some thought to the subject under discussion, you do not want guidance in any particular. I may, however, add to what the secretary has said, a couple of sentences regarding what we, the adult cooperators in the country, consider to be the function of the organised debate like this. I personally feel, and I have always expressed the opinion that for the co-

operative sector to succeed in a real sense there are two essential requirements. One is that the sector should be efficient, that cooperative business should be conducted in a business-like manner and proved, in economic terms, at least as worthy of support as any other economic activity. The second and equally important requirement, is that it should be imbued with the cooperative spirit. The second requirement is a requirement which has to be translated, so to say, in a number of practical applications and this, in my opinion, is of the greatest importance. During the last few years we have fortunately made the transition from cooperation being merely a matter of propagation and being merely a matter of belief to its being a business but in some respects the transition has been a little too successful i.e. it is being looked upon almost too exclusively as a business and if we think in terms of cooperation as an agency for transforming society for building up a cooperative commonwealth, and cooperatives being the constituents as well as the agencies for such sector, then I think, this main business of understanding the full implications of the application of the cooperative spirit in individual businesses as well as in the total economic and social life, is an extremely important matter and for such understanding and working out the implication I believe, we have necessarily to look out to university people. It is when university men and women, not only practice cooperation and learn the business efficiency but

also give deep thought to what is required in terms of patterns of behaviour that are accepted in terms of valued judgements and frames, you could think in terms of the possibility of cooperative commonwealth being realised in this country and the main purpose, the main objective which a debate like this should, in my opinion, fulfil is that of inducing large numbers of the more intelligent among university men and women to give real consideration to this basic aspect of cooperative philosophy.

I suppose you will have realised I have perhaps already transgressed the time given to me and I should not set a bad example to you of transgressing the time limit of speakers. Therefore, without any more ado I shall declare formally this debating competition inaugurated.

3. Resume of the Debate

As mentioned earlier, the subject taken up for debate in the national debating contest was 'The only antidote to the growth of monopolistic tendencies is the expansion of cooperative sector.'

Analysing the adverse effects of monopolistic tendencies, the students speaking for the motion said that monopoly had led to the concentration of wealth and power in a few hands. Monopoly had affected the Indian economy adversely and had made its development lop-sided. The poor were becoming poorer and the rich richer. The capitalistic class was, as a whole, responsible for the depersonalisation of the economic and social process and lacked the sense of social responsibility. Monopolistic pattern placed material considerations above human values and was infested with graft and corruption.

In order to counteract the defects of monopolistic tendencies, it was necessary to choose a system which recognised human values and served the social purpose. Cooperation which was not actuated by the profit motives, which valued the human-being more than his capital, which was based on the principles of democracy, which believed in equality, and which was neutral in religion

as well as politics was, therefore, the only system which could check undue and harmful influences of the merchant princes that were heading the monopolies.

Answering charges of failure against the cooperative movement, they pointed out that although there was room for improvement, no movement for that purpose was without faults and people in a democratic endeavour had of necessity to learn from their mistakes. Charges of individual failures, stray cases of corruption and incompetency were essentially the results of the human material available in a certain country and could not be cited as something special in respect of cooperative movement. Examples of successful cooperative movement in foreign countries, as also of pockets of successful cooperatives in India, were cited to show that given the proper wherewithal, the cooperative movement in India could also reach the heights of efficiency desired of it.

Speakers against the motion emphasized that monopoly was not a problem at all in India. They stated that high prices in India were the natural outcome of the developing economy and if anyone was responsible for them, it was the government itself. The so-called monopolists of today were, in fact, small business men coming together in an association to protect themselves against the biggest of the monopolists viz., the State. Some argued that monopoly was not necessarily an evil, and

state monopolies were to a great extent essential for public good.

They argued that in any case, the cooperative movement was not an antidote to the defects of monopoly. They felt that it was too disjointed to be called a 'cooperative' and too sluggish to be called a 'movement'. Cooperatives, they said, had become an instrument in the hands of a few for acquiring political power. They claimed that since political democracy in the country was in the dock, economic democracy through the medium of cooperatives was illusory. India, which had the tradition of having a strong individualistic outlook was opposed to any large-scale application of cooperative endeavour. Cooperative movement, they thought, was like a foreign plant which could never thrive in the Indian climate. Whatever success a few cooperatives like the Amul Dairy had achieved, was due to huge financial assistance provided by foreign countries. A point was made out that monopoly was the result of lack of competition and not the result of lack of cooperation. They advocated a free play of market forces and free enterprise to serve as an antidote to monopolistic tendencies. Others favoured a preferential licensing policy in favour of the small-scale enterprises to check the evils of monopoly. Still another speaker favoured the socialisation of the means of production as an effective check against monopoly.

II

Resume of individual arguments

Shri Bijay Kumar Khaitan of Dibrugarh University who opened the Debate argued that monopolistic tendencies, if not monopoly, were affecting the Indian economy adversely enough to make its development lopsided. He argued that monopoly could not be contained by legislation. Increasing application of the cooperative programme in the fields of both production and distribution only could balance the economy and check the spiralling prices.

Kumari Khurshid Wadia of Indore University championed the cause of cooperation and invited the attention of the audience to the truth about the poor man's lot today even after 20 years of independence. She elaborated on how the poor were becoming poorer and rich richer...She answered charges of failure of the cooperative movement by pointing out that no movement was without faults and that people in a democratic endeavour had, of necessity, to learn from their mistakes.

Shri Amitabha Das Gupta of Viswa Bharati went into the contents of 'Das Capital' and dialectical materialism to foresee a disaster for the Indian economy unless the present monopolistic tendencies are nipped in the bud by diversification and transfer of production. He argued that cooperation

could bring about the desired change and lead to the de-monopolisation of our economy.

Shri Mirandaprabhu of Bombay University quoted extensively from the Monopoly Commission report to make out a case for stepping up cooperative enterprise and pleaded for legislative controls and expansion of the cooperative movement to counter-balance monopolistic trends.

Kumari N. Meera of Bangalore University took up cudgels against the monopolists who were behind the monopolistic pattern and held the monopolistic class, as a whole, responsible for the de-personalisation of the human personality. She described the capitalists as suffering from an allergy towards social responsibility. On such moral grounds she pleaded for a better place for cooperatives in the economy of the country.

Shri Verdes of Karnatak University went into the philosophy of cooperation to impress that cooperation was the only method of bringing morality nearer to industry. He pleaded that monopolistic propensities could be checked by cooperation which believed in decentralisation.

Kumari Krishna of Marathwada University while elaborating on the evils of monopoly held that only the seven principles of cooperation could save the country from the hands of the monopolists.

Shri Motilal of Indian Agricultural Research Institute denounced the monopolists and discussed the advantages of cooperative marketing to show how the gap between the consumer price and the producers' costs could be reduced in the field of agriculture.

Shri Vinod Pande of Vikram University made a point that the cooperatives could improve the lot of the poor without making the rich richer. He argued that cooperatives could build up a distinct form of economic organisation which could counteract graft and corruption so apparent in the monopolistic pattern, by placing human values above material considerations.

Shri Vijay Amin of Gujarat University elaborated the evils of monopoly evidenced in its opposition to new enterprises and indifference to techniques and the quality of production. If monopoly, he said, made profits it was in spite of these evils. He advocated the cause of cooperation as the only antidote to monopolistic tendencies.

Shri D. S. Thakur of Punjab Agricultural University made out a case for cooperatives. He cited the examples of countries where cooperation was a real force in the national economies. He claimed its adaptability under Indian conditions. He tried to further the cause of cooperation by emphasising its characteristic disassociation from politics and its impartiality between different ideologies and isms.

Shri Ranbir Krishan of Andhra University argued that between two extremes viz., competitive economy and socialism, cooperation was the only reconciling factor and, therefore, it should be given its desired place.

Shri Subrota Moitra of Jadavpur University took upon himself the task of answering the many criticisms levelled against the cooperatives. He succeeded in bringing home the point that individual failure, stray cases of corruption and incompetency, were the results of bad human material and should not, therefore, be cited as examples for deriding the movement. He cited examples in the field of sugar industry and dairy where the cooperatives had carved out for themselves a place of honour.

Kumari Joglekar of the host University of Poona welcomed her competitors from other universities. She devoted most of her time analysing the concept of monopoly and came to the conclusion that it not only led to the concentration of assets but also to the concentration of power both being dangerous to the national interests. She pleaded for a bigger slice for cooperation to counteract the evils of monopoly.

Shri Saktheeswaran of Madurai University described cooperation as a silent revolution which should, not only be an antidote to monopoly but could also act as a tonic for the survival of all that is human.

Shri Mohapatra of Utkal University gave the subject a new dimension by describing monopoly as the preservation of human nature in its primitive form. The system was, of course, suicidal in the modern age. He emphasized that the motion did not refer to India in particular and had a wider context. Cooperation, in all developed countries, had made strides and could be utilised in the rest of the world also, for counteracting the monopolistic tendencies.

Shri Rangachari of Delhi University, imparted the debate a lively sense of humour by describing the evolution of civilisation as from 'stone-age to the present stone-throwing age' and added that the present day set-up dominated by the monopolistic tendencies belonged to the latter age.

Shri V.K. Diwan of Ranchi University argued that no single method inclusive of legislative control could possibly be an antidote to monopoly. He held that cooperatives alone, which were not actuated by the profit motives, could possibly counteract monopoly which was based on the desire for maximization of profits.

Shri Srinath Reddy of Osmania University tried to prove that the cooperative method of organisation alone could afford to be self-contained enough to deal with credit, production, supply and distribution. It was best situated to substitute the present day production and trade enterprises.

Shri Thomas of Kerala University dubbed the

monopolists as commercial kings and dealt at length with their undue influence in the politics of the country. He made out a strong case for the cooperatives to check the undue and harmful influences of the merchant kings that were manning the monopolies.

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Speaking against the motion, Shri Om Parkash Modi of Dibrugarh University claimed that since political democracy was in the dock, the economic democracy through the medium of cooperatives was illusory. He referred to the lack of training and managerial efficiency in the field of cooperatives. He argued that India which had the tradition of a strong individualistic outlook was opposed to any large scale application of the cooperative principle.

Shri Nilamani Singh of Viswa Bharati University argued that monopoly was not a problem in so far as India was concerned. India, he said was not yet in the clutches of the capitalists. He attributed the high prices to expenditure being incurred by the Government on development projects.

Shri Chandrashekhar M. Korde of Bombay University criticised the cooperative movement by calling those that held the reigns of power in the cooperative sector as "wolves in sheeps' clothing". He quoted from the Monopoly Commission report which had expressed doubts on the capacity of cooperatives to contain monopoly. He argued that

economic problems could never be solved in isolation. He conceded a place for cooperatives in the field of agriculture. He however, pointed out that monopoly existed mostly in the field of industry which was not within the ability of the cooperatives to reach and control.

Km. Gurushree of Bangalore University made a point that monopoly came into being not for want of cooperation but due to lack of competition. She expressed a feeling that given the opportunity the cooperatives themselves might turn into a big monopoly which might be as harmful as the monopoly formed by the capitalists. She cited the examples of the consumer cooperatives displaying indifference to the consumers and their needs.

Km. Fernandes of Karnatak University defended monopolists of the day as small business men, forced into association to protect themselves against the biggest of the monopolists viz., the State, which according to her, is the biggest monopolist in India. She advocated free play of market forces and free enterprise to establish the ideal conditions of perfect competition.

Shri Udaishanker of Marathwada University accused the cooperatives as being instruments for acquiring political power. He drew a dismal picture of the day when cooperatives would develop into monopolies with devastating effects.

Shri Farooq of Aligarh University held that had cooperatives the ability to control industry, mono-

polies would not have grown into their present strength in Western Europe. He favoured a preferential licensing policy in favour of the small-scale industries to check the evils of monopoly.

Shri Mishra of Vikram University denounced cooperation as being an imported philosophy. He mentioned that it was an exotic plant in the Indian soil, which could never thrive. He accused the consumers' cooperatives as only interested in the controlled commodities and the Super Markets only in the goods for the aristocracy.

Km. Shirin Anklesaria of Gujarat University accused the Government of making a state monopoly on farming through the cooperative farming societies. She brought into focus the managerial inefficiency of the cooperatives. She asserted that the success of the Amul dairy was the result of foreign assistance. In fact, she said, we find in the Amul dairy more of cooperation with the foreign countries than with members. She characterised the cooperative movement as being too disjointed to be called a 'cooperative' and too sluggish to be called a 'movement.'

Km. Daphne D. Cruz of Madurai University derided the cooperatives as government-patronized agencies controlled by land-lords in the credit sector and by jealous office-bearers in the other sectors.

Km. Royra Sawheney of Delhi University argued that monopoly was not necessarily an evil

to be fought. She cited state monopolies as essential for public good and expressed scepticism about the role and effectiveness of cooperatives in such fields. In conclusion, she stated that the cooperatives were only theoretical democracies which ended up in being virtual autocracies.

Shri K. P. Patel of M. S. University, Baroda argued that it would be better to socialise the means of production than to depend on cooperatives, which could never muster strength enough to contain monopolists.

Shri Muralikrishnan Sharma of Osmania University advocated free trade in preference to cooperatives. He admitted that cooperatives had high ideals but argued that for the same reason they were not capable of facing the ruthless monopolists.

Last of the speakers against the motion, Shri Krishnan of Kerala University argued that cooperation was a movement forced on the people. It had no grass-roots and was, therefore, incapable of being used as a force to check monopolistic tendencies.

4. Concluding Session

Observations by Dr. D. K. Garde, Chairman of the Debate

“Next item on the agenda is observations by the Chairman. In view of the late hour, I would willingly compress them. But you will realise that this is a practical need so as to give some time to judges in order to come to a conclusion. I shall, therefore, make a few observations on the debate which you have witnessed so far. It has been a very pleasant experience, Mr Vice-Chancellor, to have this intellectual journey from Dibrugarh to Trivandrum. Although the order of the speakers was arrived at as a result of casting lot, the result of the lot has been through geographical consideration. We began with Dibrugarh and ended with Trivandrum. There have been 52 participants-11 of them women students-from all parts of India and it has been altogether a very enjoyable performance. Out of these, I discover that there were 24 post-graduate students, and I may say that since it is debate organised by the Committee for Cooperative Training, the different faculties in the Universities have admirably cooperated in bringing about the selection. There were 6 participants from the science Faculty, 3 from the Engineering Faculty

and 2 from the Faculty of medicine. You will, therefore, see that they represented not merely bookish knowledge but also gave evidence of insight and understanding. So far as I am concerned, I think, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention that one and all of them adhered to the time-limit prescribed, although I must say some of them might as well have said what they have said in a much shorter time. I am reminded of Disraeli, the British Prime Minister who said to a youngster, who wanted piece of advice on how to become an effective parliamentarian, "This party is only for the competitors," he said, "you should know when and how to do three things; one, stand up so that you are seen, two, speak up so that you are heard, and three, shut up so that you continue to remain friends with the audience". Most of them had prepared the subject well. They had obviously read reports-even some of the recent reports like the one of the Monopoly Enquiry Commission. It appears to me that they were familiar with economic conditions in India. Several of them underlined the outstanding success of the cooperative sugar factories in India and they also gave evidence of their acquaintance with economic developments in other lands, notably U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Their expression on the whole appeared to be satisfactory, although I feel, that since it was a debate, each of them might easily have reserved a minute or two of the time allotted

to them for meeting the points of the earlier speakers. In a debate you speak not for narration or description, but either to make a point or to meet a point. I think they would pay some attention to this in their future performance. The debate is possible only if the proposition is debatable; that means, if the proposition makes an extreme statement and the wording of the resolution was obviously devised so as to make this debate possible—Cooperative movement and the expansion of the cooperative sector being the only antidote to check monopolistic tendency. You cannot afford to strike a compromising note or say, what can be said on both sides. If you say that, you may be a friend of Edison, but you cannot be a good debator. Then, we had a good many sallies. I have just noted down some of the expressions that appeared to me to be striking enough, e.g. “We have travelled from the stone age to stone-throwing age”. Some referred to aggressive cooperators as “wolves in sheep’s clothing.” “Everything for one and none for all”, that is how the monopolies were criticised. And sometimes in one or two speeches, political challenges were thrown out. “Shall we be ruled by a handful of monopolies ?” “When Birla smiles, there will be sun shining on ten thousand houses and when Tata frowns, ministries will topple down.” One sister referred woefully to the fact that gram which was meant for horses was not even available for human consumption. I was

reminded to what Dr. Johnson said about oats that it was food suitable for horses in England, but for men in Scotland. One remarked that the Government is the biggest monopolist in India. Another said "The brightest dreams have turned out to be dismal failure and cooperative democracies highly talked of ultimately turned out to be selfish bureaucracy." One speaker pointed out that it would be better to call it 'sarkari' rather than 'sahakari'. He referred to the working of cooperative consumer societies and referred to circulation of ration cards leading to black-marketing. So I have just taken down a few bits at random in order to tell you how they ranged over a large number of subjects and gave evidence of the interest the speakers have taken in the subject which they spoke. The super markets were criticised as show pieces. The wastage, the inefficiency, the ignorance in the working of the cooperative societies was underlined. Ill-trained managers, loans and other facilities for unproductive purposes were also highlighted. One ended up with this remark that "the cooperative movement appears to be too selfish to be cooperative and too sluggish to be a movement." I have taken these remarks down at random to show you how there has been considerable interest taken in the preparation and delivering of the speeches.

Coming to the subject, I do not think you need any further haranguing on the subject. I should have totally abstained from it except for the fact

that the judges are absent from here but I find that the Vice-Chancellor is still here.

I feel that about 20 years back we took two major policy decisions on the national level, one was that this country was to bring about its economic development. Secondly, that this development was to be brought about on democratic lines. We embodied this in our directive principles. We are, therefore, committed to a certain position. Cooperation is on the same footing as democracy and what is true of democracy, may be said to be true of cooperation also. It is said about democracy that it cannot be looked upon merely as a form of Government, that is to say, adult franchise, elected representatives, legislature, and responsible cabinet. It is much broader than that. It represents a social order. It stands for a peaceful and persuasive method. It stands for absence of gross inequality, widespread education and, even more than that, it stands for a way of life. The social order results out of this way of life. It is the result of long continued labour of all English studies. It involves a rational and liberal attitude, adjustment and accommodation. Seeing other persons' point of view and becoming one with the rest of them. Whatever has been said about democracy, is equally true of cooperation. This is not to say that there have not been failures or mistakes. To put it very pointedly, people do make mistakes, but people also learn from their mistakes. What they

learn from their own mistakes is learnt in a deeper way. The progress appears to be slow but the gain is permanently with us. This being the case, I think, I should only underline what has been said that cooperation or the cooperative movement may have failed, but it cannot afford to fail.



Shri V. Subramanian Registrar Corp. Societies, Maharashtra State, one of the Judges, giving his observations.

II

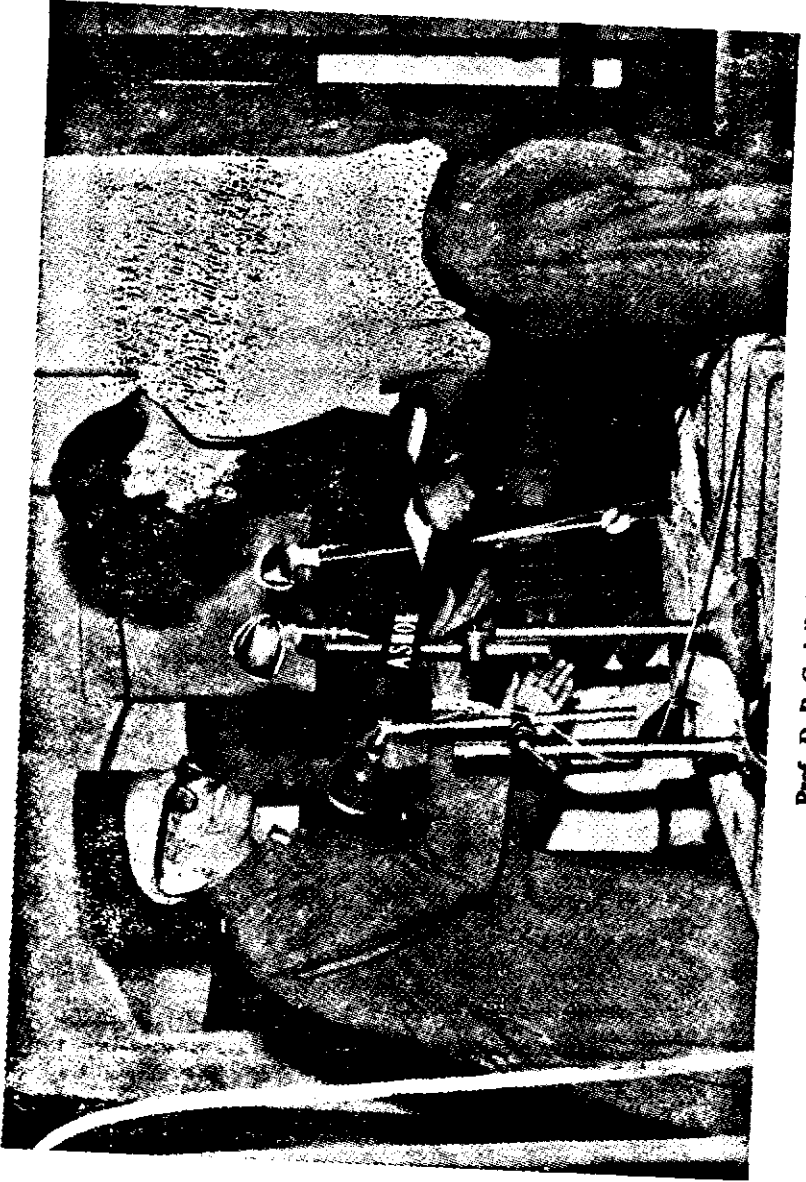
**Observations by Shri V. Subramanian, Registrar
Cooperative Societies, Maharashtra.**

Prof. Gadgil, Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, Mr. Garde, Shri Dubhashi, my colleagues, the judges who sat with me on the bench and friends,

After a fairly exhausting day, particularly for those on this side of the platform, I am sure you will not want me to say anything much on this occasion. We have heard 52 speakers speaking for and against Cooperation and speaking for and against monopolistic tendencies. The level of the debate, according to my colleagues and myself, has been indeed very high. I congratulate most heartily the various prize winners. It is symptomatic of the fact that the fair sex is no longer the weak sex, that the majority of the prize winners have been ladies. It is also symptomatic of the impartiality both of the judges and of the cooperative movement that quite a few speakers who have won prizes are those who have spoken against the cooperative movement. That, itself, is evidence, if evidence were required, of the fact of the impartiality of the cooperative movement. It should be enough to convince all those who have spoken against the cooperative movement to come into the movement and work for the success of cooperation in India.

I hope all the young friends who have spoken against the cooperative movement have spoken about it as it is carried on into practice because there was a strong unanimity that everyone has recognised the utility of the cooperative principles and the fact that the ideal of cooperation is noble. I do hope that everyone who has been criticising the manner in which the cooperative movement has been run has done so only for the purpose of debate because in a debate when you espouse a proposition, it is not necessary that you should believe in it. After all you have been arguing like lawyers for one side or the other and it is not necessary either according to judicial principle or according to legal training that a lawyer should believe in every word he says. In any case, it is a matter of great gratification that in spite of the fact that English language is being under-played in this country, there has been such an exuberance of the language exhibited by different speakers from all over this country and I consider that it is a good augury that the standard of the university is being maintained and that there is still considerable proficiency of the English language among our young students. It is a matter of gratification also, that cooperative movement has excited your study and has made you all go deep into the values of the cooperative movement as also make suggestions as to how the cooperative movement should be bettered. Nothing is a better tribute to the activities

of the national Cooperative Union than to have stimulated the interest and enthusiasm of several young friends like you all and I do hope that in the times to come when you leave the university and enter the portals of your household activities as a citizen or as a member of community you will take increasing part in the cooperative movement and be active associates in making the cooperative movement better than what you consider it is today.



Prof. D. R. Gadgil giving away the Prizes.

Concluding remarks by Prof D. R. Gadgil

The programme says that there will be concluding remarks by the Vice-Chancellor. I think it is only appropriate that the only concluding remark I may make is to say how happy I am that this competition was held here, that the judges have expressed satisfaction at the level of the debate, and that it is being reported that such large numbers of you have taken such keen interest in studying the subject properly. I am very sure, whether you have spoken for or against, you have spoken against only in order to find the difficulties of the actual operation. I always consider him to be a good friend of the cooperative movement who points out the operational difficulties of the cooperative structure and cooperative organisations, because it is only by self-critical examination that we can improve. So I do not take it that any of you is against cooperation but that while some of you have more faith, others may be somewhat critical cooperators. We welcome you all and hope that this interest that you have at this stage exhibited in the cooperative movement will continue to be of a life-long practical interest with you.

Thank you.

IV

**Vote of thanks by Shri P. R. Dubhashi,
Member—Secretary, Committee for Cooperative
Training.**

Friends,

It is my pleasant duty to propose a vote of thanks on behalf of the Committee for Cooperative Training. The Committee runs a number of institutions, conducts many courses and organises many training programmes. But none of these activities has been as much rewarding and satisfying to us in the Committee as this debate. One of the important reasons why this is so is the opportunity it gives to all of us to collaborate with the Universities. This collaboration has come forth in an ample measure here from the Poona University. We, therefore, owe them a very deep debt of gratitude. Our thanks are above all due to the Vice-Chancellor, though I fully realise that in thanking him we are thanking ourselves. May I offer as a token of gratitude a bouquet to the Vice-Chancellor. A big debate, such as this requires a great deal of preparation and we are happy to say that the excellent arrangements that we have been able to make here were made possible by the whole hearted cooperation we received from the Registrar, University of Poona, Shri Golay and his devoted band of officers. We are extremely thankful to them. To preside over a day-long debate like this is by no means a small feat and I must say that Dr. Garde

has performed this with great patience and consideration. I am extremely grateful to him. I offer him a bouquet. Equally tremendous indeed, was the task of the distinguished judges to adjudge the relative merits and demerits of as many as 52 speakers of whom many showed high standard and spoke with a practised maturity. We were extremely fortunate to have had amongst us the distinguished presence of extremely busy persons as judges for this debate. To perform the role of a judge is always difficult and we are extremely thankful to them. We are extremely fortunate in getting this magnificent amphitheatre to conduct this debate and for this facility and others we are extremely thankful to the Fergusson College authorities and Principal Dr. T. G. Mainkar who was here at the inaugural session. Finally, thanks are due to the participants in the debate and the audience. There can, of course, be no debate without the participants and the audience. This debate sparkled with brilliance, wit and eloquence of its participants & revealed that the cooperative movement of tomorrow is extremely safe in their hands. Finally, a word of thanks to the press correspondents, and the staff of the All India Radio. I have every hope that they will give us the publicity we deserve. That would be a source of encouragement to us.

Annexure I

LIST OF PRIZE WINNERS

| | |
|--|--|
| First Prize (Rs. 250/-) | Kumari Shirin Anklesaria, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad. |
| Second Prize (Rs. 200/-) | Kumari Royna Sawheney. Delhi Univerity, Delhi. |
| Third Prize (Rs. 150/-) | (i) Kumari T. Gurushree, University of Bangalore. (ii) Shri Chandrashekhar M. Korde, University of Bombay. |
| Consolation Prizes (Rs. 50/- each) | (i) Shri W. Verdes, Karnatak University. (ii) Kumari Khurshid Wadia, Indore University. (iii) Shri B. Ranganathan, University of Madras. |



Km. Shirin Anklesaria, of Gujarat University who got the first Prize.



Km. T. Gurushree of Bangalore University who shared the third Prize.



Shri C. M. Korde of Bombay University who shared the third Prize.



**Shri W. Verdes of Karnatak
University who won a
consolation Prize**



**Km. Kburshid Wadia of
Indore University who was
awarded consolation prize**

Annexure II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

| S. No. | Name of the University | Name of the participant |
|---------------|---|---|
| 1. | Dibrugarh University | Shri Bijay Kumar Khaitan Shri Om Prakash Mody |
| 2. | Indore University | Kumari Khurshid Wadia Shri Shriniwas K. Paranjpe |
| 3. | Viswa Bharati | Shri Amitabha Das Gupta Shri Nilamani Singh |
| 4. | University of Bombay | Shri Sydney Miran- daprabhu Shri Chandrashekhar M. Korde |
| 5. | University of Bangalore | Kumari N. Meera Smt. T. Gurushree |
| 6. | Karnatak University | Shri W. Verdes Kumari Lorna Fer- nandes |
| 7. | Indian Agricultural Research Institute | Shri G. Moti Lal |

| S. No. | Name of the University | Name of the participant |
|--------|------------------------------------|--|
| | | Shri K. N. Syama Sundaran Nair |
| 8. | Marathwada University | Kumari A. Krishna Shri Bopshetty Udai-Shanker |
| 9. | University of Allahabad | Shri Sushil Kumar Tandon Shri Ashok Kumar Choudhary |
| 10. | Aligarh University | Shri Mushtaque Ahmad Shri Abdul Farooq |
| 11. | Vikram University | Shri Vinod Pande Shri K. K. Mishra |
| 12. | Gujarat University | Shri Vijay [Amin Kumari Shirin Anklesaria |
| 13. | Punjab Agricultural University. | Shri D. S. Thakur Shri Satya Paul |
| 14. | University of Madras | Shri R. Seshasayee Shri B. Ranganathan |
| 15. | Andhra University | Shri Ranbir Krishan Shri K. V. Ramana Rao |
| 16. | Jadavpur University | Shri Subrota Moitra Kumari Ratna Mukherjee |

| S. No. | Name of the University | Name of the participant |
|--------|----------------------------|--|
| 17. | University of Poona | Kumari Sarojni Ramkrishna Joglekar Shri Pradeep Venkatesh |
| 18. | University of Madurai | Shri C. A. Saktheeswaran Kumari Daphne D'Cruz |
| 19. | Utkal University | Shri Ashok Kumar Mohapatra Shri Harprasad Das |
| 20. | University of Delhi | Shri T.C.A. Rangachari Kumari Royna Sawheney |
| 21. | University of Ranchi | Shri V. K. Diwan Shri K. A. Padmanabhan |
| 22. | Annamalai University | Shri R. Saravanai Shri S. Natarajan |
| 23. | M. S. University of Baroda | Shri V. W. Korke Shri K. P. Patel |
| 24. | Osmania University | Shri K. Srinath Reddy Shri Ch. Murali Krishna Sharma |

| S. No. | Name of the University | Name of the participant |
|--------|------------------------|--|
| 25. | University of Jodhpur | Shri Baktawar Mal Jain |
| 26. | Kerala University | Shri Navin Mathur Shri K. M. Thomas Shri D. Krishnan |

Annexure III

COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATIVE TRAINING

(National Cooperative Union of India)

Scheme for organising Essay and Debating Competitions on Cooperative Subjects in the Universities, Rural Institutes of Higher Education etc. for the academic year 1966-67.

I. Essay Competition :

1. The Essay Contest will be held at the University level by the University authorities on behalf of the National Cooperative Union of India.
2. Any student studying in the University, or its affiliated and constituent colleges will be entitled to participate in the competition. The participant will have to write an Essay of about 3,000 words on any one of the topics given in the enclosed list.
3. The participant will have to submit his Essay to the authority prescribed by the University, by the specified date, which should not be later than 5th November 1966, along with a certificate from his Professor/Principal to the effect that the Essay has been written by the candidate himself.

4. The Essay received for the Competition will be evaluated by a panel of 3 Judges to be specified by the University. Professors teaching Economics/Commerce or Cooperation may be included in the panel.
5. The University can award 3 prizes of Rs. 100/-, Rs. 75/- and Rs. 50/- respectively subject to the following conditions.

- (i) The number of prizes to be awarded in the contest will depend on the number of entries received as follows :

| <i>No. of entries</i> | <i>No. of Prizes</i> |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| (a) For five to ten entries | One Prize |
| (b) For 11 to 25 entries | Two Prizes |
| (c) For more than 25 entries | Three Prizes |

Note : The minimum number of entries for holding the Essay Contest will be five.

- (ii) Where there are more than 5 Post-Graduate competitors, a special prize of Rs. 100/- may be awarded for the best essay from amongst the post-graduate students. In such a case the post-graduate students will not be eligible for other prizes.
- (iii) The award of prizes will depend upon the quality of the entries. It is not necessary that all the prizes may be awarded. If the panel of judges does

not consider any of the entries suitable for award of prize, no prize need be awarded.

- (iv) Half of the prize money will be given in the shape of books (of the winners' choice) and the remaining half in cash.
6. The University will forward to this office the report of the essay contest held by them containing the last date of the receipt of entries, names of the panel of judges, number of participants and names of the winners, latest by 31st November, 1966.
7. The expenditure on prizes will be borne by the Committee for Cooperative Training (National Cooperative Union of India), 34 South Patel Nagar, New Delhi-8, claim for which may be forwarded in duplicate in the proforma enclosed, *duly pre-receipted*. The claims should be sent to us latest by 31st December, after which no claims will be entertained. While forwarding the claims the name and designation of the person to whom the amount is to be remitted may specifically be stated. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the payment will be made only through crossed demand drafts. The places on which drafts are required, may please be communicated.

II. Debating Competition at the University Level

1. Each University may organise before 5th of November, a debating competition on Co-operative subjects.
2. Every affiliated, constituent colleges, faculties of the University will be entitled to send a team consisting of two debators to this competition, one of them speaking for and the other speaking against the proposition.
3. *The minimum number of entries for holding the above contest should be five teams. If the number of affiliated colleges etc., in the University is less than five, a team from each one of the colleges/faculties of the University will be enough.*
4. The University will select any one of the subjects specified in the enclosed list. The debate will be held on a date to be specified by the University authorities under intimation to the Committee for Co-operative Training 34, South Patel Nagar, New Delhi 8.
5. The University will award scroll to the college sending the winning team. The scroll will be supplied by this Committee. In addition to the scroll for team merit, there will be a maximum of three prizes for recognising individual merit, of the value of Rs. 75/-, Rs. 50/- and Rs. 30/-

respectively to be awarded subject to the following conditions :

- (i) The award of prizes will depend upon the number of entries :

| <i>No. of entries</i> | <i>No. of prizes</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| (a) Five teams | One prize |
| (b) Six to ten teams | Two prizes |
| (c) More than ten teams | Three prizes |

- (ii) The award of prizes will also depend upon the quality of contest. If the panel of judges does not consider any participant suitable for 1st or 2nd prize, only the second and/or third prize may be awarded.
- (iii) Half of the prize money will be given in the shape of books (of the winners' choice) and the remaining half in cash.
6. In the case of non-residential universities, the participants coming from affiliated colleges outside the university town may be paid third class train fare for the to and fro journey. In case of towns not connected with rail, bus fare may be allowed. *No other/incidental charges will be paid to the participants.*
7. The university authorities will constitute a panel of judges for evaluating competitors in the debating competition, whose decision will be final.

8. The university will send a report of the debating competition, containing such details as, the date of holding the competition, the subject debated, names of the judges, number of participants, names of the winning team and prize winners, name of the participants selected for the national debating competition, immediately after the debating competition is held at the University, and in any case before 31st November.
9. The expenditure on prizes as well as travel cost will be borne by the Committee for Cooperative Training (NCUI), 34, South Patel Nagar, New Delhi 8, claim for which may be submitted in duplicate in the proforma enclosed, duly pre-receipted and stamped wherever necessary. The claims should be sent to us latest by 31st September, after which no claims will be entertained. While forwarding the claims, the name and designation of the person to whom the amount is to be remitted may specifically be stated. In this connection it may be mentioned that the payment will be made only through crossed demand drafts. The places on which drafts may be drawn may please be communicated.

III. National Debating Contest

1. As soon as the reports of the University level debating competitions are received by the Committee for Cooperative Training (NCUI), a national debating competition will be held some time during the month of December. The exact date and venue of the competition will be intimated in due course.
2. Every University which has held the University level debating competition in response to the scheme, will be eligible to send a team of two debators, one speaking for and the other speaking against the proposition, to the National Competition.
3. The Committee for Cooperative Training will award the national scroll to the winning team. In addition to the Scroll, the following prizes will be awarded in recognition of individual merit.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| (i) First prize | Rs. 250/- |
| (ii) Second prize | Rs. 200/- |
| (iii) Third prize | Rs. 150/- |

Half the amount of individual prize will be given in the shape of books and the remaining half in cash. The award of a few consolation prizes may also be considered by the Committee depending on the recommendation of the panel of judges.

4. The participants in the national debating competition will be allowed single third class fare from their University/home town to the place of debate and back. They will also be allowed a daily allowance of Rs. 6/- per day including the days of travel.
5. The students who will participate in the national debate will be issued a certificate of participation.

List of Topics for Essay and Debating Competitions on the Subject of Cooperation for the year 1966-67 :

Essay Competitions :

1. Youth and the Cooperative Movement.
2. Consumers' Cooperatives and the price line.
3. My idea of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Debating Competitions :

- I. Only Consumers' Cooperative organised in a big way can save the consumers' from exploitation.
2. The only antidote to the growth of the monopolistic tendencies is the expansion of the cooperative sector.
3. Cooperatives are the only suitable agency for the amelioration of the conditions of the backward classes.

Annexure IV

Rules and regulations and detailed instructions regarding the National debating contest on Cooperation.

1. The University of Poona will organise the inter-university debating contest on Cooperation on behalf of the Committee for Cooperative Training (National Cooperative Union of India) on 12th January, 1967 in the Amphitheatre of Ferguson College, Poona-7. Debate will commence at 11.30 A. M. sharp.
2. Each team/participant sponsored by the universities will bring a letter of introduction from the university and will have to report at the venue of the contest, at least one hour before the time. The team which does not so report, is likely to be disqualified from the contest.
3. The following subject will be discussed in Contest :

“The only antidote to the growth of monopolistic tendencies is the expansion of Cooperative Sector.”

One of the participants in each team will speak *for* the motion and the other *against*

it. The debate will be held in *English* language.

4. Each participant in the debate will be given allotted time to speak (about five or six minutes) in the order decided by a lot drawn half an hour before the debate starts. The openers will, however, be given two more minutes than the allotted time for introducing the subject. Each participant will speak only once.
5. The Committee for Cooperative Training (National Cooperative Union of India) will institute a scroll, which will be awarded to the winning University. In addition to the scroll, there will be three individual prizes for recognising individual merits as below :

| | |
|--------------|-----------|
| First prize | Rs. 250/- |
| Second prize | Rs. 200/- |
| Third prize | Rs. 150/- |

Half of the amount of individual prize will be given in the shape of books of participant's choice and remaining half in cash. The first, second and third prizes will be given to the first three speakers, considered best in the order by the judges appointed for the purpose and their decision will be final. If the panel of judges so recommends, the question of awarding one or two consolation prizes, would also be considered.

6. Each participant will be paid single third-class rail fare from the University town or town where the college of the participant is situated to Poona and back by the shortest route. He will be allowed no other incidental charges. For meeting the lodging, boarding and miscellaneous expenditure, each participant will be allowed D. A. @ Rs. 6/- per day including days of travel. This amount and the amount of T. A. will be paid to the participants in cash at Poona as soon as the contest is over. All participants should claim their T. A. at Poona itself in prescribed forms which will be supplied to them at the spot.
7. The Committee for Cooperative Training will issue certificates of participation to the students participating in the national debate.
8. The participants are requested to come with beddings and warm clothing. Arrangements are being made to provide accommodation for the participants in the hostels attached to our Cooperative Training Centre at Poona. All the participants are requested that they should communicate before 3rd January, 1967, without fail the exact date, train and time of their arrival, to the Member-Secretary, Committee for Cooperative Training (National Coopera-

tive Union of India), 34, South Patel Nagar New Delhi-8 as also to Shri S. R. Jog, Pricipal, Cooperative Training Centre, "Gunadhar", Bungalow, 43/164, Eranadavan, Karve Road, Opposite Church, Poona-4, (Grams: COOPCENTRE, Phone No. 55816) whom they should contact on arrival at Poona for their staying arrangements. Even if a candidate does not require staying arrangements to be made he should communicate the date of his arrival, as indicated above clearly stating that he will make his own arrangements for stay etc.

On arrival, the participants may please report their arrival to the Principal, Cooperative Training Centre, Poona on telephone No. 55816.