

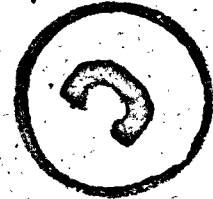
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Madras Bulletin of
Co-operation
P. C. U.

VOL. XIX

No. 8

FEB. 1928



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English and Tamil.

Issued every month in two pages—

duced and utilised to the full

"If the system of Co-operation & ^{int}erests of the country"—
I foresee a great & glorious future for ^{ricul}address, 13th December, 1911.—

His Majesty's Reply to the Delhi Mail

Vol. XIX. FEB 1928 [No. 8]

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PRINCIPAL *Please see inside.*
(For Detailed Co

C. W. TEA ESTATES—
SIR FAI

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
MR. A. S. VAJIRAM MENON AT TRAVANCORE

ETC.

The Madras Provincial Co-operative Union,
MADRAS.

ROY Rs. 4. for all members except Local
Subscription per annum m s 4. for all members except Local
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N.B.—Complaints of with-
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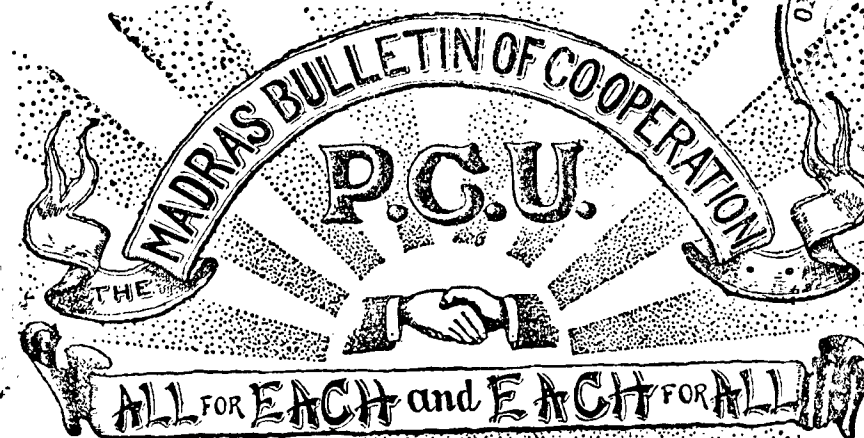
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The Editorial Committee do not hold themselves responsible for views expressed by contributors. Contributors are requested to write legibly and on one side of the paper. Manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are sent to cover postage. Matter intended for the issue of any particular month should reach the Committee before the last week of the previous month.

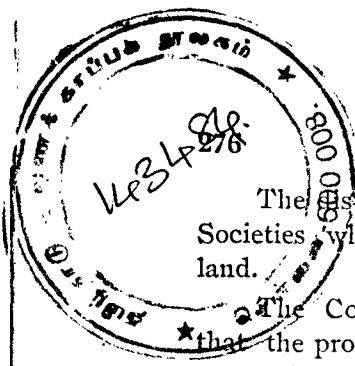
C. W. S. TEA ESTATES.

BY SIR FAIRLESS BARBER.

In South India, the C. W. S. in conjunction with S. C. W. S. who are working together under the title of the English & Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd., have an area under the cultivation of Tea which has increased from 3,867 acres to 7,721 acres in 1927 and during the same period the output of tea has increased from 1,39,5193 lbs. to 3,864,796 lbs.

Extensions are being made annually and the output will increase steadily year by year, but at the moment the production (including that from the Ceylon estates as well) is less than 10 per cent of the total of the tea handled by the Society each year.

The Society is in fact the greatest distributing agent of the Home Tea Trade in the United Kingdom and Ireland and handling about one-seventh of the total consumption.



THE MADRAS BULLETIN OF CO-OPERATION.

The distribution is of course done through the Retail Co-operative Societies, which are scattered through the length and breadth of the land.

The Company differs from the ordinary capitalistic concern in that the produce goes direct through the services of the Society to the consuming shareholders and therefore there are no profits in the ordinary sense of the term. The actual keeping of the accounts may show a so-called profit but it is the method of their distribution of the produce that matters and this method is well known to Co-operators throughout the world and is in effect a deferred discount, paid in such a manner as to be of real value to the poor man who thereby creates a nucleus of capital which increases year by year.

In regard to the Estates themselves, they are not run in any way differently from other estates of a similar nature.

It is the policy of the Directors of the Society to advance the conditions of living of all the employees, and evidences of this policy will be found in the improved dwellings, hospitals and dispensaries, schools, and creches, sanitation and medical attention, but because this happens to be a policy of a Co-operative Society, it would be unwise to give a totally erroneous impression to infer that the same policy does not actuate the best capitalistic companies, for it does and in consequence we see an increasing expenditure every year incurred with a view to improve the living conditions of the labourers throughout the tea districts. Progress in this respect is admittedly slow, but progress is made, and made steadily, as any one who has been connected with the planting industry for the last twenty or thirty years can testify. That we have not got further is due to the material we have to work with and the conservatism or prejudice against new methods that is well known to be ingrained in the illiterate classes.

Good intentions, whether co-operative or capitalistic, may introduce, excellent ventilation in a dwelling house and ignorance will surely stuff it up with an old gunny bag.

To enlighten your readers as to what is being done on the estates for the welfare of the labourer, the following information may be of interest:—

We have five hospitals each in charge of a qualified Medical Practitioner and in addition we have 11 dispensaries some of which have cots to enable serious cases being taken in before being sent to the nearest hospital.

The medical department is in charge of a highly qualified Doctor and controls all sanitation on the Estates. The houses of the labour are

THE FIFTH ALL-TRAVANCORE CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE 277

are systematically visited to see if any cases of sickness have not been reported. Doctors or dispensers attend and prompt attention is given to any sickness.

The annual cost of the medical department of the Society was Rs. 1,09,000 in 1926 and Rs. 93,000 in 1927.

During those periods the sick treated numbered 43,785 and 42,438 respectively. Schools and creches cost the Society Rs. 32,000 during the year and this figure includes feeding 20,000 children. Special grants for festivities amounted to over 10,000 and compensation for the dearness of grain was paid to the extent of 50,000 and the cumby bill for the issue of free blankets came to Rs. 31,261.

Train fares and way expenses between the villages and the estates are paid and amounted to Rs. 1,44,500.

The above expenditure is the ordinary routine expenditure of the Estates but in addition to this the Board in London sanctioned a special grant of £10,000 for the purpose of ameliorating the conditions of life on the Estates.

The work under the grant is still in progress and it embraces the removal of unhealthy sites, the provision of water supplies, malaria research, and anti-malarial work.

Other lines of welfare work are in contemplation, but the crying need is to combat ignorance and to encourage thrift and cleanliness.

We hope that as the commercial activities of the C. W. S. increase in India, so will the force of their example be more felt to the benefit of Co-operation.

THE FIFTH ALL-TRAVANCORE CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE.

Held at Shertallay on 3rd and 4th January 1928.

Presidential address

By Mr. A. SIVARAMA MENON.

Brother Co-operators,

My first duty is to convey to the Reception Committee of the Fifth All-Travancore Co-operative Conference my sincere thanks for the great honour they have conferred upon me by inviting me to preside over this important gathering of Co-operators. The four previous conferences had the valuable guidance of eminent Presidents who were distinguished, not only by their knowledge of co-operative principles, but also by official experience, and coming as I do after such illustrious predecessors, I am free to own that it is with some diffidence that I have

accepted the onerous task of presiding over your deliberations. I am however confident that I will have throughout this Session your complete co-operation and support, and this thought gives me the necessary courage and encouragement to discharge my duties as your President to the best of my ability.

Industrial Transformation.

A great change is fast coming over the industrial and the commercial outlook of the world. For the betterment of the world, much reliance was placed during the last century on the principles of competition and the survival of the fittest by a very large number of political and philosophical thinkers. The commercial system and the commercial ideals of the nineteenth century have no doubt created a large and almost unparalleled amount of trade and wealth; but along with the increase in the wealth of the few, they have also been responsible for the enormous increase in the poverty of the many. Colossal wealth on the one hand and grinding poverty on the other, these have been the twin products of the soulless competitive system of the past century. The result is that the world is to-day face to face with a double problem of unemployment (*viz.*) the problem of the unemployed rich and that of the unemployed poor. This double problem constitutes a serious menace to the future welfare of modern society. A proper solution of the problem is urgently called for if society were to be saved from utter destruction and ruin.

The right to work.

Now take the case of a man who is ill-fed and ill-clothed and who goes about asking not for alms but for some work so that he may earn a living and save himself and his little ones from starvation and death. Can any demand be more modest, more reasonable or more just than this (*viz.*) his right to work or the right to have an opportunity of earning his own living? No Government, no country, can turn a deaf ear for long to this simple demand of the poor, (*viz.*) the right to work. It is to this proletariat demand of a right to live with minimum comfort that we owe the beginnings of the co-operative movement. The movement spread rapidly across Europe from end to end and flourished under different forms of Government. Different countries developed different types of co-operation. England was responsible for the development of co-operative distribution, Germany co-operative credit, France and Belgium co-operative production, Denmark and Ireland co-operative agriculture, and Italy co-operative labour. The adoption of one form of co-operation invariably leads in time to the adoption of other forms as well.

The growth of the movement—a comparison and contrast.

In India, the Co-operative movement came to be officially organised as a result of the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904. This Act had a restricted scope in that it gave recognition only to Credit Societies and though this defect was removed by the Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912 which brought within its purview both credit and non-credit societies, the development of the movement in India has gone on particularly in the credit line. To take the case of the Presidency of Madras, the spread of the movement there during the the quinquennium ending with 30-6-1926 is evidenced by the following table:—

Year.	No. of society.	No. of members.	Working capital in lakhs of Rs.
1921—22	7389	4,61,002	600.11
1922—23	8443	5,30,291	711.59
1923—24	9785	6,16,628	839.27
1924—25	11,141	6,70,940	986.57
1925—26	11,973	7,48,670	1,132.86

Of these 11,973 Societies that existed in the Madras Presidency on 30-6-1926, nearly 85 per cent were of the credit type thereby showing the comparatively vast field lying open for non-credit work. In the State of Travancore, the Co-operative movement began its operations nearly 14 years ago after the passing of Regulation X of 1089. According to your latest administration report (*i.e.*) for the year 1101 (M.E), the total number of societies of all kinds stand at 1325, with 1,15,303 members and a working capital of Rs. 23,89,398. Of these 1325 societies, all but sixty belonged to the credit type. Viewed on the basis of liability, 1051 of these societies were of the unlimited, and 274 of the limited liability group. There were 19 local supervising unions, 1 Central Co-operative Bank, 1 Central Weaving Society and 1 Central Co-operative Institute. Of the remaining 1303 societies, 1071 were agricultural and 232 non-agricultural societies. The progress of the movement during the five years ending with 1901 was very encouraging as indicated by the following table:—

Year.	No. of Societies.	No. of members.	Working capital.
1097	367	21,882	4,16,434
1098	518	29,764	5,61,217
1099	757	46,468	8,33,117
1100	1002	74,076	16,72,659
1101	1325	1,15,303	23,89,398

Making a comparative study of the progress of the movement during the same period in the Madras Presidency and in Travancore,

you will be delighted to see with the help of the following table that Travancore easily wins the prize and I warmly congratulate you brethren of Travancore, both officials and non-officials, for the very satisfactory advance you have been able to achieve.

Madras Presidency.

Year.	No. of Societies.	No. of members.	Working capital in Rs.
1921—22	7389	4,51,002	6,01,11,000
1925—26	11,973	7,48,670	11,32,86,000

Travancore.

1921—22	367	21,882	4,16,434
1925—26	1325	1,15,303	23,89,398

The spread of the movement in the various Taluks of the State has not been at a uniform pace. At the time the latest report was written, Peermade was the only taluk without even a single society. I trust that this defect has been rectified since. Of the remaining 29 Taluks, Thiruvella easily occupies the place of honour with its 184 societies and 14,753 members. It is striking that Mavelikara that stands second can show to its credit only 77 societies and 8,685 members. Shertallay comes sixth in rank with its 73 societies and 6490 members. Shertally whose area (117.5 sq. miles) and population (1,61,481) roughly tally with the area (97.26 sq. miles) and population (1,75,466) of Trivandrum, the Taluq containing the capital of the State, beats the latter by six places; for Trivandrum with its 49 societies and 4465 members, occupies only the twelfth place in the order of merit. There are twelve taluks that do not contain more than thirty societies and these taluks deserve to have your special care and attention. You have had the movement working in your State roughly for half the period that it has been working in British India, and I have referred to some points on which you score over British India. But I notice a striking similarity between the conditions in both the places so far as some of the well-known defects of the movement are concerned. Firstly, the development of the movement in British India and Travancore is to a very large extent one-sided in that co-operative activity in both is mainly confined to the credit line. Secondly, the want of efficiency in the management of the primary societies is a great defect in the one place as it is in the other. Thirdly, the D.C.B. statements relating to the principal and interest prepared in both the places show the same want of punctuality on the part of the borrowers and the same lack of supervision on the part of the supervisory authorities. Perhaps these common characteristics are, to a certain extent,

inevitable and are traceable to the same cause in both cases. Agriculture is the primary occupation of people in both the places where you also find illiteracy and indebtedness prevailing to a large extent. There is a continuous exodus of a large percentage of the enlightened population from the rural to urban areas and the consequent diminution in efficient human material in villages. I must add however that in spite of these drawbacks, conditions in Travancore do not on the whole compare unfavourably with those obtaining in British India. This will no doubt be very pleasing to you, but I trust that you will not rest content with your achievements already accomplished, but will on the other hand push your work through and set an example to British India in the matter of co-operative efficiency and enterprise.

Communal Societies vs. Craftsmen Societies.

There is one other point which I wish to touch before I conclude this comparative study and that relates to the question of communal societies. There is a steady increase in the number of communal societies in the State. At the end of 1101, there were as many as 569 such societies, i.e. nearly 44 per cent of the total number of societies in the State and they were comprised of the various communities as shown below :—

(1) Nairs	... 160	(11) Artisans	... 16
(2) Christians	... 113	(12) Cherumas	... 108
(3) Brahmins	... 6	(13) Sambhavaras	... 14
(4) Eazhavas	... 51	(14) Barbers	... 1
(5) Vellalals	... 8	(15) Muslims	... 3
(6) Christian fishermen...	17	(16) Viswakarmas	... 3
(7) Arya and Valas	... 58	(17) Iyyanavars	... 2
(8) Velans	... 1	(18) Sackaravars	... 1
(9) Velars (potters)	... 2	(19) Nambudiries	... 2
(10) Ganakars	... 3		

In British India, a certain amount of encouragement has been shown from the very outset in the matter of organising special societies for backward and depressed classes and it is a well-known thing that the condition of most of these societies is extremely unsatisfactory. Travancore has gone on better than British India in organising communal societies and has constituted them on a regular castewar basis. It is very doubtful whether this is a wise step to adopt, since these compartmental formations based on caste invariably engender a feeling of exclusiveness and unhealthy competition as between class and

class. Such advanced communities as Nairs, Christians, Brahmmins, Ezhavas, Vellalals and so on should in my opinion not be permitted as a rule to form communal societies. This concession should be shown only to such backward castes as Velans, Cherumas, Sambavars etc. and even in their cases, under proper safeguards for ensuring efficient management. I earnestly appeal to my brother co-operators in Travancore not to show any encouragement to the further extension of these societies. On the other hand, every endeavour ought to be made to preserve friendly and fraternal feelings between Sectarian societies. In this connection, let me warn you against confusing the communal with craftsmen societies. The latter class of societies is quite unobjectionable and ought to be encouraged. These are societies composed of people possessing some special skill and they generally confer on us the benefits of specialisation.

The Central Bank.

The working of the Central Bank and the other societies of the State is on the whole satisfactory. The deposit transactions of the Bank and the Societies show an appreciable increase from year to year and this is a sure indication of the growing confidence of the investing public on these institutions. The deposits were received from members as well as non-members. The extent of the popularity of the Central Bank may be gauged from the fact that whereas the total deposit of both varieties, viz., fixed and current from members and non-members, amounted to only Rs. 15,847 in 1921-22, the same rose to Rs. 3,35,965 in 1925-26. The number of loans issued and the amounts lent by the Central Bank were 52 and Rs. 27,794 in 1921-22, and 358 and Rs. 5,23,367 in 1925-26 and those by the primary societies were 7263 and Rs. 2,34,797 in 1921-22, and 52,187 and Rs. 16,53,749 in 1925-26. Of this sum of Rs. 16,63,749, the amount representing agricultural loans came to Rs. 11,71,422 and that representing non-agricultural loans to Rs. 4,92,327. Again, loans given for productive purposes amounted to Rs. 11,16,104, and those given for non-productive purposes Rs. 5,47,645. These loans were taken for the following among other purposes:—

(1) Cultivation, (2) purchase of cattle, (3) payment of Sirkar kist or Michavaram, (4) permanent improvements to lands, (5) purchase of raw materials (6) Trade (7) Education (8) Building and repairing (9) construction of country carts, Boats etc., (10) purchase of land, (11) purchase of foodstuff and necessities of life, (12) payment of prior debts, and (13) payment of Stridhanam. The above list shows the various kinds of needs that press upon ryots. It also shows that the financing

Bank had taken upon itself to perform much more than it could properly be expected to do. The ordinary agriculturist stands in need of three different kinds of credit accommodation, (1) the yearly credit or hand-loans repayable within a year, (2) Short term loans repayable in 5 to 10 years, (3) Long term loans repayable in 30 to 40 years. Purposes No. 1,3,5 and 11 above come under the first category, Nos. 2,6,7,8 and 9 come under the second, and Nos. 4, 10, 12 and 13 under the third. While the Central Bank can advance the first and second kinds of loans, it is by its very constitution incompetent to give the third, known as long term loans. Central Banks should not be permitted to lend money for such purposes as buying land, making permanent improvements on it and payment of prior debts, as these debts could not be collected in five or even 10 years. The proper financial agency for supplying this long term credit is undoubtedly a Land Mortgage Bank and I trust that the present conference will not only reiterate the demand for such organisations made by previous conferences but take some concrete step for the purpose of formulating a workable scheme.

Land Mortgage Banks.

Land Mortgage Banks have been started in various parts of India in recent times. It has now been recognised that it is only by the formation of these Land Mortgage Banks that the rural indebtedness could be effectively dealt with. The condition of the average ryot at present is absolutely precarious. He is born in debt, he lives in debt, and when he dies he leaves a legacy of debt to his heir and successor. The total extent of the ryots' liability has not yet been correctly ascertained. This must be done as a preliminary work by means of an early economic survey of the whole State.

In organising Land Mortgage Banks, I entreat the Travancore Government not simply to copy the British Model, but to adopt a bold and forward policy after studying the systems prevailing in America and Germany. Every Land Mortgage Bank must work within a small area. A five mile radius is a reasonable and convenient rule. The issue of debentures must be entrusted to a central agency. Competent assessors must be appointed to value the securities that may be offered to the bank and these assessors should be under the direct control of the Board of Directors of the Bank. The Government must be prepared to do everything to popularise the scheme. They must agree to purchase debentures to the same extent to which the public takes them. They must also guarantee the payment of interest on these debentures in the initial stages. I do not intend to go into any further details regarding the Land Mortgage Bank Scheme. I only wish to emphasise

the imperative duty of the Government as well as the public of Travancore to deal with these questions without any delay.

Land Monopoly—a hindrance to Agricultural Co-operation.

Travancore, like the rest of India, is an agricultural country. The prosperity of the people is closely bound up with the success attained in the enlargement and the improvement of agricultural operations. Out of a total area of 7,625 square miles, about a third constitutes the reserve forests of the country. Six and a half lakhs of acres are subjected to paddy cultivation, while in over nearly eleven lakhs of acres are grown cocoanuts, tea, rubber, pepper and similar products. The total income of the country has been valued at Rs. 2,293 lakhs to which paddy makes the largest contribution of Rs. 716 lakhs. In the matter of food grains, Travancore is not at present self-sufficient. With its vast area of cultivable fields and extensive waste lands which could be reclaimed as paddy fields, it ought to be possible for the State not only to produce a sufficient quantity of grains for home consumption, but also to raise more and export its surplus produce. There must be both intensive as well as extensive cultivation adopting up to date and co-operative methods. The State must discourage the growth of large estates and concentration of lands in the hands of a few monied people. It should check the tendencies that help the creation of a monopoly in land. Every kind of facility ought to be provided for the creation and multiplication of small holdings. The sharp differences that at present exist between the landlords and landless classes must totally disappear and the peasant proprietor must be able to stand side by side with the landed aristocrat, with equal freedom and equal respectability.

The Example of China.

China affords us an illustrious instance of agricultural advance worth our study. There is no country in the world where a large population is spread out over the land in secure cultivation of innumerable small holdings and the enjoyment of modest family independence and prosperity to a like degree as in China. Many laws were passed in China to check the growth of large estates and of a landless class. With the object of discouraging indolent ownership, a special tax was levied on arable land which was left uncultivated. The result of all this is that the most fertile parts of China present a scene of extraordinary fertility and democratic industry. The land is covered by a network of small holdings of an average extent of five acres. It is very rare to come across an estate larger in extent than 250 acres as according to an unwritten law, it is considered *infra dig* to possess a greater

extent of land than one can effectively employ in actual cultivation. Again, in China it is considered disgraceful to live on the rent of land. There is no law against it but there is a very strong public opinion which is as good as law. One finds sometimes that a small holder, who has more than he wants, does rent out a portion of his estate to another who has less but is very rare to come across the case of a Chinaman who depends for his livelihood entirely upon the tributes of his tenants. It is just the opposite in other countries including ours. A man is respected and he even thinks himself respectable, just in proportion to the length of his rent-roll. In these two tendencies, we notice a fundamental difference in spirit. In China, the peasant class is rooted comfortably in small holdings which are the most productive and the most stable on the whole earth, whereas in other countries large private estates are but half cultivated by an inefficient and underfed tenantry resulting in an inevitable inadequacy of food supply.

A Lesson from Denmark.

Another remarkable instance of the value of co-operation in connection with small holdings is to be found in Denmark. The people of Denmark threw themselves heartily into the development of agriculture after they were deprived of Schleswig-Holstien by Germany about 1864. The land was split up into small holdings of not more than ten acres in extent. The Government helped the people with education through folk-school, agricultural organisation and the loan of necessary funds. In the course of a few years, small holdings of about 10 acres sprang into existence in thousands. The Small Holdings Acts of 1899, 1904 and 1909 provide for the purchase of land, upon 98 years loans, at 3 per cent interest per annum and one per cent towards repayment of loans. The labourer who has one-tenth of the purchase money can get a loan of the remaining nine-tenths from the State under the system of small holdings prevalent in Denmark, and any Danish subject, not under 25 or over 50 years of age and not possessed of sufficient money to acquire lands on his own account but who has worked as an agricultural labourer for five years preceding his application, is enabled with Government help to acquire a piece of fully stocked land extending up to sixteen acres. The Government help the peasant on the production of testimonials of good character to become a good land-owner by accepting the character of the man as security. The Land Acts of 1919 afford considerable facilities for taking building loans, partly free of interest up to a maximum of nine-tenths of the total estimated cost of the building. Since the first Small Holding Act of 1899 came into force and up to 1925-26, nearly 12,600 holdings have been created with the aid of State loans

and State grants. In all, a sum of 120 million crowns has been granted as State aid during this period. In addition to the establishment of new holdings, considerable enlargements were effected on old holdings with the aid of loans granted under the Land Acts of 1919. But as a writer in a recent issue of the *International Review of Agricultural Economics* points out, "the favourable terms on which the small holder may receive loans for building purposes are however not the sole advantage offered him by the Land Acts of 1919. One of the other most essential benefits is that he has to pay no purchase money for the land which he nevertheless possesses with all the essential rights of an owner. He has only to pay the State the interest on the value of it as estimated on the occasion of the periodical valuation of all the estates in the country." The following tables give the particulars of holdings created as well as enlargements on old holdings effected between 1900 and 1926.

Year.	No. of holdings created.	State loans and State grants (in Million crowns)
1900—15	7,636	37.1
1915—16	565	4.2
1916—17	413	3.2
1917—18	274	2.1
1918—19	225	1.9
1919—20	150	1.3
1920—21	137	2.5
1921—22	460	8.6
1922—23	964	19.0
1923—24	625	11.9
1924—25	547	9.1
1925—26	561	9.9

Enlargement of old holdings.

Year.	No.	Area (in hectares)	Buildings loans (1000 crowns)
1920	386	542	49
1921	183	537	99
1922	203	625	198
1923	261	780	267
1924	226	560	182
1925	141	348	98
1926	122	330	85

Peasant Proprietorship.

Following the practices obtaining in China and Denmark, the Government of Travancore ought to have a considered policy of creating and increasing peasant proprietorship. Some may consider it revolutionary to arbitrarily cut up existing large estates. Even if the existing

vast estates are left as they are, the Government may without the least impropriety or injustice carve out small holdings out of the existing waste lands and distribute them to peasant proprietors, giving them at the same time on a co-operative basis the required loans to effect reclamations. It is only by an enlightened and humane land policy that the problem of poverty which is the one problem of our country could be effectively solved. It is the bounden duty of every State to see that there is absolutely no starvation in the land. Every subject whether man, woman or child, has an inalienable right to have the necessities of life and neither a false philosophy of life nor an unrighteous man-made-law will ever exonerate a Government from the discharge of this elementary duty towards its subjects.

The Consumers' Movement.

Another species of co-operative activity which has made but tardy progress in Travancore as in other parts of India is what is known as the consumers' movement. The total number of distributive societies in Travancore is only six and of these, two did not do any distributive work in the year 1101. The condition of these two societies was not at all satisfactory and the cancellation of the registration of one of them was reported to be under the consideration of the authorities. Of the four societies that worked, the largest is the Trivandrum Co-operative Distributive Society. It had 564 members, a paid up share capital of Rs. 5,300 and deposits to the extent of Rs. 4,194. The annual turnover was Rs. 1,02,104 yielding a gross profit of Rs. 6,851 and a net profit of Rs. 1,766. The work turned out by the remaining three stores was not much, the net profit of the three put together being only Rs. 318. That there should be only half a dozen distributive societies in the whole of Travancore out of a total of 1,325 societies is far from satisfactory. It clearly indicates that the advantages of co-operative stores have not been understood or appreciated by the people as yet. I may say incidentally that the condition of the Madras Presidency in this respect is no better. In 1926, the distributive societies there numbered only 108 with a total working capital of Rs. 5.26 lakhs and a total sale of Rs. 22.07 lakhs. I am aware that several prominent co-operators in our country have expressed the opinion that the Indian soil is not suited to the growth of the stores movement. In my opinion, there is no warrant for entertaining such a pessimistic view of the situation.

T U C. S.—The Premier Co-operative Stores in India.

Some of you may have heard of the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society which is the premier co-operative stores in the whole of India,

For the last two decades, I have been intimately connected with the stores and I have been privileged to take an active part in the management of the Society for over 15 years. My experience of the working of the Triplicane Stores has convinced me that it is possible to develop the consumer movement in our country, provided that the principles enunciated by the Rochdale pioneers are clearly kept in view. I hope you will pardon me if I take a few minutes of your time and give a succinct account of the origin and working of the Triplicane Stores. The society owes its birth to the combined activity of 14 pioneers of Triplicane. It was started in 1904 with the slender capital of Rs. 310 and 14 members. To-day, it has a share capital of Rs. 93,000, a membership of nearly 5,000, a Reserve fund of Rs. 81,300, and a common good fund of Rs. 36,000. The total yearly transactions are about Rs. 12 lakhs in value and the total sum paid to members as dividend up to 30-6-26 amounts to Rs. 1,35,000. It has 21 branches situated in the different parts of the City of Madras.

There are two main departments of the T. U. C. S., namely, the distributive department and the credit department. The twelve lakhs of turnover mentioned above represents the activity of the former. The work of the credit department consists of the granting of loans to and the receipt of deposits from members. The question naturally arises as to what has contributed to the great success of the Triplicane Stores. The answer is simple. The T. U. C. S. has strictly adhered to the following principles—(a) Sale to members only, (b) purchase and sale for cash, (c) Distribution of profits among members proportionate to the purchase made by them and not to shares held, (d) Regulating the sale price in accordance with the market rate, and (e) Creation of a reserve fund and a common good fund, and (f) Attending to social and educational needs of members by utilising a portion of the profits for the purpose. These are the well known principles of the Rochdale Pioneers. In addition to observing the above principles, the T.U.C.S. was also fortunate in having continuously as members of its Board of Directors gentlemen who were cultured as well as grounded on the basic principles of the co-operative movement. The constitution of the Society is purely democratic. Every member has a vote. To satisfy the demands of the various branches to have some voice in the administration of the society, Local Panchayats were created in 1910 whereby every branch got a panchayat elected by its members with powers of advising the Board of Management on affairs connected with administration. As years went on, the branches began to claim a more effective voice in administering the society and consequently a new constitution was introduced in 1925 according to which the Board of

Management was enlarged from a body of 7 Directors into a body of as many directors as there are branches, each branch being allowed to elect its own Director. This new constitution also provided for a small executive body of five members who were elected by the Directors from among themselves. Proposals have been made that the Triplicane Stores should be developed into a co-operative wholesale society and these are being considered by a special committee. It has already been pointed out that the T.U.C.S. carries on the work of both a credit and a non-credit society. This combination of functions has been adversely criticised by some co-operators, but in actual working the combination referred to has not proved to be prejudicial to the interests of the Society. A study of the growth of the Triplicane Stores will, I hope, encourage co-operators to start distributive societies in different parts of the country. These stores confer one special advantage on the members. They enable them to unconsciously and automatically effect some saving through the receipt of dividends. The more a member buys, the more he saves and yet he spends no more by buying at the stores than by buying elsewhere.

Supervision and Audit.

In the growth and development of the co-operative movement, the local supervising unions have to play a most important part. I am glad to see that the number of supervising unions increased in 1101 from 15 to 19, and to these have been affiliated 845 societies consisting of 84,407 members. It should be remembered that to ensure an effective supervision over societies by unions, two things ought to be strictly observed. (1) All the societies must in course of time be brought under the jurisdiction of some union or other. (2) No union should be made to supervise more than a limited number of societies, say 25 to 30. Under both these heads, there is considerable work yet to be done in Travancore. The Unions that have been started are not self-supporting. They depend upon Government grant to carry on their work. The supervision fund collected by the Union amounted in 1101 to Rs. 3,023 while the Government gave a grant of Rs. 3,370. The unions should strive towards financial independence. The Central Banks and the primary societies should contribute towards the supervision fund in an enhanced proportion. The supervisors must be made to undergo the necessary training before they enter on their duties and for this purpose the Travancore Co-operative Institute must organise and conduct a training class. It should be realised by all non-official co-operators that supervision and propaganda come within their special province and that in course of time they should be prepared to take over this work completely

in their hands leaving the department liable to discharge the statutory duty of audit alone. I need hardly say that the question of audit is extremely important. Audit should be not only thorough but timely. In the Presidency of Madras, complaints have been heard against the delay in the auditing of Societies. I am glad to see that auditing of your societies is not kept in arrears even though the Registrar remarks that the work has had to be done under heavy pressure for want of sufficient hands. But I notice that, of the 1,280 societies audited in 1101, the Inspectors were responsible for the auditing of only 705 while the remaining 575 societies were audited by supervisors of unions and honorary workers. Auditing does not, strictly speaking, fall within the sphere of the duties of either the supervisor or the honorary worker and it is desirable that the departmental officers themselves should perform this duty without the aid of non-official workers.

Non-credit Societies.

There is considerable scope for work in the field of non-credit co-operation. Besides attempting to popularise the stores movement, I would strongly urge on you the necessity for developing different forms of non-credit activity. From the agriculturist's point of view, a great need is felt for the formation of (1) building societies and (2) purchase and sale societies. It is well-known that the rural population is extremely ill-housed, and considering their low economic power, the only way in which they may ever hope to have better housing accommodation is through the aid of building societies. Again, the ryot is subjected to considerable disadvantages owing to the absence of proper facilities for profitably marketing his goods. The pecuniary demands on him often press at a time when he is the least able to secure a fair price for his farm products. Generally speaking, he has to pay the Government revenue and the money borrowed as hand loan for buying seed and manure immediately after harvest, i.e., at a time when the price of grain yet stands low. If at this juncture he is given the required credit accommodation on the security of his grain, he will be in a position to derive considerable saving from his income. It is in this way that the organisation of crop loan societies and societies for purchase and sale have become a matter of pressing importance. You already possess 28 primary societies which, in addition to doing credit work, also serve the purposes of societies for production and sale. This special type of society which combines in itself the credit as well as the non-credit functions deserves to be widely popularised throughout Travancore.

Organisation and Propaganda.

Organisation and propaganda constitute a very important branch of work that has to be undertaken by non-official agencies. The underlying principles of co-operation must reach the villager living in the remotest part of the country and towards this end continuous propaganda must be carried on by an army of workers. To think of a wholly paid agency for this purpose is out of the question. We must depend for carrying on propaganda on the selfless work of volunteers who should no doubt be paid some small honoraria to meet their actual personal expenses. The Travancore Co-operative Institute as the central organisation will no doubt be at the head of the movement. The framing of a proper constitution for a body like the Institute is a matter of some difficulty. The amendment of the by-law last year with the object of permitting individual membership is in my opinion a step in the right direction. I am aware that there is a difference of opinion among co-operators regarding the wisdom of this provision for individual membership of not only the Institute but also of the Central Bank. I admit it is not difficult to advance arguments against individual membership but in trying to guide the course of a great movement we ought not to be swayed by mere theoretical considerations. On the other hand, we should ever be on the alert and show our unmistakable allegiance to a policy of adopting a practical solution of the problem. The Co-operative Journal whose publication was recently undertaken by the Institute will I hope prove to be a powerful educative factor in the country and the practice of convening the annual All-Travancore Conference under the auspices of the Institute deserves to be made a permanent feature of that institution. Let me in this connection throw out a suggestion for your consideration. The State of Travancore, though an independent unit in itself, has many features in common with the State of Cochin and the District of British Malabar. The three together constitute a single linguistic area known by the dear name of Kerala. There is common language, common social customs, and common culture firmly binding the three component parts into a harmonious whole. Differing Governmental arrangements do no doubt maintain an enforced distinctiveness of these units but the pan-kerala feeling has, as we all know, come to stay. The co-operative movement recognises no territorial divisions. It does not countenance parochial patriotism. May we not therefore at this stage take at least a first step towards organising an all-Kerala Co-operative Conference?

Brother co-operators, I feel I have detained you long but before concluding my address I wish to thank you once again for the great

patience with which you listened to me. The movement of co-operation has ushered in a new era of peace, prosperity and brotherly love. It has dethroned competition from the place of honour it had hitherto occupied as a ruling principle of life. It has demonstrated the truth that progress is built not upon selfishness but on selflessness and has brought home to the minds of us all that not profit motive but service motive is the more potent and sublime stimulus to righteous and beneficial acts. Let us conduct ourselves in the spirit of love and service and if you ask me how best we can serve the movement at the present juncture, I give you my sincere and emphatic answer in the form of an exhortation,

Trust your God and

Organise, organise, organise.

CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION

BY MR. K. G. SIVASWAMI, B.A.

I. Courses.

Co-operative education may be divided under the following heads :—

- (a) Instruction and propaganda, preliminary to organisation.
- (b) General education of the member.
- (c) Training in routine credit for village secretaries.
- (d) Training of panchayatdars.
- (e) Training of the staff employed in the supervisory organisations, district banks, urban banks, non-credit societies and labour unions.

(a) Preliminary Instruction and Propaganda.

Certain fundamental bylaws regarding the grant of loans are only explained at present and due emphasis is not laid on combined action and the society as a unit for grouping the whole village for purposes of economic satisfaction. The societies are at present organised by supervisors, union governing body members and Honorary Assistant Registrars. The latter two agencies rarely devote time to thorough propaganda nor are they trained in the proper organisation of the societies. The first agency of supervisors does thoroughly the ceremony of organisation in accordance with a set procedure which hardly emphasises the *society as a village organisation on a democratic basis for the*

satisfaction of common economic ends. The whole work of preliminary instruction and filling up of the organisation papers is finished within a half-day. There is no testing whether the members understand the elementary principles of Co-operation mentioned in para 30 of the Report of the MacLagan Committee. It may be noted here, though a digression, that the following point mentioned among the 10 points of Co-operation in the Bombay Manual, viz., "Always remember that the Registrar audits and warns the members who are themselves responsible for working of their societies. Government is not going to manage the societies for them. If they want them to succeed, they must see to things themselves," does not find a place in the Madras Manual. The standard instructions given in Hemingway's Manual should be revised from the point of view that the co-operative society is an *organisation* and not a procedure for enjoying credit privileges. It should also be revised from the point of view that a co-operative society should try to satisfy within the existing limitations of finance, the different kinds of credit needs, joint purchase and sale, dissemination of agricultural knowledge, development of cottage industries and promotion of savings. In other words, the organisation report should be a detailed survey for the economic conditions of the village, consider the local adaptations of the bylaws required for the concerned village, and mention the possibilities of the co-operative method for satisfying the economic needs. All this means provision of a trained agency for undertaking organisation work. The honorary organiser and the paid staff supervising unions and the District Federations should get a sufficient amount of training on these lines. Secondly, there should be at least 3 discourses to the ryots of a village, firstly, just after or before the application, secondly some time after the application, and thirdly as a test of the knowledge gained from the instructions of the organiser. It very often happens that, while the applicants of the society ask for a copy of the bylaws, the organiser invariably says that he has only one copy which he has to fill up and send to the Registrar. There should therefore be a definite provision in the supervising and propaganda bodies for the issue of simple clear tracts understandable by the ryot. As most of the people in a village cannot read literature, there should also be provision for visual instruction.

Non-credit societies, particularly for joint purchase and sale, are formed at present without intensive propaganda which is necessary as a preliminary for getting the sustained loyalty of members in an area. Provision should therefore be made for this before non-credit societies are started.

(b) The Co-operative Education of the member.

It is commonly recognised that the weakness of the co-operative movement lies in the want of a sound educational foundation. There is of course continuous and practical education when general body meetings are attended by the supervisor or the honorary worker and the administration of the society explained by them. But this kind of practical education may deflect it from the explanation of true principles and emphasise more the problems awaiting solution on each occasion. There should be some definite provision by which the member would be reminded of the basic principles and asked to translate them into practical action as far as possible. This can be obtained by holding rural conferences of members in small areas for a day once in 6 months where prominent Co-operators may be invited to deliver discourses on co-operative ideals and practices.

(c) Training of Village Secretaries.

With the growth of the movement, the relationship of the society to the financing banks and supervising agencies has also grown. The society secretary to-day has not only to write the accounts of his own society but also to submit a number of returns to several bodies. Very often the union supervisor has to do the clerical work. More often the knowledge of Co-operative administration being little with many secretaries, the supervisor is forced to assist in the administration of the village society which should be able to do without extraneous aid. Village secretaries' training classes are therefore absolutely essential if you are to prevent any wastage in the higher paid service of the movement. Classes should therefore be provided for a period of 15 days each year for training secretaries. This conference extending over a fortnight, of village secretaries, will be useful to them in exchanging notes and experiences year after year.

(d) Training of Panchayatdars.

This is conducted at present for 2 days by the District Federation in some districts. The classes to be effective should be held not merely at union centres where only the president or the secretary of a society would be present, but also in convenient rural centres where the Panchayatdars of about half a dozen societies can easily meet. Lectures on co-operative principles will hardly attract them, and they are too old to think of attending a school. Educational psychology followed in adult classes, namely, that the adults should think and resolve for themselves on the questions vitally affecting them, should be followed in the conduct of these classes. Such a small class of respectable adults grouped in convenient areas will liberate a volume of free thinking and

make it possible for a clear understanding of the larger relationship of the primary society with the arms of the co-operative organisation and the responsibilities and rights involved therein.

(e) Training of the lower and higher staff.

This should be provided in a college where provision should be made for varying courses according to the occupation of the co-operative employee. A common class, of course, may be provided for the students on general co-operation in other countries and co-operative principles and methods. But there should be specialised courses (a) for the lower supervisors in accounts, by-laws, co-operative credit organisation and teaching methods; (b) for the higher staff of the Federation, a knowledge of the subjects mentioned under (a), rural economics, economic surveys and knowledge of tried agricultural improvements and development of cottage industries; (c) for the staff of the Central and Urban Banks (1) a higher course in pure finance; agricultural finance and banking and accounts for secretaries and managers of central banks and (2) a lower course in the same for the other clerks; and (d) for the staff of the non-credit societies, special courses should be given according to the type of the society in which they are engaged. The staff of agricultural sale societies should be trained in crop finance and marketing of crops, of purchase societies in urban and rural areas, in export and import trade, of industrial societies in manufacture and production, and labour societies in labour conditions and labour organisations for economic uplift.

In addition to the special training for the various kinds of staff provided in a central college, arrangements should be made in each district for their periodical conferences for a fortnight for exchanging notes and experiences.

II. Agency.

The training of organisers, village secretaries and panchayatdars should be conducted by District Federations with the assistance of the unions. Provision should be made in the by-laws of the local unions and the District Federations for the inclusion of honorary members in separate education committees who are either Professors of Colleges or teachers of rural High Schools and whose services would be useful for the conduct of training courses. The District Federations should also provide for the periodical conferences of supervisors and the staff of non-credit societies. The Central and Urban Banks should provide for periodical conferences of other lower

and higher staff in the same manner. The Divisional Federations on the language basis should provide for the periodical conferences of the higher staff of the Federations. It may be noted that the special training in a college will be valuable only when a definite provision is made for an annual conference of the paid staff for refreshing their knowledge. Regarding the Central College, a joint committee of various types of institutions in the province with the adoption of members nominated by Government for their distinction and knowledge, in the field of co-operation or as experts in banking accounts, economics, agriculture and industries and on a constitution similar to that of the Bombay Institute will be the most suitable agency.

III. Funds.

The Central College should be run only at the cost of Government. Of course when once it is statutorily laid down that all co-operative institutions should select the staff from among those certified by the College, a number of students will join it and also pay tuition fees. As regards the recruitment of the lecturers, there are a number of co-operators of knowledge and experience whose services might be availed of for the College.

The number of students to be trained will no doubt be larger in the early years as a large number of employees now under employment would have to be trained and qualified. More classes may therefore be necessary for the first two years and these may be conducted at the least expense if the services of the existing co-operators of knowledge are utilised for the management of these classes.

The question has to be considered whether any special board is necessary for recruiting candidates for several types of societies. The recruitment of the lower staff which does clerical rather than educational or advanced work may be left in the hands of the institutions concerned; but the recruitment of the higher staff of Federations, Central Banks, non-credit and labour societies should be with the joint committee, already mentioned, which might hold a previous examination and select the candidates. Preference should be given in the selection to those students who have undergone a course in the University in Co-operation, and in Banking and Accounts in the College of Commerce. The Central College should be located in rural area. For the first few years, there may be a larger number of students in the College but gradually the College will have to supply men equal only to 5 per cent of the existing employees. It is not possible to expect a larger number of employees to leave the Co-operative movement every year,

No estimate is made in this note for the temporary expenditure required for holding district classes to select and train the existing employees. A provision of a sum of Rs. 1,000 for each district for the payment of salaries to a permanent tutor and the travelling allowance of lectures will be sufficient under this head. But the recurring expenditure for a Central College will have to be provided as a permanent item of the Co-operative budget. Some capital expenditure will be necessary when starting the College for buildings, library and furniture. This may be provided from the Common Good Funds of Central Banks and richer primary societies. It might also be provided from general funds by a system of contributions on the working capital of societies above a certain minimum. The capital expenditure might be estimated at Rs. 1,00,000 and the contribution of the State may be fixed on a rupee to rupee basis. It would be quite possible to get a sum of Rs. 50,000 from the societies in the province if an appeal is made to them to donate for the starting of the College.

The following recurring expenditure should be provided for the College:—

1. One Principal on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem.
2. Three Lecturers for audit, accounts and Banking, rural credit, and non-credit, of a salary of Rs. 200 per mensem each or Rs. 600.
3. Three Tutors on a salary of each Rs. 75 per mensem or Rs. 225.
4. Clerks, Contingencies, Stationery, Taxes and Library Rs. 6,000 per annum.
5. Excursions for practical exercises for 50 to 75 students per year Rs. 7,000 per annum.

The expenditure of the College would therefore amount to a sum of Rs. 30,000 per year in round figures. Assuming that a sum of Rs. 5,000 is realised as fees from 50 students, the net contribution of the State would only amount to Rs. 25,000. The question has to be considered whether Co-operative institutions should contribute a portion of the amount every year. This may be considered after a period of five years, when the resources in the movement may be adjusted according to their availability.

We have made no provision for the working of the Joint Committee which is to be in charge of the College. The expenses of the Committee should be met from the funds allotted under the Central College. We have also made no provision for increments in the salary of the College staff. It is not possible to work out full details and increments

may be met for the first few years by the tuition fees paid by the students.

The State should also make provision for the rural conferences of members and the training classes of panchayatdars. These cannot be held for more than 2 days at a time. The maximum grant of Rs. 20 for each of these classes or conferences not exceeding Rs. 1,000 for each district should be provided on the basis of the number of discourses given by lecturers as is done in England for adult education by the Universities. A class or a conference will no doubt cost more and this should be provided for by the institutions concerned. It is also necessary that the State should make a contribution for the periodical conferences of the low staff of Supervisors. These conferences would no doubt cost a great deal by way of travelling, boarding and lodging expenses to District Federations, and a sum of Rs. 500 might be provided by the State as a lump grant for each district.

This whole scheme of educational work depends on the appointment of a paid secretary for each District Federation on the grade of an Assistant Registrar and one higher supervisor for every 3 unions. It is this paid staff that will have to arrange educational programmes. The pushing of this programme in the two language areas, Tamil and Telugu, rests on the appointment of a paid educational secretary whose salary and allowances should be not less than Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 7,000 per annum. The Government should contribute to the whole of this expense as an educational grant for a period of 5 years within which time District Federations in each language area should be able to maintain one educational Secretary.

Annual conferences are also necessary for the higher staff of Federations for the period of a fortnight for exchange of thoughts and experiences. These conferences should be on the language basis and assuming that 10 senior supervisors attend from each district, the total expenses of running such conferences would at least amount to Rs. 5,000. The State should make a grant of half the amount spent in such conferences.

IV. Adult Education.

The scheme outlined above does not make provision for co-operative education in urban areas and for rural labour. It does not also provide for the general education of the intelligentia and the masses of urban population in co-operative matters. Neither adult rural education is provided under the scheme in matters pertaining to rural economics, sociology and civics. Unless Universities come into live touch with the

social and economic problems around them and enlarge their sphere of activities for the education of the adults and unless Municipalities and Local Boards promote the same, co-operative institutions by themselves will not be able to provide an intensive adult education. But certainly they can arrange for the spread of co-operative principles and practices among the wider public by a system of defined general lectures and tutorial classes. The time has certainly not come for conducting such educational lectures and classes in a sustained manner among the rural folk as is done in the Folk High schools of Denmark. But a system of general lecture courses may be provided for the masses of people, and also definite courses of study among clerks and other superior employees in urban areas. The general lectures might include the progress and development of the labour movement in the West, the consumers movement, and the efforts made for the workers' control of production. These lectures might be followed by small classes for those interested in a subject. There is a general enthusiasm among clerks and superior employees to learn social and economic problems. Also there is the unexplored field of training schools and colleges for all grades of teachers where lessons may profitably be given on rural co-operation. There are a large number of professors and lecturers in second grade colleges whose services in stimulating a study of social and economic problems will be unestimable to the movement. Co-operative bodies play not a small part in England in arranging for adult educational classes. It is not possible to wait for mass education until the Universities become connected with the live questions around them. Even before the Universities took a larger part in the education of adults, co-operative societies have pioneered by arranging for Night Schools and working men's classes in England. Urban societies may arrange for general lectures and tutorial classes with the aid of their Common Good Funds and by raising local subscriptions. The Education Department and the local bodies should give an equal grant for the conduct of such lectures and classes. The Education Department may no doubt call for definite courses and approved lecturers before it makes a grant. As regards the teaching of rural co-operation in Secondary and Elementary Training schools, it may be made part of the school curriculum, District Federations and the Co-operative Department assisting in the conduct of such classes where their services are required. It should no doubt be made a part of the education budget to arrange for co-operative courses of study in Training schools and colleges. Wherever District Federations are willing to undertake co-operative courses for teachers, the Education Department should have a systematic policy of assisting them with funds. It is not possible to assess the amount of

grant for general lecturers and systematic courses of study in urban areas but certainly these should be undertaken as an experiment in a few districts wherever urban societies gladly come forward to stimulate co-operative education.

V. Co-operation in Schools and Colleges.

It is also necessary to consider to what extent co-operative education can be furthered among the students. Opinion is divided on the question of introducing co-operation as a special subject in Elementary and Secondary schools. Detailed instructions from the Education Department of including the elements of co-operation in civics and geography lessons in the various standards according to the capacity of students would go a long way in the spread of co-operative education among boys and girls. As has been suggested by the recent Provincial Conference at Bombay, experimental high schools may be run in a few localities with a defined co-operative bias in the course of studies. Regarding college classes, no two opinions can be expressed as to the importance of including co-operation as a compulsory subject in the curriculum. For a long time to come, the intelligentsia in this country will have no small part to play in building up rural, urban and labour co-operation. Want of co-operative knowledge among the educated classes clog the progress of co-operation. It is therefore absolutely necessary that co-operation should be a compulsory course in all colleges whether of arts or professions. It is not possible to rely on the present Universities for also giving specialised courses in co-operation as adapted to the needs of our province. Hence the proposed central college under the independent charge of the Registrar and non-officials.

VI. State aid to various forms of adult co-operative education.

Co-operative education can also be spread through libraries, magic lanterns, cinemas, exhibitions and excursions. The State may make a grant of one-third and the local bodies another one-third of the amount spent by co-operative societies for maintaining Reading rooms and Libraries. At present, there is a small allotment for such libraries in charge of the Education Department and distributed by the Registrar to co-operative societies. The allotment should be part of the co-operative budget, and the stimulation of libraries may be started with a budget allotment of Rs. 200 for each district. It might also be made a general rule that as far as the State contributes to library funds, such libraries should be open to the public. Regarding magic lantern and cinema shows, the State may contribute one-third, the local bodies another one-third of

the total amount invested by co-operative societies in the purchase of lantern slides, films and other accessories. It should be noted that co-operative societies might also raise funds for these purposes by local subscriptions. As regards exhibitions, another grant should be made by the State and the local bodies. It has been found by experience that the progress of the movement is largely impeded for want of opportunities to the ryots to visit good and special types of societies, and excursions of rural ryots to places of co-operative interest will greatly accelerate the sound development of the movement. Wherever co-operative societies arrange for excursions of ryots, equal contributions should be made by the State and local bodies. The State makes large grants for excursions in Denmark. It is necessary that the State should promote all these forms of adult education and as a first step allot a sum of Rs. 200 for each district or a sum of Rs. 1,000 on the whole.

VII. Estimate of State Aid.

The financial results of the above schemes would be the following :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
(1) <i>Temporary grants.</i>			
(a) District sessional classes for training existing employees (Rs. 1,000 for each district) ...	25,000	0	0
(b) <i>Permanent grants.</i>			
Establishment of a Central College of Co-operation (rupee to rupee basis) ...	50,000	0	0
(2) <i>Recurring expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
(a) Central College ...	25,000	0	0
(b) Panchayatdars classes and rural conferences (Rs. 20 for each course and Rs. 100 for each district, ...)	25,000	0	0
(c) Annual fortnightly conferences of supervisors Rs. 500 for each district ...	12,500	0	0
(d) Annual fortnightly conferences of senior supervisors for the 2 language areas (Rs. 2,500 each) ...	5,000	0	0
(e) 2 paid educational secretaries for a period of 5 years ...	15,000	0	0
(f) Grants for Library, visual instruction, exhibition and excursions (Rs. 1,000 for each district) ...	25,000	0	0
Total of recurring grants (or in round figures Rs. 1,10,000) ...	1,07,500	0	0

As regards the manner of distribution of these grants, it should be definitely recognized that they should be distributed only by a single non-official agency to the other institutions. The enthusiasm for educational work would be quickened and a large amount of local subscriptions made available in each district only when the work is co-ordinated through non-official agencies. The Registrar may, of course, nominate a few members to the language divisional unions in so far as the State contribute funds. The Registrar will also be greatly relieved of detailed control of educational expenditure by working through these divisional unions. Adults cannot be forced to learn nor compelled to go through detailed courses prescribed from the headquarters. A certain amount of elasticity is required in such an education and the State would derive a large benefit by maintaining a general control while leaving details to the non-official bodies. The policy followed in the West regarding adult education is that the State and the local bodies should supply a larger part of the funds, the Universities, the experts and the local associations the stimulus for the work. Following the same principles in a general manner, the Registrar should work through the two Provincial Unions of the two language areas.

THE COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.

Some Reflections

THE FEDERATION

By MR. E. S. SUNDA B. A. B. L.,

President, Madura City Co-operative Union.

With the opening of the taking of evidence by the above Committee, we are having before us the first great difference on a point of high importance in the co-operative world. Mr. M. K. Venkatachari, a former Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, whose anxiety and earnestness for the cause cannot be questioned, has unequivocally pleaded for a sacrosanct and exclusive body for his district. Unfortunately, his own district man, Mr. Rajabadar Mudaliar, has spoken very vehemently in favour of active representation of the Central Bank in the Federation. From the evidence of both whose views we ought to respect, some definite facts are available :—

(i) that the financial bank is as anxious as it ought to be to have a very fixed and prominent place in the supervising body (if not with other activities also);

(ii) that the supervising body, as such, is not very anxious to have any fetters placed by the financing bank;

(iii) that there is obviously a friction between the Bank and the Federation or at least friction is expected; and

(iv) that the Bank representation is only a sop to tide over the opposition of the Bank.

Whatever it is, that the formation of a district supervising body has been and is responsible for this difference in thought if not actual friction is certain.

Before we proceed to consider whether there is any solution out of this difficulty or to resort to a via media between the views of these eminent men, we ought to frankly face the question whether there is any necessity at all for the Federation as a new body in the co-operative movement.

FEDERATION UNNECESSARY.

I am sure the raising of this question will certainly inflame some Co-operators. I yield to none in my admiration of the intense and sincere work which these are doing by means of the Federation, but I should confess that the functioning of the Federation in one district cannot be said to be a forecast of the success that may attend the new organization in other parts of the Presidency. I am not assured of the success of the Federation activities, though in another name either at Salem or at Tanjore. The Committee on Co-operation is here to take stock and consider the working of the movement in the Presidency as a whole. Will I be wrong if I refer to the East Godavari District Conference where the major number of the Unions expressed themselves against the Federation rule and declared independence by severing their connection with the latter? In fact, it went further and started and recommended the abolition of the Federation. I am conscious that there are bodies called "Federations" working in several districts of the Presidency which meet once a year to elect the office-bearers who sometimes act as the self-styled spokesmen of the Federation. We should plainly ask why the new organisation as the Federation which was introduced with horns and trumpets could not obtain a Presidency acceptance. The answers are not far to seek.

1. The Federation which started as a supervising body certainly interfered with the independence and autonomy of the Unions. To make myself clear, I can quote an instance in which the Federation's Secretary has interfered with the actual management of the Union even in such small matters as the granting, suspending or dismissing of a Supervisor and also in manœuvring to see a favourite of the Secretary appointed instead.

2. The Unions as such feel that there is no necessity for this new domineering body.

3. We have instances of how the changes and transfers of Supervisors by the Federation have resulted in the extreme animosities between some unions and the Federation.

4. The Supervision by a district organization leads to the formation of some of the Unions classed as favourites of the Federation and some others as the chosen detestables.

5. And as the Federation is composed of Governing body members of District Banks, an over-wily Secretary of the Federation interferes in the management of democratic elections to the hitherto unfettered Unions. We have had samples of sermons orally given by the Bank and Federation Secretaries that certain persons are not to be and cannot be sent as representatives to sit along with these august personages either in the Bank or in the Federation.

6. What is the constitution of this Federation after all? It is merely a joining of the Union and the Bank representatives in one. And what is the constitution of the Central Bank? It is composed of Unions and individuals. Of course individuals too have a place in the Federation. The question of the representation of the Central Bank in the Federation over which considerable powder and shot are being wasted now before the Co-operation Committee is only superfluous, for both the bodies are one and the same in their constitution and form. It does not make much difference whether X, Y, Z, are in the one or A, B, C, are in the other. Unions say that this Federation is only a duplication of the Central Bank with probably the very same persons appearing there also most unceremoniously even without the formality of a change.

7. Everywhere there is the cry that the co-operative movement is suffering for want of human material but the humanity available has not exhausted still the creation of any number of new bodies in the movement. If the persons working in the Bank are serious, nothing prevents their doing propaganda and supervision work as the respectable members of the Bank. They are not going to do better if they take up the new route of the Federation and walk in the villages with their new honours.

8. If really the Central Bank wants that their overdues should be easily collected and that the affiliated Unions and the Primaries should probably discharge their respective functions, that the monies sent out should come in at the proper time, that the amounts lent out should

be used for useful purposes and for the purposes asked for, should it not take up the responsibility itself? And why should it relegate it to another body where its representation is now questioned; where its control even if it wants may be subsequently disputed and where its voice may at a still later time even be repudiated?

9. After all wherefrom does the Federation spring? It feeds on the poor Unions which are already condemned as strangling the Primaries. There is the Bank which feeds the Federation most, only to be told that it shall not have a seat or it shall have a seat only with its indulgence and probably with the help of a solicitous Registrar who promises to make new by-laws.

10. Should the Bank be treated like this for its doling out the money and should the Bank pay out any money to any body for doing such legitimate work which it ought to do? What control is the Bank going to have if the Federation itself is not going to work properly? Federation need not be and is not at the mercy of the Bank provided its feeding cost is assured. It need not bow to the Bank as the Unions and Primaries have to. Federations do not go in for loans from the financing banks and Federations do not recommend loans either unless in the new dispensation the Federation displaces the Unions in this respect also.

11. We therefore realise that the financing bank is purposely and wantonly and spending money on an institution over which it cannot at any time have any control while it may even reject the Bank's overtures for any favours. Is there no way out of this situation?

12. Why should not the Financing Bank arrange for efficient supervision itself through its directors who may be and ought to be amenable and answerable to it. As a body that spends out, it should be a body to know how it is spent out. The forming of a supervision committee by the Bank working under the directions of its Executive is not after all a difficult suggestion to adopt. The same persons that may stand as the Federationists may as well adorn the Supervision Committee and carry on the Supervision work without the superfluous nomenclature of a Dt. Federation. The question of representation of the Bank in the Federation and the Federation in the Bank will never arise. The problem of superiority of one over the other, the troubles ahead regarding the smooth working of two District institutions and the chances of eradicating the Unions by this new body will all disappear. The Bank will have the satisfaction that its committee looks after the supervision work efficiently. It will have what is more a paramount satisfaction that the money is spent by itself for reasons that are best

known to the Supervision Committee. Again, it has got the right to say to the committee and control it by saying "thus far and no further". Above all, the Unions will feel that the old Bank is the one body that always controls, supervises and helps them and their affiliated primaries. It will leave that subtle grudge which it now has towards the new fangled institution of a federation. It shall not receive any threatening communications from the Federation that its rebate from the financing bank will be forfeited if the whims of the Federation Secretary or its Executive in a particular aspect of co-operative life are not satisfied. The Unions can think and express their own views most honestly, emphatically and courageously to the financing bank and need not feel fettered by a District organization which may in course of time adopt the appellation 'friend, guide and philosopher' of the movement.

12. What is more—the Unions will have the supreme satisfaction that they are thought of as the bedrock of the Co-operative Movement in urban as well as in rural areas.

13. Federation as such and its by-laws as obtainable are capable of considerable mischief if not danger. We have had instances of the Federation having the courage to come out and say that they shall take up even the important item of auditing; in fact Federation was started as announced if it is started at all properly as a Supervising and propaganda party of earnest workers but its ambition to top the movement as an auditing force is really deplorable. The pages of the Madras Bulletin of Co-operation of recent date will show that how a new body will easily displace the harmony that is now obtaining.

14. If efficient supervision is not possible with the poor money which the Unions can pay or the Bank can afford is it going to be available as soon as a new body rears its head—will not the money spent on a new organization be better spent if efficient instruction is given to the Paichayatdars and the workers in the primaries by the Bank itself or by the Union with such monies as may be obtainable from the Government also?

15. In fact, the practical view of the work of the Federation will certainly mean the swallowing of a large amount by the Federationists in travelling allowances, etc. Many ordinary loans will be pitchforked as loans coming out as a result and outcome of the efficient propaganda work of the Federation and figures will be thrown out to strike us regarding the management of the Federation—but this is all moonshine. If honest workers in villages are created or manufactured, I am sure the money that is spent on travelling allowances of bigger men who

would vote for a pleasure car taking them to the villages, will be spent on them with considerable economy and greater savings to the Bank.

16. I am for an efficient establishment working in the financing Banks under the Bank supervision committee and if possible the stationary Secretary, who facilely decides on loan applications and property statements and talks glibly of the progress of the movement, should be asked to be a pucca full-timed officer and the scriptory work of the office should be left in charge of the Accountant or the Manager. In fact, I fail to see what an at home and closetted salaried Secretary of a District Bank can do for the co-operative movement when his routine work in the office can most efficiently be done by an assistant or a capable manager. As for the big responsibility of recommending loans, the Banks themselves in their fits of generosity say that they have shifted it to the Unions. As for the Bank's own trust on these recommendations, the Secretary can endorse the views by his D. O's to the Manager of the Bank's office, immediately after his visit to the place in question.

In fact, the view expressed above may annoy honest Federationists; but the question of Federation as a growth of the movement in the Presidency should be considered by the Committee on Co-operation. The Hon'ble Mr. V. Ramadas can bear witness to the chorus of applause that went with me when I spoke against the Provincial Co-operative Union being made a Federation of Federations. In fact, the meeting held recently at the Servants' of India Society by the P. C. U. was a triumph for the Unionists. Situations on problems of this kind and human material in different places differ. The Tamil Nadu, at least a major portion of the southern districts, has not been very hospitable towards this new organization, while those of the Andhradesa have been actively hostile.

GENERAL INFORMATION REGISTER IN CENTRAL BANKS.

BY RAO SAHIB T. SRINIVASA RAO

It is pleasing to note that at least now, and after the lapse of three and a half years since a proposal was made to that effect, the Registrar has found that:—

"It is necessary that each Central Bank should maintain a correct and up-to-date record of the names of directors of each primary

THE CENTRAL BANKS' CONFERENCE.

BY RAO SAHIB T. SRINIVASA RAO.

Co-ordination and Regulation of the Central Banks' work through the Central Banks' Conference:—The need for the Central Banks' Conference under un-official auspices is explained in a paper contributed by me to the first session of the Central Banks' Conference (May 1926) and the Central Banks are realising the usefulness of that institution. During the short time of its existence, it has roused the Central Banks into an active consciousness of their responsibilities. It has stimulated Central Banks to undertake through unions (and with such field staff of its own as may be necessary for the purpose) the verification of assets in rural societies and the rectification and consolidation of those societies. It has already advised them to investigate their own affairs on the lines since indicated in the Special Questionnaire, addressed to Central Banks by the Committee on Co-operation. It moved the Registrar in the matter of the supply of copies of the annual statutory audit reports to Central Banks. It recommended to Central Banks to form an Administrative Section to deal with the audit and other reports received by it, with a view to examining and watching the condition of societies financed by it. It has advocated the appointment of a paid, full-time, Secretary in each bank, in the place of the present so-called honorary secretary, who in many banks gets as honorarium an amount of remuneration for which a trained, competent, full-time Secretary can be had. It has brought to their notice the necessity for an efficient and technically trained office staff. It is taking steps towards regularising their concurrent audit. It is exercising a healthy influence in regulating the rates of interest on deposits in several Central Banks, thereby removing to an extent the reproach of joint stock banks that co-operative banks offer higher rates than are warranted by the money market. It has drawn the attention of the Central Banks to their responsibility to the investing public—a thing rarely thought of in certain co-operative circles. It has undertaken to examine the need for the revision of the bye-laws of rural societies, supervising unions and central banks in the light of the suggestions of the late Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Rao Bahadur A. Vedachala Iyer. It has also undertaken the preparation of a Central Banks Manual.

In these and many other directions, there is a great scope for effecting improvement in the working of Central Banks through their Conference. The Conference has before it large potentialities which will, it is hoped, be brought into full play in due course.

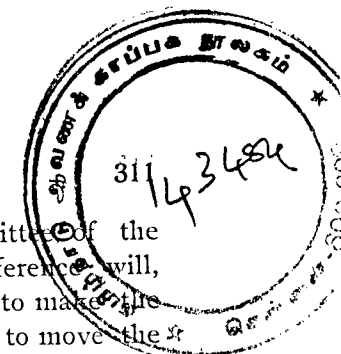
Acting in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Madras Central Urban Bank, the Central Banks' Conference will, I think, do well, in the interests of facility for business, to make the Executive Committee its Working Committee, and also to move the Madras Central Urban Bank to form an Administrative Section to look after the working of Central Banks. The Administrative Section may have also to arrange for visits to Central Banks with a view to improving their methods of business and co-ordinating their work.

True, the Conference has no written constitution which in the view of some co-operators is a defect; but the idea is to establish its working on conventions adopted from time to time which in due course will form its unwritten constitution. We have already more types of registered (but not properly functioning) institutions than we need and let us not add one more.

NON-CREDIT CO-OPERATION—AN APPEALBY MR. K. L. NARASIMHA RAU B.A., B.L.,
(Convener, Non-Credit Committee, P. C. U.)

It is admitted by all Co-operators in our country that the non-credit side of the Co-operative Movement has not yet taken a firm root in India. The consumers' societies, with the solitary exception of the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society, have not proved much of a success. We have no producers' organisations worth mentioning which approach anywhere near such organisations in Europe, in countries like Denmark. Co-operative Marketing is little or not known at all. If a country is to be rich and prosperous, then it must have all these forms of co-operation. Denmark which is a barren country, which was once ridden with poverty, has now become immensely rich through agricultural co-operation, especially through the co-operative dairy farms, co-operative livestock societies and co-operative marketing of the agricultural produce and livestock, etc. etc. Take again the example of Canada. The farmers of Canada have organised co-operative marketing of their wheat through Pool system so efficiently that the ring of the wheat monopolisers in the world market has been successfully broken. And the farmer there is getting nearly twice as much money for his produce as he formerly used to get when he was selling to the middleman.

In India, these movements are not much of a success partly due to the fact that there are not men here with sufficient knowledge and enthusiasm to work them. Just as we are a subject nation in politics, we are a backward race in economic theories. We are a pathetically contented race. The combined result of all these is, India which was



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once fabulously rich has now become proverbially poor. If India wants to rise to her full nation-hood, and if she wants to gain her former glory, she can no longer afford to be behind times or keep herself secluded and isolated. By modern means of transport like Railways, Steamers and Aeroplanes, the difficulties of space, time and distances have been greatly overcome and both the hemispheres feel knit together to-day more than any two countries felt themselves hitherto. India must realise, whatever may be her spiritual glory, that she has been materially backward. For the evolution of a truly happy race, materialism is as much necessary as spiritualism. A hungry man requires food, not philosophy, to be happy and a rich man requires philosophy and not food to be happy. Without that, the one will be like the soul without the beautiful body and the other a beautiful body without a soul. As ordinary human beings, we require both and we cannot, or rather should not, develop the one at the expense of the other. So let India arise and be awake and develop her material prosperity without losing her spiritual greatness by taking to Non-Credit Co-operation.

WHAT OTHERS SAY ABOUT US.

The Director of Agriculture on Co-operation.

It is a general practice for officers of the Agricultural Department to attend the periodical general meetings of the co-operative supervising unions. They also attend other co-operative conferences such as district and taluk conferences, district conferences of representatives of local unions and meetings of inspectors and supervisors. At these gatherings, they deliver lectures and give demonstrations, and bring to the notice of the co-operators assembled, improved methods of cultivation, improved strains of seed and manures and implements suited to the particular locality. Deputy Directors and other senior officers of the Department become members of the District Federations of local co-operative unions which have been recently formed, the idea being that such officers should not only advise and assist in every possible way in regard to the introduction and popularisation of improved methods of agriculture, but that they should make use of the federations as vehicles for propaganda work and distribution. These federations are, in fact, one of the means to their hands for getting into touch with a certain number of the ryots. The rural co-operative societies are being utilised for propaganda work and for the distribution of literature issued by the Department and the secretaries of these societies have been instructed by the Registrar to call meetings of the general body whenever new publications are received in order that they may be read aloud to, and discussed by, the members. At the same time, it must be remembered

that the officers of the Agricultural Department have a lot of other things to do, and they are also concerned with non-members of co-operative societies, and only a limited portion of their time can be devoted to this class of work.

An attempt has been made during the year to hand over some of the work of seed and manure distribution at present done by the Agricultural Department to well-organised co-operative societies and a circular was issued to that effect by the Registrar. There has, however, not been very much response. A promising beginning has been made with the conversion of cotton seed farms into recognised co-operative societies in the neighbourhood of Tiruppur and Avanashi. This has enabled us to reduce the loans given to the ryots, and in the coming year it is hoped that these may be still further reduced. In the Tanjore delta, five co-operative agricultural societies have been formed of which the Lalgudi Sivagnanam Society is the model. These societies are doing good work and not only demonstrate improvements advocated by the Agricultural Department on their own farms, but also raise a supply of good seed which is available to their members and others. It is hoped to form more societies of this kind. They are undoubtedly a move in the right direction, but they should depend more upon their own efforts, and less on the help of Agricultural Demonstrators. As they get older and gain experience and confidence, no doubt they will be able to do this.

The Agricultural Department endeavours to work as closely as possible with its sister department and our work in many cases paves the way for the establishment of co-operative societies. Our work must necessarily come first and improved agriculture afterwards. The reverse must be the case and success with co-operative agricultural societies can only be hoped for in places where the Agricultural Department has first gained the confidence of the ryots and demonstrated to them the real benefit to be obtained from the improvements which they advocate.

I have personally endeavoured to keep in the closest possible touch with the co-operative movement, and when I am in tour I always make it a point to meet as many co-operators as possible and attend meetings of co-operative societies and unions. With my present staff and the many calls on their time and energies, it is doubtful whether more can be done. The subject of co-operation and rural economics has been introduced into the degree course at the Agricultural College at Coimbatore, and I would again state that in my opinion it is desirable that non-credit work should be entrusted to officers who have had an agricultural training and who know the real needs of the agriculturists.

*(Extract from the Report of the Agricultural Department,
Madras, for 1926-1927.)*

Beyond Rochdale

Now understand me well—it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.

Allons! The road is before us!

Walt Whitman.

Not many co-operators grasp the inner meaning of what Walt Whitman has written here. If they did, they would be less inclined to camp upon the grave of the Rochdale Pioneers, or to declare that the old store in Toad-lane is the apex of all co-operative architecture. Whitman teaches that every success is not an end but a beginning; that in human effort, there is no finality but only continuity; that everything achieved by man hitherto is experimental and provisional. Have the elder races halted? Well, the road is before us.

Among us, it is customary to believe that all Co-operation exists in the germ in the familiar programme of the 'Famous Twenty-eight'. Our propagandists speak and write as if that programme is comparable with the faith once delivered to the saints. When it had been formulated, the canon of our scriptures was for ever closed. Nothing is left to be added, nothing needs to be altered. The phraseology is sacred and to doubt it would be blasphemy. All that is required, so we are often told, is to keep on doing what the pioneers did. We must imitate their methods and continue their success, for thus alone shall we, in the fulness of time, conquer the world and make certain that all things will be added unto us.

The conservative spirit that inspires this reverence for traditionalism and old-established customs is the worst enemy of Co-operation. The Pioneers did well. We do right to honour them and rejoice in the work they did and the success that crowned their toil. But the Pioneers were infinitely more important than what they accomplished. The Co-operative Movement was not built upon their methods but upon their character. Their faith and energy, self-reliance and independence, pugnacity and common-sense are the real treasures that Rochdale has to show. As for the rest, "it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary."

The Rochdale programme was not the first word of Co-operation and certainly it will not be the last. Already the Co-operative Movement has passed far beyond Rochdale, and even while men profess their allegiance to the Rochdale plan, they have abandoned the Rochdale methods. The extent to which these methods have already been abandoned is not yet clearly visible, but evidence accumulates and proves that the Rochdale plan is being altered in its very fundamentals. In the text-books, we are told the Pioneers held that "the

principle of 'one member, one vote' should obtain in Government," but this was abandoned years ago in both our big national federations; and in an important organisation lately formed, the very notion of democracy is openly disregarded. These departures from the equalitarian principle may be good or ill; the truth is that in all these big federations Co-operation has passed far beyond Rochdale.

In Rochdale it was insisted that "no credit should be given or asked," and that salutary rule did much to ensure the success and permanence of the Rochdale store. But credit-giving is fast becoming a general practice in the great majority of British co-operative societies, and even the annual Co-operative Congress, at the invitation of the Co-operative Union, has approved credit in "club transactions," a term that covers a multitude of ways of contracting debt. The alteration may not be unwise, perhaps it was inevitable, but it is another example of the way in which the Movement moves. Hire purchase systems and mutuality clubs are spreading fast. Soon only a dwindling minority of co-operators will adhere strictly to the Rochdale rule. Nay, the time is coming when responsible leaders of the Movement will defend, and justly, credit-giving in the name of the old co-operative motto, "Each for all and all for each."

The Rochdale plan of stimulating loyalty by dividing co-operative trading surpluses among individual co-operators in proportion to their individual purchases has been boldly challenged in recent years, and although the system is still popular, its hold upon the members is weakening, and will weaken more as the decades pass. Even the policy of sale at market prices is now attacked and the most able thinkers among the younger co-operative economists assert

The way of a Man

He dashed into the police station at midnight, explaining that his wife had been missing since eight o'clock that morning, and asking that search be made for her.

"Her description," said the sergeant. "Height?"

"I—I don't know?"

"Weight?"

The husband shook his head vaguely.

"Colour of eyes?"

"Er—average, I expect."

"Do you know how she was dressed?"

"I expect she wore her coat and hat. She took the dog with her."

"What kind of dog?"

"Brindle bull terrier, weight fourteen-and one half pounds; four dark blotches on his body, shading from grey to white.

Round, blackish spot over the left eye, white stub tail, three white legs, and right front leg brindled, all but the toes. A small nick in the left ear, a silver-link collar, with

"That'll do?" gasped the sergeant. "We'll find the dog."

(The Milgate Monthly).

that it will no longer work. At the recent International Co-operative Congress the question was asked: Is not Co-operation, powerful and widespread as it now is in many countries, in honour bound to help in forcing down the general price level, instead of helping to maintain retail prices fixed by private traders and monopolising combines? The old method is hopelessly out-of-date and a new method of fixing prices must be devised. Here also "a great struggle" makes it necessary that a method unknown in Rochdale shall speedily "come forth".

But the crowning period of the insufficiency of the Rochdale plan is furnished by our new participation in national politics. The pioneers announced and wisely in their day, that "the present Co-operative Movement does not intend to meddle in the various religious or political differences which now exist in society, but by a common bond, namely, that of self-interest, to join together the means, the energies and talents of all for the common benefit of each." The declaration was the embodiment of their own sagacity, business prudence, and worldly wisdom; although idealists may ask how "self-interest" could ever become a spiritualising principle, none who know the circumstances of their day or the difficulties against which they had to struggle will deny that the pioneers were wise in limiting their co-operation to the factory and the store. Yet their "present" is not our present, and where is the British co-operative leader of our own day who will assert that the Co-operative Movement should refrain from taking political action to protect its own interests and ensure its own growth?

The Co-operative Party may be wisely or unwisely led. Its relation to other parties may be co-operative or unco-operative. These are questions that we do not now discuss. The point is that from the "fruition of success" has come forth the necessity for passing beyond the limits fixed by the Rochdale plan. We may revise our policy in politics, alter the constitution of the Co-operative Party, change our methods of securing direct representation; but does any sane co-operator now believe we shall ever again retreat to the position our Movement occupied before the Swansea Congress? Necessity has no reverence for the Rochdale programme. The ideals of Victorian Radicalism are as lifeless as Queen Anne. Those who assert that Rochdale is the Alpha and the Omega of Co-operation misunderstand "the essence of things." By their own conservatism, they do the memory of the Pioneers a very real disservice.

Surely the time has come when we should cease to worship the past, when we should press forward on the road before us. Co-operation is a living movement, and just as the life of every living creature is conditioned by its own environment, so must the Co-operative Movement modify and change its methods to satisfy the needs of a newer time. The methods peculiar to Rochdale are not the principles of Co-operation; to depart from them is not to abandon anything of lasting worth. Whether each member has one vote or not is a small matter. The importance of the dividend system can be over-stressed. Cash trading is

"Doctor, what I need is something to stir me up, something to put me in fighting trim."

"Well, perhaps I'd better send in my bill,"

not the Ark of the Covenant, nor will the foundations of the Movement tremble as co-operators use the power they have as voters to multiply their power as purchasers. The essential thing that co-operators shall understand the principles they espouse, and clearly visualise the end they seek.

We write like this, not to belittle the Pioneers whose legitimate descendants we are, but to stimulate the growth of new ideas and forward-looking minds. Men act wisely when they "let the dead bury the dead". Co-operators cannot dissociate themselves from their own past but all should understand that all progress involves departure from old systems, the substitution of new programmes for old plans, and a revaluation of every ancient gospel. We who live in the twentieth century, are in no wise bound by what our fathers did a hundred years ago. Our duty is to look ahead and tread the road that lies before us. We have to test old systems, to criticise old programmes and discard every method that is no longer good. In sober truth, we honour the Pioneers most when we surpass them. We dishonour our fathers when we linger near their tomb. If the fame of the "Twenty-Eight" is to be enduring, we must pass beyond Rochdale.

(From the Co-operative Official, December 1927)

Is Co-operation Proletarian?

BY PROF. CHARLES GIDE.

There are in the Alliance, and moreover in the Co-operative Movement as a whole, two tendencies which are difficult to reconcile: one which wishes to make Co-operation a "proletarian" organisation, ranging itself with trade-unionism and the Socialist Party against the middle classes; and the other which is wrongly styled neutral and which it would suffice to call simply "open", which means that it seeks to defend the interests of all consumers, whether proletarian or middle class. It is not only a difference of procedure, nor even of mentality, which separates these two programmes: it is a difference of doctrine. Proletarian Co-operation only sees the exploitation of the worker and is obsessed by the theories of Karl Marx, who sees in all value only one element—labour; and who only sees in profits a portion of labour for which the worker has not been paid. So-called neutral Co-operation, in accordance with the theory of the new economy, sees in value a creation of needs, and of demand, and in profits that part of value which is levied without reason on the consumer and which it wishes to restore to him.

But it is certain that the Marxist theory is not only more attractive to the people but also much easier to understand: the theory of "final utility" is not only distasteful but unintelligible to the worker.

"To finish up this affair, let's make an appointment for next week. Would Thursday suit you?"

"Thursday is out of the question. I am going to America then,"

"All right, Friday."

We refuse to admit the theory set forth by the Russians that Co-operation "is only for the poor and not for the rich." No doubt it is more useful to the former than the latter, but we consider that it is for every one and that if the rich are fleeced as consumers (and they certainly are) they also have the right to a place in Consumers' Co-operative Societies. To make Co-operation a monopoly of the proletariat is not only a limitation but a contradiction since Co-operation aims precisely at the suppression of the proletariat. By claiming economic supremacy for the consumer, it not only fights against the dictatorship of capital but equally against that of labour.

It is absolutely inexact to claim, as the Russians do, that Co-operation has only succeeded where it has combined its action with that of the working class. Sweden, Switzerland, and many other countries have very flourishing Co-operative Organisations, although they are entirely outside the class struggle. Co-operative Societies are gaining an increasing number of members from amongst the middle classes.

(Extract from *Revue d'Economie Politique* published in the *International Co-op. Bulletin* of January)

Prof. Gide on Advertising.

Although it may be good tactics in warfare to borrow the weapons or to adopt the methods of the enemy, we must not lose sight of the aim of Co-operation, which is not so much to destroy private traders as to transform commercial methods expended on advertising, the cost of which is, naturally, paid by the consumer. Above all, they must avoid making use of advertising in the way private traders do, that is to say, to press the consumer into needless spending and to suggest to his mind expensive ideas of his needs all for the sake of bringing profit to the trader. Let Co-operative Societies advertise if they wish, but let it be simply with the object of making known to the consumer his real needs and the source and quality of the best means of satisfying them. For example, with regard to foodstuffs, co-operative advertising should show through the pages of its journals, or even by posters in shops, those goods which contain the maximum amount of nourishment for the minimum cost. In a word, advertising by Co-operative Societies should become a channel of instruction in domestic economy, hygiene, and commercial morality.

(From the *International Bulletin*, January).

DISTRICT NEWS.

Co-operation in Travancore:—At the fifth session of the All-Travancore Co-operative Conference held at Shertallay on the 3rd and 4th ultimo under the presidency of Mr. A. Sivarama Menon of the Madras Bar, resolutions were passed requesting the Government to grant a lakh of rupees to the Central Co-operative Bank, Trivandrum, to extend the maximum period of loans granted to societies to 10 years, to reduce the rate of interest to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, to introduce land mortgage banks, to start schools for training Co-operators, to grant more

aids to Co-operative Unions, to appoint more efficient officers for inspection and propaganda, to encourage night schools for depressed classes, to immediately institute an economic enquiry into the working of the societies and appoint a committee for the same.

The presidential address is published elsewhere in this issue.

Rural Reconstruction:—Speaking on the subject at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium on the 16th ultimo, Mr. G. K. Devadhar said that unless greater facilities were afforded to the masses especially in rural parts for their education, they could not come in line with the general advancement of the country. The education should be one adapted to the life led by the villager. He observed that though the various departments of Government—agricultural, co-operative, and other kindred departments—were as keen as any enthusiastic non-official in the work of rural upliftment, they could not achieve much as they did not receive the necessary co-operation from the public.

Co-operative Training Classes:—At Tiruppur, a training class for the panchayatdars of societies affiliated to the Local Union was held under the auspices of the Coimbatore District Federation when, Messrs. K. G. Sivaswamy of the Servants of India Society, Madras, and T. S. Venkataramana Iyer of Coimbatore addressed the Co-operators assembled on the bylaws of the rural societies and also the History of the Co-operative Movement. On the next day, lectures were delivered by Messrs. C. D. Samuel Pillai, Assistant Registrar, Coimbatore, and N. Subramania Iyer, Secretary of the Coimbatore District Bank on 'the method of keeping co-operative accounts' and 'duties of panchayatdars' respectively.

At Harpanahalli, Bellary District:—Under the auspices of the Bellary Dt. Co-operative Federation, a training class for Panchayatdars was held at Harpanahalli from 18th to 20th of December 1927. Messrs. Cunniah Chetty, Assistant Registrar, Rama Bhat Joshi, Assistant Secretary, District Federation, and A. Ramachandra Row, the Senior Inspector, attended the functions. Lectures were delivered by Messrs. A. Narayan, Cunniah Chetty, Rama Bhat Joshi and A. Ramachandra Row on (1) Principles of Co-operation; (2) Act, Society, and Union. Their management and their function; (3) Maintenance of accounts; (4) Preparation of Statements; and (5) Library and Literature. The attendance was encouraging. Nearly 50 Panchayatdars were present. An expenditure of Rs. 164-14-0 was incurred.

At Kandukur, Nellore District:—Classes were held at Kandukur for panchayatdars under the auspices of the Nellore District Co-operative Federation on the 21st and 22nd January. Out of 20 societies affiliated to the Kandukur Union, 16 societies were represented by 41 members.

Lectures were delivered on various subjects namely, 1) the necessity for holding the classes; 2) the principle of co-operation; 3) the bylaws of village

societies; 4) the relations between primaries, the union, the central bank, and federation; 5) keeping up of registers and accounts etc.

The following gentlemen kindly co-operated in conducting the classes:— Messrs V. Raghaviah, B.A., V. Sivarama Sastri, V. Narasinga Rao, B.A., M. V. Ramana Rao, and M. Ramakrishna Rao.

At Polavaram, East Godavari District:—Under the auspices of the East Godavari District Federation, Co-operative Panchayatdars' Classes were held at Polavaram, Analapuram Taluq on 8, 9, and 10 for the island Polavaram Villages. More than 100 co-operative members and Panchayatdars daily attended the classes. Sree Raja Kakarlapudi Batchi Kristnama Raja Bahadur Garu, President of the Polavaram Co-operative Society, made excellent arrangements for the boarding and lodging of all members in his spacious haveli.

Sjt Sabnivi Krishna Rao Garu, Zamindar of Paningipalli, opened the conference on the 8th instant. In his opening address, he dwelt at length on the possibilities of the Co-operative movement and urged the panchayatdars to turn their attention to the non-credit side of the movement which makes the organisation of cottage industries feasible.

Sjt Narasimhadevara Satyanarayana, Secretary of the East Godavari District Federation, dwelt at length on the duties and responsibilities of Panchayatdars. He gave a succinct view of the development of the co-operative movement in its several phases and directions. Statistics showing the gradual improvement and emancipation of the masses explained by Mr. Satyanarayana served an eye-opener to the people assembled. He finally exhorted them to utilise the immense potentialities of the movement for an all-round improvement.

Sjt J. A. Ramamurthy B.A. of the West Godavari spoke on the Khaddar movement and its inseparable relation to the economic improvement of the masses. He emphasised that the co-operative workers should use their experiences gained hitherto for the propagation of Khaddar on Co-operative lines.

Sjt. Godavari Satyanarayana, Secretary, Kotipalli Union, spoke on the practical working of the societies and the disabilities that have to be got over in the day to day working.

Sjt. Mosalakanti Tirumala Rao of Cocanada spoke briefly on the achievements of the Co-operative movement in other lands and how it gave strength to other nations from within. India too, he said, should acquire that capacity for co-operative action and honesty of purpose through this movement if it wants to attain success in her struggle for Swaraj.

Supervisors' classes were held side by side and more than a dozen of them received practical instruction.

A public meeting of island villages was arranged on 9th, under the auspices of the Polavaram Island Association. Messrs Narasimhadevara Satyanarayana and M. Tirumala Rao addressed the meeting. Both of them spoke on the resettlement operations and the need for immediate concerted action on the part of the people to resist successfully the impost of 18½ per cent enhancement of revenue recommended by the settlement officer.

The general body meeting of the Polavaram Co-operative Society was held and resolved to request the department to organise a separate co-operative union for island villages.

The conference came to a successful close and is realised to be of a great educative value to the Panchayatdars, to the people and the supervisors under training. Thanks are due to Sree Raja Krishnam Raju Garu for his hospitable arrangements.

* * * *

The Hood Co-operative Institute and the Dev. Minister:—The Hon Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, our popular Development Minister, paid a visit on the 18th ultimo to the Co-operative Training Class of the Institute camping at Papanasam for practical work. In his lucid address to the students, he said that co-operation is a religious work and that missionaries are required in large numbers to do the sacred task. He exhorted them to carry out the programme they had set before themselves sincerely and efficiently as they as missionaries would be doing immense service to the poorer masses of the country.

* * *

The XVI Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference.

Resolution of the Advisory Body of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union passed at its meeting held on 24th December 1927.

"(i) Resolved that if Nellore is for any reason unable to hold the XVI Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference, as usual in Easter Week, the Conference may be held on a later date which suits the Nellore Reception Committee better, or at Rajahmundry to which place Mr. N. Satyanarayana has renewed the invitation which he extended to the Conference at the XV Session at Madura. The Conference shall be held not later than the end of June.

(ii) The P. C. U. will arrange to invite to the XVI Madras Provincial Conference a few leading co-operators of other provinces in order to discuss the practicability of arranging for an All-India Co-operative Conference next year. The election of the President, and the Office-bearers of the Conference will be left to the Reception Committee at the place where the Conference is held."

The above resolution was communicated to the authorities at Nellore and the Secretary of the Nellore District Co-operative Banking Union, Ltd., communicated to us in reply the following resolution of the Executive Committee of the Bank.

"Owing to the unexpected and the heavy damage caused by the Cyclone in the district and its devastating effect on the town and its public halls, the Executive Committee very much regrets that it has to request the Provincial Union to arrange for this year's Provincial Conference at some other centre."

On receipt of this reply, the above resolution of the P. C. U. was communicated to Mr. N. Satyanarayana who was also informed of the inability of the Nellore authorities to hold the Conference there. And Mr. Satyanarayana has sent to us the following for publication in reply to our request:

*Reception Committee of the 16th Madras Provincial
Co-operative Conference.*

At a meeting convened under the auspices of the East Godavari District Co-operative Federation at Alamuru on the 29th January. A Reception Committee was formed of the following with power to add. M.R.Ry. Ivaturai Gouripathi Row garu, B.A., L.T. President, Tuni Local Co-operative Union, presided.

Twenty-four Members were present including the chairman of the meeting:

1. *Resolved*—to hold the 16th Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference at Rajamundry during Easter (6th, 7th, and 8th of April);

2. to enlist individuals and societies in Andra Desa as members of the Reception Committee and to collect subscriptions as follows:—Rs. 5 from individuals, Rs. 3 from Primary societies, Rs. 25 from Central Banks, Rs. 10 from Unions, Rs. 15 from Federations;

3. to fix Rs. 2 as delegate Fee; and

4. to elect the following as the Executive of the Reception Committee: Mr N S Koneeti Rao and 17 others.

5. The following were elected Office-bearers:—

CHAIRMAN AND TREASURER: Mr. Palakodeti Gurumurthi.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:—

Mr Jossala Ramachandra Row
„ Daggirala Suryaprakasa Row.
„ Nadimpalli Subba Raju
„ Bikini Venkataratnam.
„ N. S. Koneti Row.

SECRETARIES:—

Mr Narasimhadevara Satyanarayana and Kala Venkata Row.

6. *Resolved*:—to request in order the following Gentlemen to preside over the Conference:—

(1) Mr Radhakamal Mukherjee.

(2) Mr I. G. Coyajee, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta

(3) Mr. Patelval

7. *Resolved*—to hold an Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition along with the Conference.

8. *Resolved*—to invite representatives from other Provincial Unions to the Conference and hold a preliminary meeting for an All-India Conference.

N. SATYANARAYANA, *Secretary.*

Further news has been received that Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee of the Lucknow University has kindly consented to the preside. (Editor),

SPECIAL TYPE SOCIETIES.

(*Review of Audit Certificates of the Department for the Co-operative year ending 30th June 1927.*)

5. Vernon Land Reclamation Co-operative Society, Edaya-thumangalam, Trichinopoly Dist.—The period under review is the third year of the working of the society. There were 57 members with a paid up share capital of Rs. 2,250 at the close of the year. The society is financed by the Government purely. It has discharged its obligations punctually.

The net profit for the year was Rs. 475-2-0. The reclamation work being practically over in the village, the society has been requested to dispose of immediately all the articles now in stock so as to avoid further wear and tear.

* * *

6. Uralangal Co-operative Labour Society, Malabar Dist.—

The society was started in 1925 but got no work till the year under review. It is said in the audit certificate that "There were no receipts for income and no vouchers for expenditure. This practice is irregular and should not be continued. The Society does not appear to function properly and its continuance does not appear to be very desirable" The office-bearers of the society will do well to note the above remarks and strive their best to improve matters.

* * *

7. The Standard Furniture Co., Employees Co-operative Store, Malabar Dt.—No appreciable increase in membership. The paid up share capital rose from Rs. 228-4-0 to Rs. 418-10-0. The society does not borrow from the Central Bank or any other source. It purchased rice for distribution to members for Rs. 6,969-1-0. Out of the sale it had a net profit of Rs. 196-6-0. The society is working fairly satisfactorily.

* * *

8. The Tanjore Co-operative Printing and Publishing Society.—The society was started on 16-2-27 and the number of members on the last day of the year was 48 with a paid-up share capital of Rs. 1942 for 195 shares. The society seems to have purchased most of the machinery necessary for its working and it is hoped that further delay will be avoided in commencing work.

* * *

9. The Pantalayini Weavers' Co-operative Purchase and Sale Society, Malabar Dt.—It is regretful to note that though the society was started at the instance of its present Secretary, Mr. V. Komappan, who was also an Honorary Asst. Regr. last year, he had not taken pains to improve the condition of the members of his own community by working the society. Membership and paid-up share capital stand where they stood at the end of the previous year. We hope that the office-bearers of the society will realise their responsibility soon and bring the society into good working order.

* * *

10. Pattambi Co-op. Trading Union, Malabar.—The condition of this society is reported to be unsatisfactory. Nor is its method of work on right lines. It is said that two loans were secured by the Union on pledge of paddy purchased for transmission to two primary societies. Loans need not have been obtained at all as the Union acted as merely an agent. The consequence of such wrong action is that both the primary society and the Trading Union have to pay interest to the Bank for the money. The Union has worked at a net loss of Rs 29-7-0 and thus even the very little work that was done has not been done well. The management, it is hoped, will take every step towards making the Union efficient.

* * *

11. Kalpathi Co-operative Stores, Malabar—The society is reported to have purchased goods on credit. The bye-law does not allow purchases or sale of goods on credit. It is further reported that accounts are so badly kept that the auditor could not correctly classify the assets and liabilities as 'the particulars furnished in Col. 2 of the book do not always convey any correct idea as to the nature of the transactions'. We understand from the report that as the society has ceased to function, the question of the cancellation of the Society's registration is under the consideration of the Deputy Registrar. If it has not been as yet done, we hope the management have taken steps to make matters better.

* * *

12. The Gudlaval'eru Co-op. Land Mortgage Bank, Kistna Dt—The audit report shows that the society has remarkably improved during the year under review due to the untiring work on its behalf of its President, Mr G. Venkatratnam Pantulu Garu and the several members of the management. It is very gratifying to note that a few selfless individuals and public institutions as well have invested their monies in debentures issued by the Bank. We pray for continued progress of the society so that it may set a noble example to show how best such societies could serve the country.

REGISTRAR'S CIRCULAR.

XIV

Subject:—Specimen signatures of directors—Primary societies—furnishing of (No. A. 4,523/27 dated 5th Nov 1927)

It is necessary that each Central Bank should maintain a correct and up-to-date record of the names of directors of each primary society which it finances with their specimen signatures to admit of verification with the bonds executed by them on behalf of their societies. All Unions and District Federations are therefore requested to see that after every general body meeting of a society at which its directors are elected, a copy of the resolutions passed at that meeting together with a copy of the resolution of the directorate appointing office-bearers and authorizing certain persons to sign on behalf of the society is sent at once by

each society to its financing bank with their specimen signatures appended to it. To facilitate this, it would be better if Central Banks provide all their affiliated societies with a suitable printed form for the purpose and have it properly filed as soon as it is received back from them duly filled up. The form may be somewhat as follows:—

.....Co-operative Society No	
general body meeting dated	at
Resolution Nos.	The following members
were elected as directors.	
Names (1)	Signatures (1)
(2)	" (2)
(3)	" (3)
(4)	" (4)
(5)	" (5)
	President.

.....Co-operative society.....No.	
Directors' meeting dated	at
Resolution No.	The following office-bearers
were elected from the directors elected at the General Body meeting held on.....	
President.....	
Secretary.....	
Assistant Secretary.....	President.

In accordance with by-law No.....the following are authorized to sign bonds etc. jointly on behalf of the society,

Names (1).....	(Specimen signatures) (1).....
" (2).....	do (2).....
	do (1).....
	do (2).....
	do (3).....

(Signature) President. Secretary.

NOTES AND NEWS.

We draw the special attention of our readers to the reprint of an article with the above title which we have extracted from the Co-operative Official (Manchester) for the month of December 1927. Whether we agree with all the views expressed therein or not, it would be an eye-opener to those who always swear by some old formula which worked alright under particular circumstances and in particular places. The true homage that we can do to the Pioneers is to be true to their ideals and not always slavishly cling on to their methods. The amelioration of the condition of the poor by making them join together and enabling them to purchase their necessities of life is the fundamental thing and the methods of Toad Lane Weavers were quite well adapted to their time. We would be worthy of them and the great tradition they have handed down to us only if we keep our minds alert and not allow it to go to rust taking helter under the plea that all the thinking needful for the purpose has been done once and for all by the Pioneers and our duty is merely to follow them to the very letter. As our own poet has said: "A thing is not good simply because it is old ... Wise ones choose their course of action after testing it. It is the fool that slavishly follows another's views."

We invite discussion on this extract and on its application to suit our conditions and circumstances.

Mr. Menon has been intimately connected with the Co-operative Movement in the country for nearly two decades. As one of the Directors of T.U.C.S. for a long time and its President for nearly 5 years, as the Secretary of the C.C.P. Works for a long time and as one of the Governing Body members of the P. C. U. and sometime its Vice-President, he has had unique opportunities of coming into close contact with the various aspects of the Co-operative Movement in this Province. He presided over the North Arcot Dt. Co-operative Conference some years ago and hence the Co-operators of Travancore did well in requesting him to guide their deliberations at their annual conference. His presidential address is full of good and practical suggestions and his well-known advocacy of

the cause of the poor toiling labourer against the idle landlord finds a good opportunity for forcible expression. His comparison of the Co-operative Movement as it obtains in British India with what it is in Travancore is luminous and suggestive. We should like to press upon our readers (especially those in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar) one suggestion of his in particular, to make the West Coast Co-operation as far as possible an All-Kerala affair. The administrative difficulties may be easily overcome if leaders in these three territorial divisions decide for joint action. The social and cultural affinity among the people in these 3 units is a valuable asset which should be utilised to the fullest extent by all social workers and by us Co-operators in particular.

There is a good deal of popular talk of sending educated young men back to the land and making them produce something. We are not taking up the question whether if all our S.S.L.C.'s and Intermediate's, our full graduates and maimed ones, go back to the villages and settle down, there would be work enough for them; whether there is not, even as it is, a superfluity of labour in the country so that farm labourers are willing to come away as family servants in towns or gang coolies in Railway lines getting a pittance of Rs. 10 or 12 a month; and whether the sort of education we have imparted to them is at all a good equipment for beginning a rural life. Apart from these, there is another aspect of the cry of "Back to the villages". Are our villages attractive enough, if not to induce our town-bred young men to settle for their lives in them, at least to induce the adults fed up with urban life to spend a month or two? An impartial student of our rural and urban conditions would be constrained to give a negative answer. The village life is awfully circumscribed and monotonous and offers very few of the amenities of life which our ordinary towns even have not enough of. The social worker who wants to turn the tide of townward flow of population has to think about and devise some methods of making village life more attractive. A library and reading room, a recreation centre with facilities for healthy games, a hall which can be converted easily into a theatre for dramas and concerts and Kalakshepans, all located in one compound, would go a long way and we hope all the prosperous co-operative societies would make serious attempts to possess a building of their own which can be used as a community centre. If our rural co-operators work in collaboration with schools and school authorities, they can make village life far more attractive than it is and we appeal to all of them to put forth strenuous efforts in that direction.

We are quite accustomed, in these days, to Moving Shops. In Travelling Grocery Shops Madras we have got carts pushed by human labour or by tiny bulls which bring to your very home the dhall, ghee and oil you want, aluminium vessels or cloths. All sorts of commodities are hawked about. Recently Khaddar cloth is being hawked in a motor van. From this to a travelling grocery shop is not a big step. A specially constructed van containing provisions which people buy from day to day, going to those centres inhabited by the poor, offering those hardworking individuals facilities for purchasing articles of good quality for a reasonable price, would be hailed by them as a real boon. It requires imagination to visualise schemes like these and enthusiasm to follow them up, both of which unfortunately we have not in abundance.

We are not drawing upon an imagination brought upon a rich diet of poetry. Such itenary shops are becoming more and more common in England and it was only the other day that we read of some societies in Devonshire and Cornwall purchasing such lorries and sending them out into adjoining villages. Will the T. U. C. S., the Premier Consumers' Society in our Province, do this? Let us wait and see.

Co-operative House Building Societies are not many in this land and even the few are owned by middle class men who even otherwise could have put up their own houses. Suppose you see in some part of Madras which was some years ago a slum, a pile of buildings raising their imposing form along a frontage of 600 feet, a big open lawn intervening between the road and the buildings, and struck by their appearance, you go in and what do you see, about 1200 rooms capable of accommodating about 300 families, every room receiving direct sunlight, the buildings being so planned. Every apartment or family quarter is fitted with electric lights and bathroom and up-to-date kitchen. You see a milk supply station, a co-operative store and vegetable shop, a co-operative dining room, an assembly hall capable of accommodating 400 persons, a public library, a music room and a temple. You see the little children studying at home and old ones being taken to and from school in co-operative buses. You would naturally think here is a little slice of heaven on earth. If you are told that this colony belongs to the Tailors' Co-operative Society, you would scarcely believe. You would rub your eyes and see whether you are in Madras or some dreamland. Yes it is a dreamland so far as we are concerned; but it is a plain fact which has been accomplished by the joint efforts of the amalgamated clothing workers of New York who

first freed themselves by their co-operative efforts from the sweat shops and have now succeeded in getting this pile of co-operative buildings constructed with State aid. What man has done, man may do again. Will the workers of Madras, at least the cultured sections thereof, join together and see that they own a colony of this type? Once more let us wait and see.

We published in our last month's bulletin the proceedings of the I Madras Adi-Dravida Co-operative Conference which was presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu Garu, our President. Certain thoughts suggest themselves to us as we peruse the proceedings. Societies are started, loans are sanctioned and disbursed and everything seems to go on well; the directors are praised for their work; but all at once, affairs take an undesirable turn. The rot sets in and overdues accumulate and the heroic remedy of amputation, or better still an orthodox burial, is suggested as the only way of setting things aright. Who is to blame in such cases? We say, both the members and the supervising agency whether official or non-official. In their anxiety to show arithmetical progress, organisers start societies with materials available at the time, good, bad and indifferent, the latter two sections contributing the major share. The possibility of their getting facile credit is dangled before their eyes as an attraction and no attempt is made to emphasise on the duty aspect of members. Members too realising that they form the sovereign body of this small republic grow indifferent to their duties and clamour for rights. Union Supervisors, for reasons well known, are not able to supervise the Societies satisfactorily. The Government officers have been instructed to confine themselves to "audit" in its narrowest possible sense and hence many of our co-operative societies are no man's land. The remedy lies first in the hands of members. They must improve themselves. The ultimate unit of the co-operative movement is a human being with character and if that be wanting, the foundation is weak and however gorgeous the superstructure, its days are numbered. Be sure that every brick is good and well-baked. This purification process is best conducted by the members themselves and would not be half as effective if done by outside agencies. Both the Unions and the Government officers have a duty to perform in helping this self-purification and they too have to shoulder their burden and not to shirk it. A combined effort put forth with sustained enthusiasm will alone bring about the desired reform.

PAMPHLETS FOR SALE

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