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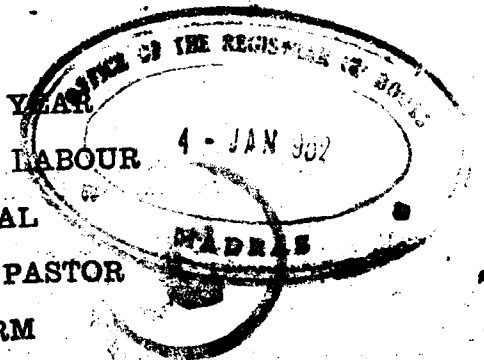
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SOCIAL ACTION

JANUARY 1952

HAPPY NEW YEAR
PLANTATION LABOUR
A FRESH DEAL
THE SOCIAL PASTOR
LAND REFORM



As. 6

NDIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

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Articles of national and international interest on:

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Etc....



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Here and There

New Year

The Editorial Board of *Social Action* wishes patrons, contributors, subscribers and sympathizers a happy and prosperous 1952: a new year of happiness with peace in their hearts and peace in our country and in the world. Difficult as the times may appear to be, it is not certain that they are any harder than they were at some critical periods in the past, and it would be futile and cowardly to succumb to despondency and passivity. Trouble in human affairs should be regarded as a challenge to personality, and should urge us to greater effort. Suffering is a providential goad to wisdom and hard work; in the past it provided the necessary incentive to suitable ways and means of solving crucial problems and carried us ahead towards our goal. Social stress and international tension should compel us to ensure greater social justice within each nation and between nations. Were leaders and statesmen to shed all prejudice and passion, the storm clouds overheard would dissolve in beneficent rain, and happier times would dawn for mankind. On New Year's Day, our wishes should expand to

national, nay global dimensions, and glow with prayerful fervour.

Once More

Parties have selected candidates; voters will elect legislators. Possibly party committees are not fully satisfied with their candidates; most probably electors will not be fully satisfied with them either. How can these candidates represent people to whom they are hardly known and whom they themselves have never met. Yet a choice must be made. It would be foolish to abandon the ballot box to those you consider undeserving. Make sure your vote, and if you feel that you are not able to choose the best, be certain that you don't pick on the worst of the crowd. The single constituency system facilitates matters by narrowing the field of choice. So vote by all means, and vote for the least unsatisfactory.

The Ideal M.P.

Listen to the wise words of Pius XII speaking of the electoral choice and the Legislature. Says the Pope, "The centre of gravity of a normally constituted democracy lies in this popular representative body, which, for good or ill, radiates currents of political thought throughout every department of political life, and therefore for a people living under a democratic regime the question of the high moral tone, the practical ability, and the intellectual capacity of its members of Parliament is a matter of life and death The Legislative body must gather within it a select group of men of high moral character and steadfast resolution, who consider themselves as representatives of the whole people and not merely as spokesmen of a certain number, to whose particular interests the true requirements of the common good are only too frequently sacrificed . . . A select group of men of firm convictions, endowed with correct and sure judgement, and a practical sense of fairness; men of clear-cut and sound principles, pursuing a firm and straightforward policy: above all men who can act as guides and leaders of the people," especially in moments of crisis.

Can such an ideal body of men ever be found on this earth? Yet we must seek them out for the very soul of democracy is at stake.

State Absolutism.

But the modern man is being educated to rely far too much on the State. The State to many minds appears in the garb of a juggler who can produce anything out of his bag of tricks, from gigantic dams to false teeth. Worse still. For where the power of the State is concerned, there are seemingly no limits to it. This is how Pope Pius XII describes the myth of the omniscient state. "State absolutism consists in the false principle that the authority of the state is unlimited, and that even when in pursuit of its despotic aims it oversteps the boundaries between good and evil, it allows of no appeal to a higher and morally binding law." Such a theory is fraught with danger and the quicker we sheer off from such perilous myths, the better for us and our children.

Humble Economics

The acuity of the political problem at the present time should not blind us to the economic distress which saps the vitality of the masses, and brings in its train a host of evils in home life and on the political front. What is the use of the most up-to-date legislation, if people are starving? What hope is there of any cultural or moral revival if citizens are oppressed by poverty? St. Vincent de Paul would say, what chance is there of saving souls, if bodies are so wretched that men are not aware that they have a soul to save.

Labour

What of the conditions of labour in the countryside and in the factory? Much of the legislation that has been voted is sound enough and progressive. Yet it is a fact that

only organised industrial labour has benefited to some extent by such progressive legislation. Where labour is unorganized, it is being consciously exploited. What is really dangerous is the wrong attitude of people towards labour and property. Labour is bargained for just as if it were a commodity in the market. The personal dignity of the workman is completely disregarded. What chance does a single individual workman stand against the 'take-it-or-leave-it' ultimatum of his more powerful employer? Has he not himself to think of? And what of his wife and children? Do they not depend on his salary for food, clothing and shelter?

The popular attitude to property is just as perilous. People forget that the world was created for all men, and not for a few. The social commitments that go with the possession of property are all too easily overlooked.

It is time society adopted a more correct mental outlook on these difficult problems that form the crux to the peaceful stability of an unbalanced world. 1952 should take us one step forward towards the realisation of this ideal.

A. F.

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Patriotism

"Everything that by its nature and being is a part of another has a stronger and more deeply rooted inclination in favour of the whole to which it belongs than of itself . . . And since reason copies nature, we find such an imitation in the civic virtues, for it is the duty of a good citizen to expose himself to the danger of death for the safety of the whole State. And if the citizen be a natural part of the State, this tendency would be natural to him."

St. Thomas Aquinas.

Drinks and Bills

It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good. Whatever may be thought and said in dark corners and from the house tops about the merits of Prohibition, it has certainly increased the consumption of the cup that cheers and does not inebriate (tea), and of its darker sister, Arabica Robusta Coffee. The story is told of how the goats of a Muslim monastery in Yemen ate of a mysterious shrub and became bewitched. The imam, called in to investigate, experimented with the plant and produced "a brew dark as the lowermost sea in Gehenna. It was bitter to the taste, savouring of forbidden pitch, of charred wood, of the droppings of Iblis." The imam drank and found himself as lively as if he had slept thirty hours, had been fed with heavenly food and would never need sleep again. Coffee had been discovered and soon became a rival to wine, instilling wakefulness, while wine begot sordid sleep! This wonderful drink soon migrated throughout the world, arousing a torpid humanity from its lethargy, making the taciturn Englishman garrulous, the Frenchman eager for revolution, sharpening the brains of the stupid, brightening the memory, curing the maladies of the heart, dispersing sorrow, inspiring poetry and literature, and making men good and wise. Coffee and tea, once the privileged drink of the high and mighty, which fired the thoughts and moved the pen of Johnson and Dryden, is now to be had by ordinary men like you and I at any coffee stall. What wonderful changes may we not expect in the national character as the use of these drinks spreads, and if any sociologist wishes to know the reasons for the more progressive and pushful nature of certain parts of the country, he has only to find out what is the consumption of these drinks, and where it is greatest, there will most activity and resourcefulness be found.¹

1. Those who wish to read further of the conquest of coffee will find *The Saga of Coffee* by H. H. Jacob interesting.

It is only fair, then, that attention should be turned to those who make possible the drinking of these beverages, which strengthen the heart of the Prohibition Officer to his stern task and which encourage us all to smile on the toil of a new day.

The new Act² is welcome because it gives protection to workers in an important industry employing over a million people. The planters were anxious for labour legislation which would not be based on highly industrial countries and conditions, but made suitable to the agricultural conditions of the plantations which are subject to the vagaries of climate and plant growth. It had been hoped that the Plantation Bill would replace the Factories Act and Payment of Wages Act, but this has not been the case, a fact which, taken together with some of its clauses, has given the Bill a mixed reception among the planters. The Rege Committee, appointed to inquire into the conditions on the plantations, reported in 1946 that there was great need for a special labour code, and found great differences in labour conditions on various plantations. Some are excellently organized and are even in advance of the requirements of the Bill, while others as regards medical relief, housing, welfare and education are far from the desired standard. The major problem — and this should be borne in mind in considering the recommendations of the Bill — says the Rege Report, is to raise the standard on some of the smaller estates to the level of the more advanced. This the Act, basing itself on the findings of the Report, aims at achieving. It fixes hours of work and annual leave with pay, makes provision for drinking water, canteens, creches, educational facilities for workers' children, and regulates the employment of women and children. Let us examine a few of the clauses in detail.

2. *The Plantations Labour Act, 1951.*

Welfare (Ch. IV)

Canteens must be provided wherever there are over 150 workers. This provision may be discussed from two points of view; it may be argued that while canteens are useful in industries where the workers' homes are far from the workshop, this is not so in plantations; moreover, workers prefer to eat at home. On the other hand, it can be said that the average labourer has no idea of what an adequate diet should be and that the canteen could be used to educate him in this respect and thus improve his physique. Experience goes to show that more pay means more drink, more smoking and more clothes, but not an improvement in diet. Since this application of paternalism raises a problem, we will leave the solution till later on. Creches are to be provided where there are more than fifty women workers. Creches already exist in many plantations and generally provide free milk and medicine, what is now required is to make the practice widespread. Fortunately the Act changed the phrasing of the draft Bill. It read: "suitable rooms (shall be provided) for the use of children of such women who are below the age of six years." This is surely adding to the world problem of peace when we have women below six years of age!

Where there are more than 25 children between six and twelve, employers must provide educational facilities. Once again, this is already done on many plantations and the teachers are well paid, but where it is not done, the planters argue that education is a government responsibility and that they are already paying taxes for general education. But since planters show a marked preference for the recruiting of families rather than of individuals, and since children should be educated and Government at present is not able to do so, then the employers, as being the next in the order of capability, should provide educational facilities; which does not exonerate the State from giving what aid it can. But it is to be hoped that this is no more than a

temporary arrangement. Education run by employers has many obvious disadvantages, to which history, for instance, in the case of the schools run by the English mill-owners of last century, bears witness. The temptations to run the school to suit the demands of industry instead of for the benefit of the pupils are too great to be ignored, and education will be more satisfactory the greater the degree of independence from the employer.

Proper housing must be provided for every worker and his family. Suitable housing is a must; the Rege Committee points out the appalling living conditions on some South Indian estates. Employers, generally, are not adverse to putting up substantial buildings which in the long run are cheaper, but Government must make it possible for them to get building material, which at present is only come by with the greatest of difficulty through a sea of forms and permits.

Hours of Labour and Wages (Ch. V & VI)

In keeping with the Minister of Labour's contention that in the present conditions it is impossible to set up a minimum wage for agriculture, no attempt is made here at fixing such a wage. This is regrettable since an opportunity is afforded by the similarity of conditions in the plantations and it would have helped to achieve the purpose of the Act, namely, to bring the less satisfactory estates in line with the well conducted ones. Many estates already have a guaranteed minimum wage for average workers of As. 12 and As. 10 per day for men and women respectively, with a dearness allowance of As. 5. 6 p. per day. This could have been used to work out a minimum wage. Average pluckers can earn Re. 1 and good pluckers Rs. 1-10-0 per day. This of course applies to the plucking season, July to October. Since housing, medical care and medicines are free, and concession rates given for rice (8 seers per rupee; paddy 12 seers, and dal 6 seers per rupee), it is difficult to calculate the exact salary.

The off-season presents serious hardships for the worker who often finds but half a day's work and half-pay, with the consequence that he uses up his season's savings. (This is offset in some plantations by giving land free or at a nominal rent to help families to supplement their income by some cultivation). A good, frugal labourer cannot save more than Rs. 100 a year to send back to his family, which is little in compensation for leaving his village and province and going to what is almost a foreign land for him. (Compare this with the same labourer in the Andamans who can save Rs. 400 per annum).

Absenteeism, averaging 25 per cent of the workers, causes great difficulties for the planter who is obliged to keep more workers than he actually needs. Go-slow-policies have penetrated the gardens so that some workers do no more than five hours work a day. This policy coupled with inefficiency tends to make labour costs high, and on the plantation, as elsewhere, labour must not forget that a fair day's work is the condition of a just wage.

With reference to the problem of paternalism mentioned above, it seems to be an accepted practice in this country and one desired by the workers that all kinds of services should be supplied by the employer. We have an example of it in the present Bill: education, canteens, housing, recreational facilities, etc., must be provided by the employer. An illiterate and ill-organized labour force does need a certain amount of paternalism to help it look after itself, and some of the services mentioned above could not be supplied by the workers themselves. But it can reasonably be asked whether the continuance and spread of this practice *as a right* is for the real good of the worker. It does not develop his independence nor his foresight and treats him very much as a child who does not know what is best for itself. It does not make for a sturdy, self-respecting labour class which will be an honour to itself and a great asset to the country. There is no need to stress the point that very often labour does act irresponsibly, and this for

a multitude of causes, and turning to the employer for all its needs can only retard the development of the desired qualities. Furthermore, and this is as or even more serious in its consequences, the practice makes the worker very dependent on his employer and constitutes a real danger to his personal freedom. One example out of the many possible will illustrate this: if free housing is counted as part of wages, then the loss of the job, means the loss of a house and the family is thrown on to the street. In view of these facts, the sooner a move is made towards a just family wage which will enable a family to live decently and in a manner fitting a human being, the better will be the lot of the workers. Given sufficient money to supply their own needs, they will learn how to look after themselves and develop those qualities which throughout history have made farmers and peasants a respected class and a bulwark against disruptive forces. We do not mean that the individual should be left to supply all his wants himself, this would be to return to the evils of individualism; certain services are best supplied by a public body, whether it be a private association, the local community or the State, but wherever there are opportunities for the individual, given due protection, of supplying his own needs, this should be done. And it would seem that this is especially applicable to Indian labour which has been held in subjection to 'outside' help far too long. A step in the right direction would be to pass the Minimum Wages Bill which has been held up for a long time now. While a minimum wage is not a living wage, the former would be a useful stepping stone to the latter. At present we are left standing on the bank while other countries are already well on the way over the stream. The Philippines whose working conditions are certainly not better than our own has recently passed a minimum wage Act and so it is not too much to ask India to do so immediately.

Rural life produces traditional virtues: a sound common sense and knowledge of values, good husbandry, a

sturdy independence and love of hard work. But poor pay and bad conditions turn the ryot's life into one of drudgery, a feeling of deception and a dislike of hard work shown by the desire to run away to the false allurements of the city. It is to be hoped that the Plantation Act will be judiciously applied and produce a uniformity of satisfactory conditions throughout the country so that the traditional virtues of the Indian ryot may be preserved. What we now desire is that labour legislation will move on without undue delay to tackle the vaster problem of agricultural labour in general; this constitutes the vast majority of our workers, the most backward, the most unorganized and the most exploited of all labour. It will be no easy task, but it must be done.

A. Nevett.

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A Humane Approach to Industry

Breaking through the jargon of our economists, and the verbiage of industrial legislation, Mr. Robert Wood Johnson, within the compass of 206 pages, has pointed the way to a better and more human industrial world. It need hardly be emphasised that this little book* gives new hope to those who have witnessed the failure of Liberal Economics, and the unfulfilled promises of Economic Statism, or Nationalisation. Mr. Johnson advocates a common sense, human approach to the problems of industry and business, and with the wide experience of an industrialist and success-

* *Fresh Deal for Management and Labour*, by Robert Wood Johnson: (6sh. Catholic Social Guild, Oxford).

ful businessman he easily shows that if private enterprise has fallen on evil days, and has few supporters in present society, the cause lies, for the most part, in the neglect of the human factors (workers and management). In fact, it is a sad commentary on our civilisation, that while technical knowledge and industrial engineering have made rapid progress, the men and women into whose lives are woven the conditions of this progress have hardly been trained and guided to keep pace with this industrial progress!

As Mr. Johnson points out, "In business dealings, in labour practices, in politics, in social and economic thought, we cling to the rules and methods from another age. When they land us in trouble, we still look backwards and seek guidance from history" (p. 26). The "age" he refers to is the age of Economic Liberalism whose spirit and practice still dominate wide sectors of the world of Business and of Labour. Private enterprise got off to a bad start; under the impetus of Economic Liberalism it consecrated the human acquisitive instinct as the sole force of all progress. This produced the economic man: as an employer he considered all business merely as a profit-making concern: as a worker he considered "the boss as a greedy inhuman orgre who beats down wages while raising prices" (p. 85). This is the economic man of Karl Marx; the man of class hatred and class war! What wonder then, that even in Socialist Britain and with the Labour Party in power, so-called unofficial strikes" still disrupt the harmony of Britain's industrial world? Labour has not yet shed its hostility, suspicion and distrust of management, which were bred in the early days of trade unionism, nor on the other hand, has management always justified friendly co-operation from the workers. From an analysis of the present day pattern of strikes in advanced industrial countries, Mr. Johnson concludes the chief causes are not usually low wages or long hours of work. More often than not, the real cause is the loss of prestige on the part of the workers, or again, a desire to "get one's own back on the boss". And,

"since wages and hours of work are the traditional sore spots they are accepted without much question. Since both raise costs, moreover, they are the logical means of punishing employers who still appear as economic men" (p. 88).

Sixty years ago, in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Leo XIII, warned both employers and workers of the claims of the human being, and of a fact which society is recognising more and more, that is, the absolute need of harmony between workers and employers for the well being of society. "He (Pope Leo XIII) reminded workers," writes Mr. Johnson, "that religion taught them to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made, without violence, disorder or outrage upon employers. On the other hand, he reminded employers that religion requires them to treat workmen as free people, not slaves. . . ." (p. 20). The industrial effort, asked of most countries during the years of the last war, has gone a long way towards indicating what may be done to establish a better working collaboration between management and labour. Mr. Johnson goes to the root of the problem, when he says, that the claims of the human being will be better safeguarded and better employer-worker relationship established in our industrial world, if top management did not expect technical experts to be "human engineers" as well. Too often top management sees no reason why "the management of men should not be delegated to any specialist who can arrange the flow of materials, perfect machinery, or eliminate waste motion" (p. 91). "Human engineering" demands qualities of mind and heart and a moral vitality which do not always accompany academic or technical qualifications such as determine the appointment of many a Welfare Officer, or Director of the Personnel Department of industry. Unfortunately, the training and development of our "human engineers", have not yet received the care and attention they deserve! While we demand years of training and technical skill in those who handle our machines, we hand over the feelings, emotions, psychological reactions of thousands

of men and women in our factories to people who, not unfrequently, have had but a few years, sometimes only a few months, academic training.

In our business world, the old traditional view that business is purely a profit-making concern still persists. "With the triumph of Economic Liberalism", writes Mr. Johnson, "business settled down to one purpose: that of making money for the businessman. In a deal it was smart to cheat the buyer; in setting a price it became proper to charge all that the traffic would bear" (p. 37-38). Such tactics neglected the fact that workers are also consumers, and therefore, when wages were cut to the bone, and prices kept high, the demand side for goods and services naturally fell away. But if, as we are realising more and more today, business is to serve the needs of the community, then, as Mr. Johnson argues, "price making must begin with the consumer and work inwards" (p. 40). That is to say, the normal wants of the consumer must be studied and checked; next, a careful estimate of the purchasing power of the consumer made out, and only then can the price be fixed. And, "if the price is too high, it is the point at which management directs its attack through research, invention, incentive payments, improvements of morale and general production factors at the bench" (p. 45). Lest this method of price reduction appear too Utopian, Mr. Johnson refers us to "the story of the electric bulb, motor cars, pneumatic tyres, coloured picture books for children, and a host of other products" (p. 41).

This view of business opens up immense possibilities for the millions who are underpaid and partly employed in Asia and South East Asia. These people need the most elementary consumer goods so easily produced in industrialised Western countries, but the buying power of these same peoples is miserably weak. A short term version of the Colombo Plan may meet the situation. National Governments in these areas may begin public works to increase purchasing power among their people, expanded exports of

primary products may help build up credit in the industrialised West, and elementary consumer goods, such as, simple household goods, cooking utensils, furniture, ploughs, building materials for houses, etc., produced by manufacturing houses in the West at prices which meet the purchasing power of peoples in Asian lands. Thus the present scarcity in these lands would be overcome, and there would be a strong healthy population to enjoy the fruits of long term plans, like the Colombo Plan and the Point Four American Plan.

The old belief that the large size industrial unit is essential to industrial prosperity has proved a fallacy, and has defeated its very purpose, namely, efficiency. Increased efficiency was the plea for huge companies and gigantic plants; in reality this has produced industrial bureaucracy leading to Management-Labour difficulties, and to a drop in production. "Perhaps, quality dropped or production lagged; perhaps there were labour difficulties. He (top management) called in an executive to learn what was wrong; that executive called another, and so on, until a group of men assembled in the president's office. As they conferred the fault became obvious; too many cooks to produce a good broth, since none of them actually made it" (p. 190). Except for some types of industries, like a steel mill, or a locomotive assembly plant, small size factories are proving more efficient. They are free from the defects of diffused responsibility and remote control. "Even within the sphere of manufacturing itself," writes Mr. Colin Clark, in his *Property and Economic Progress*, "conditions are changing. Increasing efficiency, even in manufacturing industry, by no means always involves larger units and a diminished proportion of working proprietors" (p. 19). Add to this the fact, that the small size factory needs a smaller capital outlay, and it becomes clear that in countries which are "going in for industrialism", like India and the Asian countries, there is much to be said in favour of the small size factory. Such factories are less expensive to set up, they

bring management and workers closer together, and give men of ability a chance to exercise it. A fair deal for both Management and Labour is what all men of goodwill want these days, and Mr. Johnson's book should be welcome to all those who wish to see industrialism in India established in such a way that it protects and safeguards the dignity of the human being.

C. C. Clump.



Bishop Von Ketteler

"My great predecessor": that is how Leo XIII called the famous Bishop of Mainz who was a pioneer in the Catholic Social Movement. His career and work call for the attention of social workers.

Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler was born at Munster in Westphalia on Christmas day 1811. He belonged to an aristocratic family, which was to give another famous Prince of the Church, H. E. Cardinal von Galen. Young Wilhelm studied his humaniora in a Jesuit College of Switzerland and took his law course in the Universities of Goettingen, Berlin, Heidelberg, Munich and Munster. During his studies he felt little inclination to enter Holy Orders. One incident suggests what his temper was like. He had inadvertently tread on the foot of a fellow-student who lost his temper and demanded a duel in reparation according to the student-code of those days. Wilhelm readily accepted and chose the sword as weapon. He lost the duel and the tip of his nose. He was in hospital for several weeks but a surgical graft gave back his nose its aristocratic dimensions; from hospital he went to jail for two months. Honour, nose and law were safe; he could pursue his studies which were followed by his appointment as magistrate at Munster.

What turned his mind from that secluded placid profession was a conflict between Church and State. The

Prussian Government jailed H.E. the Archbishop of Cologne. The conflict was about mixed marriages. The Archbishop made it a point that parents had to promise to give their offspring a Catholic education; short of such a promise the mixed marriage was not allowed. The young magistrate was indignant at the Government's persecution and resigned his post. He went back to Munich for further studies whilst seeking out his true vocation in life. By 1840 he had made up his mind and engaged in ecclesiastical studies in Eichstatt, Munich and finally Bonn. He was ordained priest in 1844 at the age of 33.

As curate at Beckum, then as vicar of Hopsten, he showed he was to be a realistic pastor of his flock. He was not shy of working on the fields along with his peasant parishioners, and when constitutional reforms introduced popular elections, he had himself elected at the first Parliament of Frankfurt.

He had realised the 'Social Problem'. He spoke of it at the first Congress of German Catholics (Katholikentag) at Mainz in 1848; he preached on it time after time, even after he had been appointed parish-priest at St. Hedwige's in Berlin.

In March 1850, when he was 39 years old, he was nominated Bishop of Mainz. His first Pastoral Letter was a vow of poverty and devotion. "I am ready to give my life and all I have for my flock. I acknowledge that from today what I am and what I have is not mine any more but yours. I recognize that I am bound to devote all my time and all my energies to the service of God and of my neighbour. I promised God that I would do so and I request you all to pray that God in His mercy may help my feeble will".

He was true to his pledge. From the first he called in religious orders and established institutions devoted to what Christian tradition always called works of mercy and modern states list as social works: orphanages, hospitals, dispensaries, etc. He also devoted time and money to develop the Gosellenvereine, a forerunner of the modern JOC,

which had been founded in 1847 by the young priest Adolf Kolping, and which looked after the moral, technical and religious training of young journeymen (hostels, technical schools, co-operatives, travelling stipends, etc.).

Much of his time however was taken by the tug of war which went on between the Bishop's House and the Hesse bureaucracy and which did not break out into persecution thanks to the bishop's tact and firmness. Von Ketteler was persuaded that 'religion needs freedom and that freedom needs religion' and he heartily shared the fight his colleague of Baden had to wage against the Prince Regent of Baden and the Chancellor Bismarck about the Baden school legislation. He was also the chief promoter of the Bishop's Conference as a means of securing unity of policy among the German episcopate and maintaining Catholic solidarity vis-a-vis the authoritarian ways of the imperial and imperious Chancellor.

In 1871 he was elected as member of the Berlin Reichstag but resigned as early as 1872. He devoted his last years in furthering unity of policy among the German bishops and dogged resistance to the Kulturkampf as well as to all forms of political and capitalist absolutism. In 1877 he died on his way back from Rome and was buried in the Mainz Cathedral.

One should not look on Bishop von Ketteler for an original contribution to social theory. He was essentially a man of action; but his social apostolate shows the progress of his convictions.

His favourite authors were: Adam Muller (1779-1829), Franz von Baader (1765-1841), Franz Joseph von Buss (1803-1878), Joseph Gorres (1776-1848) and the Munich school as well as the clergy-run periodical of Mainz 'Der Katholik'. Personally, von Ketteler made the analysis of poverty the starting point of his reasoning. The Church had always been faithful to her tradition of beneficence but had been impoverished by the secularisation of 1803 whilst misery had increased with the growing of the proletariat in

the course of the process of industrialisation. The workers had been rendered defenceless, since the old guild system had been wrecked. Their condition was so low that von Ketteler used to say: "One must make them into men before turning them into Christians".

His contribution to the 1848 Mainz Congress and his sermons during the following Advent were vigorous in thought and style. In fierce language he denounced liberalism which had allowed proprietors absolute rights and had divided wealth unfairly. With unhesitating precision he vindicated the Thomist doctrine which upheld the social function of property. He fulminated against selfishness which hardens man's heart and seeks justification in economic liberalism. It was from the Church that he expected the heart-conversion that is essential and the campaign for social renovation that would foster self-rehabilitation of the working classes. He felt uneasy about the policy to pursue: "Liberalism had proved ruinous; the intervention of the Prussian State was dangerous; a mass movement hard to rouse and to lead; political influence hazardous. What he advised in 1848 was professional organisation.

He did not organise the first Trade Union, for Marx's disciples had taken the lead and pursued their plan in spite of the 1854 decree prohibiting workers' associations. For a time the Mainz Bishop had fancied that the socialist movement would under the influence of Lassalle make a welcome contribution to the solution of the social problem. But he was soon disillusioned and after having fought economic liberalism he had to fight socialism "this legitimate child of liberalism", this 'robber of souls' as he called it. Co-operation had been made impossible; a letter of Marx to Engels (dated 25-9-1868) forced the Catholic workers into self-defence: "My recent journey in Belgium and my stay at Aix-la-Chapelle as well as my trip along the Rhine have convinced me that the priests must be fought relentlessly. Those 'dogs' (for instance Bishop Ketteler of Mainz and the parish-priests of the Dusseldorf Congress) are flirting

with the social question ; thanks to this, they find a way of getting what they want".

When Bishop Ketteler had promoted a general meeting of the German Bishops to prepare the Vatican Council, he was appointed to put the social problem in clear terms. This was his summary : "To-day capital and labour are no more liable to moral law so that the dignity of labour is not respected and a class-war is being waged. Only one law dominates social life : the law of profits. The Church must face this problem ; it is for her a duty of charity towards the proletariat. Two leading measures must be worked out : workers' organization and social legislation. Moreover the Church must herself undertake a large-scale social action and with that object in view, provide special courses in seminaries and detail priests in each diocese for this special task". His plans could not be taken up at the Vatican Council, which was interrupted by the 1870 Franco-Prussian war.

By 1871 Bishop Ketteler had come to see that the social problem demanded more than a treatment by charity since it involved principles of social justice. He had come to cover all the fundamentals of the subject. His progress was not more rapid because of the little leisure he could devote to study. Time after time in his correspondence, he complains that he has no time to study, in a systematic manner, the many principles and traditions of the Catholic doctrine or unravel the complexities of economic life. In many cases he had to be satisfied with taking facts as they were given by Karl Marx and Lassalle, and could not afford the leisure necessary for an independent enquiry. His pastoral ministry, the worries of the Kulturkampf and his parliamentary activity left him no time for peaceful study ; he could not even maintain all the organisations he started and train qualified co-operators. Possibly he was also hurried in his projects and running ahead of his times. Little of his organisations was left at the time of his death ; there remained, however the whole body of the doctrine he had built up and

the lead he had given. Besides his numerous memoranda and his voluminous correspondence, there are extant his book *The Labour Question and Christianity*, to which Lassalle paid due homage in a Socialist meeting at Ronsdorf on May 23, 1864, and a pamphlet (1873) on "Catholics in the German Empire" which was for years the basis on which the German Centrum built up its programme of social reforms.

The lead he gave was acknowledged by Windthorst, the German Catholic leader, who said in 1890 : "We venerate him unanimously as the doctor and leading champion of Catholic social aspirations".

Greater acknowledgement can be found in the text *Rerum Novarum* which has borrowed the general scheme and occasional phrases from von Ketteler's sermons during the Advent of 1848. One could instance passages like the following : "After the old trade guilds had been destroyed in the last century and no protection was substituted in their place, and when public institutions and legislation had cast off traditional religious teaching, it gradually came about that the present age handed over the workers, each alone and defenceless, to the inhumanity of employers and the unbridled greed of competitors," or again "To cure this evil, the Socialists, exciting the envy of the poor towards the rich, contend that it is necessary to do away with private possession of goods and in its place to make the goods common to all, and that the men who preside over a municipality or who direct the entire State should act as administrators of these goods", etc. Von Ketteler had said all that, Leo XIII repeated it in the same terms. In general *Rerum Novarum* takes up the very theses of von Ketteler regarding private property, professional organisations and the role of the state. Leo XIII was only fair when he called Bishop von Ketteler "my predecessor".

A. Lallemand.



The Agrarian Reform in Italy

By Agrarian Reform we mean all those reforms which tend to the amelioration of the agricultural aspect of a nation's economy. An Agrarian Reform may have several facets: it may regard the reform of agricultural contracts such as métayage and lease; it may regard land-improvement schemes, the construction of canals, aqueducts, etc.; lastly, it may regard the redistribution of land according to new criteria and is then called, more specifically, the Land Reform. In Italy two terms are thus used: *Riforma Agraria* (Agrarian Reform, to include all of the three senses mentioned above), and *Riforma Fondiaria* (Land Reform, in the third of the three above-mentioned senses). We shall follow this terminology in the course of this article.

Caution

But we must sound a warning. The subject of Agrarian Reform in Italy is a vast one. Moreover, it is the question of the moment. The amount of literature that issues from the Press everyday about it is amazing—criticism, statistics, suggestions. If it has always been difficult rightly to appraise Italian agriculture due to its marked singularities—Stefano Jacini, one of the fathers of agricultural economics in Italy, said the Italian agriculture is not one agriculture, but many—the task is much more difficult today when conditions are in a constant flux. In this article we shall aim at a synthetic exposition of the subject, leaving even interesting details out for the sake of clearness.

A. NECESSITY OF AGRARIAN REFORM IN ITALY

Outside Italy people often talk of the necessity of an Agrarian Reform in Italy. Indeed, at the time of the fam-

ous elections of April 18, 1948, the foreign Press stressed the point that even if the Christian Democrats were to win—as, in fact, they did against the Italian Communist Party—their security in power would depend on their ability to bring about the much needed agrarian reforms.

Let us try to see just how necessary such an Agrarian Reform is in Italy. Unless we see this we shall not be able to get the question well into focus.

(i) The nature of the Italian economy

The necessity of an Agrarian Reform in Italy results from a consideration of the Italian economy. This economy is, to a great extent, agricultural. According to the census of 1936, those engaged in agriculture represent 47·7% of the population, as against those engaged in other productive activity; the rural population (i.e. the aggregate of those families whose head is engaged in agriculture) represent 44·7% of the population. Compared with other Western countries, for instance England, where those engaged in agriculture represent less than 8% of the population, the Italian figures are very high. It is evident, therefore, that an amelioration of Italy's weak national economy will depend largely on the amelioration of the agricultural economy. Hence the need for Agrarian Reform.

(ii) Existing agricultural conditions

But are existing conditions such as to call for agrarian reforms? Let us consider them insofar as they affect the distribution of land. Here are some statistics adduced by Prof. Joseph Medici:

Size of Properties	% of Surface Area of Productive Land	% National Income Yielded
Up to 50 hectares	56·44	70·97
50 to 100 hectares	7·44	8·52
100 to 1000 hectares	22·57	17·00
Above 1000 hectares	13·55	3·51

"These data demonstrate," comments Prof. Medici, "that properties smaller in size than 50 hectares (i.e., small and middle-sized properties) are those which yield the highest national land-income and this confirms and precises the old constataion that, in general, more intense and active agriculture is to be had in zones of small-sized property."

Yet it would be false to conclude immediately that all the large properties must be cut up according to the principle that small properties yield greater national income. Prof. Medici envisages the possibility of such a generalized conclusion from the statistics he has adduced and so adds very judiciously, "... a problem of *agrarian reform* exists in the whole country; but a problem of *land reform* exists in those zones where larger properties enjoy positions of privilege or where they do not fulfil any economic or social function. To deny this obstinately, as do some blind conservatives of a world which is disappearing, or to affirm that the laws for land reform should expropriate all the large properties are two manifestations of political passion which confound and muddle up an issue which, by its own nature, is already a complicated one."

We may therefore conclude that a judicious splitting up of large properties seems to be called for, and this if only from the economic point of view.

(iii) *A larger peasant-proprietor class*

But there is another point of view. We may call it the human or psychological point of view. It is a point of view which is not lost in the present policy of Agrarian Reform pursued by the Italian Government. It is the principle of building up a larger and more contented peasant-proprietor class. The radical group of the Christian Democrats insists strongly on this principle, professing that it is founded on the teaching of the Papal Encyclicals and on the doctrine of the Gospel. We may note that in Italy perhaps scarcely 1/3 of cultivable land is in the hands of peasant-proprietors; 2/3 are in the hands of the "borghesi" or non-cultivators.

We may say with Prof. M. Rossi-Doria, "for the greater part of the holdings there exists a state of separation or divorce between the ownership of the land and the agricultural business." Italy (and Spain) are far behind other countries of the West in the matter of maintaining a healthy equilibrium between property-owning and farm-enterprise. The present Agrarian Reform is an attempt at bringing about this equilibrium. Indeed the radical group of the Christian Democrats constantly urges the Government to take more drastic measures for the creation of this new small-proprietor class. In the fortnightly of this radical group, *Cronache Sociali*, after a brief description of recent developments of Agrarian Reform in Bolshevik-controlled Rumania, we read this acid comment: "Those of our party who are adversaries of the Agrarian Reform should bear in mind the history of the Communist Governments and remember that a numerous class of small peasant-proprietors is, politically, a bulwark against Communism, much more efficacious than a police-force paid by a restricted class of big landowners."

(iv) *Agrarian Reform and the Social Problem*

The necessity of an Agrarian Reform may be demonstrated also from the fact that such a reform together with industrial development and emigration holds prime importance in the solution of Italy's social problem. To this point we shall return later.

(v) *The verdict of Italian agricultural economists*

Lastly we must add that the necessity of an Agrarian Reform is admitted by all Italian agricultural economists, even by those who oppose or criticize the present policy of Government. We may quote Prof. M. Rossi-Doria who, at the Seventh International Conference of Agricultural Economists, held at Stresa in Italy a few years ago said, "... all we Italian agricultural economists are convinced that a land-reform (as apart from the specific form which that should take) is a plain necessity of our agricultural society."

Summary

It should now be clear that a problem of Agrarian Reform does exist in Italy. Yet the problem must not be exaggerated so as to mean that nothing is good or worthy of continuance in Italian agriculture conditions. The present Government admits the necessity of this reform and its best elements see its fundamental justification in the teaching of Christ and the Church.

It now remains to see how the Government has acted up to the realization of the necessity of this reform.

B. ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

Introduction

Before we consider the achievements of the present Italian Government in the matter of Agrarian Reform we may do well to note two things: first, that in comparison with other countries of the West Italy (and Spain) have been left far behind in the matter of agrarian reform. Even if we restrict ourselves to the first World War period we see large-scale reforms taking place in Germany, Ireland, in Central Europe and the Balkan States—not to speak of the Bolshevik experiment in Russia. These movements have in common a greater interest in promoting the interests of the underprivileged small-peasant class, and represent an effort to break away from the old large landowner social system. It is against this background that foreigners view Agrarian Reform in Italy—and very comprehensibly so. The second remark is a corollary of the first. We must not be too hasty in judging Italian agrarian reforms by those achieved in other countries. For one thing, Italian conditions are unique, and this results easily from an even cursory comparison of Italian with other European agricultures. Moreover, not all the agrarian reforms of other countries can be accepted as ideal in their principles and consequences by the present Italian Government. It will be sufficient to point to the disasters of the Bolshevik experi-

ment in order to understand at once that the present Christian Democratic Government of Italy is pledged to a far different vision of things.

Three main phases

The Agrarian Reform has three main phases:

1. The Reform of Agricultural Contracts.
2. The Land Reform.
3. The Regularization of all matters pertaining to Agriculture.

The first and second phases are already under way; the third is meant to harmonize the whole and will be undertaken in its entirety when the Land-Reform is complete.

The Reform of Agricultural Contracts

Any Agrarian Reform that aims at being total—as the present Italian one does—must consider the problem of the numerous and varied contracts that arise in an agricultural economy. The plan for the reform of agricultural contracts was proposed by Minister Segni as far back as Nov. 22, 1948. Its scope is very wide and the tenor of the plan is decidedly in favour of the cultivator as against the landlord. In this spirit the plan considers the relations between *métayer* and landowner, leasee and leaser, etc.

Needless to say, the plan has been the object of long and severe criticism by those who consider their interests imperilled by the concessions made to the cultivator. One point especially made the object of attack has been the clause which limits the rights of the landlord to dismiss his tenants: the dismissal is no longer left to the discretion of the landlord but must always be subordinated to a "just cause". As regards *métayage*, the share of the *métayer* has been raised from 50 to 53%.

By a disposition dated June 16, 1951, N. 435 published in the Official Gazette on June 26, 1951, N. 143 all agricultural contracts have been prorogued for a period of one year.

By the end of that time it is hoped that Government will give more durable dispositions as regards agricultural contracts, in conformity with the plan of Minister Segni.

The Land Reform in general

This is the most interesting and important part of the Agrarian Reform.

The various laws for land-reform, already in force or yet under discussion, are all inspired by one dominant motive: to arrive at a more equal distribution of land and to seek to make it accessible to all. The ultimate aim of land-reform is, of course, the aim of all agrarian reform: the amelioration of the national economy by means of the amelioration of agricultural conditions. Property may not be split up below a certain minimum without grave detriment to the national economy; contrariwise, property may not be possessed beyond a certain maximum without serious damage to the equal distribution of land.

In other words, too large properties must be split up and divided among those who have no property. This means the expropriation of land.

Expropriation

This is the thorny point in the question of land reform. No man wants to part with what is his by what he considers a legitimate title. The big landowners in Italy are no exception. Some at least among them may also justly feel that the Government should not with a stroke of its pen rob them of land on which they have invested large sums of capital over many years. Added to this complaint which has a semblance of justice there is all the force of old Liberal ideas which die hard. Land, say the Liberals, is a commodity like any other and may be bought and sold in the open market. There should be no limit to the possession of land and the Government should not interfere to regulate this possession.

These Liberal ideas unfortunately infiltrate into the ranks of the Christian Democrats and enthusiasts for agrarian reform are not wanting who attribute a certain hesitation on the part of Government to the presence of these Liberal elements with their vested interests.

These Liberal elements say that they too want land-reform but in a manner all their own. Instead of starting with expropriation, they say, let the Government compel owners to start land-reclamation and improvement schemes. Those owners who fail to comply with orders should be subject to expropriation.

The more progressive current, however, has well answered that such a manner of land-reform leads to many inconveniences: there would be much waste of time in legal disputes and, especially, the demands of the underprivileged classes for a share in the possession of land would go unheard. Therefore, they say, let the Government begin by breaking up the big estates, redistributing the land to small farmers and helping them; simultaneously and afterwards let land-improvement schemes be started.

The Government has had the courage to affront the problem of expropriation, while it has not entirely neglected the other viewpoint.

Three Laws

The Liberals say that no new laws are needed for land-reform: all the essentials for such a reform are, they say, already found in the law of 13-2-1933, N. 215. But this is because they visualize land-reform without expropriation. However, as the Government has accepted the principle of expropriation it has also three laws to regulate land-reform, the third of which is still under discussion and, will, as we hope, be put into execution when the first two laws will already have paved the path for it.

(To be continued)

BOOK NOTES AND REVIEWS

In a pamphlet *POVERTY AND OVER-TAXATION. The Way out.* by The Duke of Bedford. (Strickland Press, Glasgow. 6d) of less than sixty pages, the Duke of Bedford has succeeded in undertaking a critical review of the main factors and influences in the monetary system of "orthodox economics." The banking system, the Gold Standard, the method of Government taxation, and the so called "safety-valves" of the present monetary system are examined and found wanting as means to adjust "the supply of money to the output and import of goods and services."

The reformed monetary system proposed by the Duke has much in common with the social credit policies advocated by Major C. H. Douglas, Professor F. Soddy and Silvio Gesell. In their opinion all our social evils spring from the harmful teachings of "orthodox economics" which refuses to admit the soundness of inflationist and expansionist monetary policies and, on the other hand, which sacrifice the ordinary man as a victim to the monopoly of "bank-cheques" and usurers. Hence, the remedy lies in unchaining money; and the aim of monetary policy should be the creation of "free-money" — called "Freigeld" by Silvio Gesell — and the granting of cheap and even gratuitous money, as the Duke of Bedford advocates to the "deserving unemployed" who are merely the victims of our labour-saving machine age.

While few would deny, today, the serious imperfections of our monetary system, it is interesting to consider the relation of the remedy proposed by the Duke to the disease which it proposes to cure. The disease is the maladjustment of the supply of money to the needs of the community. Various factors in our monetary system bring about this maladjustment: the conflicting interests of bankers and the ordinary man; the method of investments which tends

take money off the market just when money is needed to buy consumable goods; the method of Government taxation which reduces the purchasing power of individuals and unemployment due to labour saving inventions. To remedy this unhealthy monetary system, the good Duke would reduce the banks to non-profit making institutions: establish a system to "create new money" during periods of money shortage and when payments to the Government for service rendered fall due; and moved by humanitarian motives, perhaps, he would give, as a free gift, a part of the "created new money" to those who are idle through no fault of their own, but merely because they are the victims of labour-saving machines!

The Duke's analysis appears to consist of two main assumptions. The first takes for granted that banks disregard the fact that the amount of credit they can create depends ultimately on the amount of cash they hold. While it may be conceded that some banks do not operate on a safety margin, it would be very difficult to affirm this to be the general practice. Further, while investments made through savings may for a time tend to a decline in the money needed for consumable goods, at other times, there is a tendency for the volume of credit to increase and for a surplus to take the place of a deficiency. Thus we have seasonal expansion and contraction of credit. Unfortunately the Duke tells us little about the adjustment needed between money required for consumable goods and that needed for capital goods, for if we are to have the former we must also have the latter. Next, we find no support for the Duke's assumption that the "anti-inflation taxation" or the injection of "created new money" into the monetary stream will not lead to difficulties as great as those he proposes to solve. While it is not easy to lay down rules for the so called "deserving unemployed," the psychological effects of such action risk secondary consequences of no small proportions.

C. C. C.

New Constitution of India. By B. N. Banerjee. Pp. 207.
Calcutta : A. Mukherjee, 1951. Price Rs. 4.

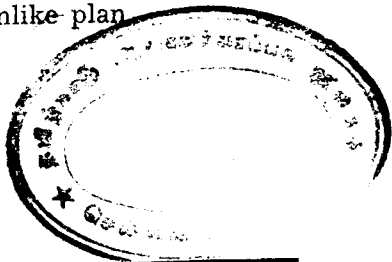
The author was a teacher of Public Administration in the Calcutta University and Secretary of the West Bengal Public Service Commission so that his competence to analyse the constitution of India and prepare what he calls "a political hand-book" is undoubted.

After a short survey of the historical background, he details the contents of the Constitution and throws much light on their bearing thanks to notes on the discussions, explanations of terms and statements of juridical authorities. For instance, he notes the ambiguity of the word "domicile" which is one of the qualifications for citizenship and the procedure to be followed by migrants from Pakistan. He runs through the articles of the Constitution and elucidates the text with remarks of his own or appropriate quotations.

His study covers the First Amendment Act and has important notes on the purpose and history of this Act.

In an Appendix he lists various statistical tables which are informative on electoral arrangements, on population and income. A supplement gives essential electoral information as contained in the Representation of the People Act 1951 : qualifications of candidates, and of electors, administrative machinery, conduct of elections, electoral offences, etc.

People who have anything to do with arrangements for elections will find in the present book all they may desire for safe and correct work. It is a handy compendium on a workmanlike plan.



A. L.

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- (1) To spread the social teachings of the Catholic Church.
- (2) To provide theoretical and practical training for social workers.
- (3) To serve as a centre of information about Catholic social works.

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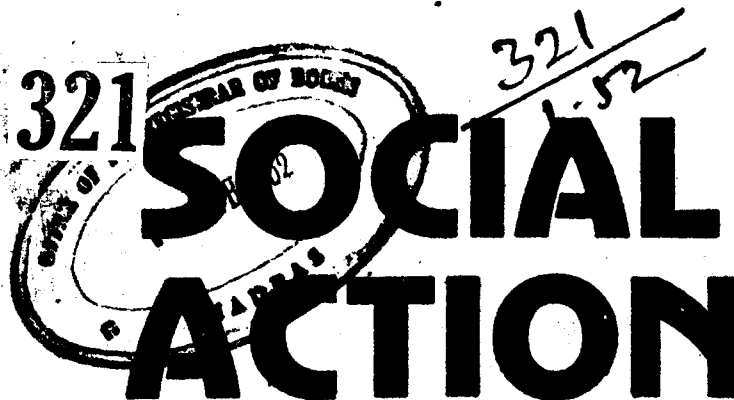
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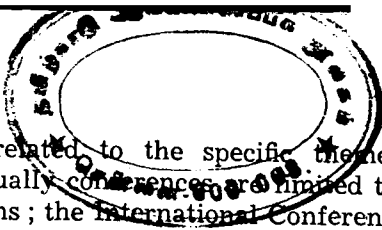
Here and There

At the Turn of the Year

Social India opened 1952 with the Fifth Session of the Indian Conference of Social Work. The Calcutta winter was at its mildest, St. Xavier's College at its most hospitable and the members at their keenest. The Organising Committee were suavely business-like, the Reception Committee glowing with welcome, and the Volunteers taut with a twenty-four hour alertness.

The Programme

With its usual competence, the Central Executive Committee had prepared a broad and diversified programme which the Conference went through with meritorious punctuality, if not with desirable thoroughness. The programme was so vast that one would have better felt the purposive earnestness of the Committee if it had been strictly adhered to. No one could object to the Prime Minister saying a few words of encouragement; but was it wise to make room for extra lectures of a popular standard on subjects like Modern China and Population Problems which were



unrelated to the specific theme of this Fifth Session? Usually conferences are limited to a few well-defined questions; the International Conference of Social Work which is to be held in Madras this coming December will take as its particular theme 'the role of social service in raising the standard of life'.

At Work

More dispersed was the attention of the Calcutta Session. Five main themes were tackled: Planning Rural Community Development, Planning Welfare in Industry, Planning Administration of Social Work and Training of Social Workers, Planning Social Defence. Each section had a chairman, two contributors, and two official discussants. The chairmen's addresses were read at the opening general session and the papers of contributors and discussants were read at the sectional meetings. All were read, though some were read by substitutes of absentees. Even many non-official discussants ventured on a bout of reading. In fact there was so much reading that one regretted that the art of public reading is badly neglected in modern education and that the superiority of ready speaking over reading was largely ignored. The style of delivery which is one of the social amenities of meetings deserved more attention from the members of Social Conference, especially when the Committee made it a point to supply the text with courteous timeliness.

Resolutions

The resolutions framed by appointed delegates in each section were read at the final session. They reflected the quality of the work in the sections with their varied clarity and conciseness. Section I (Rural Community Development) and Section III (Planning Administration of Social Work, etc.) submitted reports and resolutions of considerable length which challenged workable amendments. Section II (Planning Welfare in Industry) and Section IV

(Planning Social Defence) preferred short and tabulated resolutions which were discussed and amended.

As planning is a favourite occupation of post-war years and as recommendations of a conference on planning do not immediately threaten the tax-payer, it is best to refer readers keen on such recommendations to the publicity which the Indian Conference of Social Work will not omit to give them.

Women's Role

What was striking at the meetings was the high quality of feminine contribution. (This was also much in evidence at the Second All-India Conference on Moral and Social Hygiene which was held at the Calcutta Raj Bhawan some days previously and which did much valuable study). Men delighted in theoretical considerations and regulations; women stressed the moral and psychological factors. Men talked science, though mercifully there was little display of statistics; women talked humaness. Men spoke with their head, women with their heart. This difference of approach should suffice to invite a greater contribution from women in social problems, particularly in all matters involving habilitation or re-habilitation of human persons. The specific role women should play in society and in social work is not yet sufficiently well-defined and still less sufficiently appreciated. India's womanhood feels too uncertain of its vocation in national development, and the Indian Conference of Social Work can do much to rouse enticing visions and offer suitable opportunities.

Men may be left to their theorems. They have much to do before having built up a terse philosophy of social work. Philosophy was possibly the subject that was given the least satisfactory treatment at the Conference. Confusion of ideas, inadequacy of expression, exclusive recourse to pragmatic views are hardly conducive to solid philosophy. A discussion on fundamentals would prove more helpful and

might with advantage be prepared in the schools of social science which are expected to give the lead in social reforms and in social services.

A. L.

□ □ □ □

St. Anthony's Home

Dolly toddled across the room on a voyage of discovery. She had found out that toes, besides being good to suck, also helped in the exploration of her new world. She was smiling, chubby and contented, "as good as gold" which is still the standard for children's behaviour even when a country has gone off the gold standard. Two years before when only a few days old, she had been thrown, unwanted and unloved, into a dustbin along with the offal, ordure and filth. There she had been found, barely alive and brought to the Home. She is a compendium which epitomizes the triumph over tragedy which is St. Anthony's.

The Home, situated in Bellasis Road, Byculla, Bombay, was, like so many other charitable institutions, founded by the St. Vincent de Paul Society and later taken over by the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary in 1922. The assets were a few rooms over an Irani shop, 15 old women and 5 children. In the following year these assets were further enriched by an orphanage with 15 girls, aged 6 to 12, and two already existing schools, one for Mahar children and the other an "English" school. Zeal to help the poor being unquenchable, the following year saw a dispensary opened, followed by a Soup-kitchen. Both the kitchen—which gives something more substantial than soup—and the dispensary proved immensely popular, and between them mended the bodies and filled the stomachs of an average 25,000 visitors a year. In 1928 the first child was brought to the Home and what was to be the main work, the care of neglected, abandoned, destitute children, was begun.

At one time in the Home's history, the old women were the most numerous, but the greater needs of the children, the over-crowding and lack of suitable accommodation within the institution, have caused a temporary suspension of the care of the aged until funds can be found to build a new wing for the old people. The only things in the Home which are not sprightly, full of energy, life and joy, are the buildings: they are full of cracks, old, cramped and rickety and not even all the youthful hilarity they witness seems able to rejuvenate them. To say that the buildings are old and over-crowded is an under-statement. Bombay has a high density of population, and in the city, St. Antony's must set up something very near the record. There are children, children everywhere and not a place to hide. Even in St. Anthony's there is a limit to floor-space and the overflow has to be accommodated in Khandala.

Babies grow. They become children who, if they are to have a fair chance in after-life, need educating. So there is a High School attached to the Home, or, since the school is bigger and better built than the Home, perhaps we should say that the Home is attached to the school. Here the more capable can begin their preparation to become nurses, teachers or clerks, while others, after Std. VI., are trained either in domestic science or at the industrial school.

Too many Babies?

The fact that even from one part of Bombay there are so many foundlings and unwanted children raises a crop of problems. The question becomes even more complicated when we consider that in spite of so much loving and devoted care, a high percentage of the babies die. Would it not have been better that these children had never been conceived? And if already born, is it not better that they die now before they become conscious of the misery and squalor that awaits them? *Social Action*¹ has already tried to answer the question as to whether there are too many people

¹ Family Planning, Sept. 1951.

in India. There are potentialities of increasing the food supply, increasing industrialization and raising the standard of living, while legitimate moral methods such as self-restraint in marriage and later marriages should also be employed. We will not go over the matter again here. But what of those already born? Should they be helped to live? One of the fallacies of the human mind is to be horrified at the violent or premature death of an adult, and callous at the death of an infant from similar causes. Yet a baby, whether yet unborn or newly born, is just as much a human being as an adult. Size or years makes no difference to the indubitable fact that a baby has the same fundamental rights to life, well-being and to happiness, as an adult. It is no less a crime to let a baby die of neglect and starvation than to allow an adult to suffer the same fate. A society which refuses to have children is rotten and corrupt, but there is also something fundamentally wrong with a society which has children but allows a very large percentage of them to die. The following is the infant mortality rate² for India:

Year	Annual Rate	Bombay	5-Year average rate
1941	158	201.5	
1942	163	195.1	
1943	165	197.4	161 (for the whole of India)
1944	169	203.0	
1945	151	190.4	

It will be immediately noticed that Bombay rate is higher than that of the average rate for the country as a whole. (Compare with v.g. England with 44 per 1000 in 1946. Why should a child born in Bombay have less chance to live than one born in London, Paris or New York?)

Besides malnutrition, contagious diseases and unhealthy parents, one of the chief causes of the high infant mortality

² The number of deaths under one year of age divided by the total live births and expressed per 1000 births.

rate is the appalling housing conditions. "If an average of more than 2½ persons per room be taken as an indication of over-crowding, 96 per cent of the population of Bombay will be considered to be over-crowded and housed so inadequately that the streets have to be used to supplement the sleeping accommodation. The following sections of the city show the worst forms of over-crowding: Byculla with 99 per cent of the families living in single-room tenements, Sewri with 89 per cent, Mazagaon and Parel with 88 per cent and Second Nagapada with 87 per cent."³ (Note that St. Anthony's is in Byculla, the worst area). In Bombay the density per square mile was 48,400 in 1931 (compare this with New York with 24,000 per sq. mile in 1940). According to the 1931 Census of India, in Bombay 81 per cent of the tenements were one-roomed, housing 74 per cent of the population with an average of 4 persons per room, 11 per cent of the tenements were two-roomed, housing 12 per cent of the population with an average of 2.5 persons per room. This leaves only 14 per cent of the city population having more than two rooms. If this was the condition in 1931 when the population was 1,161,383, what must it be in 1951 when the population has risen to 2,800,000 without any signs of a corresponding doubling of houses?

It is in the light of these figures and remarks that the following statistics from St. Anthony's should be examined:

Year.	Children admitted	Found-lings	Orph-ans	Illegi-timate	Poor	Brok-en Marriage	Others	Deaths of Foundl.	Deaths of Others.	Ador-tions
1947	105	25	10	14	12	11	33	22	19	
1948	81	16	11	15	19	12	8	15	18	1
1949	95	48	9	15	6	6	11	42	25	2
1950	134	85	11	14	8	5	11	83	22	3
1951	128	101	7	6		6	8	59	21	7

It will be useful to store up these figures and their true explanation for future use and possible Communist charges.

³ Radhakamal Mukerjee, *The Indian Working Class*, 3rd Ed. 1951, p. 294-95.

It is only recently that the non-Communist world was shocked by the trial and condemnation of nuns in charge of an orphanage in Canton, China. They who had devoted their lives to the care of unwanted children were accused of killing their charges—who owing to the civil war of the time must have been in an even weaker and more miserable condition than the abandoned babies of Bombay. The false Communist propaganda carries a cartoon of a nun throwing an emaciated, still living child on to a heap of corpses, and there is also a photo of a heap of decomposing babies' bodies. This type of anti-Christian propaganda is diabolical, but unfortunately when passions are aroused by lies and hatred it meets with considerable success. Forewarned is forearmed. And if you think that babies are being killed off at St. Anthony's, pay a visit and see for yourself. Usual murdering time 10-12 a.m., 4-6 p.m. Special murders by appointment.

Some Cases and Causes

Given such *normal* living conditions as exist in the poorer quarters of Bombay, it is not surprising that the death rate among the foundlings, which do not get normal care, is particularly high. Babies brought to the Home, having lost their mothers through death, have more vitality than those who have been rejected by their mothers. It is not only a question of physical strength, but also of the desire to live, accompanied with a certain happiness. The nuns observe a certain depression in even these small abandoned babies and find that they only thrive when surrounded by much affection which tries to compensate for their abandonment and previous sufferings. There is the case of Dolly already mentioned and of Jo-Jo who was brought to the orphanage as a cross, bitter child, covered with ulcers, his limbs all twisted and distorted. It was thought that even if he survived he would never be able to walk. Left neglected at home, probably he never would have walked, but thanks to loving care and medical treatment he changed into a joy-

ful child with the determination to walk like the other children. And by dint of encouragement and practice he did succeed. These observations have been borne out by the experience of Dr. Collis who describes in his book, *The Ultimate Value* (the value of a single soul), the lives of two children, Eva and Lázló Rainer, rescued from the horrors of the Nazi concentration camp of Belsen. Dr. Collis observed that the survival of the children in the camp depended very much on their early home life; if they had been loved at home, they had the courage and resistance to survive; otherwise they shrank into themselves and succumbed to the horrors of their daily experience. He notes a similar difficulty in rehabilitating children who have been maltreated: loss of security and love cripples a child—even for life.

Many babies die very soon after arrival at the home, i.e., before reaching the age of three weeks, and this is especially so in the case of those born prematurely. But the greatest number of deaths occurs between 3 weeks and 3 months. The most common cause of death is malnutrition and jaundice. Babies are frequently received which show signs of ill-treatment: administration of drugs, bruises, wounds and even attempts at strangling. Moreover, were the Home less crowded and enjoying more air and light, the health of the children would improve. These improvements would cost money, something not so easy to come by as foundlings.

Admission of Children other than Foundlings

From 1935 to 1946, 578 children were admitted into St. Anthony's. Of these 295 were foundlings and the remainder belong to other classes: (a) orphans: as in all orphanages comparatively few have lost both parents, and the children are usually claimed by their parent when grown up; (b) illegitimate children: neglected and rejected by their mother, often after an attempt on their lives either before or after birth; (c) children of poor parents who are left in the care of the nuns until their parents can support

them. *Poverty by itself is rarely a cause of neglect.* The poor really love their children and it is touching to see how they sacrifice themselves to do something, however small, for their upkeep ; (d) children of unhappy marriages, due to continual quarrels or the desertion of husband or wife ; the children are brought for protection and reclaimed if the partners are reconciled ; (e) other cases are those of children temporarily placed in the Home through the illness of the mother or the absence of one of the parents.

Very few children are given in adoption, especially girls, because sad experience has proved that these so-called adoptions are made more for the utility of the family than for the benefit of the child which is treated very much as a servant. Very few of the adopted have been received as one of the family and well brought up ; usually they have not been given any education by their adoptive parents and when reaching a marriageable age have often, through lack of care, been allowed to drift into immorality. Since adoption so often means nothing more than a free servant, it is not surprising that there is a greater demand for girls than for boys. Great prudence too has to be exercised in giving these latter in adoption. Owing to this failure to find suitable parents, the children have to be kept much longer than otherwise would be the case.

After-Care

With an ever-increasing number of inmates, and consequently more and more being old enough to leave every year, efforts are being made to provide after-care during the first difficult years when the girls start off on their own. There are many dangers for young girls beginning to work for their living, and Bombay has very few suitable hostels or clubs, where they can stay. As far as space allows, girls working outside are given boarding in the Home, while those who are unable to make an independent livelihood are always kept on at the institution.

Sick, ailing babies turned into healthy and joyous children are an asset, but the process is a financial liability. Apart for a Government grant for the High School, the rest of the liabilities are covered by the Universal Providence Bank Unlimited which, in a manner totally beyond the understanding of banking experts, throughout the world keeps thousands of impecunious and debt-ridden charitable institutions from liquidation. Those who want to invest in gilt-edged securities, the highest possible unrestricted dividends with absolute certainty of payment, should apply to Mother Superior.

Every child at St. Anthony's has a story, or better, two stories : the first is a tale of ill-treatment, disease and misery : a tragedy. The second is one of devotion, of loving kindness and of bright hope : a triumph of the present and the future.

A. Nevett.

International Socialism

It is difficult to discover any clear line of consistent thinking or general agreement among the people who claim to be Socialists. But there are important deviations from the beaten track of the past hundred years that can be taken as indices of whither Socialism is tending. The recent meeting of representative Socialists from all over the world except from the U.S.S.R. and the countries behind the Iron Curtain produced a strange assortment of speeches and resolutions in many ways profoundly at variance with the classical Marxian Socialist tradition.

To comprehend the drifting position of present day International Socialism, it is necessary to make a review of Socialist history from the date of the first formation of an International Socialist Union. The first "International Workingmen's Association" was formed in 1864. Among its leaders were Marx, Engels, and Bakunin. But it did not

last long. Due to factional struggles within the group it came to an inglorious end in 1872. The Second International was formed in 1899 at a Congress held in Paris, and sprouted into activity the following year. Lenin, Jaures, Bebel figure among its leaders. But the Second International was divided into three groups—Lenin leading the left, Kautsky and the German Socialists holding the centre, while at the right stood the British Fabians and Labourites. The Right abhorred revolution. They believed in the inevitability of Socialist supremacy the world over but they clung to democratic methods of achieving their purpose. The World War of 1914 effectively split the Socialist Movement along Nationalist lines.

At the end of the World War I the Third International came into being. It was really a Communist International founded in 1921 at the Congress of Moscow. It was named the Comintern. Stalin dissolved it in 1942, because some of its members chafed under his supreme direction and iron discipline. The Comintern was limited exclusively to Socialists of the Russian brand—the Left Wing Socialists. In the meantime the Right Wing of European Socialists had also tried to regroup themselves into a single party. At first two Socialist Parties were formed, but they soon fused at Hamburg in 1923 under the name of "The Labour and Socialist International". This group was practically dissolved by the outbreak of the Second World War.

The war was hardly over before Stalin established the Cominform, the spear-head of Communist infiltration in every country of the world. At the same time many of the non-Russian Socialist Parties in the countries of Europe outside the Iron Curtain were placed in power by the Western Allies. Power had made them more nationalistic in outlook and policy. They are hostile and critical of the Soviet. They are no longer keen on uniting into an International body under strict discipline of thought and action. Instead they prefer a loose Federation. The most pressing circumstance that has forced them to turn what one might almost

call an ideological somersault has been the rise of Imperialistic Communism.

Yet theoretically it is not hard to define the main tenets of the Socialist programme which was recognised by both extremes of the Socialist party from the revolutionary Bolsheviks to the eminently respectable Fabians. At least on the economic side we can roughly say what Socialism up to now has stood for, though today there is little if any agreement on these fundamentals. Their programme used to include :

- (1) No private owners of the means of production.
- (2) Therefore no class of employers and employees, since all would be workers.
- (3) The only employer is Society acting through various governmental and co-operative organs.
- (4) No production for profit. Hence no organisation of production through the market. This necessitates production in accordance with a plan.
- (5) The driving force to greater production that has hitherto been supplied by private initiative working for profit is now sublimated into a conscious striving by the whole community to attain the general social goals chosen by the planners.

The main arguments that have been adduced against the Socialist position as outlined above are three in number. They are not purely theoretical because they are based on the vital experience of the Socialist experiment wherever it has been tried. The first is the absence of incentives to activity. As the London Economist once wrote : "The human donkey needs a carrot in front or a stick behind to goad it into activity". Socialism is said to lead to inefficiency because it does not provide the necessary human urges to work and to efficiency. The argument is partly true. Private property is a natural right and is consistent with man's dignity and his natural instinct for possession. It is the abuse of property and not its right use that requires

to be checked. The second objection is that Socialism cannot utilise resources rationally, because it is only in a free market that the preferences of the consumers can be adequately gauged. The argument is not so correct, because in most cases the market is not free but is controlled by various agencies and therefore cannot be a true index of the preferences of the consumer. This difficulty could be overcome in a Socialist State because a free market of consumer goods would still function. Lastly Socialism and freedom are incompatible. This is the main argument against Socialism today. There are few people among the so-called Socialists who profess Socialism in its rigid form. Many of them admit the right of private property to some extent if not in theory at least in practice, especially where land is concerned. Small scale industries are allowed to remain in private hands. The State will control and direct large scale undertakings, whether industrial or agricultural. This involves some planning which in turn involves controls. In general it may be argued that such policy places too much economic power in the hands of the State. The individual entrepreneur becomes an insignificant midget by the side of the new giant, the Industrial State. But this type of mixed economy is envisaged in the Indian Five Year Plan which certainly does not claim to be of Socialist origin. Hence the question, What do the Socialists really stand for?

As I have said there are few Socialists who admit the Marxian theory in all its rigidity. Circumstances have made them opportunists, and many of them seem to have no definite principles to go by, except a passion for social justice, and a sincere belief in democracy and liberty.

But let us leave theory aside for the moment. The Frankfurt Conference which was held on the 6th of July, 1951 was characterized by a deep sense of awareness of the present economic, social and political conditions of society. The representatives realised that the world can no longer be sharply divided into two classes, the expropriator and the expropriated, or the capitalist and the labourer. The capi-

talist world as known to Marx has undergone a profound change. "In a number of countries," states the Manifesto of the Assembly, "uncontrolled capitalism has given place to an economic regime in which the intervention of the State and the collective possession of the means of production limit the power of private capital." This shift of power calls for a change of tactics. The Socialists have no use for classical Marxist policy, viz., the fermenting of class rivalry, revolutionary methods, an international bloc of workers,—which may have been needed in Marx's day, when capitalism could be identified with his analysis of it. In 1951, the distribution of classes is quite different from what it was in 1848, when Marx and Engels published their Communist Manifesto.

The Socialists admit the change. The days when the Capitalist could do and dare what he pleased are dead and gone. Organised labour is a very potent factor in the balance of economic power. The State is far more sensitive and alert to the condition of the weaker elements within the community, and actively interferes on their behalf. But the greatest element of change is the menace of the centralised bureaucratic state or the Totalitarian state. The Conference at Frankfurt endeavoured to adapt itself to the presence of Stalinism in East Europe. The situation of non-Communists in that quarter of the world is clear proof that Stalinism is the mortal enemy of the Socialist parties, who now find themselves able to survive only in the free democracies outside the Iron Curtain. But the Socialists are equally sensitive of the power of American Capitalism, and the American way of life that is diametrically opposed to the type of State interference that has gained a foothold in Britain. These are new realities in the Industrial world; the specific products of a century and a half of industrialisation, commercial warfare, international finance, and the growth of organised labour.

The resolutions of the Conference are vitally influenced by the new shape of things, economic and political. It was

unanimously agreed that the main link of unity among the representatives there present was their anti-Stalinist attitude. Communism is condemned as "the instrument of a new imperialism . . . founded on a military bureaucracy and terrorist police," and ought to be ranged side by side with capitalist oppression.

A second important deviation from doctrinaire Marxism is the new attitude to class war. "Class lines are changing," says the Socialist document. In the nineteenth century, Socialism was a "wage-earners" movement. Today it appeals more to professional and clerical workers, farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, retailers, artists and scientists. The Socialists accuse the Communists of stirring up trouble between the classes; they would have such tensions disappear from society and they therefore recommend harmonious unity between the employer and the employees.

In the international world the essential aim of the Socialist party according to the Manifesto is the establishment of peace. The Korean war serves to prove that Stalin and his henchmen will not hesitate to take up arms to dominate the rest of the world. The Conference thought it necessary "that all the free democratic countries should build up their military defences, in order to guarantee the peace through the intermediacy of the U.N."

But arms are not enough. It is true that the threat of Communist domination compels the democracies to give first priority to the production of armaments. But part of their defence measures should be a liberal policy of helping to raise the standard of life of the Asian and African masses. "Peace will never be assured as long as the population of nearly half the globe lives in such dire misery and almost on the verge of famine". This is the real reason why Communism still makes headway in our modern world.

To this general policy, most of the Socialist delegates subscribe. But not all is harmony: there still lies a large measure of conflict on certain fundamental principles. For

instance, Mr. Morgan Philipps, General Secretary of the British Labour Party is reported to have said, that "the British Socialists definitely reject Marxism and the dogma of class war under all its forms. Their home and foreign policy is based on democratic and Christian principles alone, which they were taught by their great religious reformers long before Marx was born. No more Marxism, no more materialism and class war."

To accommodate different shades of opinion, the Manifesto declares "Socialism is an international movement, which does not insist on a rigid uniformity of ideas. Whether Socialists base their convictions on the Marxist thesis, or on some other system of social analysis, or whether they are inspired by religious or humanitarian principles, they are all fighting for the same objects: a system of social justice, a better life, liberty and peace". Gone are the days when the term Socialist was narrowly applied only to those who swore by Marx, and interpreted world events according to the Marxian pattern. Today, at least in some of the free democracies in the West, there is a tendency to be less exclusive and more liberal in outlook in permitting differing shades of thought and opinion within a single social group.

The British and the American influence is beginning to tell. The Continental brand of Socialism that still clings to the rigid traditional Socialist category of thought and action is in a comparative minority. This fact stood out clearly in the speeches of some of the delegates. Mr. Larock, the Secretary-General of the Belgian Socialist Party defines the peculiar character of the new Socialist International, when he says that it is "a federation of Socialist parties, in which each party preserves its freedom to take a decision. . . . The reconstitution of the International does not oblige the Socialist parties from different countries to adopt a point of view that is rigorously identical upon all the questions in discussion". This makes the International a loose type of unitary structure embracing a wide variety

of opinion. The old doctrinaire spirit has disappeared to some extent at least. The International set-up and rigid discipline is no more. The Socialist parties of today are more truly nationalist parties with some of the general Socialist aims in view. They are no longer the subservient agents of Soviet Russia. They are much more independent and wish to strike out a path for themselves. The ties that bind the Socialists today into a common group are their attachment to liberty, and the desire to live in a free democracy. Beyond these points of agreement they are not bound by any declaration of principles, or code of restraining directions. There is room enough even for extremes. How long this strangely assorted team will run together, time alone will tell.

And how about the Indian Socialist Party? Where does it come into the picture? Once more we are faced with the same dilemmas. No clear definite platform is adopted. While a few salient principles are emphasised, the general outline is still vague and blurred enough to satisfy a variety of sympathizers of differing shades of opinion. The Indian Socialist Party has openly expelled the Leftist elements from within its ranks. The split that occurred some months ago when Aruna Asaf Ali and those of her way of thinking broke with the Socialist Party, had never been healed. On the other hand, the intellectuals of the party are not anti-Marxian, though they are strongly anti-Stalinist. The Marxian thesis exercises a powerful influence in determining their attitude to questions like private property, the payment of compensation, the capital levy, and nationalisation of industry. However, not everything that Marx said is wrong. His castigation of the social evils of his days which were to a large extent due to a flagrant abuse of the rights of property has never been surpassed. But Marx is also the architect of the totalitarian state. The Socialists are quite aware of the fact and insist on the decentralisation of state power as an antidote. They advocate the establishment of local bodies and panchayats as the essential units

of the decentralised state. These bodies will see to the local needs and manage the affairs of the local community in a co-operative spirit. They are expected to work not for their own advantage, but for the good of the community. Will these men prove themselves so highminded as to forget their own interests and look only to the good of the rest? It will be difficult to find many men of such calibre.

Somehow a planned economy—and the Socialists certainly believe in a planned economy—implies direction from above, and the agency that gives the direction must be sufficiently backed with power to see that the direction it gives is carried out. How is a decentralised state at all possible in these circumstances?

The Indian Socialists by force of the Marxian tradition they have imbibed distrust the individual and pin their faith on to the omniscient state. There is a lack of balance here that needs readjusting, in the same way as their attitude towards private property calls for a final corrective by admitting the principle of compensation in theory, for to some extent they already admit it in practice.

To ring Indian Socialism around with hard and fast lines is an impossible task. Indian Socialism is still in a stage of evolution. Like International Socialism, it is the pressure of actual circumstances alone that will shape the ideology and the policy of the party.

A. Fonseca.

A Pioneer of Popular Education

Literacy drive and popular education are favourite slogans of reformers. No party can omit them from its programme, and no candidate for elections can refrain from adding to the universal clamour for popular education. But as the field of education is little improved by soaring eagles

and is ploughed only by humble oxen, it may be instructive to watch a silent worker who was a pioneer of popular education and an educator. We refer to John Baptist de la Salle, the founder of the Institute of the Brothers of Christian Schools, who was led by Providence and became the organiser of a society of world-importance.

He was born at Rheims on April 30, 1651, and died at Rouen on April 7, 1719. He belonged to an old family who had supplied many officers to the army and as many officials to the Church. He passed his degree of Master of Arts and was at once wrapped up in the patronage of his uncle, the University Chancellor, who resigned his canonry to make a comfortable living for his clever protégé. But John Baptist felt uneasy in ermine and was dreaming of an active life as one of the parish clergy. He pursued his ecclesiastical studies at St. Sulpice but had to interrupt them; father and mother died and he had to take in hand the direction of the family affairs and the education of brothers and sisters. He soon went back to his books, was ordained priest in 1678, and passed his doctorate in theology in 1680. Time after time he offered to resign his canonry but the Archbishop never agreed to deprive his cathedral choir of a model canon: commanding presence, broad forehead, lustrous eyes, and all the grace which makes a young cleric's virtue doubly attractive.

He was led to his life-mission by what looked fortuitous circumstances. A friend of his who had established the Congregation of the Sisters of the Child Jesus had on his death-bed entrusted his new foundation to the young canon: "You will complete the work which I have begun. In all this Father Barré will be your guide and model". About the same time, two pious souls asked for his help to start new schools, for there are not wanting pious people who draw up zealous plans and leave others to carry them out. It is thus that little by little he was led to take a special interest in schools and school-teachers. At the close of his life he wrote: "If I had ever thought that what I did out of

pure charity for the poor school-teachers would make it incumbent on me to live with them, I would have given it up at once", or again, "If God had revealed to me the good that could be accomplished by this institute and had likewise made known to me the trials and sufferings that would accompany it, my courage would have failed me and I would never have undertaken it". It has been the case of many young apostles to whom Providence tempered the breeze and who did not foresee the wonders they would achieve.

Thanks to his daily visits to teachers he soon realised what was wrong with them. They felt discouraged: nobody took an interest in them after class-hours, they were poorly paid, and were at a loss about the methods of teaching. Teaching has always been a dull job, and unless it is taken as a vocation, it soon becomes soulless and disheartening. The young canon was not slow in realizing the case. He painstakingly gave them practical hints as to what to teach and how to teach, he taught them ways of putting their leisure to good use; he gave them an occasional bonus, he invited them to his table and eventually offered them shelter under his roof. He was soon feeling one with them, but even as late as 1682 he was uncertain as to how to organise them.

Father Barré advised him to give up whatever might divert his attention from procuring God's glory. De la Salle resigned his canonry, distributed his fortune to the poor during the winter of 1684 and then felt ready to do God's will. To remonstrances, he meekly answered: "I must do the work of God and if the worst should come to pass, we shall have to beg alms". He was convinced that his group of teachers would not keep up their educational ideal unless they were formed into a congregation. In course of time he became convinced that his institute was to be founded on simplicity and humility, and on an exclusive devotion to education. No Brother could be diverted from his task by devoting his time to special studies, or the singing of the Divine Office or any priestly ministry. No Brother would

be ordained priest and no priest would join his institute. This was a novel type of Congregation, but experience has shown the spiritual inspiration and wisdom of de la Salle. This was not so clear at first in the eyes of certain ecclesiastical authorities and de la Salle had his full quota of trials, the quota that usually goes with holy and faithful endeavour, and to which well-intentioned people make an unexpectedly large contribution. He went on steadfastly and by 1717 has his Institute well established with rules, vows and a superior general.

At that time France was passing through a crisis: Jansenism in the ascendant, Gallicanism astir; indiscipline among the upper classes, violence of internal wars; rapine of soldiers, exactions of officials, scarcity of food and local famines; even the victories of Louis XIV brought glory to the monarch but mourning to the cottages. Moral, social, economic conditions were wretched. De la Salle concentrated his attention on the poorer classes. He would establish popular free schools thoroughly graded and supplied with teachers who would impart instruction and education. This idea of establishing schools for the poor was a sensational innovation in 18th century France, a social reform that made Society look askance at the reformer and that shocked the aristocracy and the intellectual elite. Even decades later, Rousseau maintained that the poor man had no need of education. The encyclopaedists wanted none of the reform and were wont to say that labourers should not be allowed access to any kind of study. Voltaire who stood at the head of the French Enlightenment wrote in 1760: "The people will always be stupid and savage; the only things they need are a yoke, a goad and a bundle of hay". As de la Salle had not received his mission from the 'progressists of the day', he went on plodding along, recruiting and training Brothers, establishing new schools for the poor and developing pedagogical methods.

His pedagogy itself had novelties, and it included principles which were developed by later educationists, like

Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart and others. Down to his day, Latin was the key language, even for the children who learned reading. De la Salle made a bold move and adopted the vernacular. Prejudices were then so strong that he lists not less than six reasons justifying the change; we may leave them to historians of pedagogy and say with modern brevity that he showed some sense of the obvious. He was among the first to adopt what is called the 'Simultaneous Method'. In many schools of the times, the system was little better than a sequel of private tuitions. In the 'Simultaneous Method', pupils of a school are graded according to capacity, given the same book and made to follow the same lesson of one and the same teacher. It would be too complicated to discuss the growth of this method which de la Salle adopted from the first and introduced in popular education. It is much more interesting to go through his pedagogical guide and quote some of the practical rules he gave in his "Conduite des écoles chrétiennes, Avignon, 1724". Quite a few might be more popular than they are nowadays.

"The teacher should determine the relative intelligence of each pupil in class. He should adapt his language and explanations to the capacity of his class. He is careful not to neglect the duller pupils. He makes sure that the pupils know the meaning of the words they use. He goes from the simple to the complex, from the easy to the difficult. He makes it a point to insist on the elementary part of each subject; not run ahead of them. . . . He speaks much to the eyes of the pupils, making a lavish use of the blackboard. He prepares each lesson carefully. He places no faulty models or standards before the pupils; he always speaks in correct language, faultless grammar and with clarity and precision. He uses none but exact definitions and well-founded divisions. He asserts nothing without being positively certain of what he says, particularly as regards facts, definitions and principles. He makes frequent use of the system of questions and answers".

All that had to be said in the 18th century ; it is translated in the learned language of modern pedagogics but it might with advantage be repeated in the direct style of de la Salle.

Once at home in the field of education, he saw an immense field before him, and never hesitated in undertaking any new venture which was indicated by circumstances : he was the first to open an 'Ecole Normale' (Teachers training School), technical schools, boarding schools and academies, Sunday schools for adult workers, Reformatory Schools. In several lines he was doing pioneering work ; in all he perfected methods then in use, and in each case he made sure to put his establishments on a permanent basis.

He was the steady plodder, relentlessly pursuing his goal and untiringly careful to shape his work according to circumstances. His ideal was high, his religious convictions deep, and his devotion unremitting. At his death (April 7, 1719) his Institute counted 274 Brothers educating 9,000 pupils spread in 27 houses. At present the numbers have grown to 21,000 Brothers, 400,000 pupils and some 1,300 establishments. Nor was de la Salle's influence limited to his institute. His example has been an inspiration and a model to other religious families of teachers : the Brothers of St. Gabriel, the Brothers of Christian Instruction of Ploermel, the Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Nancy, the Little Brothers of Mary, the Brothers of the Sacred Heart, the Brothers of the Society of Mary ; the Brothers of the Holy Family, the Brothers of the Cross of Jesus, the Clerics of St. Viateur, the Congregation of the Holy Cross, the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Sacred Heart of Mary, the Brothers of Mercy, the Christian Brothers of Ireland, the Institute of the Sisters of Christian Schools of Mercy ; these and others of more local importance reveal in the character of their work and their rules a striking similarity with the aims and methods of St. John de la Salle. Most appropriately did Pius XII proclaim him the world-patron of all Catholic Teachers and Teachers Associations.

A. Lallemand.

The Agrarian Reform in Italy

The three laws on agrarian reforms are :

1. The law for the colonization of the Sila Highlands.
2. The law called "Stralcio"—or, text torn off the general law of land-reform.
3. The general law of land-reform for the whole nation.

We have to describe each of the three laws. Needless to say, ours is only a summary of what is in reality a very large and even complicated process.

The Law of the Sila Highlands

The Government has begun the Agrarian Reform in the place where it is most needed : in the South of Italy, and, more specifically, in Calabria. The law for the colonization of the Sila Highlands and the adjoining Ionic territories is dated 15-5-1950, N. 230 and was published in the Official Gazette—and consequently came into force—on May 20, 1950. The territory which is affected measures some 534,000 hectares, of which about 100,000 which fall within the ambit of estates larger than 300 hectares are subject to expropriation. The remaining territory consists of estates less than 300 hectares in area and, as this has been the limit fixed for property in *Sua*, lies outside the range of the present expropriations.

By the end of 1950 almost 30,000 hectares had been thus expropriated.

All the heads of the families wishing to have land submitted a detailed application to the "Organization for the Exploitation of the Sila"—which is in charge of the reform there—and each application was carefully studied under various headings such as family-consistence, farming experience, etc.

The families selected numbered 396, preference being given to the poorest and most numerous; account was taken not only of the area of the land given, but also of its fertility; lastly, lots were drawn for the holdings.

The grantees signed a sales-contract undertaking to pay by instalments over 30 years at a 3.5% rate of interest: the price is meant to cover the value of the expropriation indemnity that has to be paid to the old landowner, plus a part (about 40%) of the expense of the improvements carried out by the Organization or by the owner himself and refunded by the Organization; the new owner may also avail himself of an operating loan to be refunded over several years.

The operation of the scheme is expected to cost 20 billion lire.

The Law called "Stralcio"

The Stralcio law is dated 21-10-1950, N. 841 and was published in the Official Gazette on Dec. 28, 1950. It is on the one hand an extension, with the necessary modifications, of the Sila law to other parts of Italy which are susceptible of land-reform; on the other, it is a forerunner of the General Law of land-reform which has still to be worked out. The zones selected for its operation are for the most part in Southern Italy though there are a few in the Po Delta too.

Some 3 million hectares are to be affected by this law.

The essential difference between this and the Sila law is the manner in which the expropriation of land is to be effected. There the criterion was land susceptible of transformation, belonging to estates over 300 hectares in extension. Here the criterion is provided for by the law itself in the much discussed "tabella degli scorpori" of Minister Segni. This "table of expropriations" calculates the extent of the expropriations to be effected on the basis of the income of the estates: the expropriation will reach on the one hand estates which yield high total income (namely

large estates) and, on the other hand, estates which yield low income per unit (namely under-cultivated estates).

Expropriation, however, will be mitigated in case the owner undertakes to convert and improve his land which in any case should not exceed 300 hectares.

The operation of this scheme is expected to cost 280 billion lire.

The General Law of Land-Reform

This is meant to crown the whole edifice of land-reform undertaken by the Christian Democratic Government. Art. I of the project of the law reads thus: "In order to arrive at a more equal distribution of land, with the creation of cultivator-properties, and to promote the transformation of the land, the increase of agricultural production and assistance to small and medium properties, the private possession of land . . . is subject to the limits and to the obligations provided for by the following articles."

The law is still under discussion: criticism is not wanting from the Left or from the Right. Yet the Law, when it is carried out is expected to bear the following results:

1. Properties of about 8,000 owners will be expropriated.
2. Land expropriated will reach the amount of 1,410,000 hectares.
3. The resultant increase in employment is estimated at 90 to 100 million work days.

The Bonifica.

We have now studied the main scheme for land-reform in Italy as detailed in the three bills briefly described above. So far, however, the accent of our study has been on the expropriation of land and on its redistribution to the peasant. But expropriation of large estates, even if it were to be complete and nationwide, would not be the end of the Agrarian Reform. The land, in the hands of whomsoever it may be, has to be improved. This land-improvement, called

in Italy the "Bonifica", has engaged the attention of Italian agricultural economists and technicians over many centuries. "Fundamental works of land-improvements in Italy certainly go back to pre-Roman civilization". In modern times, land-improvement may be attempted in two ways: by the extensive cultivation of land hitherto uncultivated, or by more intensive cultivation of land already cultivated. In old and densely-populated countries like Italy there does not exist much scope for the first method, but there is scope for more intensive cultivation. This may be seen from the following statistics of Italy's surface area?

Arable land	13,026,000	hectares.
Pasture lands	5,187,000	"
Specialized timber	2,354,000	"
Forest	5,617,000	"
Uncultivated but productive	1,573,000	"
Improductive	2,345,000	"
Total area	30,102,000	"

The Government is alive to all the implications of a more intensive cultivation: technical assistance has to be given to the farmers, roads have to be built, etc. In Calabria work has already begun: the Sila Organization has a centre for tractor-ploughing at Capo Rizzuto, road-building is in progress at Santa Severiana, a new village Germano has arisen, works of irrigation have been started.

The Various Organizations

A word must now be added as regards the machinery set up for the actuation of the Agrarian Reform. In order to arrive at efficiency together with speed—for it is necessary not only to reform well but to reform quickly—various local Organizations have been set up which see to the expropriation, redistribution and improvement of the land. These Organizations spread all over Italy are 7 in number at present and are semi-Governmental.

They were set up precisely to give more dexterity to the Agrarian Reform. But accusations are not wanting that bureaucracy runs riot among them. How much public money is being privately pocketed it is too early dispassionately to say.

Financial Arrangements

Evidently the Agrarian Reform is a costly affair. As Prof. M. Bandini points out the expenditure it incurs is such that private proprietors would have been absolutely incapable of meeting it. This at least seems to justify the interference of Government in the matter of Land Reform. The Government has provided for the finance needed for the Reform by the institution of the Fund for Southern Italy—a Fund of 1,000 billion lire for the advancement of the economically inferior South—and by the law dated 10-8-1950, N. 647 for the Execution of Extraordinary Works of Public Interest in Northern and Central Italy.

C. EVALUATION OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

We have now to examine some of the criticism levelled against the Reform and next try to answer some of the questions most frequently raised in the Foreign Press about Agrarian Reform in Italy.

The Main Criticisms from the Right

The voice of the old landowners has often been raised together with that of the Liberals against the present policy of Agrarian Reform especially in so far as it regards the distribution of land. The principle of expropriation puts the principle of private property into danger, they say. They have forgotten that the presence of too large properties equally imperils the same principle of private property.

In any case, they would reply, citing statistics, there is not enough land in Italy to satisfy all. This may be admitted but it is no reason to stay still with folded arms and do no-

thing at all to see that the available land serves the community in the best manner possible.

Too many small holdings, they insist, will be detrimental to the national economy, for the peasant will be satisfied when he has produced enough for himself and his family. This is certainly a difficulty which has to be studied.

Slowness of the Reform

One question most frequently asked by non-Italian sympathizers of a more vigorous social policy is this: Why does the Christian Democratic Government go so slow? We may adduce some reasons which may explain at least a part of this slowness.

First, a great deal of money is needed for all the schemes of Agrarian Reform, as is evident to anyone who has had a glimpse of the magnitude of the task in hand. Now Italy has a weak economy.

The second reason is even more profound. Italy has had very little recent experience in land-reform. Hence, the Government, if it wants its work to be lasting, and not merely a political expedient of the moment, must proceed warily, learning by experience, correcting the mistakes of the past in future schemes.

Natural Difficulties

Thirdly, the agricultural development of Italy is handicapped by their unfavourable natural conditions: a difficult climate, rains badly distributed; 39% of the productive area is predominantly mountainous while another 40% is hilly; only 21% of the productive area lies in the plains which, only by dint of the hard labour of centuries, have now been rendered fertile. Capital is not abundant while the mountainous character of the land does not easily lend itself to machines and modern farm-implements.

Party Difficulties

We must also remember that though the present party in power is called the Christian Democratic Party, not all

who hold the party-ticket are men possessed through and through with the Christian ideal. Opportunists and self-seekers will be found everywhere. Italian politics has long been influenced by Liberal ideas and there are still Liberal wolves in Christian Democratic clothing. These, openly or covertly, will always set their face against even the most necessary social reforms which tend to upset the privileged position they have so long enjoyed. It is not for nothing that the radical group of the Christian Democrats could speak of "those of our party who are adversaries of the Agrarian Reform".

The ruling Party does have genuine enthusiasts for the Reform: men who wish to dedicate themselves wholly to the task of building a more hopeful world for the Italian peasant. If there were more of them the Agrarian Reform would certainly go faster.

A Warning

All the shortcomings of the Italian economy must not be ascribed to the slowness or failure of the Agrarian Reform. As we said earlier, the Reform is one solution for Italy's social problem, for her problems of poverty and unemployment. But it is not the only solution. There is also industrial development and emigration. Italy has an annual increment in population of 6 per 1000; to put this more tangibly, 1000 Italians are ready to set foot on the world's highways everyday. It is evident that these are matters that must be settled not merely nationally but internationally. To expect everything from the Agrarian Reform is neither just nor warranted by the facts of the case.

A Final word

Nevertheless, the present Italian Government has the serious duty of doing all it can in the matter of Agrarian Reform. What has been already achieved is not negligible. What is more than all the facts and figures is that a new social mentality is being created. People are beginning to

see that the theses of materialistic Liberalism are as untenable as those of materialistic Communism. In the middle lies the way of justice.

In the Agrarian Reform Italy has a golden chance to take this middle way. The eyes of the world are upon her to see which way she tends.

P. Caspersz.

BOOK NOTES & REVIEWS

Report of the Meetings of Working and Standing Committees of the C. B. C. I. Bangalore 1951. This booklet contains the reports presented to the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India held at Bangalore in October 1951. What is more directly of interest to our readers is the report of Dr. J. Attipetty on Catholic Social Action. One must confess that the recorded results of past activities in the social field by the community show no striking little improvement. Sermons and lectures were delivered, pamphlets and pastoraIs distributed, works initiated all over the country, particularly in South India, but if relief and rehabilitation work was undertaken or continued, social teaching was little developed and social interest and influence in public affairs did not come up to expectation. Social apostolate is necessarily slow to realise, plan and organise. The Indian Institute of Social Order, which received an unduly kind mention in the report, is willing to try its best and render all possible assistance.

Lux Mundi 1951 is the well-got-up, richly illustrated and replete annual of St. Bernard's Seminary of Colombo. Chapters on the Fountains of Learning (theology, philosophy, social science, Catholic Action, arts) are a fine tribute to the scholarship of professors and students, if not to the accessibility of their thought and style. *Ourselves and Our Interests* on ideals and incidents of seminary life, interspersed with poems, and stories, are more popular in inspiration and manner. In short, a magazine that invites the emulation of our best Indian seminaries.

A. L.

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- (1) To spread the social teachings of the Catholic Church.
- (2) To provide theoretical and practical training for social workers.
- (3) To serve as a centre of information about Catholic social works.

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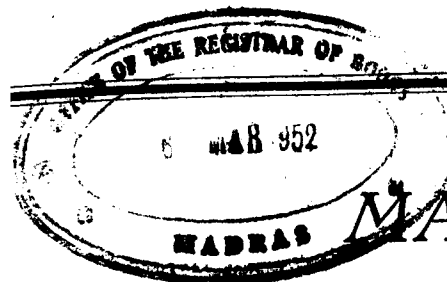
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CHRISTIANS

OF THE

SCHEDULED CASTES

As. 6

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

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SOCIAL ACTION

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MARCH 1952

WHO ARE THE UNTOUCHABLES ?

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Who are the Untouchables

'Unclean, Unclean' was the familiar cry of the leper in the days when Christ walked the earth in Palestine, a cry at which people would panic in fear and disgust. The lepers were the outcasts of Jewish society. They lived their lonely lives in caves and huts and were only allowed to approach the towns or villages within certain fixed limits for food and drink. This was the only effective way the Jews could discover to prevent the dread disease from spreading. To the Jews, leprosy left its stigma not only on the body but also on the soul.

Unlike Palestine, lepers in India are free to roam about wherever they please. But in our country there is a type of social leprosy the effects of which can bear comparison with all the harsh physical disabilities suffered by the lepers of old. The caste system is familiar at least in name to people all the world over. But like practically everything that is peculiarly indigenous, the caste system is extremely complex in its working. Its origins are hid in the dark womb

of a past that spans thousands of years. And although the beginnings of the system may have been very simple, it has evolved into an elaborate cast-iron structure that retains much of its rigidity down to our days of democratic equality.

Our Purpose

Social Action is not interested in the caste system from the purely academic point of view. The caste system has social repercussions of great importance. It has produced the outcastes of India who number over 50 million today. They have been known for centuries as the Untouchables. Any kind of contact with them, even a look in certain cases, would mean interior pollution or defilement for caste people. It is related in the Vedas that two Brahmin girls were playing, when they happened to look at a Shudra, and lo! they were defiled. They had to purify themselves by scrupulously fulfilling the minutiae of the complicated rites of purification before they could recover their former status as caste members. This is by no means an exceptional case. And though the Constitution has abolished Untouchability, caste distinctions and prejudices are fiercely alive to this day. Only a short while ago, some Harijans — Gandhiji's endearing euphemism for the Untouchables — and a Harijan Social worker were assaulted and beaten up by caste people in Madurai for entering a tea-stall reserved for high-caste patronage.

But to understand the issue in its full context, the present article will deal with the social, religious, and economic position of the Untouchables vis-a-vis Hindu Society.

What is Caste?

According to the Purusha Sukta, there were originally four great divisions in the Indo-Aryan Society. The term used to describe each of them is not caste, but 'Varna' or colour, which is a detail of great significance as it throws light on one stage in the evolution of the Caste System. Differences of colour seem to account for social divisions.

The four Varnas were the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Shudras. Only the first three are considered to be caste people. Only they are allowed to wear the sacred thread which throws open to them the consolations of Hindu ritual and the privileges of Hindu social life. The Shudras are the Untouchables or the Outcasts. According to the Hindu traditions, the Shudras are to take the last place in the social order; they are to be treated with contempt. No Shudra may educate himself, nor may he acquire property. His life is of little value; it is his duty to serve the higher castes. The higher castes are prohibited from marrying Shudras.

Considered as a social structure, however, the caste system is something organic to Hindu society. During the course of her history, India has been invaded on several occasions, and the invaders have been absorbed into the existing social order. Through the mechanism of caste, they have been able to live on peaceful terms with their neighbours, while both preserving their distinctive traditions and sharing in the common life of the old community.

The caste system revolves around two important restrictions — food and marriage. Broadly speaking, a person of one caste may not dine with those of another, nor may he marry a woman of another caste. Even within his own caste, he cannot marry whomever he pleases; there is a strict limit to his choice of brides. According to the *Sapinda* rule, marriage is not permitted between any two persons who possess a common ancestor, within a certain number of degrees on the father's side and a smaller number of degrees on the mother's side. This rule is enforced very strictly.

• How did these restrictions arise? Though mainly social in origin, they might also be due to ancient religious beliefs in taboo. A man had to be careful of the food he ate. Certain foods were taboo because they were supposed to injure the eater not physically, but spiritually. They might pollute a man for the evil passed into him with his food, and would

spread to the whole caste by contact with him. In the light of this belief, no man could dine with those of another community. He must dine only with those of his own for fear of pollution. The interdiction on marriage except with members of one's caste, followed logically. For how could a man eat the food cooked by his wife, if she were of a caste other than his own?

It is quite common to see caste people carrying their cooking utensils with them to avoid all danger of pollution. And at railway stations, even drinking water is reserved. Only a brahmin water-carrier may draw water for Brahmins to drink.

There are over 3000 castes in India, for the four original Varnas have split up into any number of subcastes, which rigidly observe the rules of interdining and intermarriage.

Caste and Religion

Though caste owes its origin to race occupation and taboo, the system has been maintained in existence for thousands of years chiefly through religious sanction. The Hindu regards the fulfilment of his caste duties of purificatory rites and ceremonies, as the essential part of his religious obligations. By fulfilling them scrupulously, he acquires merit in the sight of God. Such accumulated merit will enable him to be born in a higher stage of 'release' at his next rebirth, for the liberation from his individuality and absorption into the eternal Brahma is the final purpose of his existence. If the Untouchable has to suffer social and economic disabilities, it is his own fault. He is merely paying the penalty for the sins of a previous life. So long as rebirth is an accepted belief, the situation of the Harijans will remain what it is. But modern ideas of equality and individual rights are making inroads into orthodox practice and most of the Harijans today are conscious of the privileges guaranteed to them by the Constitution, and demand their fulfilment.

Its Social Function

It would be foolish to deny that the caste system possesses no advantages. Every Hindu is born into a definite social milieu, his caste, which serves his needs as they arise. His caste is his school, his club, his trade union, his insurance against unemployment, and insecurity. Like the Welfare State, it seeks to satisfy his wants from the cradle to the grave. At the same time it provides him with his status in society. As a member of his caste, the Hindu knows exactly where he stands with his fellow men and how much he may expect from them.

But precisely by reason of its rigidity and its extensive functions the caste tends to absorb the individual. As a social unit the caste lays down rules and regulations and practically makes all public decisions for the individual. A few persons often control the entire activity of the caste and its members. There is no escape from this tyranny except the death of the persons in power.

The great sin of the caste system however is that it has been misused for centuries to exploit the Outcast. It is on this score above all that the caste system stands most open to condemnation.

Untouchability

One of the tragic legacies of the caste system is Untouchability. In the villages of India, the Untouchables live in a separate section of the village, practically on its outskirts. Their share in the division of labour is confined to the menial tasks, like cleaning up the garbage in the village, sweeping the roads, washing dirty clothes, handling corpses, working on the skins of dead animals, or as day labourers in the fields. For all these tasks they are paid a miserable pittance.

Their Disabilities

Though the vast majority of them are Hindus by religion, they are debarred from entering Hindu temples.

Neither could they use the Hindu burning grounds, nor have access to Hindu monasteries. They were also the victims of civic disabilities of various kinds. In certain parts of the country, Harijans were forbidden the use of public roads. The village well is generally out of bounds for them. In South India there are records quoted in the Census of 1931 that recount more personal restrictions imposed on Harijans by the higher castes. They should not wear their clothes below the knees, they were not to wear gold or silver ornaments, nor use brass pots, but only pots of clay. At their weddings the bridegroom should not come riding on a horse as is the practice among the higher castes. Even their huts could not be built of permanent material. In the larger villages and the smaller towns, they were liable to assault if they dared enter a tea stall or a barber's shop.

The situation today has not improved so very much despite four years of independence. Though Untouchability has been legally abolished by the Constitution the Untouchables are still made to feel their inferior status. This is not surprising. No social prejudice that has entered so deeply into the minds of people can be made to disappear over night with a stroke of the pen. The equality that is guaranteed to the Harijan by the Constitution is a great step forward. But political equality must be founded on economic equality if it is to mean anything.

That this is true needs no elaborate proof. Dr. Ambedkar the leader of the Harijans or the Scheduled Classes as they are euphemistically described by the Constitution, is a living example of the difference education and a good salary can make in the life of an Untouchable. Dr. Ambedkar is not the only example. But there is still much leeway to be made.

To help eradicate the evil effects of the caste system, the Constitution has conferred certain educational and economic benefits on the backward classes. This is a magnanimous gesture on the part of India's legislators. Untouchables who are converts to Christianity however are being

deprived of these benefits, which they need as sorely as Hindu Untouchables. Why should such discrimination exist? This is the question to which we dedicate this number of *Social Action*.

It should be quite plain that the Indian Institute of Social Order is not tied up with any political party. Its sympathies are as broad as those of the Catholic Church. Its purpose is the attainment and the furtherance of social justice, and it will seek social redress, wherever injustice is practised. A certain section of the Harijans is being discriminated against on purely religious grounds. This is a matter that clamours for publicity and redress.

A. Fonseca.

□ □ □ □

The Constitutional Position of the Backward Classes

"The test of a successful democracy," says an ancient adage, "is its ability to protect the rights of all its citizens, and harmonize the legitimate rights and interests of its minorities with those of the State". In order to achieve this success, the Indian Constitution, like those of many States established after World War I, embodies a chapter on fundamental human rights. Round these rights the whole structure of the State is built up, so as to assure, as the Preamble of the Constitution states, that "Justice, social, economic and political" will come within the experience of every citizen. Besides this chapter on fundamental rights, the Constitution also enumerates certain directive principles of State policy; while the chapter on fundamental

rights lays down certain things which the State must refrain from doing, the provisions relating to directive principles lay down a constructive plan which the State must endeavour to implement.

These Directive Principles spring from the nature of the Preamble of the Constitution and though not enforceable by law, they are nonetheless fundamental to the common welfare, or the end and purpose of the State: hence, it is the duty of the State to keep these directive principles in view in its legislative and executive activities. Article 39 of the Directive principles requires of the State to secure adequate means of livelihood to all citizens, men and women equally; "that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as to best serve the common good; that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women; that the health and strength of the workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused, and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength; and that childhood and youth are protected against moral and material abandonment".

The social value of both the declaration of fundamental human rights and the directive principles is easily estimated when it is remembered that India is a country in which large sections of the population, known as the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, shows an educational, economic and social standard far below that prevalent among the more advanced sections of the people. While many of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have drifted into towns and cities and there eke out a miserable pittance as a living, mostly by means of manual labour, the bulk of their population, amid very primitive conditions, still dwell in the rural areas and hilly tracts of the Indian Union. To help

the social uplift of these weaker sections of India's population, provision has been made in the Constitution.

Articles 330 to 342 and again, schedules 5 and 6 make it incumbent upon the State to safeguard the rights and interests of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and to ensure their speedy uplift, so that they may make their contribution towards the common welfare. Moreover a special officer appointed by the President will make it his duty to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward classes. This officer is expected to send reports periodically to the President upon the working of these safeguards, and the Constitution provides for the President to lay all such reports before Parliament. It has been also provided that the President may at any time, and shall after ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, appoint a special Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. The President also has the power, from time to time, to appoint a Commission to investigate the conditions of the socially and educationally backward classes, to examine the difficulties and obstacles under which they labour, and to make suitable recommendations in the matter. Parliament is to be advised by the President of the action taken by him on receipt of the report of the Commission. The Constitution provides for the establishment of the Tribes Advisory Councils in those States in which such Tribes are found. Such Councils are to advise on such matters as are referred to by the Governor or Ruler. It rests within the powers of the Governor to define the boundaries of different Tribes; but it is left to the President to declare by order, which of those are classed as scheduled areas. All rules and regulations made by the Governor or Ruler must be immediately submitted to the President, and such regulations shall have no effect until the assent of the President has been given. Each year, or as often as required by the Government of India,

the Governor concerned shall report on the scheduled areas in his State.

Thus, the Indian Constitution makes ample provision for the uplift of the backward classes of the country, and the spirit of the Constitution accepts the fact that, so long as a single member of the Indian Union is denied the opportunity of economic, intellectual and moral development, by so much has the whole Constitution failed to realise its end and purpose.

This social uplift, provided by our Constitution, cannot afford to neglect a few fundamental points essential to the betterment of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. In fact, on the realisation of these points depends the success of the plan envisaged in the Constitution. Perhaps, the most important problem which faces the backward classes, whether they dwell in towns or villages, is their all too insufficient means of livelihood. It is a common place that in our cities and towns members of the backward class, for the most part, subsist on a starvation level of wages. This evil brings in its train all the other miseries which characterise the lives of these unfortunate people: they live in hovels devoid of all sanitary facilities and lack the bare necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter. In the rural areas and hilly tracts, these people live in the most primitive conditions: agricultural methods are unknown to them, and many take to hunting, fishing or living on wild roots and tubers of the forests. To fit the backward class workers to urban conditions must needs be a long, patient and difficult task as every social worker knows. Often, physically unfit and unskilled they do not qualify for a wage which a skilled worker may demand, in urban and industrial centres. Much, in fact, still remains to be done to raise the skill of these workers. In the rural areas, training in better methods of cultivation, mixed farming, cottage industries and marketing may help raise the standard of living of these workers. Education is the next important factor essential to any attempt to better the condition of our backward classes.

In order to implement the provisions of the Constitution, Article 17 abolishes the evil of untouchability by making it a criminal offence against the law and the rights relating to equality, and thus prohibiting discrimination in any form in the matter of employment and admission into schools. This, indeed, goes a long way towards giving our Scheduled Castes and Tribes a better opportunity to qualify for better paid posts in the country, and also opens to every child of the backward classes all the educational facilities provided in the Indian Union. In pursuance of this State policy, the Government of the Indian Republic, in 1949-1950 revised the scheme of State scholarships to include the Scheduled Castes, Aborigines and Hill Tribes and other backward classes. Of a sum of Rs. ten lakhs sanctioned for the scheme, Rs. six lakhs were set apart for scholarships to Scheduled Caste students, and Rs. five lakhs for those belonging to the Aboriginal, Hill Tribes and other backward classes with the provision to transfer funds from one head to the other, if necessary candidates belonging to the Indian States and States Union were eligible for scholarships under the revised scheme. In order to administer the scheme, the Government of India appointed a Scheduled Castes and other backward classes scholarship Board with its own chairman and Secretary. It is interesting to note, that in 1949-1950 about 6,000 applications were received for the award of these scholarships. The Board selected 1,178 candidates for scholarships: Scheduled Castes, 647; Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, 148, and other backward classes, 383. Further provision has been made to continue the scheme over a number of years so as to enable these backward classes to obtain the necessary financial help towards their education, and so build them into useful citizens of the Indian Union.

While no one would deny the need of encouraging higher education among our backward classes, as this scholarship scheme does, there is need for special educational facilities for the vast number of those who do not take to higher education. That is to say, educational establishments of a

technical type are essential to produce skilled workers and craftsmen from members of these classes. In fact, unless such institutions are multiplied in all large towns and cities, under employment and poorly paid occupations will be prevalent conditions which obtain among our backward classes. Yet another basic evil, the removal of which is essential to the social uplift of our Scheduled Castes and Tribes, is the evil of exploitation. This exploitation is practised in several ways. The money lender, the business man and the merchant all prey upon the backward classes. It is a common experience, both in towns and villages, to find usurious rates of interest being charged by the unscrupulous money lender; and once in debt the unfortunate victim never goes free! In rural areas the systematic deceit practised upon these people has resulted in large areas of their lands passing into the possession of their exploiters. To put a stop to this evil several State Governments have enacted laws, but this malpractice has merely been driven underground, and such transactions continue to deprive the backward classes, in the rural areas, of their homes and properties. If the evil of debt and the practice of borrowing at exorbitant rates of interest is to be checked at its source, habits of thrift and of economy must enter into the training of our backward classes. When a genuine need for a loan arises, economic conditions should be such, that this need may be satisfied by credit facilities operated by some type of co-operative society. It is useless to pretend that the Law alone is able to deal with this evil, or that the Law alone is an effective protection against the money lender who is found in every village and town. In fact, village co-operative institutions, stores and credit facilities would prove helpful measures to free these people from the grasping clutches of the unscrupulous merchant and money lender.

Schemes of social rehabilitation which aim not merely at feeding, clothing and housing these people, but also at making them useful citizens of the Indian Republic, provide

efficient means for the social betterment of the backward classes. The village Panchayats, though not recommended specifically for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, must necessarily figure in any long term policy for the uplift of these people. Provision for this is made in article 40 of the Indian Constitution which lays down that, "The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government".

This incomplete survey of the main fundamental social requisites, so necessary to the uplift of our Scheduled Castes and Tribes, presents some idea of the vast and intricate problem of human re-adjustment involved in any attempt to implement the demands of our Constitution with respect to these peoples. The problem is one of intense interest and tense with great potentialities, and from its solution will spring something beautiful and truly great. While, therefore, it must be admitted that there is a special responsibility on the State to hasten the development of our backward classes, it has to be recognised that the process must inevitably be slow and more harm than good would result from forcing the pace. But this responsibility for the welfare of the backward classes does not rest with the State alone, and is the concern of every single member of the Indian Union. "It is the sign of a healthy polity", writes Cardinal John Newman, "that the misery of the least of its members is reckoned as an injury to the whole community".

C. C. Clump, S.J.



Gandhiji's Lead

Whilst going through the writings of Gandhiji, the greatest Hindu of modern times, research-workers seeking to discover and formulate the quintessence of Hinduism would be puzzled at some of his statements, like 'the central fact of Hinduism is cow protection' (*Young India*, 6-10-1921) or 'Hinduism does not believe in caste' (*Harijan*, 6-3-1937). Would they be satisfied with his explanation that the cow is only a symbol of dumb creation which Hinduism brought up to the level of human life or that *varna* does not mean more than hereditary occupation? In any case they should understand the way of Gandhiji. Gandhiji based his reasoning on his moral sense; it was on that moral sense that he interpreted, explained, admitted or rejected *shastras* and *smritis*. It was on that basis that he denied untouchability is countenanced by Hinduism: "I claim myself to be a representative of *Sanatana Dharma* in every sense of the term that they claim. I base my vehement opposition to untouchability upon the same *shastras* even though I were the solitary one amongst the millions of Hindus; because the same *shastras* tell me that I may not resist the inner call of my inner being. Untouchability as we practise it today has absolutely no warrant whatsoever in the Hindu *shastras*." (Guruvayur Speech in *Harijan* 26-1-1934).

Dr. Ambedkar who had been asked for a statement to be published in the first issue of *Harijan* had written: "The outcaste is a bye-product of the caste system. There will be outcastes as long as there are castes. Nothing can emancipate the outcaste except the destruction of the caste system. Nothing can help to save the Hindus and ensure their survival in the coming struggle except the purging of the Hindu faith of this odious and vicious dogma". Gandhiji replied (*Harijan*, 11-2-1933): "I do not believe the caste system, even as distinguished from *varnashrama*, to be an

'odious and vicious dogma'. It has its limitations and its defects, but there is nothing sinful about it, as there is about untouchability, and if it is a bye-product of the caste system it is only in the same sense that an ugly growth is of a body, or weeds of a crop. It is as wrong to destroy caste because of the outcaste as it would be to destroy a body because of an ugly growth in it or a crop because of the weeds. The outcast-ness, in the sense we understand it, has therefore to be destroyed altogether. It is an excess to be removed if the whole system is not to perish. Untouchability is the product, therefore, not of the caste system, but of the distinction of high and low that has crept into Hinduism and is corroding it. The attack on untouchability is thus an attack upon this 'high-and-lowness'. The moment untouchability goes, the caste system itself will be purified, that is to say, according to my dream, it will resolve itself into the true *Varna Dharma*, the four divisions of society, each complementary of the other, and none inferior or superior to any other, each as necessary for the whole body of Hinduism as any other."

In other writings he is at pains to explain how *varna* 'means predetermination of the choice of man's profession', that 'the only profession after his (man's) heart should be the profession of his fathers', that it 'is the best form of insurance for happiness and for real religious pursuit', that in *Varna Dharma*, 'there is no bar in any shape or form to the highest mental development. The bar altogether normal is against change of hereditary occupation for the sake of bettering one's material condition', etc.; finally "If I had the power, I should declare that we are all Hindus, all of the same *varna*". (*Young India* 24-11-27 and *Harijan*, 4-4-36).

Specialists may be entrusted with the task of discussing Gandhiji's orthodoxy. It is enough for the general public to retain that he held clear cut opinions on the point and that he felt he had a mission to destroy untouchability. Instead of discussing theories, it is more interesting and

more instructive to follow him in the course of what he felt was his mission in life.

From his early childhood, the little Mohandas showed a spirit of non-conformism and a strong fellow-feeling. He associated with a Muslim lad who did him no good and led him astray to smoking, meat-eating and worse. With impish fun, he used to play with a scavenger boy and felt impatient of his mother's injunction to bathe after each such unclean association; though he was not more than twelve years old, he used to answer his mother: "How can that be, when in the Ramayana one who is today regarded as an untouchable took Rama across the Ganges in a boat?"¹

He himself wrote later: "My views on untouchability are not the product of my Western education. I had formed them long before I went to England, and long before I studied the scriptures, and in an atmosphere which was by no means favourable to those views. For I was born in an orthodox Vaishnava family and yet ever since I reached the year of discretion I have firmly held my uncompromising views in the matter, which later comparative study of Hinduism and experience have only confirmed."²

Yet it was especially in South-Africa that his fellow-feeling made him one with untouchables. In England his study of religions had deepened his ideas of tolerance, broadened his outlook and impressed him with the idea and practice of equality he saw all round. In South-Africa Kallenbach, his German friend, and the Catholic Trappist monks had taught him by example the dignity of manual labour and of the least menial service; he readily took after them and at the Tolstoi farm he enforced on his disciples and his wife a routine of work that would have appalled any orthodox Hindus, and that was faithfully observed by the seventy satyagrahis he had gathered from among

Hindus, Christians and Parsis. It took all of Kasturbai's loyalty to submit to such constant humiliating tasks and go through that ordeal of her wifely education. Most of the Indians he fought for in South-Africa were indentured labourers recruited from the lower castes and leading a sub-human life in minefields, plantations and factories. He fought for them, he conquered them, he felt one of them.

When he returned to India, his championship of their cause faced much greater obstacles; they were a minority in the home of orthodoxy, their cause had to be merged into the national struggle, their ignorance and apathy were the despair of their most earnest sympathizers. Without delay he settled down to his tripple task: awaken the sixty million untouchables out of their lethargy, win the favour of the orthodox majority on their behalf, build up the masses, Brahmins and untouchables, Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsis, into one non-violent army fighting the same national cause. Painful incidents marked his progress. At Bombay in May 1918 he had gone to a meeting which had been called to promote the cause of the untouchables; he discovered that no untouchable was present, and rather than soothing his audience with what would have been an academic pleading of their cause, he refused to deliver his address. In his ashram near Ahmedabad he had admitted a family of untouchables; wealthy Hindus who had helped him so far cut off all financial support, Kasturbai and the other women inmates rebuked him with shrieking conviction; he remained undisturbed and kept the untouchables. He even adopted the little Lakshmi as his own daughter; new domestic quarrel, but finally Kasturbai gave in, and accepted to become the mother of the untouchable.

Gandhiji was not vindicating his policy on general humanitarian grounds, but he boldly pleaded his case in terms of Hinduism, for Gandhiji remained a strong advocate of Hinduism till his death. "I do not want to be re-born", he said as quoted by Mr. L. Fischer, "but if I have to be reborn, I should be re-born an untouchable so that I may

¹ *Mahatma*, by D. G. Tendulkar, I, p. 32.

² *Young India*, 7-2-1927.

share their sorrows, sufferings and the affronts levelled against them in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from their miserable condition". Against Brahmins and orthodox pundits, he repeated that untouchability was an excrescence of Hinduism, a cancer which had eaten into the vitals of Hindu society and had to be mercilessly excised. "If it was proved that it is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself" (*Mahatma*, by D. G. Tendulkar, I, p. 205). "Hinduism is passing through a fiery ordeal. It will perish not through individual conversions, not even through mass conversions, but it will perish because of the sinful denial of the so-called *savarna* Hindus of elementary justice to Harijans" (*Harijan*, 21-3-36). As an object-lesson to the nation he took to cleaning lavatories and got his disciples in the ashram to do likewise; nobody at the ashram was untouchable since all had become untouchables. In course of time he grew impatient of appellations like untouchables, pariahs, depressed classes, scheduled castes, etc. He began using the word 'Harijan' (child of God) and later took the word as title for his weekly (1933).

In South-Africa he had fought for the equality of Indians with white men, in India he would fight for the equality of the humblest Indians with Brahmins. "Swaraj is a meaningless term if we desire to keep one-fifth of India under perpetual subjection. . . . Inhuman for ourselves, we may not plead before the Throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others" (*Young India*, 25-5-1925).

His preaching of equality was realistic. Whenever a place at meetings was reserved for untouchables, he would go and sit among them, and force Brahmins to do likewise if they wanted to interview him. His sense of popular oratory led him to a familiar illustration worth mentioning. He would lift his left hand, spread the five fingers, and then taking finger after finger with his right hand he would explain: "The first finger represents equality for untouchables. The second spinning. The third sobriety. The fourth

Hindu-Muslim friendship. The fifth equality for women. The hand joins the fingers to the wrist and the wrist is non-violence. The fingers worked by the wrist will free each one of us and India".

In spite of his efforts and popularity, the wrist failed to command the five fingers. Equality for Harijans and Hindu-Muslim friendship remained beautiful dreams. Had religious considerations been separated from politics, India's problems would have been easy of solution; this separation was never made, though it was the goal of Gandhiji and all Gandhians and became the axiom of Congress policy. The Congress party made 'secularism' a fundamental of policy, not because it minimized the importance of religion, but because it wanted to exorcise that religious separatism which permeated economic, social and political life and which prevented patriotic solidarity. It was in a religious spirit that Gandhiji felt at one with the many communities of the country: "I cannot find Him (God) apart from humanity. . . . I claim I know my millions. All the hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and my last because I recognize no God except that God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions."¹

This religious spirit did not tone down his sense of self-respect. To Mr. G. Slocombe who had repeated the rumour that in former years, Gandhiji had prostrated himself before the Prince of Wales, he answered: "Well, Mr. Slocombe, this does not even do credit to your imagination. I would bend the knee before the poorest untouchable in India for having participated in crushing him for centuries, I would take the dust off his feet. But I would not prostrate myself, not even before the King, much less before the Prince of Wales for the reason that he represents insolent might".²

It was in this spirit that he visualized the problem of political equality for Harijans. The Round Table Confer-

¹ L. Fischer, *op. cit.* p. 330.

² L. Fischer, *op. cit.* p. 306.

ence (1931) had failed and Gandhiji after the Dandi Salt March had been jailed in Yeravda when he heard there was a proposal of separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims and also for untouchables. He hastened to inform Sir Samuel Hoare (11-3-32) that "separate electorate for the Depressed Classes is harmful for them and for Hinduism. . . . So far as Hinduism is concerned, separate electorates would simply vivisection and disrupt it. . . . The political aspect, important though it is, dwindles into insignificance compared to the moral and religious issue". If the Government decided to have separate electorates for untouchables, "I must fast to death. . . . The contemplated step is not a method, it is a part of my being". On August 17, 1932, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald announced the Cabinet decision. The Depressed classes would remain part of the Hindu community, but for twenty years, they would have a double vote, one on the Hindu electorate, and another on a special constituency. Gandhiji answered on the 9th of September: "This matter is one of pure religion. . . . What I am against is their statutory separation from the Hindu fold as long as they choose to belong to it". He had fasted for Hindu-Muslim unity, he would fast for Hindu-Harijan unity,

The fast began on September 20th. He had heard "the Voice of God, of Truth, of Conscience," or the Inner Voice, or the 'still small voice', (as he said after his later fast of May 1933 for the Harijans). The fast was not intended to coerce Government, he protested later on. It was directly meant to convert the Hindus; "If the Hindu mass-mind is not yet prepared to banish untouchability root and branch, it must sacrifice me without the slightest hesitation". The intention was to stir the Hindus to action. . . . That it went beyond the intention and coerced some people into giving a decision against their conviction was unfortunate. . . . The fact is that all spiritual fasts always influence those who come within the zone of their influence. That is why spiritual fasting is described as *tapas*. And all *tapas* exerts puri-

fying influence on those in whose behalf it is undertaken" (Harijan, 9-9-1933).

Whatever may have been the intention and forecast of Gandhiji, the agitation throughout the country soon rose to fever pitch, and politicians, convinced or coerced, hurriedly sought a solution; Yeravda jail became the key-point of the Empire's life. On September 19, Gandhiji told a deputation that he was reconciled to reserved seats for Harijans. But Dr. Ambedkar objected that this system would hamper Harijan representatives to denounce and terminate caste oppression. Parleys went on day and night. A compromise was effected: the number of seats reserved for Harijans was fixed at 147 (Dr. Ambedkar wanted 197, Mr. R. MacDonald 71), but the separate primaries would be abolished in course of time. It was the Yeravda Pact. The British Cabinet accepted it, Gandhiji was released, and the country came back to a relative quiet.

Some sort of political emancipation for Harijans had been secured. Gandhiji went on his restless campaign to secure as well social, and religious emancipation. Hence his ceaseless urge by word or example for fraternization with Harijans, interdining, intermarriages, and temple-entry. The obstacles were numberless, the successes many, but it would be unduly long to recount them in detail. Yet in his last days he could not claim he had obtained the heart-conversion of caste Hindus and the full emancipation for the Harijans. His great dream had been the unity of India and Indians; "In fighting this battle against untouchability, I am fighting for unity not only among Hindu 'touchables' and Hindu 'untouchables', but among Hindus, Muslims, Christians and all other different religious communities. Do not for one moment believe that I am interested in the numerical strength of the Hindus. I have never, throughout my life, laid stress upon quantity. I have ever insisted upon quality at the sacrifice of quantity. . . . This great Hindu religion itself will perish in spite of its so-called millions of followers, if its votaries persist in harbouring the evil of

untouchability. Not because untouchables can be counted by the millions. It would perish even if they were a handful. Milk is poisoned and has to be thrown away whether you put little or much arsenic in it" (*Harijan*, 17-11-1933). Who could pretend that in 1952 the arsenic has vanished away?

A. Lallemand.

Harijans at School

By the Constitution, India has been established as a Sovereign Democratic Republic in which all persons shall be equal before the law. In the chapter on Fundamental Rights successive sections urge different aspects of this equality: equality of right, equality of opportunity, exclusion of discrimination on grounds of class or caste, abolition of untouchability, freedom of religion, etc. Most careful have the framers of the Constitution been in prescribing the democratic framework on which the new India must rest, and in avoiding any suggestion of privilege, immunity, or exemption. At the same time, all Governments have a duty which they cannot abdicate: the protection of the weak—and this protection is all the more necessary in a democratic set-up where the struggle for power brings to the forefront the influential and wealthy groups and the weaker elements may very well go to the wall. All parties in power today pretend, at least, to hold out a succouring hand to the weak; often it is mere self-interest, for it may be the lot of the pigmy one day to overthrow the giant; occasionally it is a device to divert attention, for a close scrutiny may uncover too many skeletons; sometimes, however, it is recognized as a fundamental purpose of Government, for only so can every element in the State contribute to the well-being of the whole.

In India where inequalities born of religion and social status are very apt to prejudice the functioning of a democratic republic, the framers of the Constitution have, from the very outset, prescribed the forms in which this help to the weaker elements will be extended. Absence of discrimination there may be, but Art. 15(3) reserves to the State the right to make "special provision for women and children". Equality of opportunity is the general rule, but according to Art. 16(4) "nothing shall prevent the State from making provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens". Arts. 29 and 30 reserve to minorities the right of preserving their own culture and managing their own educational institutions. Art. 46 states: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation". Part XVI of the Constitution deals with special Provisions for certain classes. Art. 330 prescribes the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes; appointments may also be reserved for members of these classes according to Art. 335. Art. 338 demands the appointment of a Special Officer to "investigate matters relating to the safeguards provided by the Constitution"; and it is explicitly stated that "references to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other backward classes as the President may by order specify [Art. 338(3)]. Finally, by Art. 340, the President is empowered to appoint Commissions to investigate "the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes" and "to make recommendations as to the steps to be taken to remove their difficulties and improve their condition."

Help for Backward Classes

Three points in this programme are worthy of notice:

1. All privilege is "in favour of any backward class

of citizens". There is no hint or suggestion as to religious affiliations; that a class of citizens is backward is enough reason for it to deserve the helping hand of the State. Any other line of distinction would be incompatible with the profession of a secular state.

2. Seats are to be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes; but since Christians have surrendered the right to reserved seats, a distinction must be drawn between Christian members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, and members of the same Castes and Tribes belonging to any other religious affiliation; the former have forfeited their right to reservation of seats, the latter retain them.

3. But while Christian members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes no longer have any claim to reserved seats, they still retain their right to any other assistance assured by the State, to the reservation of appointments and posts if they are not adequately represented in the services under the State, to the special care of their educational and economic interests, to protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation, etc. Mere conversion to Christianity does not alter their social status overnight; they still remain members of the backward classes, and still have the right to the assistance assured by the State to the under-privileged. Nor would it be correct to assume that such assistance is to be limited to members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; for them seats are reserved, but assistance in the shape of reservation of appointments, educational concessions, and protection from exploitation is offered to all "socially and educationally backward classes".

That these conclusions from the articles of the Constitution are legitimate may be seen from the recommendations of the Divakar Committee of 1950, based on the principle that "communalism has worked against the country's interest and has stood in the way of national consolidation". The Committee emphasised that certain ameliorative measures, not based on the principle of castes and communities, should be taken to help those people who are backward

socially and economically, and special opportunities should be given to them in regard to educational and cultural uplift. On the one hand, the Committee recommends that caste and community should not be considered in relation to appointments for the Public Services, for admission to schools and colleges, in records of Courts, Police, Hospitals, Jails; on the other hand, it advises that the States should cast their net very wide when drawing up their lists of backward classes, and insists on educational concessions in favour of these backward classes, including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Who Constitute the Scheduled Castes

In accordance with Art. 341 of the Constitution, the President of the Republic, on 10th August, 1950, after the requisite consultation with the Governors and Rajpramukhs, published a list of the Scheduled Castes. In the course of this G.O. which was entitled "The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950" there appeared the following clause: "No person who professes a religion different from Hinduism shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste". Inevitably, such an ambiguous clause could only give rise to the gravest misgivings. What was the meaning of the President's Order? Did it mean that only Hindu members of the Scheduled Castes were entitled to reservation of seats? Or did it imply, as the statement on the face of it suggests, that the decision of the President was to confine state aid and facilities only to those Scheduled Caste members who have declared themselves as professing the Hindu religion? Enquiries, deputations, and protests reached the Central Government, and the result was two reassuring messages, one from the President of India, the other from the Prime Minister. In his letter dated 17-12-50, the President stated: "I should however state at once that as far as educational and economic facilities to Backward Classes are concerned, it is not the intention of the Government of India that there should be any difference on grounds of religion and caste.

The only differentiation between the Backward Classes and other Backward groups who are called Scheduled Castes can be in regard to certain political rights such as separate representation". And Pandit Nehru : " The enumeration of the Scheduled Castes among Hindus is mainly for the purpose of reserving seats for their representatives in Parliament and the State Legislatures. It has nothing to do with aid and facilities. Articles 16 (4), 46 and 340 (1) of the Constitution make it very clear that all state aid and facilities are to be given not only to members of the Hindu Scheduled castes, but also equally to all other educationally and socially backward classes, whether they profess Hinduism, Christianity, or any other religion. Only in matters of reservation of seats no person who professes a religion other than Hinduism shall be deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Castes, and accordingly no Indian Christian can be regarded as belonging to a Scheduled Caste for the purposes of the Constitution".

The interpretation given above of the backward classes and the special assistance to be granted to them by the state, has therefore been confirmed both by the President and the Prime Minister. While only Hindu members of the Scheduled Castes are entitled to reservation of seats, all the members of the Backward Classes, including Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others, whatever religion they profess, are entitled to educational concessions and economic aid.

Response of the States in 1951

The letter of the President of India was dated 17th December 1950. The assurance was given that the States would be informed accordingly, and one may at least presume that the necessary information was sent to them early in the new year. Since that time 12 months have passed and we are now in a position to assess the response of the States in 1951. Our survey is limited to Catholic members of the backward

classes, whether Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others, and the help that has been extended to them.

Let us first take the States where aid had been given.

Mysore

This appears to be the State where the least discrimination between Catholics and Hindus is maintained. The Scheduled Castes and Harijan Catholics do get full concessions, though the proviso is made that the House subsidies earmarked by the Government of Mysore each year in their rural development scheme for the upkeep of depressed classes, are not given to Christians. (It must be noted that such part of the Diocese of Mysore as does not fall within the State of Mysore gets different treatment: Hill Tribes such as Badagas, Gowdas, Kothaires, etc., in the Nilgiris enjoy full-fee concession when Hindus, but only half-fee concession when Christians; the same counts for Christians belonging to the Non-Scheduled backward castes as Azaris, Agamadiars and others.)

Bihar

In this State, a distinction must be drawn between Catholics of the Scheduled Castes (of whom there are comparatively few), and Catholics of the Scheduled Tribes (Aboriginals). The latter, most of whom are in Chotanagpur, are more generously treated, and receive aid both from Central and from State funds; as in Mysore, so also in Bihar, this help was being given before the President of India took action under Art. 341 of the Constitution.

These are the latest figures from Chotanagpur (Diocese of Ranchi):

Aid from Central Government

(a) In 1950-51, the Central Government gave 29 scholarships to St. Xavier's College, Ranchi, for Aboriginals; of them 24 went to Christians, 5 to non-Christians.

(b) In 1951-52, the Central Government gave St. Xavier's College 58 scholarships for Aborigines; of these 45 went to Christians. It must not be forgotten that St. Xavier's College, Ranchi, the number of Christian Aborigines (Scheduled Tribes) exceeds that of non-Christian Aborigines.

Aid from the Bihar Government

(a) In 1950-51, the Bihar Government gave 13 scholarships to aborigines, of which 4 went to Christians.

(b) In 1951-52 the Bihar Government gave 35 scholarships to Aborigines, in St. Xavier's, Ranchi, and of these 30 went to Christians.

(c) In 1951, the Government of Bihar, through the Welfare Dept., gave the Catholic Mission Rs. 4,440 in the first instance as scholarships for Christian boys and girls; and followed it up with another grant of Rs. 38,784 for scholarships for Aboriginal Christians, boys and girls. Besides these grants, there were 6 stipends of Rs. 20 p.m. for St. Anne's Weaving School, Ranchi.

(At the same time it is necessary to state that the Grant-in-aid of Rs. 22,340 a year for the Catholic schools in the Chotanagpur area has not been received since 1949; information has reached us that this is due less to set purpose than to bungling in the Educational Department of the State.)

In North Bihar, where Catholic members of the Scheduled Tribes are few, but where Catholic members of the Scheduled Castes are increasing in numbers, the situation is not favourable, as the following incident will show. At Bar Bigha, while the Catholic school was still in the elementary stage, the Catholic Chamar boys had to be sent to Std. VI and VII of the local school. The headmaster, a Hindu, gave five of these Catholic boys scholarships as he found them deserving in every respect. When the Inspector came later from Bhagalpur, he found fault with the headmaster for granting aid to Christian Chamars. The Headmaster defended

himself on the ground that whereas the social condition of the Christian boys had not altered by reason of their conversion, they deserved the scholarships on account of proficiency. The Inspector overruled the headmaster and the scholarships were awarded to Hindu Chamar boys only. Now this incident must be regarded in its proper perspective: one swallow does not make a summer, and one Inspector does not decide the fate of hundreds of Christian Chamar boys in North Bihar: but this was the first time an attempt had been made by the Catholics of North Bihar to receive the aid assured to Christian members of the Scheduled Castes by the Constitution, and the attempt failed, not because the boys were not poor and not proficient in their studies, but purely and solely because they were Christians.

Orissa

The same situation prevails as in Bihar: Christian members of the Scheduled Tribes receive educational concessions and scholarships, as they were in the habit of receiving before the Constitution came into force, but the Christian members of the Scheduled Castes have been left out in the cold. His Lordship, the Bishop of Cuttack, called on the Hon'ble the Chief Minister of Orissa to represent the matter; he was informed that the Government of Orissa was aware of the decision of the President and was studying the question. There, as far as our information goes, the matter rests. Without lack of respect, one may ask why so many months are required to study a question which on the face of it is quite clear; since the number of Catholics in Orissa, unlike in Bihar, is small, even the financial implications cannot impose a strain on the State's budget.

U.S. of Travancore and Cochin

Help to Christian Harijans at school is only one part of a complex educational question which might have been solved in the early stages, but was allowed to develop into a festering sore till it embroiled the relations between the

State Government and the Christians. It is alleged, rightly or wrongly, that the background of the trouble was the conception on the part of the Government of a Secular State as one in which there is no place for the denominational school, and all education is the monopoly of the State. Such a concept, except under a dictatorship, must be a fertile breeding-ground of trouble in any state; but in the U.S. of Travancore-Cochin where Catholics were ahead long ago in the field of education and where the Catholic contribution represents a considerable portion of voluntary effort, the result was disastrous. That this estimate is not exaggerated may be judged from the fact that the President of the Congress and the present Governor of Bengal visited the State more than 18 months ago, with the purpose of pouring oil on troubled waters, at least if reports in the press are to be trusted; and the press also reported the directions forwarded to the State Government by the States Ministry at Delhi.

The immediate cause of the imbroglio was the Panampally Scheme, according to which private schools had to surrender 80% of their fee income to the Government treasury, from which the salaries of teachers would be met, and were forbidden to appoint teachers except from a list prepared by the Public Services Commission of the State. Inasmuch as this was a flagrant violation of the rights of minorities (Christians) to administer their own institutions, the Scheme was in conflict with the provisions of the Constitution, and, as was to be expected, aroused a storm of protest. Having taken up a stand that was untenable in law, whatever other justification might have been alleged in its defence, the State Government persisted in its policy, from reasons of prestige presumably, and ignored the advice of influential parties, more capable of taking a sane and balanced view of the situation. The result could be clearly foreseen: relations between the Government and the Catholic community were embroiled, suspicions were aroused, and accusations of an anti-Christian animus began to be levelled against the Government. When the Panampally Scheme

was finally jettisoned, the time for a graceful surrender had passed, and the legacy of bitterness alone remained. Nor was the Panampally Scheme the only charge against the State Government; there was the unfortunate refusal on the part of the Education Department to recognise new Catholic Schools, the covert attempts to start opposition schools, and the foisting on Catholic managements of textbooks repulsive to Catholic sentiment.

Under such circumstances, it is to be expected that the claims of Catholic members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes to educational concessions would receive scant attention; and so it was proved. These are the conditions under which the educational concessions and grants are made in the U.S. of Travancore-Cochin:

1. All Hindu students of Middle and High School stages, coming under the said categories, are entitled to full-fee concession (Tuition Fees as well as Special Fees for Games, Library, etc.). They are also entitled to a lump grant of Rs. 25 per annum in the case of Middle School students and Rs. 40 per annum in the case of High School students, towards the cost of books, clothes, etc. A mere application from the Headmaster is sufficient. Failure for one year does not debar a student from obtaining this concession.

2. Catholic students in the said categories receive either full concession or half-concession of fees. They receive no lump grant; and they have to produce two certificates, one of identity to prove that they originally belonged to the said caste or tribe, and the other to prove that the income of the parent or guardian does not exceed Rs. 900. Applications have to be made at the inception of the Middle School stage and again at the inception of the High School. Any failure results in the cessation of all concessions.

3. In regard to colleges, the situation is no different. In the beginning of the academic year 1950, the State Government announced that Christian students who were converts from the Harijan community would be eligible for the same

assistance as was given to Hindu Harijan students. Actually, such Christian students receive the equivalent of tuition fees, about Rs. 112 per annum, whereas Hindu Harijan students receive full educational assistance including boarding fees, over Rs. 700 per annum. Whereas there are more than 300 Hindu Harijans in the colleges of Malabar, the number of Christian Harijans in the same colleges is very small.

Comments on these facts and figures may be deemed superfluous; the contrast and the discrimination are too obvious to need underlining. In the face of this, one may very well ask whether a State Government whose publicity department frequently regales the Indian public with tales of the measures which have been taken for the amelioration of Christian Harijans, can acquit itself entirely of an anti-Christian animus. And the question becomes yet more pertinent if the latest orders in respect of Christian Harijans reconverted to Hinduism be taken into consideration.

Dec. 11, 1951.

TRAVANCORE-COCHIN GAZETTE

P. 2121

PROCEEDINGS

Co-operation Section

Sub.—Ameliorative Measures to Reconverts to Hinduism from among Backward Class Christians.—grant of

Read again.—G. P. D. Dis. 10317/50/DD. dated 31-8-51

(2) G. P. C 3—11748/51/DD dated 30-10-51

Order D. Dis. 10432/51/DD, dated 1-12-51.

According to the orders issued in G.P.D. Dis. 10317/50/DD., dated 31-8-51 (read as 1st paper above) reconverts to Hinduism from among Christian Converts are eligible for full fee concession (in schools) or grants equal to tuition fees (in Colleges) as the case may be. On further examination of the question, Government consider that reconverts should be eligible for the same concessions as they were eligible for before their conversion to Christianity. Accordingly, it is ordered that persons who belonged originally to Hindu Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and were subsequently converted to Christianity should on reversion to Hinduism be eligible for all educational concessions granted to Hindu Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

2. They will also be eligible for the other concessions in respect of grant of land, establishment of colonies, etc., for which Hindu Scheduled Castes and Hindu Scheduled Tribes are eligible.

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3. The orders already issued are revised accordingly.

The discrimination between Christian and Hindu Harijans stands self-confessed.

Madras

To evade the obligation of granting full assistance to Christian Harijans, a clever device has been adopted in the State of Madras. By an announcement in the Fort St. George Gazette, certain classes have been declared to be "socially and educationally backward classes of citizens within the meaning and for the purpose of Art. 16(4) of the Constitution": among the classes thus distinguished are "converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes". Thus Christian Harijans are taken out of the Scheduled Classes to which they properly belong, and placed in another class, enjoying fewer privileges and rights. The Madras Government endeavours in this manner to save its face and to evade its obligations: on the one hand, it can argue plausibly that the Christian Harijans are receiving help as belonging to the Backward Classes; on the other hand it can still deny to Christian Harijans the aid due to them as members of the Scheduled Classes. It is not surprising therefore that in the Madras State, Catholic pupils of the Scheduled Classes receive only half-fee concessions, while Hindu pupils of the same classes receive full-fee concessions. Even this half-fee concession is not universal in the State, as many applications for reduction are just rejected, without any reason being assigned for the refusal. For the other half of the fees, Catholic Harijans are asked to refer to the Harijan Welfare Association, but the appeal is in most cases infructuous, as the Harijan Welfare Association lacks funds for the purpose. The State Government can thus point to a machinery by which Catholic Harijans are treated on the same level as Hindu Harijans; and the machinery does not work for lack of the necessary material to make it work. If the State Government can find the money for the education of the Hindu Harijans, why it may be asked is the money not available for the education of the Catholic Harijans?

Or again, help is promised by the Harijan Welfare Association, if application is made on the requisite forms, and when forms are asked for, the reply is received that they are not in stock.

Nor is this all. Catholic Harijan pupils are granted the half-fee concession, on condition that the pupil himself or his father has been converted to Christianity; and a certificate to this effect has to be produced from an officer of the Revenue Department. Should the conversion have taken place higher up in the family tree, the concession is refused—the implication being that within two generations, the Catholic Harijan ceases to be a member of the Scheduled Classes, a purely gratuitous assumption which finds warrant neither in the Constitution nor in fact. For a member of the Harijan class, to obtain a certificate from an officer of the Revenue Department is no easy matter, as anyone acquainted with the ways of the bureaucracy in India will surmise: so that the Catholic Harijan is often deprived of the concession due to him. Why, again it may be asked, should a certificate be required from the Catholic Harijan pupil which is not demanded from his Hindu brother?

It will therefore be seen that conditions in the Madras State are no whit better than those obtaining in Malabar; and as the number of Catholic Harijans in the Madras State is considerable, the hardships they are subjected to are all the greater. So far as these hardships are part of their social condition, they might be tolerated; but when the ameliorative measures offered in the Constitution are denied to them merely on the ground of the religion they profess, one is entitled to ask how such obvious differentiation can find a place in a secular state, where before the law all are equal.

Bombay

In the State of Bombay another measure has been devised, perhaps without the precise object of depriving Catholic Harijans of the aid due to them, but nevertheless with that effect. It has been officially stated that only those cate-

gories of the Backward Classes which have been listed by the Government of Bombay for purposes of recruitment to the services, will be considered for other concessions, educational and economic. As Catholics in the state generally are not included among the Backward Classes, Catholic members of the Scheduled Classes are deprived of help. Now this again is a purely arbitrary procedure; while Art. 16(4) of the Constitution is taken into consideration, Art. 46 is completely ignored. Art. 16(4) gives the state the right to reserve posts in the services for the Backward Classes; but Art. 46 imposes on the state the duty of "promoting with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes". Notwithstanding their conversion, there are Catholics in the state of Bombay belonging to the Scheduled Castes, and their educational interests are ignored. This neglect on the part of the Government of Bombay has been drawn attention to by His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay, but without effect.

Of the other states little need be said. In Rajasthan the number of Christians from the Scheduled Castes is as yet small. In Uttar Pradesh little help has so far been forthcoming; but the question is likely in time to become a very live one. From Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat sufficient information has not been received. In West Bengal, Catholic Harijans are few. It is in the states where Catholic Harijans are numerous, chiefly in South India, that the discriminating policy of the State Governments works the greatest hardships. It has been repeatedly pointed out that a change of religion does not imply a change in social and economic status; poor the Harijan has been before his conversion to Christianity and poor he remains. By becoming a Christian he loses the right to reserved seats in Parliament for he shares with the Catholic body the sacrifice which has been made with the set purpose of destroying the pernicious habit, whereby political alignments were dictated by religious affiliations, and of knitting the Indian nation more closely together. Is it fair that he should in addition

be penalised for his religion, by being deprived of the aid provided by the Constitution for the underprivileged class to which he belongs by birth? That he is being penalised in most States of the country, purely and solely because of his religion, has been abundantly proved in the foregoing pages.

Conclusion

This survey of Catholic Harijans at School in 1951 has been made, not with any desire of throwing reckless charges at the State Governments, but of drawing attention to a grave injustice to the Catholic community, which has about a million Harijans within its fold, for whose education and uplift the community is responsible. Such a task is above the capacity of the Catholic body, with its slender resources; on the other hand, the Catholic body has the right to look to the State for help in accomplishing its task, since the State by its Constitution has guaranteed such aid. The directives from the Central Government have been abundantly clear: it lies with the individual States to carry out those directives. If India is to be recognised by the whole nation as a secular state, there must be no differentiation or discrimination on the grounds of religion, and by their refusal to implement the directives of the Centre, the State Governments have laid themselves open to the charge of differentiation and discrimination. If this survey, neither complete nor exhaustive, has the effect of calling the attention of the Indian public to a grave injustice, it will have fulfilled its purpose; twelve months have passed since the President's order was communicated to the State Governments, and it is our earnest hope that wiser counsels will prevail in the year that has just begun.

✠ L. RAYMOND,
Actg. Dir. Educat. Section,
Catholic Bishops Conference of India.

160117
"Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these
my least brethren, you did it to me." MAT. XXV, 40.

Ready Shortly

Too Many of Us?

by

A. NEVETT

A Book on the Burning Questions of the Day

BIRTH PREVENTION

INDIAN POPULATION TRENDS

MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

FOOD SITUATION

MEDICAL ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

Etc.

Etc.

REGD. NO. M-5888

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- (1) To spread the social teachings of the Catholic Church.
- (2) To provide theoretical and practical training for social workers.
- (3) To serve as a centre of information about Catholic social works.

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ELECTION RESULTS

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STUDYING TOGETHER

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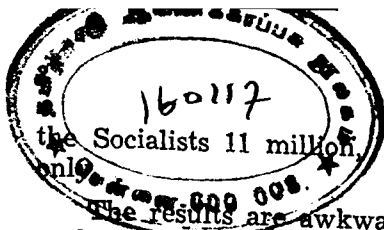
HERE AND THERE

Congratulating the Masses

Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru rightly claimed that our first trial at universal suffrage was a success. The number of voters (over one hundred million out of 170 million electors) was sufficient proof that the people were keen on the process and that the system was adapted to the illiterate masses. On the next occasion the system may yet be improved in several ways.

Results

The Congress party has secured a fair majority in the Central Parliament and in most provinces; it may even claim to represent the millions who have not taken the trouble of opposing them. The Communists came up as the second largest group in Parliament. The Socialists are third, and the other parties did poorly but the Independents are numerous enough to splash a Milky Way on the electoral firmament. The total votes tell a different story: in the elections to the House of the People, the Congress got 44 million votes,



SOCIAL ACTION

the Socialists 11 million, the Communists 6 million

The results are awkward enough to create two problem States: Madras and Travancore-Cochin. No party has a clear majority, and though the Congress will work hard to form a ministry, the Communists fondly nurse the hope of wrecking the Congress rule. The Communist success in these two States created sensation and anxiety. Their success, however, was not large enough to cause immediate alarm. It was serious enough to arouse the complacency of the Congress party and of the Independents and to wake up the lethargists who failed to give electoral proceedings the importance they have.

Analysing Results

In Madras the electoral success of Communists is generally ascribed to several causes: warm faith, well-knit organisation and hard work by the party itself, discontent over the food situation, separatist tendencies in the Andhra districts which claim linguistic basis for administrative division.

The case of Travancore-Cochin calls for a more detailed study, as it is of more concern to the majority of our readers. The results show a distinct swing to the left and are the outcome of a discontent which was not of a transient nature. Rural dissatisfaction was largely a matter of food. The State is reliably reported to be short of its requirements in rice by as much as sixty percent; procurement at unsatisfactory prices was a source of harassment; large masses of landless labourers, unemployment of the educated many, and semi-starvation make up the core of the economic factor of the discontent. Moreover Travancore-Cochin

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as well as Madras feels that Delhi is very distant in space and attitude from Southern India and that the progressive infiltration of South Indians into the administrative services all over India has not yet secured due recognition for Southern merits and claims.

One must also take into account the painstaking and well organised propaganda of the United Leftist Front eager and clever in manipulating every grievance, every case of bribery, nepotism and inefficiency.

What of the Christian Vote?

It is often alleged that the Christian vote has unexpectedly been cast on the left. The unwise treatment of Christians by the State Government, particularly in matters of education, caused a deep disappointment; repeated proclamations of equality in grants repeatedly belied by glaring discriminations, continuous disregard of constitutional provisions and of instructions from the Central Government by local Congress officials could only work as a perverse irritant. In short, the Christian community was under a severe strain which was made more dangerous by lack of political experience. A fair proportion of their votes went to Independents, and, it is said, a certain number to the United Leftist Front. How many went to the Left is not easy to calculate.

What an Analysis Said

The *Eastern Economist* published a study by one of its readers. Out of the 44 elected Congress members in the State Assembly there are 21 Christians (though Christians make only 26 per cent of the population); out of the six Congress members returned to the House of the People five are Christians. On the other hand, out of the 32 U. L. Front and 12 Socialist members of

the State Assembly, only two are Christians. Out of the 11 Independents, six are Christians (all Rightists).

On the other hand, among Hindus, only four Ezhavas are in the Congress and 16 are leftists; 20 Nairs out of 30 members are leftists. In the predominantly Christian areas hardly was a leftist returned and it was fair to add that most of the so-called Syrians are Roman Catholics. To this analysis the Editor retorted that Christians may well have been elected by non-Christians and that the correspondent admitted the fact when he wrote that "when the Leftists began to win, the Christians rallied round the Congress in all constituencies".

We may leave to local experts the trouble of sorting out estimates. The lesson remains clear for all. The last Congress ministry was unfair and unwise in irritating Christians; unwise and illogical were the electors with a Christian name who voted for the U. L. Front. May all learn the lesson!

A. L.

BONUS—A SHARE IN PROFITS

In modern industrial parlance, the word bonus is rarely used without a qualifying adjunct. We hear of production-bonus, incentive-bonus, attendance-bonus. But the word bonus standing all by itself is a type of profit sharing that has become a commonplace in many branches of Indian Industry. The Textile Mills in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Madras or Coimbatore, all pay their workers an annual bonus out of the profits of the companies. The Steel Industry, the Jute Industry, the

Cement Industry, and the Sugar Industry have been compelled to follow suit. This belated recognition of the right of the workman to a share in the profits of the company is the result of Trade Union pressure and Government legislation through the Labour Industrial Tribunals. Yet the process has been a slow one. Even today, owners and managers of factories regard payment of the bonus as they might the painful extraction of a sound tooth. In many cases it is only the legal decision that compels them to practise what they consider to be sheer charity, but what in reality often amounts to a claim of social justice.

Bonus—A Share in Profits

The Labour Appellate Tribunal recently gave an important decision on what was to be understood by the term 'bonus', how it was to be paid, and how much was to be paid. The question of the payment of bonus arose out of a legal conflict between the Textile Mills Association of Bombay and their employees. The Bombay decision of the Appellate Tribunal has now become the precedent and the pattern for most of the awards that deal with the question of bonus-payment. According to the decision, bonus is a share in profits, the share that accrues to the workmen. How is it to be computed? Out of the gross profits of the industry, a certain portion was to be laid aside for depreciation of the machinery, plant and building of the company. Next taxation on profits had to be deducted. Then a further portion of the remainder was to be set aside for reserves for rehabilitation and modernisation of the plant. Finally a dividend of not more than 6% on shares and 2 to 4% interest on working capital was to be withdrawn. The surplus was to be distributed as the bonus for the workmen.

The Ahmedabad Award

This is how the award of two months' bonus was paid to the workmen in the Textile Mills of Ahmedabad for the year 1949.

	<i>In crores</i>
Gross Profit	.. 5.50
Deduct Depreciation	.. 1.58
	<u>3.92</u>
Bonus at 2 months	.. 1.24
	<u>2.68</u>
Taxation at As. 6½ in the rupee	.. 1.10
	<u>1.58</u>
Reserves for rehabilitation	.. 0.56
	<u>1.02</u>
Dividend at 6% on paid-up capital	.. 0.67
	<u>0.35</u>
Interest on working capital at 2%	.. 0.25
	<u>0.10</u>

Workmen's Claim

The Tribunal held that the workmen had a claim to a share in the profits of the industry. The nature of the claim and its extent have not been deeply analysed. Their Lordships felt that since both Labour and Capital contributed to the acquiring of profits, equity demanded that both parties should share in the common prosperity. The judges were merely reflecting the changed mentality in a world that is grudgingly beginning to be aware of the rights of the labourer. The workman is slowly emerging out of his incognito

status as a mere 'hand' to play a higher and more important function as a partner in industry. This final event is still a long way off, but the trends seem to point in that direction.

Bonus and Basic Wage

The bonus is computed entirely on the basic wage. Dearness allowance is rigidly excluded. The basic wages prevailing in the various industries of India today are between Rs. 26 and Rs. 30. In certain places and in the minor industries, the minimum may be less. These amounts were fixed as the basic wages in the nineteen-thirties, when the cost of living was a third of what it is today. The difference in price levels has not been remedied by raising the basic wage. Instead a dearness allowance was paid. At first a flat rate of Rs. 25 or Rs. 30 used to be tacked on to the salaries on the lowest grade. The amount depended on the strength of organised labour. Where it was strong, as for instance, in Ahmedabad the dearness allowance was comparatively high. But unorganised labour is paid no dearness allowance even at present. A more scientific method of paying the allowance has since been evolved. The cost of living index in the different States is taken as the measure for calculating the figure. As the index rises or falls, a corresponding sum is added or subtracted from the amount. Approximately every point increase in the index is paid at the rate of 2 as. or 2 as. 6 p., and the same is deducted for every point decrease.

The Living Wage

The Tribunal admits in fairness that the allowance does not compensate fully for the increase in prices.

Management is of opinion that labour should also share a part of the national burden of short rations and high prices. This is the alleged reason for not fully compensating labour for the rise in the cost of living. The argument is patently false. It is not for the weaker partner to bear the heavier burden.

Both everyday experience and family budget enquiries make it amply clear that where more than one member of the working class family is a wage earner, the family income suffices to cover needs, at least in the large industrial towns. But when the father is the sole wage earner, basic wage plus dearness allowance falls below the margin of family subsistence. The Appellate Tribunal has urged management to pay workmen a living wage, whenever the financial condition of the industry allows it. The 'capacity to pay' the living wage is a fundamental *sine qua non* for its payment. But it is because the industry fails to pay the living wage even where it possesses this capacity, that bonus takes on a new connotation.

A Deferred Wage

In this case, the bonus is no longer merely a share in profits. It becomes part of the wage that is long overdue, which ought to be paid to the workman in strict justice. Call it social justice if you prefer, but it still remains a stronger claim on the employer than the demand for a share in profits. Let me quote one of the Judges of the Industrial Court who has something pertinent to say on the point. "Their Lordships of the Appellate Tribunal," he observed, "have held that every industry which has got the capacity to pay is bound to pay the living wage to its workers. But where it has not got that capacity or where its prosperity

is uncertain and its stability is in question, or where it underwent losses, it may not find its way to pay the living wage. So as the worker is entitled to a living wage, he may very well claim bonus to the extent that the current wage falls short of the living wage. In that sense, bonus partakes of the character of a 'deferred wage'." He continues, "But bonus cannot be placed on the same footing as a deferred wage for good reasons. If bonus were equivalent to a deferred wage, then the company would have been liable to pay bonus, even if it had suffered losses. But as it has been pointed out that in the event of loss, the claim of bonus is liable to fail. A question might arise that if bonus was meant to make up the deficiency between the current wage and the living wage, then there would be no claim for bonus after the living wage has been reached. But it is maintained that the claim for bonus would even then be sustained. The reason is that if there are profits, the entire credit or the benefit thereof cannot be arrogated to Capital alone. Labour must have contributed a large share towards such an achievement. So why should it be denied the benefit?"¹

These sentiments accord with the ideas of the 'Quadragesimo Anno' of Pius XI. After defending the essential justice of the wage contract, the Pope says, "Nevertheless in the present state of human society, We deem it advisable that the wage contract should, when possible, be modified somewhat by a contract of partnership, as is already being tried in various ways to the no small gain both of the wage-earners and of the employers. In this way wage-earners and

1. *Labour Law Journal*, Vol. I 1952, p. 71.

other employees participate in the ownership or the management, or in some way share in the profits."²

Difficulties

The interpretation of the decision of the Appellate Tribunal and its application to a particular set of circumstances has caused much bickering between management and labour. For instance in the case of the Ahmedabad award, the Textile Labour Association representing the workmen demanded a higher scale of bonus. They alleged that the sums allotted for depreciation and reserves for rehabilitation and modernisation were an over-estimate. They also accused the Managing Agents of the Companies of charging too high a commission for their services. They thought that buildings and plant should not be included in the amount calculated for depreciation.

On the other hand, Management pleaded that both depreciation and reserves were underestimated and that interest on the working capital should be calculated at 4% and not 2%, as the Court had done.

The Industrial Court waived aside the claims of either party. It followed the direction of the Appellate Tribunal to the letter and calculated the amount to be set aside for depreciation and reserves according to the percentages prescribed by the Tribunal. It finally arrived at the award of two months' bonus to the workmen. Against the contention of the Textile Labour Association, the Court held that plant and buildings had to be included in the items for depreciation. On the other hand, it decided against the Textile Mills Association that the amounts credited to these items had been under-estimated.

2. *Quadragesimo Anno*, para 65.

Bonus Quantum

In another decision in which the Firestone, Tyre and Rubber Co. of Bombay was implicated, the bonus was raised from one month's to four months' basic wages. Although the men had struck work for nearly three months, the Company had not suffered any losses. Its profits were on a level with those of the previous year. The Court decided that the Company had a sufficient surplus to justify the payment of the bonus prescribed.

The Coimbatore Textile Mills were compelled to pay six months' bonus because their profits were adequate for the purpose. The same method of calculation was used as had been laid down by the Appellate Tribunal. The Unions demanded a bonus that would cover both basic wages and dearness allowance, but the Judge followed precedent and restricted the award to a computation of basic wages only.

No Profits

On the other hand, Textile Mills that showed no profits were exempted from paying a bonus to their workmen. Out of the 65 mills in Ahmedabad some 10 mills appealed against the verdict of the Industrial Court on the ground of incapacity to pay. Some of them had suffered losses, others had no surplus left over after the prior deductions for rehabilitation and reserves had been made. The Court accepted their pleas after having examined their accounts and decreed that their workmen were not entitled to claim any bonus.

Balance Sheets

It is well known that the balance sheets of some companies are often an occasion for concealing their real financial position. The items that they contain

cannot be fully accounted for. There are so many ways of manipulating income and expenditure, that it is difficult to gauge the real state of affairs. The Trade Unions, acting on the suspicion of such dubious practices, have demanded that the financial situation of the units in a particular industry be scrutinised by their representatives. Managements have invariably refused at first, but have been compelled to do so by the Court. When the Coimbatore Textile Mills objected to such scrutiny, the Tribunal waived aside their pleas as 'antiquated and antediluvian'. As a rule the balance sheets have been accepted as presenting a comparatively true picture of the business for lack of better information and the awards of the Tribunals have been based on them.

(To be continued)

A. Fonseca.

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THE FRIBOURG UNION

Last year saw the sixtieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*; all over the world meetings and essays commemorated the Workers Charter, and even Catholic India had a modest spate of celebrations. What was most striking among the many reports which reached us is that there was one, and one only, that stressed a leading idea of the Social Encyclical, namely, the rehabilitation of the proletariat through easy access to private property. It was a leader in *The Catholic Worker* of New York. *The Catholic Worker* is a unique monthly of the U.S.A., unique because it is the only one to give systematic proofs that not all Americans are prosperous, and to foster mysticism in actual poverty. In the September issue, Rev. I. McDonough

suggested that 'the frail body of Pope Leo XIII must have turned and tossed since it was interred in its tomb' because his cherished plans were frustrated. In fact some of his leading ideas are like being forgotten by people who should know better; working people are not interested in ownership but only in their jobs; labour unions clamour for increased wages and nationalisation and very few make any allusion to the restoration of liberty through the distribution of property; the governments have done nothing to help citizens to become owners; the people seem satisfied with being well-fed slaves, especially when the slaves must put on a soldier's uniform. Planned economy, food controls, price controls, social security services, all measures to improve national prosperity and individual comfort, are devised in such a way as to build up the dictatorship of governments and politicians. There is some effort or at least some pretence at distributing the national income, but none at distributing national wealth; there is little thought of individual freedom and little preoccupation about the impact of government monopolies on the liberty of the citizens. Possibly longer experience is needed before people react against the constraining power of bureaucracy or the boredom of welfare administration. At present too many nurse 'a superstitious confidence' in the Welfare State to provide for all human needs, and the superstition will vanish only with experience. This happens in the states which are intent on mass comfort; worse can be seen when states aim only at efficiency and power. Material well-being falls short of man's requirements, but even in material welfare, the manner in which it is achieved is as important as its level, and the manner must be essentially respectful of man's dignity, liberty and ideals.

Regard for man's build up, and his liberty, and more particularly the role of well disseminated property in suiting man's nature were emphasized in *Rerum Novarum*, in *Quadragesimo Anno*, and in the many Papal pronouncements down to the repeated cautions Pius XII made these last three years on the failings of the present social order. It was a recurrent theme in the many studies which made the background of Leo XIII's encyclical. It was underlying their vindication of the natural right to private property; it was explicit when they discussed workingmen's wages. In particular it was a leitmotif in the studies of the Fribourg Union which did so much to co-ordinate Catholic social thought and to prepare the ground for *Rerum Novarum*.

In an essay on the Fribourge Union published in *Les Dossiers de l'Action Sociale Catholique*, Mr. G. Hoyoïs recalled that Papal pronouncements of world-importance do not happen like a bolt from the blue; like all great human works they are the climax of many efforts; atomic fission was due to the convergence of international researches, the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas blossomed on the studies of Aristotle and of medieval thinkers. The *Rerum Novarum* itself was prepared by multiple studies in several nations; though it bears the unique character of Papal authority, and the imprint of the personal genius of Leo XIII, its raw materials had been prepared by many a social philosopher and social worker. Prominent among them were the scholars of the Fribourg Union.

It is unnecessary to go as far back as Villeneuve-Bargemont (1784-1850) who was a precursor of modern social Catholicism, and whose *Economie Politique Chretienne* rarely gets the attention it deserves. We may

take as the first landmark of the Leonine social movement, his encyclical *Quod Apostolici Muneris* (28-12-1878) which denounces the marxist, communist and nihilist theories and recalls the evangelical doctrine. The second landmark is 1882 when the Pope suggested the creation of the "Roman Circle of Social Studies" which, in his view, had to "study all problems of social economy in the Christian light, and to specialize in the questions bearing on the conditions of workmen". The Director was Mgr. D. Jacobini, who was to be raised to the cardinalate, and who had already under Pius IX started a mutual help society for artists. Illustrious names figure in the list of members: Cavagnis, Svampa, Giustini, Talamo, Denifle, Kuefestein, Lorin, Decurtins, Mermillod, etc. Mgr. (later Cardinal) Mermillod added to his oratorical talent the distinction of having been forced out of his country by a radical government. He was a champion of Ireland and Poland, and a keen student of social questions: "To solve the social problem one would need the head of Thomas Aquinas and the heart of a nursing sister". He was soon a prominent member of the Roman Study Circle which from 1882 tackled vital problems: private property, just wages, labour conditions, social organisation, etc.

In the preceding decade France had witnessed the birth of the Union of Catholic Circles (*Oeuvre des Cercles Catholiques*). The disaster of the Franco-Prussian war, the subsequent terrorism of the Commune had alarmed noble souls like Maurice Maignen, Albert de Mun, le La Tour du Pin. de Mun took the lead and started the Union which he propagated throughout France; "Let us go to the masses; the higher classes must devote themselves to the working masses", was what he used to say in the beginning, whilst later he was wont to proclaim: "The conquest of the

mind and soul of the people can only be done by the workers themselves for they alone know their views and their ambitions". La Tour du Pin was to be the thinker and teacher in the movement for which he wrote '*Towards a Christian Social Order*'; his leading idea of a remedy to the bourgeois individualism was the reconstruction of the primary social organisms; church, family, profession. His diplomatic work had put him into touch with Austrian society and was to facilitate his future international influence.

A like social movement had developed in Germany and Austria with Bishop von Ketteler as leader and thinker: Karl de Vogelsang, de Blome, de Loewenstein, Kuefestein, Aloys and Alfred de Lichtenstein.

When in 1883 Mgr. Mermillod after ten years of exile was allowed by the Federal Council to re-enter Switzerland, he was appointed as Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva and took his residence at Fribourg. He was approached by La Tour du Pin and soon convened a meeting of the three movements in Italy, France, Germany and Austria. The International Union of Social Studies was born; after October 1884 it held sessions of 8 or 10 days every year in the Bishop's house. Year after year some forty scholars met regularly: de Mun, La Tour du Pin, H. Lorin, de Pascal, Loewenstein, Lehmkuhl, Blome, Kuefestein. Italy sent few members though it kept in touch by letters and occasionally deputed Toniolo, Liberatore. From Spain came de Cepeda; from Switzerland Decurtins and Python; from Belgium Helleputte and d' Ursel.

The conclusions of the Union soon took shape. By 1886 it had approved the views of Lehmkuhl and shaped their views of just wages as follows: "The wage necessary to the upkeep of the working classes,

in normal conditions and due regard paid to place and time, is the basic element of what any labour contract must give according to strict justice. Does this wage sufficiently meet the demands of social justice which in view of the common good regulates the relations between the various classes of society or between the individuals and the body social? One must doubt it. The working class has a right to find thanks to a complement to this basic wage the means of improving its condition, most particularly of acquiring some property.

The complement to the basic wage cannot everywhere have the same amount and the same form. It is made of a sharing in the industrial prosperity. Equity demands that this sharing in the prosperity of the industry which occupies him be correlative. Without pretending that such a clause would be necessary or sufficient to secure social peace, one must admit that it marks a progress on the very wage-system".

In 1887 it made an advance after a hot discussion on the role of the state in fostering social progress, and after having discussed the right administration of governmental finances and possessions, noted that the public authorities should intervene:

"(a) to regulate by law if necessary and in accordance with natural rights and acquired rights, the mutual relations between the various factors of production;

(b) to suppress all abuses which seriously damage the common good;

(c) to direct the political economy of a country vis-a-vis foreign powers for the sake of national prosperity;

(d) to harmonise the activities of private undertakings with the common good whilst leaving as much freedom as possible to private initiative."

Moreover it admitted the thesis of Lehmkuhl that wherever a free contract between employer and worker leads to oppression or danger of oppression, public authorities may and even must, according to circumstances, take proper measures so that workers receive at least what is necessary for the upkeep of their families and be saved from misery. Such measures of the authorities binding in conscience and in strict justice.

Thanks to the influence of the French members, the Union supported the idea of re-establishing professional corporations with a view to prepare a co-operative order, "that form of social organisation based on the grouping of men according to their natural interests and their social functions and which seeks public and distinct recognition for such groups from the state". It also advocated international conventions on Sunday rest, working hours, security at work, etc.

When in Rome for the Sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII, Mgr. Mermillod introduced a nine-member delegation from Fribourg, and was requested to submit a full report on the conclusions of the Union. A Memoir was soon ready: denunciation of a false notion of man's nature and purpose as the source of social evils; denunciation of individualism 'which had become the basis of modern social life' and 'the prime motive in economic activity; denunciation of the wrong notion of proprietary rights 'which has become the *jus utendi et abutendi* instead of being the *jus procurandi et dispensandi* subordinated to the divine plan that each man should be able to make a living through

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his labour ; denunciation of trade as ' a mere means of speculation for greedy men ', etc.

Such were the leading ideas of the Fribourg group which had limited its work to study, on the basis as Mgr. Mermillod put it that " the idea of the Study group was that each idea becomes activity. The idea remains for a more or less long time in the minds of people, but normally there comes a day when it is translated into deeds ". " Study justifies action. " There were quite a few people who preferred immediate action ; of that type was Leon Harmel who had organised his factory at Val des Bois on the basis of a Christian corporation and who had organised his many pilgrimages to Rome recruited from all ranks of society. In the late eighties there were also the troubles with the Knights of Labour whom Cardinal Gibbons and his episcopal colleagues had defended ; there was the intervention of Cardinal Manning who had successfully intervened in the 1889 strike of the London dockers. From a little everywhere Rome was asked for an authoritative judgement on the studies and deeds of Catholic social thinkers and workers.

Leo XIII was only too ready to comply with such requests and proclaim the doctrinal principles he had long meditated. He sought the help of Cardinal Zigliara, a modest and scholarly thomist specialist. He also created Mgr. Mermillod a cardinal with residence in Rome. The draft encyclical was prepared but the Pope considered it was much too theoretical and he gave his Private Secretary, Mgr. Bocali, detailed instructions to prepare a revised version. After further correction, it became the text of the *Rerum Novarum*.

Several features marked the work of the Fribourg Union of the Social Studies: co-operation between priests and laymen, between theologians and philosophers on one side and economists, employers and social workers on the other; co-operation between apostolic men of different nations.

One great drawback of the Union was that it had been too closely associated with and dependent on the person of Mgr. Mermillod; so much so that when he left Fribourg for Rome where he died in 1892, the Union did not survive. It was only some thirty years later that a new international organism was created to replace it. After the 1914-18 war, Mr. E. Duthoit, President of the Social Week of France and Mr. G. Helleputte of Belgium's delegation to Fribourg requested Cardinal Mercier to take up the good work in hand; in 1920 the International Union of Social Studies of Mechlin was founded. It has few members; even one regrets it has none from India, China, Africa, Australia or South-America. It works with undemonstrative erudition, and it meets each year. So far it has published doctrinal summaries remarkable for their clarity and conciseness: *Social Code*, *Code of International Ethics*, *Family Code*. A broader membership might prove helpful in drawing up statements on the right of colonisation, on international relations, on problems of minorities, etc. The wording of doctrinal statements and guiding principles, if it is to be readily available for easy applications, calls for extreme care and caution. One can only wish the International Union of Social Studies be given the recognition it deserves for the great work it has done, as well as opportunity and means to spread its influence all the world over.

A. Lallemand.

RED STAR OVER INDIA

"The Issue in this state today is whether we should have a full-fledged democratic Government believing in the ideals set before us by Mahatma Gandhi or a totalitarian Government led or sponsored by Communists who believe in dictatorship." So said Mr. V. V. Giri on his recent election to Parliament. We will leave the Gandhian ideals for another occasion and consider here the recent Communist gains in this country.

It's an ill wind that blows no one any good. Communist successes have done this much good; they have convinced a number of people, at least for a time, that there is a real danger of a Communist regime in this country. Until quite recently it was very common to hear on all sides loud assertions that the Communists were a pitifully weak and harmless minority, more of a curiosity than anything else. Those who speak thus constitute a large group in the country, are extremely gullible, and can see stars of only good omen—of red stars they profess never to have heard. When travelling abroad they take almost as a personal insult the suggestion or inquiry that Communism is spreading in India, and have often been known to assert roundly that there is no such thing in the country. Well, perhaps, the election results will help them to change their minds at least until an adroit Communist smoke-screen makes them once more deny the existence of the red star.

The Encirclement

The rapid spread of Communism in Asia and the Far East is not fortuitous. Lenin developed the theory

that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism and consequently a defeat of colonialism must mean a victory for Communism. It is therefore according to plan that Communist strongly support all nationalist aspirations, not, it should be carefully noted, because they are particularly interested in the national liberation of this or that country, but because such a movement presents the best opportunities for revolt and continued unrest. Stalin always showed himself sceptical of the theories held by the old Bolsheviks, handed down from Marx and Engels, that Communism must first spread and be triumphant in the highly industrialised West. Stalin, unlike Lenin and the other emigres, except for a brief visit, has never been out of Russia and has always regarded Asia as a more fruitful field of Communist propaganda than the West. Nearly thirty years ago, he made an unsuccessful attempt to win China over to the Communist fold, attempts that have finally been crowned with a resounding success.

It is foolish to imagine that the rise of Communism in Asia is solely due to extreme poverty coupled with a desire for independence, and that a little more food and cloth will make Communism disappear. Poverty, unrest and national aspirations have all been *occasions* used by Communists to further their end; of themselves, these factors would not create Communism, though they undoubtedly are a favourable breeding ground for it. The distinction is important and the failure to distinguish between the cause of the Communist rise in Asia, which is Communist doctrine, effective indoctrination and zeal, and the occasion and means used, is the source of much confusion.

Communism has spread so rapidly since the end of the war that we scarcely realise that India is in

danger of being encircled by a red ring. Chaos and political banditry is spreading in Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, Burma and Tibet. The Middle East is seething with discontent. Most of these countries make news with one notable exception—Tibet. The passing of this country under a Communist regime has raised less interest than the winning of the year's tennis championship. This is doubtless partly due to the previous isolation of the country, but also, one suspects, to the fact that no big power had any financial interests involved.

The Chinese Communists came saying that they wished nothing more than to re-establish the old relations between Tibet and China. What has happened? Tibet has been completely occupied by Chinese military forces, the familiar confiscation of private property has begun, Tibetan and Indian monies have been replaced by Chinese currency, the profitable wool trade has been diverted from India to China, intense Communist propaganda has commenced, a "thought-reform movement" is going ahead, which means that if you ever thought Communist doctrine subversive you had better change your mind or else—religious freedom has been curtailed, and the Dalai Lama has been deprived of real religious authority. Everything is taking the familiar pattern of complete subservience to Communist designs. Since Assam has a border contiguous to both Tibet and Burma it is not surprising to hear the Assam Government speak of a "systematically organised reign of terror, particularly in the upper and lower regions of Assam" which the same Government now claims to have quelled.

India then is in a somewhat similar position to a household which is surrounded by burning houses. Some

members of the household think there is danger of their house catching fire also, while others loudly assert there is no such danger and tranquilly sit smoking on upturned petrol tins.

The Internal Situation

Let us now turn and examine the state of affairs within the house. The election results have come as an unpleasant surprise to many, and as a very pleasant surprise to the Communists, for one may believe that even they did not hope for such a success. The election results to date are :

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Seats : 497.

Results declared : 489.

Votes Polled : 10,75,78,776.

Party	Candidates set up	Seats won	Total Votes
Congress	.. 480	363	4,78,39,832
Socialists	.. 255	12	1,10,09,740
Communists & Allied Parties	.. 70	27	58,52,794
K. M. P.	.. 137	10	56,60,799
Jan Sangh	.. 94	3	32,15,367
Hindu Mahasabha	.. 30	4	9,79,154
R. R. P.	.. 57	3	19,17,686
Peasants & Workers Party	.. 16	2	10,55,796
Scheduled Castes' Federation	.. 32	2	23,70,255
Ganatantra Parishad	.. 13	5	9,56,972
Independents	.. 453	36	1,55,21,746
Other Parties	.. 166	22	91,46,546
Invalid votes : 20,52,089			

The above includes seven Congress, two Independents and one K.M.P.P. uncontested returns. Eight seats are to be filled by nomination by the President.

There is no need to repeat what has already been said in the Editorial, but a few extra remarks about the relation of the results to Communism may be

added. Although the Congress achieved a large majority, their greatest losses took place where there were the greatest Communist gains. Among the prominent names on the 'casualty list' was S. A. Dange, Communist leader from Bombay, but this set-back is compensated by other victories, especially by the resounding success of Mr. Ravi Narayana Reddi who polled the highest recorded number of votes, 3,09,162. With 27 seats the Communists form the largest single opposition block in the House of the People. Elections for the State Assemblies, with which we are not primarily concerned here, have roughly followed the same pattern as that of the House of the People : Congress comes out an easy first, followed by the Communists, and the Socialists who get a stronger third place than they have in the House of the People.

Instead of attributing the Communist success to a host of secondary causes and circumstances such as the failure of the monsoon, the food shortage, Prohibition, etc., and thereby confusing the whole issue, let us try to analyse the fundamental reasons which are deeper and more lasting than the transitory causes and circumstances which are so often unthinkingly proposed. The fundamental reasons for Communist gains would seem to be : firstly, a vague, ill-defined, illogical and often emotional admiration for things Communist, an admiration that has been on the increase since China turned Communist. This admiration is greatest among the educated middle class, especially those with a 'modern' education. Such people are immensely impressed by reports of the material progress made in the Soviet and by the news of recent reforms in China, while their critical faculties seem to be dead to reports from other sources of the atrocities and loss of freedom in Communist dominated

countries. Even those who are opposed to Communism because of its violent methods, find it difficult to shake off a sneaking regard for its doctrine. Even the Prime Minister himself has on more than one occasion, as recently at the Delhi Press Conference, expressed his admiration for certain fine sentiments and idealism possessed by Communism, while condemning it for being "utterly reactionary in outlook". Secondly, the Communists carefully planned and worked hard for their success. They proved once again how a small, compact, well chosen force with a clear-cut programme can succeed. They chose their constituencies well and prepared them carefully, and on election day saw to it that their supporters voted *en masse*. They wisely did not spread their forces over the country and in this they were in striking contrast with the amorphous, ill-organised attempts of the Socialist Party which suffered a spectacular defeat. This Party contested 255 seats to obtain only 12 as contrasted with the Communists who won 27 seats out of 70 contested. Moreover, the latter, unlike the Socialists, even when they lost, always polled a good number of votes. Thirdly, the electorate tired of speeches and seemingly empty promises wanted results. The Communists promised them what they wanted—and what was equally important—with a simplicity that all could understand. Fourthly, Communists have cleverly exploited the existing discontent over bad and insufficient food, poor wages, the danger of an increasing dependence on U.S.A., and every other form of material and local discontent.

If this analysis is true, then it follows that an improvement in material conditions will not mean the disappearance of Communism since fundamentally it does not owe its rise to bad material conditions but has

only made a clever use of them. Should the conditions change, then another set of circumstances will be exploited in much the same way, though it must be admitted that existing conditions are more favourable to an increase in Communism than an improved economic set-up would be. As long as the ideological attraction remains and men feel that Communism is a better way of life than what they now experience, then this philosophy will continue to exert its influence no matter what the material conditions may be. A failure to realise this fact is inherent in much anti-Communist propaganda both from the West and from this country itself. Hydro-electric schemes, tube-wells, mechanised agriculture and milk powder will bring desirable relief, but they will not satisfy the desire for justice and peace: man does not live by bread alone. If anti-Communists would meditate more deeply on this text, their efforts to stem the spread of Communism would be more successful.

Local Variants

Communist success came mainly from Madras, Travancore-Cochin, West Bengal, Hyderabad and Tripura, which together returned 26 out of the Communist total of 27 members. Although Communism has been long established in Travancore-Cochin, because there is a good percentage of Christians there, its successes were greater than expected. This State earns a good income for the national Exchequer from coir, pepper, and other exports and has the grievance that in return for its services that it has received bad rice. The high percentage of literacy in the State seems to point to the fact that poverty alone is not sufficient to arouse serious discontent unless the people become both conscious and expressive of their needs and

misery. Were there not also unnecessary contests between Christian candidates which split the vote and gave an advantage to their opponents? In Madras State too the separatist movement for an Andhra State, the many splinter parties with merely local aims, and a chronic food situation provided a suitable seedling ground for Communist propaganda.

These local variants give rise to two interesting reflections: the first is that contrary to the classical marxist theory, Communism so far has been very much of an agrarian movement in India; Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad are predominantly agricultural, yet Communism is strongly rooted there. While it is true that Communists have considerable influence in some towns such as Alleppey, Madurai, Golden Rock (Tiruchirapalli), they have most certainly entrenched themselves in the countryside. That they have had no success in large cities like Bombay and Kanpur may mean that they wisely did not concentrate on the larger cities, but this does not deny the lesson that Communism can spread in agricultural India. The second reflection is that Communism succeeded in the South where the greatest number of Christians are found. Communist success there does not mean, as some have too hastily concluded, that Christians voted Communist, but one would like to know what percentage of them voted at all, and how the Christian percentage of voting compared with the Communist. Were they as eager to vote as the Communists? Such details would be very instructive and useful for future guidance and would repay the trouble of collecting such statistics.

The Pattern of the Immediate Future

As a preparation for the elections C.P.I. (Communist Party of India) called off its usual disruptive

revolutionary methods and even tried to dissociate itself from the violence still going on in Telengana, alleging that this was due to the acts of individuals and not of the Party. Since electoral means have paid such handsome dividends it is likely that the C.P.I. will now proceed to push home its advantages. Some of its immediate demands can be gathered from a statement made at the meeting which elected Mr. T. V. Thomas, Trade Union Leader of Alleppey, as leader of the United Front Legislature Party (this Party comprises the Communist, the Revolutionary Socialist and the Kerala Socialist Party). At that meeting Communists demanded: a removal of the ban on political parties (i.e., on themselves); a removal of the ban on trade unions (i.e., Communist trade unions); the release of political prisoners (i.e., Communists); the withdrawal of warrants against some political prisoners (Communists), and the cancellation of laws restricting the freedom of the press (i.e., the Communist press). These demands mean, in other words, complete liberty to spread Communism throughout the country.

That Communists are ready to associate with other leftist parties is shown both by the above examples from Travancore-Cochin and from the formation of the United Democratic Front in Madras, a strange conglomeration of parties opposed to Congress. From previous experience it is obvious that the C.P.I. will work with other parties in order to absorb or liquidate them. The Socialists alone have refused to receive the Communist embrace.

It is not to be expected that the C.P.I. will follow the legal line for long—they are a revolutionary party. Mr. S. A. Dange, Secretary of the Election Board, C.P.I., after saying that membership of the Party was only

30,000, but "sympathy and support" very great, practically admitted that violence would be used when he said: "If the masses come to believe that the State can never be overcome by other means, they will take to insurrection. If the masses decide, we will supply the leadership." "*We will supply the leadership.*" This is no idle boast. It will become a terrifying reality unless there is a much wider realisation of what Communism stands for, and of the danger both of a Communist encirclement of the country and of a rapid spread of its doctrine within the country.

A. Nevett.



NOTES ON "COMICS"

Several cities of America were of late alarmed at the increase in a type of juvenile crime. Parking meters were wrenched from the curb, broken open and looted. *Time* (25-2-1952) reported that the police voiced the dark suspicion that Dick Tracy himself, the fearless comic-strip detective, had inspired these petty robberies. The strip which appears in some 350 papers had been showing a gang of teen-age hoodlums doing just that. Tracy's creator, *Chicago Tribune* cartoonist, Chester Gould retorted: "Most of the crimes that old Dick Tracy contends with are as old as police history itself. I don't create them, by golly".

The retort is hardly effective; the harm done might well come not from creating the crime but from popularizing it. Indeed several Catholic reviews are raising an alarm over the popularity and influence of crime comics.

Even Ireland is being swamped by that special type of publication. As the *Irish Monthly* remarks in a noteworthy study by Mr. W. Mahon-Smith, the term "comics" has come to mean the whole class of picture narrations, including the comic section and comic-strips of British and still more of the American Press. It should be noted that the word "comic" now carries no risible implication. Many comic-strip and most comic books are popularly called "crime-comics" and appear to be exclusively devoted to battle, murder, torture and sudden death. Last year in October an exhibition of children's comics was held in London, mainly for the benefit of the Parent-Teachers Associations which are stirring up a campaign in Great Britain against this menace to children. The exhibition showed the change from the harmless fantasy of earlier years to the horror "comics" of today which deal in gross violence, "scientific" terrors and sex relations.

These comics are printed on dreadful paper and carry such blurred illustrations that they are as bad for the eyes as for the taste and moral outlook of boys and girls. The covers are lurid and garish, and the language is elementary; conversation does not seem necessary in this realm of peculiar heroes; words like, Clang! Boom! Wham! and Ugh! are enough to suggest the administration and reception of violence, the whole talk being comfortably inserted in balloons issuing from the mouth. Violence in the form of beating, shooting, strangling and torture is the key-note of language and illustrations. Most of the heroes are Fascists or dressed in Fascist style; the villains or enemies have book-noses. A steady anti-intellectualism is maintained. The scientist and philosopher are 'mad' fellows; the "ham fists", the "nut-cracker jaw and

coat-hanger shoulders" characterise the hero. A most popular hero is the "Superman", a magical fellow who can levitate himself, has the strength of a hundred Galahads and does not fight fair. He is justice itself, and transcends the law of the land as well as the law of gravity. He is plagiarised in many guises: Batman, Black Knight, Catman, Fighting Yank, Plasticman and what not. Better still there are "Planetary Comics", what might be called "Cosmic Comics", with Dan Dare battling with horrid green monsters who live on Venus, or Space-Rover Pete who moves at ease on a "super-supersonic-radar-atomic-plane".

The Irish Monthly notes that a great number of "crime-comics" are linked up with the Hollywood film industry and advertise stars of crime films or those Westerns in which the bulk of the killing is done by "sympathetic" characters. The "crime-comic" reader naturally becomes a "crime-film" addict. And the education is complete! Mr. Walter Mahon Smith ends with a warning: "The thinking Christian Ireland of Newman's dream is in grave danger of being succeeded by a moronic land of robots who take their ideals from "Superman" comic-strips, crime-comics and violence films".

Across the Atlantic Ocean, a equally striking alarm was raised. The point of view was quite different and deserves the attention not only of American patriots but also of all believers in democracy and anti-communism. As early as September 1950, Mr. Richard L. G. Deverall showed in *America* that certain types of movies help Communist propaganda in Asian countries. In December 1951, he drew a similar indictment against American crime comic books, whilst noting that information from Rome reported Communist attacks on any proposed restrictions on comic books. Most of

our readers have not the fortune of receiving *America* (America Press, 116 Main Street, Norwalk, Conn.—U.S.A.) and will be grateful for a summary of Mr. Deverall's views. What struck him is that the Indian reader automatically refers to Bombay bank-robbers in terms of the "Chicago-type gangster", because in the comic books which deluge Asia, the American gangster runs riot, guns spit, men fall and Cadillacs tear down the road at breakneck speed with the bank's cash in the rear. He was also struck with questions he was asked: "How many lynching parties have you attended?" or again: "How many Red Indians have you killed?" (He must have been unlucky in his contacts, for there are few Indians that would ask such rude questions). Yet he was asked, and he felt somewhat embarrassed in answering, because certain authentic Americans supply Asian people with the sorry material in the guise of western comic books which flood Asia.

Quite naturally the Communist agent is prompt to suggest to the Asian intellectual: "Don't believe me. Just take a look at the Western comic books. They are samples of the wonderful American culture and the American way of life. These comic books are from the Land of Uncle Sham." A Sanskrit professor took him round for a walk, and after having shown him hundreds of youngsters thumbing through American gangster, sex and western comic books, told him in a friendly way: "Now perhaps you do not wonder why Soviet propaganda is so effective in my country. Our people grow up on your comic books and reject your way of life because it lacks culture and decency When they mature the picture of crime and gangsterism remains identified with America long after they stop reading comic books."

Mr. Deverall's experience was the same in Hong Kong, in Manila, in Jakarta, in Karachi, in Calcutta, and most so in New Delhi. Soviet newspapers and magazines told Asian readers of Russian family life, of education of culture and music. The American contribution seemed mainly to be sex novels, and the usual assortment of crime, gangster and western comic books.

It would be futile to argue that educated Asians know more about America and are sensible enough not to judge her by the comic books mass-produced by her capitalists. The fact remains that such types of popular literature feed Communist propaganda, and even apart from that, have a baneful influence on Indian and on American children. They are good neither for home consumption nor for export.

Responsible men in America have duly protested against the standard and influence of comic books. In late 1950 a Joint Legislative Committee of New York was asked by Dr. Fr. Wertham, a psychiatrist, to support a public health law "which would forbid the sale and display of all crime comic books to children under the age of fifteen years." Noting that the production of crime comic books runs from 40 to 80 millions per month, he rightly concluded "the crime comic book industry is one of the most subversive groups in our country today."

Comic books are an instrument for good or for evil, concludes Mr. Deverall. Why should not a drive be mounted for decent and wholesome comic books for which the real history of America supplies ample material? But at the same time why should not a law be passed to remove a wholly subversive industry which saps the mind of American children and of Asian

children and wrecks the good name of America all over the world?

The review *America* pursued the study of Mr. Deverall with an article by St. E. Donlón, H.C.G. (January 26, 1952). This study ranged over the problem of comic books in other countries. In France a law was passed in 1949 which was the outcome of a two years' campaign by educators, church leaders and others. In spite of the subtle and obstinate resistance of the producers, one can say that on the basis of evidence up to the middle of 1951, "some of the worst have disappeared, a number have been completely disinfected about a dozen though, still not satisfactory, have improved". As a deputy had said in Parliament, "What is the use of sweating out financial and economic measures if we do not know how to protect the nation's most precious capital, the human capital, and the child, the first resource of the country? What is the use of balancing the budget, if we do not know how to rebalance the morals of the nation?"

In Italy the subject came up for debate after a survey conducted by the *Osservatore Romano*. So far no legislation has been reported, and the harmonious Italian language remains swollen with words like, Crash, Bang, Zowie, Oooowww, K.O. and O.K. In England economic friction hampered the direct import of U.S. comics, but the flow was diverted and restarted via the continent. Several teacher and parent associations have approached the Ministry of Education, Scotland Yard and the Archbishop of Canterbury to prevent the sale of "these pernicious and degrading publications . . . calculated to have damaging effect on the young people, both morally and culturally". In Canada the Parliament amended its criminal code in

December 1950 so as to outlaw crime comics. In the U.S.A. an Association of Comic Book Publishers was formed in 1950 ; it adopted a "code". But hearings in New York City before a New York Joint Legislative Committee showed that little had been done by the industry to prove its good-will.

The above surveys of *Irish Monthly* and of *America* are sufficient to show that the comic book problem is a world problem. It is estimated that every third tree cut down in Canada for paper-pulp during 1951 was used to print the 700,000,000 crime-comics which were produced in America in that year, seven hundred million digests of beatings, shootings, blood-puddles, seven hundred million lessons teaching children all over the world that violence is heroic and murder a red-hot thrill. The problem does exist in Indian cities ; the extent to which it exists may not have been ascertained but deserves an enquiry by educators and parents and may call for suitable legislation. Let us not reserve our blame for the only producers of crime comics ; if there were no buyers, there would be no producers. Let us have our budget balanced ; let us also keep our children's mind balanced !

A. L.

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by

A. NEVETT

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

AIMS AND OBJECTS

- (1) To spread the social teachings of the Catholic Church.
- (2) To provide theoretical and practical training for social workers.
- (3) To serve as a centre of information about Catholic social works.

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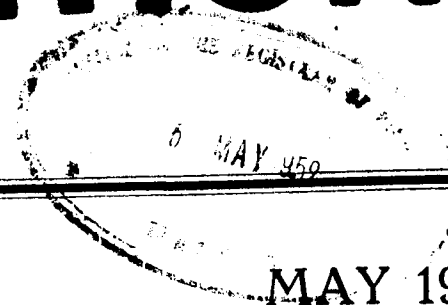
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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

SOCIAL ACTION

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HERE AND THERE

Cabbages

Presidents, Premiers, Governors spend much time in laying foundation stones, cutting ribbons in exhibitions, opening gates of new factories, and advertising the gigantic schemes of our industrial progress. Shri J. Nehru went one better when he ate the first cabbage done in a 'solar cooker'. Gigantic schemes are of American or Russian inspiration; the 'solar cooker' is in the Gandhian tradition. Our research laboratories have at last caught up with Mahatmaji's favourites, the small-scale machine, the cottage tool, the artisan's equipment. Get power to the hut, and you will save the village; let the common man cook his food, work his spinning wheel, thresh his grain, press his oil with solar heat, and the countryside will be peaceful and humanised.

But one cooker and one cabbage do not make an Indian summer.

Kings of the great days of the national movement, the Congress party was dead keen on a most popular reform : no official would ever receive more than Rs. 500 a month as salary. The resolution stood high in the Congress list, close to independence. Independence came, the British went away, and the resolution vanished from the party programme. It is on this background that one must single out the gesture of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, the Governor of West Bengal, who has renounced any emoluments above Rs. 500. He had not moved the noble resolution, he had no occasion to vote for it ; he abides by it. Will he be forgiven ?

Congress Policy

At its Calcutta session, the All-India Congress Committee did little else but revarnish the old resolutions : abolition of the zamindari system, promotion of industry ; purity in administration ; no war, no siding with any warring block, but relentless struggle against racialism in South-Africa and colonialism anywhere. Communalism which was defeated at the elections was heartily trounced ; communism which had some electoral success was given a chance of peaceful conversion to peaceful means. Patience and forbearance with fellow-citizens is advisable ; but with a philosophy like communism which proclaims all means, even violence, to be legitimate, tolerance is dangerous. Doctrines are more poisonous than men.

Future of Social Service

Recent events in Madras caution us against nursing rosy hopes about the impetus which the International Conference of Social Work to be held in December is

expected to give. Leaders, officials and politicians will beam approval and voice encouragement ; it would be rash to expect much more. The government will withhold financial support ; there is no money for such laudable projects. An attempt was made at Madras some years ago to launch a school of social service. Teachers, lecturers, and workers were available. The Government appointed a committee, the committee framed a scheme ; the scheme was not approved. A fresh scheme was prepared by the committee and was based on voluntary organisation ; it required only Rs. 20,000 as capital grant and another Rs. 20,000 as recurring grant. The Government considered it, approved it but did not sanction the grants. The reason ? No money.

The Madras story has its lessons. Community centres, rural and industrial welfare agencies are badly needed. But the basic preliminary question must first be satisfactorily answered: Should such agencies be under State patronage ? Social works are intimately connected with cultural pursuits, and toned up with cultural influences. Would they not, under State patronage, drift but too easily into socio-political, or even into mere political agencies working for whatever party is in power ?

Cultural autonomy must be maintained at all costs in a complex country like India, and private initiative should be left ample opportunity to solve the problems of social service, which it can tackle as successfully as it did the educational. Social education demands the same atmosphere of autonomy as academic education does. Hospitalization of orphans, infirm and destitute, social clubs, all works of rehabilitation suppose

a humane touch which is necessarily shaped by cultural backgrounds. Let private individuals and associations take the initiative ; paid workers may depend on philanthropists, unpaid workers who will be the most numerous will call only on their fund of devotion. It is only after institutions have shown results that government aid should be forthcoming. India has immemorial traditions of charity ; here and there individuals take advantage of other people's liberality. But let us not run to the other extreme and turn charity into a bureaucratic business, or what would be worse, into a political weapon.

In a democracy social service is a privileged field for private initiative.

A. L.

RECENT COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

"It takes a hundred men to build a bridge, but only one to destroy it." (J. Stalin). Moral : do not scorn the C.P.I. (Communist Party of India) because it is small. Though it would be highly undesirable to work up an hysteria about Communism, since nothing is achieved by hysterics, it is wise to face the facts and not indulge in some wild fancies born more of ignorance and conceit than of study and experience. Ever since Lenin published his *Imperialism*, Soviet Communism or Imperialism, for it is the same thing, has always taught that Asia might prove the Achilles' heel of western capitalism. Stalin more than any other im-

portant communist, has followed this theory ; as long ago as April, 1923, at the twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, speaking of the attack on the West through its main line of reserves in the East, he said : "it is of these reserves . . . that we must speak when discussing the national question. Two things are possible : either we succeed in stirring up and revolutionizing the far imperialistic rear—the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East—and thereby hasten the fall of capitalism or we muff it, and thereby strengthen imperialism and weaken the force of our movement." Experience and history have proved that they did not "muff it" ; on the contrary, they made a very good job of it. With China turned Communist, and Japan still unarmed, the smaller Asian nations afire with unrest, India remains the great prize to be won before Asia can be said to be Communist. It is not surprising then that the first few months of this year have seen an increase of Communist propaganda in the country, an intensification which should not be passed over unnoticed because this propaganda will certainly be on the increase in the near future. We will pass a few remarks on some of this propaganda ; it should be borne in mind that before these notes are published further developments will have taken place which will modify the details but not the general outlook and tendency.

The Film Festival which is touring the various cities of the country is internationally represented, but the Soviet has made good use of it to show a profusion of Communist films and documentaries and to establish connections with our own film industry. Doubtless partly due to their novelty and the high repute of all Russian achievements made known in this country,

Communist films were given a great reception. In passing, it is worth noting that while the Russians must be spending far less on *open* propaganda than the Americans—how much is spent on secret propaganda would be difficult to assess—Soviet propaganda is far more successful. Perhaps the very simplicity and cheapness of the latter contrasted with American wealth heightens the effect. These simple Peoples' Publishing Houses where you pay for books as contrasted with the well appointed American Information Service, the plain Communist publications as compared with the glossy, shining American ones, even the Soviet films dominated as they are by the monotonous theme of Capitalism versus Imperialism, as compared with Hollywood's shrieking, colossal, stupendous, ultra-super world-record-breaking hits! Thousands of such American films have been shown in this country, but very few have helped towards a better understanding of true democracy. A very interesting and thought-provoking phenomenon of the propaganda now going on in the country is that any criticism of the West, especially of America, backfires and becomes praise of Russia.

The International Industries Fair held in Bombay early this year was not international but Communist. Non-Communist countries did not participate because the Fair was not sponsored by the Indian Government. Even after the event it is difficult to decide what they should have done, but one thing is clear that U.S.S.R., China, Czechoslovakia and Hungary had it all their own way and made good use of the opportunity. The average citizen is extremely gullible and even if he could understand why non-Communist nations did not participate, he was certainly not very interested in the explanation. He was told that it was a commercial exhibition; he did not see that this was the bait, so he

swallowed bait, hook and all. He listened with avid interest while all the participant nations with one mind said the same thing: how bad things had been before Communism came and how magnificent they now are under a Communist regime, and how grateful they are to Stalin for giving them their daily bread and tractors too. The Hungarian brochure provides a good example of these sentiments: "the Hungarian peasantry lived in a state of unbelievable poverty, with very low material and cultural standards. Unhealthy, dark and dank mud-brick huts, ragged bare-footed children, and unschooled, largely illiterate population, and a weary over-worked people characterised the Hungarian village before the Liberation." But the coming of Communism has changed all that: "Hungary is today a rich, flourishing and happy country, fulfilling the aims of her Five Year Plan—the Plan of Peace." A passage from the same brochure describing the Hungarian workers going to Margaret Island, a pleasure centre in the Danube, strikes the right tone for the understanding of the Fair: "Our path is garlanded on every side with sweet-smelling flower beds: roses, carnations and herbacious plants bloom in a myriad of colours." Yes, with the coming of Communism, it's roses, roses all the way! After a long list of contrasts between the backwardness of old China and the progressive perfection of New China, the Chinese brochure concludes: "Due to the pressure of time, we regret that what we have gathered and displayed here are rather not as adequate as we wished. But these exhibits should suffice to tell how the people of New China are jubilantly exerting their efforts under the forthcoming industrialization of their land. They will also serve a purpose of further promoting mutual understanding and mutual aid between the peoples of China and

India, in respect of their respective economical lives. They will surely have contributed much to welding our ties of neighbourliness and co-operation.

"Let us hail for the economic prosperity of China and India, hail for the uninterrupted betterment of our peoples' livelihood." But of course, this is only a commercial exhibition and not meant for propaganda!

Russia plays the leading part in the symphony of self-praise: after describing in the usual style some of the achievements and the great happiness found in that country, the Soviet brochure modestly asserts: "The peaceful constructive labour of the Soviet people, the development of civilian industry and construction, are vivid evidence of the fact that the Land of Soviets is striving for peace. J. V. Stalin emphasises: '... No state, not excluding the Soviet State, can develop its civilian industry to the full, undertake huge construction works like the hydroelectric stations on the Volga, the Dnieper and the Amu Darya, which require tens of billions in budgetary outlays, continue a policy of systematically reducing prices of articles of mass consumption, which likewise require tens of billions in budgetary outlays, and invest hundreds of billions in the rehabilitation of the national economy shattered by the German invaders, and at the same time, simultaneously with this, enlarge its armed forces and expand its war industry.'" But nevertheless the Soviet State has succeeded in enlarging her armed forces, increasing her war industry, and expanding her territorial influence since the beginning of World War II so that she has achieved the truly remarkable feat of controlling 1,154,000 sq. miles of territory outside Russia and ordering the lives of 105 million subjected people. And while so assiduously working for peace

and sending out doves, she has actively helped to create Red China and hopes soon to see Indo-China and Malaya, followed by the rest of Asia, fall under her influence—Oh! I had almost forgotten, this is only a *commercial* exhibition. And this is how *Pravda*, a leading Russian paper describes the Fair: "In the evening the people of Bombay could look into the sky where against the dead cold luminaries there is the brightly shining red star of the Soviet Pavilion. Indians call it a guiding star, the star of peace and happiness." The star of peace and happiness! Communists are fighting in Korea, Indo-China and Malaya and await favourable opportunities to fight in India too. Of course, they are fighting for a made-in-Russia peace, and, of course, this was only a commercial exhibition.

From industry to art at the Soviet Art Exhibition, New Delhi. It is difficult to judge of an art exhibition which you have not seen, and it is sometimes more difficult to get someone to agree with you even when you have seen it; however, there is a point of agreement among the art critics about this exhibition. They say there was some good vigorous work on show, that the exhibition was a success (for the Communists) since there is a strong enthusiasm for things Russian and that the exhibition was another form of propaganda. Many were struck by a monotonous uniformity of style and of subjects as if the artists were working to order. And perhaps they were! Mr. Zamoshkin said that Soviet art has as its main theme the people, not of course those living in over-crowded slums or condemned to work in labour—concentration camps, but those who with such obvious joy depicted on their faces are constructing the Communist paradise over which frequently presides the almost unescapable figure of

Generalissimo Stalin shown benignly shaking hands with the workers and giving them medals. At times the art-cover to the propaganda has worn very thin : v.g., Sorokin's "A Popov shows Admiral Makarov the World's First Radio Set" which is quite in keeping with the present Soviet claim to be the home of most modern inventions. What would the critics say of an art exhibition dominated by portraits of Pandit Nehru distributing medals to agriculturalists ? Maybe Soviet artists are inspired to paint Stalin, Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung so often, but whether this inspiration springs from an artistic sense or from the sense of self-preservation I could not say.

The New Theatre Circle, Delhi, will present a Spring Programme of Asian Plays from China, Russia, Japan, Egypt, Iran and India. There is nothing, apparently, Soviet about this programme, but the Communists will certainly make good use of it to get some more propaganda across. Since it is fashionable and the thing to be Asian today, besides Russia and Egypt, we may soon see Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and other Soviet satellites in an Asiatic role.

The International Economic Conference held in April at Moscow will be over by the time this is published but a few remarks on it will draw attention to the increased tempo of Communist propaganda. Communists are good organisers and they held the All-India Preparatory Conference to prepare for the International Conference which was to follow. At the Preparatory Conference were a number of non-Communists, some of them capitalists, who believed that the International Conference was not Communist inspired and who were ready to do business. In reality the International Conference is a prolongation of the Peace

Campaign held in Berlin, February 1951, which resolved : "the World Peace Council decides to convene in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1952, an International Economic Conference of economists, technicians, industrialists, businessmen and trade-union leaders of all countries."

Like all Soviet sponsored conferences and exhibitions the purpose of this International Conference is to convince the delegates that the Communist way of life is best, and that while the leading Communist nation, U.S.S.R., wants peace, the imperialist, reactionary non-Communist world wants war and that wherever Communist forces are fighting it is to liberate people subjugated beneath a crushing imperialistic yoke. There is also another sugared plum offered to attract delegates to this Conference : Russia in her readiness to please Indian delegates has announced that she is willing to accept payment for Soviet goods in rupees ; it would, of course, be too much to expect her to add how useful these rupees will be to support her followers in this country.

Cultural missions between India, China and Russia have begun to assume something of the nature of shuttle trains : no sooner is one mission over, then a return visit is arranged. And every mission brings back its quota of propagandists, poets, film stars and the like who are all the more effective because they seem free from political bias. The Indian delegates of these good-will missions—which from the Communist side are political and not cultural—have come in for some criticism at home, so that the out-going mission to China includes some delegates who are likely to be less naive in believing what they are told. From the controversy now going on in the national press over

these missions, it is quite clear that those who favour the Communist regime consider the information supplied by Communists about Russia and China to be the gospel truth, and hold any criticism of these 'facts' to be lying slander. It is also clear that these good-will missions will receive favour in Communist eyes only if they accept all they are told in Moscow and Peking.

While propaganda goes apace, other events are taking place which are closely connected with India's welfare. We mentioned last month how little attention has been given to the Chinese Communist occupation of Tibet.¹ The following incident proves how the occupation is following the usual pattern of divide and rule : when in 1922 a serious dispute arose between the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama, the former fled to Peking and died there in 1935. The Dalai Lama then confiscated the estates of the followers of the Panchen Lama. Now his successor, the present Panchen Lama, supported by Communists, is on his way back to his province (Tsang-Province, Western Tibet), where he will be re-instated, and the Chinese occupying force have announced that the confiscated estates are to be restored to the Panchen Lama's followers or, if they are dead, to their heirs. Thus the Communist build up opposition to the Dalai Lama and secure for themselves subservient supporters whose continual possession of their lands depends on Communist goodwill. Just as in China the Communist set up a nationalist Church in their attempt to break off the allegiance of Chinese Catholics to Rome, so now they are splitting the Tibetians into two parties. We can anticipate what will happen next : as soon as the Communist feel strong

enough the Dalai Lama will be deposed as a reactionary imperialist and their puppet, the Panchen Lama, put in his place until such a time as shall please his masters to liquidate him.

For long Russia kept silence over the Kashmir issue, doubtless waiting to see who would pull the chestnuts out of the fire for her ; then Mr. J. Malik, the Soviet delegate to U.N., supported Sheikh Abdulla's Constituent Assembly. Perhaps we have some indication of the next move from the statement of Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, C.P.I. General Secretary, who said that Kashmir should go to India "because the progressive forces are stronger in India than in Pakistan," meaning thereby that Communists are stronger in India than in Pakistan, and that Kashmir has thus a greater chance of becoming a Soviet vassal state. However, experience has taught us to expect somersaults in Communist policy, and a complete change of tactics should not come as a surprise.

Within the country the C.P.I. is arranging matters to suit its own taste : at the time of writing, in Madras attempts at forming a leftist Coalition are finding some strange bed-fellows : Communists, K.M.P., Tamilnad Toilers' Party and Muslim League. The Communists find it profitable to share the same bed for the time being and so, according to sound Communist philosophy which asserts that what is useful for the C.P.I. is good and right, this strange assortment is highly commendable. But that some Congressmen and Independents should discuss about getting together is very wrong indeed as Mr. P. Ramamurthi, member of the C.P.I. Politbureau indignantly declared : "To flout the verdict of the electorate and to perpetuate Congress rule in the State by roping in Independents

1. Red Star over India, *Social Action*, April, 1952.

will be a despicable political manoeuvre." And why is it right for the small parties and Independents to join hands with the Communists and so very wicked of them to associate with Congress? Because you decide what is right and wrong, according as it favours the Communist Party or not—yes, it's as simple as all that. Anyone with even a little experience of Communist tactics should know that Communists will either have their own way in any leftist coalition or ruin that coalition. It is then no surprise to hear the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Kerala complain that Communists are disrupting the trade-unions and alienating workmen from their former allegiance by persuading them to become Communists. Well, the Revolutionary Socialist asked for such treatment—he who sups with the devil, needs a long spoon.

In face of the undoubted success of Communist propaganda one may ask what type of propaganda would provide an effective antidote. A profound and serious mistake is being made by believing that economic aid alone will provide such an antidote. On this question Mr. M. R. Masani, former Indian Ambassador to Brazil, in his address to the students of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, made some excellent points: as reported in the *Madras Mail* after remarking that the possibilities of a materially rich and full life are found only where liberty and freedom thrive and that the antithesis between bread and freedom is false since the sacrifice of freedom has nowhere produced more bread, he said it was a mistake to think that American economic aid would make India a bastion of democracy and that there had been an over-emphasis on economic aid in recent American pronouncements. The speaker then came to the crux of the

latter: the crisis is essentially one of the spirit, for *empty minds and souls could provide as good a breeding ground for Communism as empty stomachs*. He pointed out the paradox that Communists who are materialists should appeal to the spirit and misguided idealism of Indian youth while the spokesman of the American people should give the impression they want to win Indian friendship primarily through material incentives. Such a friendship can only be won, he said, by an assertion of moral leadership and an appeal to all that is best in the intellectual and cultural heritage of India. This is very well said and deserves serious consideration by all those who wish to prevent India from falling a prey to Communism. To the objection that it was futile to talk about freedom and culture to a people grovelling in poverty and misery, Mr. Masani replied: "The choice is not between Communism and the *status quo*, but between Communist dictatorship and anything you want to put in place of the *status quo*." And we want something more than rice and other forms of material aid.

A. Nevett.



COMBINATION MOVEMENT IN INDIAN INDUSTRY

Combinations constitute an outstanding feature of modern industrialism. The motivating force behind such combinations is either to secure increased economies of production and distribution arising from expansion of output or operation, or to eliminate wasteful competition through regulation of prices and restriction of output. The individual units organize themselves into some kind of association or organization, either loose or well-integrated. We have thus various forms of industrial combinations, ranging from "gentlemen's agreement" and "market-pools" to well-organized Trusts, Cartels and Syndicates. Although the form of organization and degree of unification differ, they all aim at reduction in costs or elimination of wasteful competition.

The most outstanding feature of the Combination Movement in Indian Industry is that it has grown mainly through expansion and not so much through amalgamation or absorption, as in other countries. Its evolution is closely associated with the Managing Agency System in Indian Industry. Indeed, the development of this form of industrial organization, has inevitably led to the financial, managerial and administrative integration of industrial enterprises under one common Managing Agency. The success achieved and the experience gained in floating pioneer concerns prompted the Managing Agents to promote newer concerns or expand their business activity in newer channels. In an industrially backward country like

India, they found unlimited scope for expansion. The fabulous profits which they reaped out of the lucrative foreign trade were all employed in the expansion or floatation of new concerns. From one line of business, they turned to another, not merely because the produce of one could be easily utilized by the other either as raw-materials or semi-manufactured goods. Thus the Managing Agents of Jute, Paper, Cement and Tea Companies started their own collieries to meet their requirements, and floated inland steamer companies for transportation of raw-materials and distribution of finished goods. They could thus save themselves not only from the vicissitudes of the markets, but also secure some of the economies of large-scale operation. The institution of Managing Agency has thus afforded a type of organization which could secure, for all the individual units under its jurisdiction, the economies of vertical and horizontal form of expansion, without depriving them of their legal and functional independence.

The development of this form of industrial organization led to the concentration and ownership and control in fewer hands. This tendency was greatly accentuated by the great dearth of entrepreneurial ability and industrial leadership in the country. Generally speaking, the profits reaped by the Managing Agency firms were re-invested either in floating new concerns or in the expansion of existing units. Thus most of the Managing Agency firms grew in course of time to their present gigantic structure. Today a handful of Managing Agents dominate almost every sector of economic life, each controlling a wide range of industrial enterprises from tiny ginning and pressing factories to gigantic iron and steel works, hydro-electricity projects, and mammoth ship-building

yards, with crores of rupees sunk in them and employing thousands of industrial workers.

It is interesting to examine the nature and extent of managerial integrations in Indian Industries. An independent investigation undertaken by the author has revealed many interesting facts. Today, a small group of Managing Agency firms control and manage more than 600 industrial establishments in India. Of course, more than 250 are controlled and managed by nine leading British Managing Agency Houses, namely Andrew Yule, McLeod, Martin, Bird, Jardine Henderson, Duncan, Octavius Steel, Gillanders and the British India Corporation. Andrew Yule and McLeods alone control and manage about 90 industrial enterprises. Among leading Indian Managing Agency Houses are Tatas, Birlas, Dalmias, Singhanias, Thapars and Goenkas with Walchands, Bhadannis, Narangs, Ruias, Shakserias and Poddars just butting in. The Dalmia-Jain Group now controls about 45 industrial concerns, J.K.'s about 42, Thapars about 32 and Birlas now control and manage more than two dozen industrial concerns. This factual information is of immense significance for it reflects not only the extent of managerial integration but also the remarkable dearth of managerial and entrepreneurial ability in the country. It is indeed very unfortunate that in a vast and potentially rich country like India, a few Managing Houses should exercise overwhelming control over a major portion of our industrial productivity.

The domain of managerial activity is not confined or restricted to one or two specific types of industries. Generally speaking the Managing Agency firms control, finance and manage a wide variety of undertakings. For example, Messrs. Andrew Yule and Company manages 10 Jute Companies, 17 Tea Companies,

10 Collieries, 1 Sugar-Mill, 1 Paper-Mill, 2 Electricity, 2 Engineering and 6 Miscellaneous Companies. Similarly, McLeods now control and manage 11 Jute Companies, 18 Tea, 6 Transport, 1 Engineering and 4 Miscellaneous Companies. Other European Managing Houses have a similarly wide range. There are, however, some exceptions where the Managing Agents have confined themselves only to one or two selected industries. Thus Duncans and Devanports have confined themselves exclusively to tea, Octavius Steel to tea and electricity and Martins mostly to transport, electricity and engineering concerns.

Some of the Indian Managing Agency Houses have a wider range of industrial undertakings. For example, Messrs. Juggilal Kamlapat (J.K.'s) of Cawnpore and the Dalmia-Jain Group now control and manage every variety of undertakings from tiny flour, soap and oil mills to the biggest of engineering and chemical works. They control Cotton Mills, Jute Mills, Woollen Mills, Sugar Mills, Insurance Companies, Investment Trusts, Engineering and chemical establishments, Banks, Property and estates. Some of these concerns are of gigantic size. For example, one of Dalmia's concern, viz., Rohtas Industries, Ltd., (Capital : 3 crores), comprises a cement factory, a sugar mill, a paper factory, a vegetable oil plant, a plywood factory, a chemical factory, a power plant and many miscellaneous industries.

It is instructive to analyse and examine the nature and extent of managerial integrations in some of India's major industries. Managerial integration is not a characteristic feature of any particular industry but is common to all. In the Cotton Mill Industry, more than one-third of the productive capacity is in the hands of

less than 30 Managing Agents. Of the 408 Cotton Mills, working in India in 1949, 81 were controlled and managed by a Group of 15 Managing Agency Houses, 4 of which namely Birlas, Mafatlal Gagalbhai, Kasturbhai Lalbhai and Chamanlal G. Parikh Group controlled and managed about 30 Cotton Mills. In the Cotton Mill Industry of Ahmedabad there is perhaps even greater concentration of ownership and control than in any other centre of the industry, for 18 leading families of Ahmedabad now exercise financial, managerial and administrative control over four-fifths of her productive capacity. (See Dr. M. M. Mehta's *Structure of Cotton-Mill Industry of India*, pp. 84-88).

In Jute a few leading British Managing Agency firms exercise control over more than half of her productive capacity. Of the 85 Jute Mill Companies in 1949, 33 were in the hands of 4 Managing Agents, 2 of whom controlled and managed 21 Jute Mill Companies. Thus, about one-fourth of the productive capacity in the Jute Industry is in the hands of two Houses, viz., Messrs. Andrew Yule & Company and Messrs. McLeods Ltd.

Similarly striking tendencies are observable in Sugar and Coal. Of the 166 Sugar Mills working in India in 1949, 51 were in the hands of 16 Managing Agents, of which 5 controlled and managed about 32 Sugar Mills. Narangs, Sutherlands, Thapars and Dalmias are the leading magnates. Similarly in the Coal Industry of India, about 60 Coal Companies are managed by 14 Managing Agents, 4 of them controlling 30 companies. In the Tea Industry, 128 Companies are managed and controlled by 11 firms, six of them controlling 96 companies. Duncans alone control 25 tea companies and Andrew Yule and McLeods 18 each.

In the Cement Industry, the Associated Cement Co., Ltd. (A.C.C.) was formed in 1936 to take over by amalgamation the business assets of 11 Cement Companies which went into voluntary liquidation. Since then the A.C.C. has erected three more cement factories, one at Rohri in Sind, one at Bezwada in Madras State and one at Chaibasa in Bihar. The Patiala Cement Company is also a subsidiary of the A.C.C. The A.C.C. also holds 70 per cent of the share capital of the Cement Marketing Company of India, Ltd., and also a substantial interest in the Burma Cement Co., Ltd. Thus, of the 25 cement factories working in India and Pakistan, 15 are controlled and managed by the A.C.C. Group and 5 by the Dalmia Group. 20 out of 25 cement factories are thus managed by two Houses.

In Iron and Steel, more than ninety per cent of the productive capacity is under two big firms, viz., Martin-Burn & Company and Tata Industries Ltd. Martins control and manage both the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd. (ISCO) and the Steel Corporation of Bengal (SCOB), the latter deriving all its supplies of water, gases, electric energy for light and power and other services and also whole of its requirements of hot iron suitable for steel from the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Such integrations could never have been possible but for the common administration and management by one Firm. Without any formal combination and amalgamation and without surrendering their individual identity, both can derive the economies of large-scale production and distribution. Further, both the Indian Iron and Steel Company and the Tata Iron and Steel Company have their own collieries and iron ore mines and also hold mining leases for the supply of essential minerals used in iron and steel manufacturing. No-

where else can we find a better example of the vertical combination than in Iron and Steel.

In the Match Industry, the Swedish Trust with their Indian functionaries now enjoy almost a monopolistic position. They have succeeded in driving out most of their Indian rivals. The Western India Match Company (WIMCO) managed by Swedish Match Company, Limited, has a number of match factories in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, U.P. and Punjab. These factories alone account for more than two-thirds of India's match output, selling under the famous trade marks of "Horse", "Wimco" and "Tekka".

The foregoing analytical survey clearly reveals the nature and extent of managerial integrations in India. An unmistakable tendency is operating for the concentration of ownership and control. A few years back such concentrations were a characteristic feature of British firms alone. In recent years, however, some of the more enterprising Indian firms are fastly expanding their spheres of industrial and commercial activities, and growing into larger and larger dimensions. Time is not far off when some of the more ambitious enterprising firms may overtake and outstrip some of their foreign contemporaries. Tatas, Birlas, Dalmias and Singhanias are now developing into Giant Trusts.

There is yet another arresting feature of India's industrial development. In recent years, a very interesting tendency is operating for the amalgamation and absorption of smaller trusts by bigger trusts. This tendency is particularly very marked in the post-war period (1945-50), and can be attributed partly to the large liquidation of British interests in India, following independence, and partly to the keen interest and an-

xiety of some business magnate to dispose of their holdings at fabulous prices. In the short-lived post-war boom, there was a mad scramble among some of the more energetic and ambitious Managing Agents of acquire new holdings and to extend their spheres of industrial and commercial activities. Some of the Managing Agency firms either amalgamated with or were acquired by bigger Trusts with larger financial and managerial resources. To cite a few interesting examples, the British India Corporation (B.I.C.) Ltd., a giant British Trust, acquired in 1946, as a going concern the business of Messrs. Begg Sutherland & Co., Ltd., the well known Kanpur firm of Managing Agents. Another outstanding example is the outright purchase, in 1947, of the extensive business interests of Messrs. Begg Dunlop & Co., Ltd., by another famous Managing Agency Firm of Messrs. McLeod & Co., Ltd. At the time of acquisition, Messrs. Begg Dunlop & Company was managing 4 big Jute Mills and ten tea companies. A similar example of recent absorptions is the outright purchase of the financial and managerial interests of Messrs. Govan Bros. Ltd., and of Messrs. Govan Bros. (Rampur) Ltd., which controlled and managed such important concerns like Indian National Airways Ltd. and Dhangdhara Chemical Works, Ltd., by the famous House of Dalmias. Dalmias also purchased the extensive financial interests in a group of Newspapers, like the Times of India, Illustrated Weekly of India, Evening News, Sunday News, National Call, Indian News Chronicle, Nav Bharat, etc., belonging to Benett Coleman & Co., Ltd. They have also acquired a controlling interest in the three big Jute Companies at present managed by Messrs. Andrew Yule and Company as well as in the Punjab National Bank.

Another arresting feature of recent developments is the amalgamation of big trusts. Several cases occurred where two independent firms formed themselves into a mighty Trust. The principal motivation underlying such amalgamations was invariably to secure increased economies of production and distribution by spreading the overhead expenses over a large volume of output and turnover. Some outstanding examples are Messrs. Jardine Henderson Ltd., Messrs. Macneil & Barry Ltd., and Messrs. Martin-Burn Ltd. Messrs. Jardine Henderson Ltd., was formed in 1946 to acquire and carry on as going concerns the old established and well known firms of Messrs. Jardine Skinner & Co., Ltd., and of Messrs. Georges Henderson & Co., Ltd., both of whom had extensive interests in Jute, Tea, Coal and Miscellaneous Companies, besides having large business as general Traders and Agents, Shipping and Insurance Agents and Gunny Exporters. Messrs. Jardine Henderson, Ltd. also acquired the entire share capital of Ewing & Co., Ltd., and of Maitland Craig Lubricants Ltd., the former dealing in fertilizers and the latter in oils and lubricants. Similarly, Messrs. Macneil & Barry Ltd. was incorporated in 1949 to acquire all investments of Macneil & Co. and Barry & Co. and a 97% partnership share in the Agency business of these firms. The company also acquired, on 31st March, 1949, all the investments of Ganges Transport and Trading Co. Ltd. This huge Trust has now extensive interests in Tea, Jute and Coal Mining Companies. Another example of recent amalgamations is Messrs. Martin-Burn Ltd. This Company has acquired the entire interests of Messrs. Martin & Co. and of Messrs. Burn & Co. and now carries on extensive business as General Merchants, Managing Agents, Contractors,

Constructional and Mechanical Engineers. They control and manage such giant concerns as the Indian Iron and Steel Company and the Steel Corporation of Bengal.

There are also some cases where the two giant Trusts, without any formal amalgamation and without sacrificing their legal and functional existence, have been able to secure the economies of administrative integration. For example, Messrs. Bird & Company Ltd., and Messrs. Heilgers & Company Ltd., the two well-known Business Houses of Calcutta, have a common administrative organization in respect of purchase of raw-materials and marketing of finished goods. The Head Offices of both the Companies being located in the same building have rendered such administrative integration possible. The inter-locutory directorships in these two concerns have further strengthened the incentive for closer relationship and mutual co-operation.

The foregoing analytical survey clearly reveals that there exists an unmistakable tendency for the managerial, financial and administrative integration of industrial enterprises in India. Both the institution of Managing Agency and the system of inter-locutory directorship have evolved a type of industrial organization in which the individual units can, without surrendering their legal and functional independence, secure some of the economies of horizontal and vertical expansion and combination.

Allahabad.

Dr. M. M. Mehta.

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BONUS A SHARE IN PROFITS

(continued)

Decisions

In certain cases firms have agreed to pay their workmen a bonus based on production, and not on profits. For the year 1947-48, the S. B. Sugar factory in Bengal paid its employees a bonus fixed at a certain rate on the quantity of sugar produced. This was before the Appellate Tribunal gave its decision. The arrangement was upheld by the Industrial Tribunal.

In the case of the Bombay Enamel Works Ltd., the Tribunal forbade the Company from withdrawing out of its profits certain specified amounts for charitable purposes, before it had paid its workmen a bonus. The adjudicator ruled that the company was not a charitable institution and that it had made sufficient profits to justify its paying a month's bonus to its workmen.

A curious case in which the Industrial Tribunal insisted on the payment of bonus despite the losses suffered by the firm is that of the Mahalaxmi Cotton Mills, Bengal. The Company had entered into an agreement with its employees at the end of a strike to pay them two months' bonus. No conditions however were attached to this clause. When the date for payment arrived, the Company refused to pay the bonus. It also closed down the Provident Fund, and ceased paying the ration benefit of Rs. 5 a month to the workers. The workmen accordingly went on strike. When the case was brought up before the Industrial Tribunal, the company pleaded that it could pay neither the bonus, nor the Provident Fund, nor the ration bene-

fit, because it had sustained losses. In regard to the bonus in particular, the management insisted that it had been compelled to accede to the demand of the workers under the duress of a strike, and as such the agreement was not binding.

The adjudicator admitted that the company had sustained losses. But he held that the bonus had been agreed to with no conditions attached, and therefore had to be paid whatever the financial position of the company. "The bonus in the present case," he maintained, "partakes of the character of the condition of service or the term of employment. It must be given irrespective of losses, etc., provided the agreement is an operative one in law — I mean, if it is not vitiated by coercion, undue influence, etc. It is practically an admitted fact that this agreement was entered into under the threat of a strike notice given by the workers. But the strike notice by the workers is not illegal. . . ."¹ The award was accordingly drawn up in favour of the workmen. They had to be paid the stipulated bonus they had bargained for.

It is difficult to reconcile this decision of the judicial officer with procedure in vogue elsewhere in the country. The case of the Swastik Oil Mills in Bombay is a case in point. The workmen demanded the payment of bonus equivalent to four months' wages and dearness allowance for the year 1950. The Workmen's Union based its demand on the ground that the workmen had not been paid a living wage, that the company was capable of paying the bonus demanded, and that the company had recently received a refund from the Excess Profits Tax Department. This sum which

1. *Labour Law Journal*, Vol. I, 1952, pg. 71.

amounted to over two lakhs, the company had put aside as reserves instead of handing it out as bonus to the workmen.

The Company pleaded that the amount of profits it had earned during the financial year 1950 was only Rs. 23,867. This amount was too meagre for any deduction on behalf of depreciation or reserves. The refund it had received from the Excess Profits Tax Department had to be used by the Company for an 'approved purpose,' which included either provision or replacement of buildings or plant and machinery or development and re-equipment of the business. It was under these specific conditions that the refund was given.

The Union tried a new approach to the problem. The company had reaped enormous profits in the post-war years. In 1948, the company's gross profits had been over Rs. 16 lakhs, and in 1949 over Rs. 10 lakhs. In 1947, the company had issued bonus shares to its shareholders to the tune of over Rs. 25 lakhs. Even in 1950, the company had more than sufficient reserves. The Union asked that these be scaled down, and the surplus left over be distributed as a bonus among the workers.

The Tribunal refused to do anything of the sort. The adjudicator tenaciously maintained that "Bonus is usually awarded only when there is a surplus left out of the gross profits earned in the year for which bonus is claimed after provision is made for the prior charges and for fair return on invested capital and for reserves employed as working capital."¹

1. *Labour Law Journal*, Vol. I., 1952, pg. 97.

Contradictory

These apparently contradictory decisions made by different adjudicators of the Labour Tribunals serve to reveal how uncertain and variable the concept of bonus still remains. But there are certain fundamentals that have been clarified in the course of discussion before the industrial courts. It is admitted today that not only Capital but also Labour contributes a share to the prosperity of the firm. This contribution of Labour merits a reward — a bonus. It is to the interest of both Labour and Capital that the company they work for should make profits. Bonus thus becomes a type of profit sharing; its payment depends on the profits of the company. It is an accepted fact that when a firm suffers losses, it is not bound to pay a bonus.

Nor is there anything inherently wrong in the notion of profits for in a free economy like ours, profits are an index of the efficiency and the stability of the company. But the large profits made by the textile or the steel industries in India were largely due to the artificial scarcity created by World War II. Will these industries in the future ever be able to accumulate the large amount of gross profits which will allow of deductions for depreciation and reserves, besides a fair return on dividends, and interest on working capital, and still leave over a surplus for the workingmen's bonus? The future does not promise to be so rosy as all that.

Bonus and Dividend.

What relation does bonus bear to dividend? In actual practice some method of equating the two has been tried out in various industries. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills of Madras have been paying

their workmen an annual bonus ever since 1919, when the Company first decided to share its profits with its employees. The system works this way. If the dividend for the current year is 5%, then the workmen receive as bonus 5% of the basic wages they have been paid that year. Thus a workman who has been earning Rs. 30 a month would receive as bonus at the end of the year Rs. 18. A shareholder who has three shares on the nominal value of Rs. 100 per share, would receive Rs. 15. This is obviously a rough and ready measure, because so much would depend on the real value of the share, and at what price the present holder of the share had purchased it.

But the Company has used this system ever since 1919 with one exception. In the year 1948, because of the large profits it had made, the Company had issued special bonus shares to its shareholders. Ever since then, the rate of bonus has been doubled. If the rate of dividend was declared to be $7\frac{1}{2}\%$, then the rate of bonus was automatically fixed at 15%. In this way, the Company sought to equalise dividend and bonus.

The Industrial Tribunal approved of this method and refused to consider the demand of the Union, that the bonus should be computed not on the basic wage alone, but on basic wage and dearness allowance. The adjudicator argued that his procedure would mean paying the workers a bonus that was $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than the percentage of dividend on shares. One could hardly call this fair. An equal division of the profits between Labour and Capital had to be achieved. And it would be doing the shareholders an injustice if the lion's share of net profit went to Labour.

What the Tribunal Thinks.

It does seem to be the mind of the Appellate Tribunal however to make the dividend a prior claim on the surplus of profits that remain after deducting for depreciation and reserves. Even then, the rate of dividend has been limited; it should not exceed 6%, in order to give the workmen a chance of getting some bonus. To some extent this procedure is correct, because the terms of comparison *viz.*, dividend and bonus do not belong to the same category. The workman offers his labour and receives a wage in return. The shareholder puts his savings into the firm and receives a dividend. So one must inevitably conclude that dividend ought to be equated with the wage and not with the bonus. It is only when the firm does not pay its workers a living wage, especially when it can do so, that bonus and dividend can be equated, because bonus now takes on the quality of a 'deferred wage.' The Tribunals have not been too clear on this point in their decisions. Some of the judges have considered dividend a prior charge on the gross profits of the firm, after deductions for depreciation and reserves have been made. They have awarded bonus only out of the surplus left over after payment of the dividend and the interest on working capital. Others on the contrary have tried to equate the percentage of bonus to that of dividend.

One Thing Certain.

Amidst all this uncertainty, one thing is certain. The right of the workman to a share in the profits of the firm has been legally recognised. Back of this legal recognition is the acceptance of the principle that both Labour and Capital contribute to the prosperity of the firm. The Popes have emphasised this

point time and again. "This is what Leo XIII had in mind," says Pius XI, "when he wrote: 'Capital cannot do without Labour, nor Labour without Capital'." And the Pope continues, "It is therefore entirely false to ascribe the results of their combined efforts to either Capital or Labour alone; and it is flagrantly unjust that either should deny the efficacy of the other, and claim all the product."¹ On the other hand, it follows with equal logic that both Labour and Capital must somehow bear the losses of the firm. In this case however, while Capital foregoes its dividend, Labour cannot claim any bonus out of profits because there are none. But one still feels that the whole situation is rather complex and needs to be studied by the courts.

The Appellate Tribunal seems desirous of Labour-Management co-operation and harmony. Bonus is one step forward towards getting the workmen more attached to the firm, and interested in the firm's welfare. In the U.K., the Trade Unions have as a rule rejected the payment of bonus, because it links a man more tightly to his firm, and loosens his bonds with the Union. But in India, the Unions clamour for larger and larger bonuses, because the bonus is one way of winning over the men to their side, especially when there are several competing unions in the same factory. The Unions are managed by political parties, which find the promise of a large bonus a sure means of popularity. Collective bargaining industry-wise is rare in this country. And since the bonus is an annual fixture, it is rarely used to woo men away from their unions.

Finally the Appellate Tribunal regards the payment of bonus as one method of equalising incomes.

1. *Quadragesimo Anno*, para 55.

Industrial profits have been enormous during the last War; many of the industries enjoyed 'windfall profits'. Bonus is a rough method of distributing these unearned gains equally and the prior deductions made for depreciation and reserves help the worker indirectly, since they strengthen the financial position of the firm.

A Solution

The payment of bonus has been a constant cause of bitter animosity between labour and management. It has often poisoned labour-management relations to the detriment of production, thus indirectly injuring the consumer. To arrive at a satisfactory solution, these two points should be made clear by the Industrial courts. The first is that where industries can afford to pay a bonus, they can also afford to pay the living wage. The living wage is a claim of strict justice, whereas the claim for a bonus though it pertains to the same moral category is less intransigent in its demands. As long as the living wage is not paid, the workmen can always demand the bonus as a deferred wage, and this event though the firm suffers losses.

These losses may be due to several causes, some of which could certainly be avoided. The commission charged by the Managing Agents is considered to be excessive not only by workmen but even by shareholders. Since the balance sheets are not always above suspicion, the workmen are bound to feel that they are being cheated of their lawful demands, and these lurking suspicions can be exploited by any adventurer who poses as a working class leader. This has happened in the past and will happen in the future, unless a spirit of mutual confidence pervades the relationship between the management and the workmen.

This can be obtained by more personal contact and greater generosity in sharing with the workers the benefits of the firm.

The second point is that the Courts should be universally in agreement on the principles on which they base their award. In the absence of legislation by the Central or State legislatures, the duty of making the law to suit the circumstances here and now falls to the lot of the judges appointed to try the case. If the judge-made law is confused and contradictory, or gives rise to contrary interpretations, the conflict between Labour and Capital will only grow more acute.

A. Fonseca.

UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

December 10th., 1951, marked the third anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The origins of this document must be sought for in the urgency felt by all States, during the second world war, for such a declaration. The treatment by the Totalitarian States of certain citizens, such as the confiscation of property, the unjust use of physical violence, forced labour, imprisonment in concentration camps merely because they belonged to certain races or religious persuasions shocked the conscience of the world. It became increasingly clear to all men that world peace and justice would not be secure, unless it was recognised that above and beyond the law of any State, there exists a higher law ; that men and women have a *right* not to be treated as cogs in the machinery of the State ; that men have rights as *human beings*.

During the course of the war, in 1941, President Roosevelt expressed such war-objectives in his famous Four Freedoms address to the United States Congress, when he spoke of "freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and fear, everywhere in the world." Mr. Churchill as Britain's war-time leader expressed the same view, saying that "when this struggle ends with the enthronement of human rights, racial persecutions will be ended." Successive public announcements, such as the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Declaration 1943, and the Dumbarton Oaks Conference 1944, stressed the fact that, in the post-war world, the protection of human rights should be the accepted aim of national and international conduct.

The common man and private organisations in various countries saw in this public defence of human rights, a new hope for a world plunged in economic insecurity and the constant fear of war. No longer would the private citizen be left to the tender mercies of an omnipotent State ! *The Pattern for Peace*, which was the official document of duly authorized Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives in the United States of America adopted the declaration of human rights as one of its seven basic principles. Unofficial organisations, both during and after the San Francisco Conference brought pressure to bear for the acceptance of the same principle. That their efforts were not in vain may be seen from the Preamble to, and in Article I, of the Charter of the United Nations Organization. In these passages of the Charter welcome admission is given to the primacy of the Natural Law, by the faith affirmed "in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth

of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women . . .” Moreover, the Charter so defined the objectives of the United Nations as to include, the “promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.” The promotion of these objectives, according to the Charter comes within the competence of the Economic and Social Council which operates under the authority of the General Assembly. The Charter also stipulated that a Commission should be set up “for the promotion of human rights”.

This Commission, consisting at first of nine members, was constituted on February 16th, 1949, and it was instructed to make recommendations upon the final composition of the Commission. On June 21st., after these recommendations were received, the Economic and Social Council decided that the Commission on Human Rights should be composed of the representatives of eighteen member States, and to this number, the Commission would be free to add the assistance of non-governmental experts drawn from private organisations. The terms of reference of the Commission required of it to make recommendations to the Council upon the following points:—

1. An international bill of rights;
2. International declarations or conventions on civil liberties, the status of women, freedom of information and similar matter;
3. The protection of minorities;
4. The prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion.
5. Any other matter concerning human rights.

The first session of the Commission was held at New York from January 27th to February 10th 1947. As was to be expected, during the preliminary statements by member States, the views of the Soviet Group came into open conflict with those of the rest concerning the rights of the individual in regard to the State. This session closed with the appointment of a committee of three to draft an international bill of human rights. The Commission met in session again, in December 1947 to consider proposals submitted by member States and various associations; and in January 1948 a Draft Declaration and Draft Covenant of Human Rights were issued by the Commission. In the autumn of 1948, at the third session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Draft Declaration was discussed in Paris, and on December 10th, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations composed of representatives of fifty-six Governments adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration was adopted by 48 votes in favour, none against and with eight abstentions.

In the light of the record of the past, when economic and political systems made nonsense of the fundamental rights of man, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a great step forward! And, if today, the Declaration is to be something more than a mere paper document, the experience of the past cannot go unheeded. The menace to man's fundamental rights still comes from economic and political theories of both the Right and Left. It is common knowledge that Liberal Economics produced the Capitalistic system which tended to reduce man's primary right to life, to a meaningless term. What, indeed, could the right to life mean, when the whole economic system tended

to reduce the very means of sustaining life, wages, to below subsistence level? The history of the working class movement amply proves that the right to free association was, for a long period of time, denied to the workers. And, even today, in certain countries in which the traces of Capitalistic influence have not been erased, the right to free association is looked upon with disfavour by certain industrialists! By concentrating economic power in the hands of a few, and leaving the great mass of people in subnormal economic conditions, Capitalism in practice degraded human dignity and made a mockery of every human right! From the Left, the danger to man's fundamental rights is no less serious. The trend towards *statolatry*, as Pope Pius XI calls the modern idolatry of the State, has always involved the denial of human rights. The logical and final term of this tendency towards State idolatry has been witnessed in the rise of the Totalitarian States. The extremes to which such systems of Statecraft may go have been amply proved by the history of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia. The story which is being written behind the Iron Curtain is the story of the most flagrant denial of civil, political, economic and religious rights in the history of mankind! Writing in his *Problems of Leninism*, the Red Dictator says, "The scientific concept of dictatorship, means nothing more or less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules . . . Dictatorship means unlimited power resting on violence and not on law . . ." The threat to man's fundamental rights from the Left is real!

Unfortunately the threat to the essential rights of man and of God in society, does not come only from

the Left and Right. "It exists", says Mr. J. Eppstein, "in any country in which the growth of bureaucratic power; the nationalization, one after another of the means of production; the control of manpower; the substitution of official social services for private charity; the destruction by crushing taxation of the material conditions of personal and family independence, and the State monopoly of education contrive to create a mechanism of political omnipotence ready to the hand of whichever party secures the electoral majority. Unless the trend of history is miraculously reversed, the planned economy of today becomes the tyranny of tomorrow. And tyranny is none the less odious for being anonymous" (*Defend these Rights*, p. 9). In our post-war world, owing to the needs of economic reconstruction, the scarcity of many essential goods, the craze for self-sufficiency and economic independence, every Modern State has embarked on a programme of some kind of planned economy which tends to control and order the lives of the ordinary people according to the wishes of the State. Five Year Plans with a large dose of nationalisation seem to be the lot of most countries today. Once again, the free choosing individual finds himself submerged in State controls and regulations, made, doubtless, *pro bono publico*, but which nevertheless, denies him that freedom of action and choice which stems from man's fundamental human rights. The tragedy is that a new generation is growing up which, nurtured on State directives and State institutions is innocent of the exercise of that freedom of action which is the heritage of man's dignity and his social responsibility.

If, therefore, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is to be of any practical value it must restore

to man his lost inheritance. Perhaps, the greatest weakness of the Declaration springs from the political philosophy of some member States. Unless, all States are prepared to admit that *there is a higher law than that of the State*; that men have rights, as *human beings*, the provisions of the Declarations will fall short of their purpose. The rejection of the concept of a "higher law to State law" has already hindered the smooth working for the United Nations Organisation. The boycott of the Trusteeship Committee by certain delegates when they refused to accept the findings of that Committee, concerning certain tribes in Africa, is a striking example of the difficulty of enforcing upon an unwilling State respect for Human Rights. Yet, despite these weak points, no one will deny that the Declaration of Human Rights offers to all peoples a bulwark against tyranny, and it's for the peoples of all States to use the document, render it more perfect, till it becomes an instrument fully capable of restoring to man his real status as a free choosing human person.

C. C. Clump.

□ □ □ □

Men come to forget that they and their families have a priority over the State in the natural order of things.

Pius XII, *Summi Pontificatus*.

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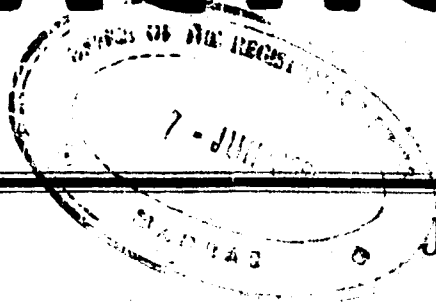
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HERE AND THERE

Confusion

Communism thrives on confusion, and the general public is liable to put on the same footing the status of the Indian delegation to Moscow and the Indian Mission to Peking. The Peking delegation was official, the Moscow party was not.

The Moscow Economic Conference held in early April was well prepared: the exhibits were re-varnished, the speeches had the i's dotted and the t's crossed and the peace-doves were preened afresh. The Conference was ostensibly under the patronage of an 'international initiative committee' which was internationalised by the Soviet preparatory committee, initiated from Moscow and committed to a definite course. Air passages were paid from as far as Warsaw and Karachi; one third of the cost being borne by the

Communist governments of Eastern Europe, the Chinese government and the Soviet government. It was a wonder of red officialdom.

The idea was to let the world know that Russia and China were keen on trading with the whole world were it not for those wicked governments of the democracies. Business contracts were duly signed and publicised ; they all sounded like agreements between nations. But governments spoiled the Red bluff. New Delhi made it clear that the Indian delegates were speaking for themselves, even when their oratorical or native complex led them to speak for 'the Indian people.' The British Board of Trade was more explicit, Britain was committed in no way whatever ; she had always done her best to maintain and increase her trade with China ; the Hong Kong merchants would be only too pleased to do business and the British Government was ready, if necessary, to act as intermediary. For the last six months the Board had been pressing (in vain) the Russian representatives in London to buy British goods, especially textiles, and to offer Russian goods. If Russians and Chinese meant business they had easy channels open to them. (One point must be stressed ; in business deals with the Reds, our merchants act as individuals who compete among themselves and may be hampered by government regulations, whilst on the other side, Russians, Chinese, etc., the government itself makes the bargain with all the advantages of a monopolist).

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was even more explicit than our governments. They refused the invitation to the Conference and bluntly stated their reasons. No question of 'business' with dictators and aggressors. No trade in

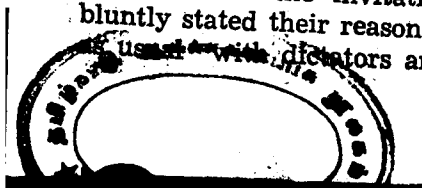
products which are produced almost entirely by slave labour. No truck with state concerns which use business as a political weapon. No deal except through the already existing organs of the United Nations. No fooling people with a Conference that is a propaganda move. This was no diplomatic language, but it said the best that can be said about the Moscow circus show.

Peking Journey

The Indian Cultural Mission to China is official. It has undoubtedly been selected with all the care professional planners could muster, and the members chosen on cultural merits, capacity to explain Indian culture and to imbibe Chinese culture, linguistic equipment and democratic savoir-faire. Our delegates would freely mix with peasants and workers, find a ready access to the soul of New China and get an insight into the popular reaction to Red Fascism. In return our cultural ambassadors would explain to the Chinese people the philosophical and theological traditions of India. That was the idea. In fact what was it ? Was it not a tour in bourgeois style, with bourgeois displays and bourgeois cocktail-parties ? A tour of foreign hospitals, foreign universities and foreign concerns recently absorbed into the Marxist synthesis ? A tour with police surveillance and other measures of face-saving intercourse.

Cultural exchanges between India and China never enjoy an easy flow ; there always stand Himalayan barriers in thought and geography.

A. L.



ALL YOUR EGGS IN ONE BASKET

(The writer is a young mother who grew up in a large family. She recounts the difficulties and the joys that accompany the bringing up of such a family. At a time in India when the large family is regarded in some so-called 'progressive' quarters as a menace, the writer's views have special interest for this country. *Ed.*)

Have you ever heard of Mrs. Doyle? No. Then you must be a stranger in our town for she's the mother of nine children and has brought them up herself. Not only that but she's also found time to be a member of various organisations connected with children.

Listen whilst I tell you about her. At the age of nineteen she married and by the age of thirty-three had lost her husband. During these fourteen years she had lived one life time, so she says. Her married life was very happy and the family were comfortably off. As I said there were nine Doyle children, four boys and five girls. One of the girls died in babyhood, the only real sorrow in those thirteen great years of fun, joy and lots of work.

Mr. Doyle's job meant constant travelling from place to place, always making and re-making homes. The longest time the family ever spent in one place was three years. Then there was the work. No running hot water in the Government houses she lived in; no gas or electricity; or other modern equipment. Just think, and there were eight children and two adults to be cooked and washed for without the aid of any servant. And now people complain of the work that one

or two children make! In most cases you had to plan for two homes, for father Doyle lived away for most of the time. Why all this you may ask? Did he not wish to stay with his family? He did wish it but could not, for he was a lighthouse keeper and lighthouse keepers have to live in very isolated places. The husband would spend a great part of his lifetime on lonely 'lights' away from home (or out in the sea). There were many times when he could not come home because of bad weather even although his leave was due. The small boats could not face the winter gales. The mother at home had this worry as well as the many others, such as sickness and loneliness. On many occasions there were no playmates for the children, and at one place where the family lived, not even another woman. Yet they managed. It is not modern appliances or being in the fashion that makes for a happy home life. It's what one believes in. All the babies were born at home and it was a great thrill for the older ones to hold the new born brother or sister for a few minutes.

Here I will diverge a little to tell you about childbirth—the greatest of all miracles—as I see it, and have experienced it. I say quite frankly that I enjoyed giving birth to a child and am looking forward to having a lot more children. Many young girls and expectant mothers are frightened of childbirth. Don't listen to 'old wives' tales about bad times. Most of it is imagination. No pain is so easily forgotten. Does Our Lord not say: "A woman in childbirth feels distress, because now her time has come, but when she has borne her child, she does not remember the distress any longer, so glad is she that a man has been born into the world." Let us take the expectant mother. What a great thing it is to have a human being with a soul made to God's image and likeness growing inside her! Just dwell on that for a moment, what a joy, what a wonder-

ful thing. No man can ever know the thrill of sheltering a little baby just below his heart. Many times in later life you will long to hold your child and cannot. Enjoy these nine months. They are given for enjoyment. Don't feel ashamed as so many do. Think of the honour bestowed on you. Carry your head high and be proud of your coming motherhood.

In childbirth the word labour is used very aptly for there is plenty of hard work connected with delivering a baby. Its pushing, pushing all the time with each contraction of the muscles. This pushing causes one to get tired and the 'pains' of childbirth seem worse. But they only last a few hours at the most and what a reward at the end. That little bundle of love lying in your arms, the tiny fingers clutching at the strange air it feels. Remember also that baby has had a hard time too. Having to force its way with its little head. How many mothers ever think of how tired baby is! If you are still feeling sorry for yourself just give a thought to all the people who suffer pain for years on end with no hope of recovery and no baby at the end to reward them. Another thing I will tell you, after the babe is a few days old you wish it back inside you so great will be your desire to unite it with yourself in an enduring embrace of love.

But now to return to the Doyles. We were talking about new arrivals in that family. Of course when a new baby came it meant more work and more pram pushing for the older children. The pram-pushing, how they hated it! Especially on a lovely sunny afternoon when the sea or the fields held out a promise of adventure and the brothers and sisters were off playing with other children. But one had to obey, not that these children always did so. But pram-pushing had its advantages too. It trained the children in self-control and generosity. It also taught them to be independent

and reliable. Other mothers of young babies felt they could trust their children to the Doyle kids if they had to go away. Another thing about baby minding—one has to learn how to deal with an emergency. Often the mother is busy or in town and accidents occur like a bad fall or a nasty cut and the child has to be prepared to deal with it without panic. This is excellent training for children and stands them in good stead when they in turn become parents.

Getting to Church and school was an adventure. Sometimes it was by ass and cart, sometimes it was by lorry or bus but mostly by walking over hill and dales or along little country lanes for miles. This did not daunt the Doyle family who never missed Mass or school, winter or summer. Before the age of five the two eldest had made their First Communion.

In September 1938, this happy carefree life came to an end with the loss Mr. Doyle. His wife had a baby of only four months old while the eldest was a son of thirteen. The family had three months in which to find a home and prepare it for occupation. In Government service your house is supplied, but once the man of the family goes, his family are homeless; and the Doyles were almost penniless by the time all the new arrangements were made. Shortly before Christmas everything was ready and the family were installed in a very modern house, and it contained all the things the Government houses lacked. But this house cost 15/- a week and Mrs. Doyle's pension was only £1 a week. The family had to be broken up, two girls—the baby and the second eldest—and the second eldest boy were sent to live with their uncle and aunt until such time as their mother could afford to look after them herself. This still left six people to be cared for. At this time of great loss and sorrow the children never saw a tear in their mother's eye. Her sorrow was her own

and God gave her the strength and courage to bear it cheerfully for her children's sake. That of course is the great thing about big families. One has no time to brood over one's sorrows. You have always to be on the mark in case a quick decision has to be made, and of course, who could be sad for long, when, even in tragedy, the laughter of children comes to your ears.

During the first winter the family had many ups and downs. Sometimes there was nothing in the cupboard but dry bread. Sometimes no money to pay for the electricity so often longed for in the old days. Other times when one of the family treasures was sold there was an abundance of good things. But there were many happy times to be enjoyed just the same. The Family Rosary was said every night and Mrs. Doyle went to daily Mass. During the summer they took in paying guests, and this source of finance came to an end with the beginning of World War II.

From then on Mrs. Doyle worked as a cook in a N.A.A.F.I., leaving home on Monday morning and not returning to her children until Friday night so her eldest girl looked after them. Then Mrs. Doyle became an employee in a paper mill. In 1941 it was decided to emigrate to Scotland and join the eldest son who had been working there since 1940. The home was sold up and the money used to bring the family to Scotland. Many people would say that all this hardship could have been avoided if the family had been smaller. Perhaps so, but a little suffering does no harm to people, on the contrary, it helps to form their character and gives them a greater sympathy in dealing with their fellow human beings. After the move to Scotland life became more settled and the family were reunited only to be parted again by the call-up of the boys.

Mrs. Doyle found work almost immediately. She drove a horse on the railway until 1946. It was heavy

work for a woman out in all weathers and having to lift heavy packages up to a cwt. and working late until 11 p.m. including Saturday and Sunday. It was the war, of course, that caused late working. Jobs had to be done in a certain amount of time. The wages were good and as Mrs. Doyle loves horses and an outdoor life she was very happy. Herself and Charlie (the horse) became quite famous, she being the only woman carter. They won many prizes for the best kept horse. The children were happy and well cared for. They too became famous. If a neighbour wanted a message, or a baby sitter it was "Run round to the Doyles, one of them will do it". If you forgot to get your bread on Saturday or your coal ran out (as it often did during the war) it was "Go to the Doyles, they will have it". Big families always need so much that they usually have a bit extra. They became famous in other ways also. When the British army was leaving Italy the Catholics made a presentation to the Holy Father and the eldest Doyle boy was chosen to represent his rank. The eldest daughter became well known for her youth work. Others for their ability at school.

The end of the war saw many changes. The family had grown up. The demobilisation of the boys meant life became one hectic round of work, study, fun and games, arguments and squabbles. The girls wore each other's clothes with or without permission from the owner. And you can imagine the annoyance you would feel if you saw your best blouse dancing round in a young man's arms when you think it's in your drawer at home.

What sympathy does one get from a mother like Mrs. Doyle if you complain? None, just a burst of laughter, which first makes you more annoyed, then, you too, see the funny side of it and laugh. You can't belong to a large family and not have a sense of

humour. You just would not exist. I think all diplomats should be the fathers of six or more children. If you can keep peace on the one hand and justice and fair play, on the other, in a family, (without having favourites), you are wonderful.

A great thing about large families is the spirit of co-operation. Mutual help and self sacrifice are ever present even if given with a grouse. In the field of education the bright ones can help the not so bright and the younger members can usually have a good education. Of course belonging to a large family is an education in itself. In the Doyle family three of the children are having a higher education. The many jobs about the home are shared and can be carried out quickly and efficiently. But most of all it's the happiness that surrounds a large family that attracts people to it like bees. There is always lots of laughter and fun and very little necessity for the members to look for outside amusement.

There are many disadvantages one can think of in the material sense. Lack of nice clothes, even good food. The fact that you're never without a worry. Illness comes often in some form or another. Your home is rarely peaceful. Can you imagine studying while someone listens to the wireless and someone else argues politics? Yet you do. Your powers of concentration, as well as patience, are developed to a high degree. You learn to adapt yourself to your circumstances, a very important thing in an ever-changing world. Then of course, your furniture must be replaced about three or four times during your life time, not to mention linen and crockery. No money for cars or expensive jewels. But you can be sure that no burglars are likely to give you a call! One also learns true values. When you see all your dreams of a cosy future swept away in a twinkle of an eye not once but many times, you, realise

that there is no pleasure or comfort or anything else that is worth risking your soul for. I think it's easier to be good if you are one of a large family. You have so many opportunities to do good!

In a small family parents tend to be possessive and fear parting with their children when they are grown up. Whilst in a large family parents are happy to see their children ready to start off a life of their own. Again in a large family parents have little or no difficulty in introducing the facts of life to their children. They learn all about sex naturally and without embarrassment. The girls discuss the change from childhood to womanhood and the boys learn early to respect the dignity of womanhood.

Of course children are the responsibility of both parents unless God decides to take one parent. It is therefore essential that the father is understanding and helpful right from the moment of conception. He should not make demands on his wife that may cause her anxiety and she on her part should not use trivial excuse to hide her own selfishness. True love is not just sex as some would like you to believe. Just think of the Holy Family if you feel tempted. If you truly love no sacrifice is too great and no demand too great.

Mary Millen.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE

Addressing a gathering of architects, engineers and labourers engaged in the implementation of the Bhakra-Nagal projects, early in April 1952, the Prime Minister of India, is reported to have said, "The wealth of the country depends upon production—production from the land and from factories and from industrial establishments. The more the production the less will be the poverty of our nation. It is equally necessary to see that this increased wealth is equitably distributed and every man gets basic necessities like food, cloth and housing." Production and distribution have been, and will always remain major problems in the economy of all nations: and production alone, to say nothing about distribution, involves the twin problems of saving and investment. The role of saving and investment in production has been overshadowed and, perhaps, neglected, due to the great emphasis given to the need of a fair deal for the other partner in production, Labour.

Not so long ago, and before the coming of Nationalisation and the growing interest in the Welfare State, saving and investment by individuals formed the backbone of industrial finance in most industrially advanced countries. It was a matter of course that many middle class families put away a substantial part of their income, year by year, thus contributing to the nation's saving, and many rich persons contributed towards the capital needed by industry and commercial enterprises, out of their incomes. The development of this "risk bearing" capital is the story of the development of the limited liability joint-stock company, which made possible the raising of capital for the very big-

gest industrial and commercial enterprise. It allowed the holder of small savings with no business knowledge or business contacts to invest his savings in a manner which assured him a remunerative return: it was equally helpful to the owner of big savings, as it enabled him to spread out his risks in many different enterprises, and so avoid the danger of carrying all his eggs in one basket. Even in underdeveloped countries, like India, the investment sense has gained ground. "In former days, when the investment sense was lacking" writes the author of *Who Owns the Capital*, "the function of providing capital devolved largely upon a few individuals in the top brackets of income, who by dint of their good fortune were placed in a position to provide the necessary capital. Shareholding in those days was necessarily and in the nature of things concentrated and confined to business circles. But today the investment idea has spread and the professional and salaried classes have taken to this form of investment" (page 5).

The following table indicates the growth of the joint-stock companies in India for over the past half century¹ :—

Year.	Paid up capital of Joint Stock Companies in India. (Rs. in lakhs)		
1890	..	..	24.45.
1900	..	..	36.09.
1910	..	..	63.33.
1915	..	..	85.03.
1920	..	..	164.46.
1925	..	..	276.96.
1930	..	..	256.13.
1935	..	..	277.49.
1940	..	..	303.67.
1941	..	..	309.57.

¹ Source : *Who Owns the Capital*, Page, 7 by A. C. S. Iyengar.

SOCIAL ACTION

Paid up capital of Joint Stock
Companies in India.
(Rs. in lakhs)

1942	..	..	325,19.
1943	..	..	336,13.
1944	..	..	353,74.
1945	..	..	388,97.
1946	..	..	423,24.
1947	..	..	445,45

Perhaps, the first factor which tends to introduce a change in the pattern of industrial finance, and which also influences production is the taxation policy of most modern States. The consequences of such a policy in Britain have been brought to light by the findings of the Millard Tucker Committee and a Royal Commission. Following the evidence already submitted by the Millard Tucker Committee to inquire into the method of reckoning net trade profits for tax purposes, the British Prime Minister, in July 1950 announced the establishment of a Royal Commission to inquire into "the taxation of profits and income". The evidence which the Commission sought was to be in two parts: the first part to deal with the general economic and social questions was to be submitted early in 1951; and the second part which was to deal with more detailed questions was to be ready later in the same year. Its terms of reference require the Royal Commission to inquire into "taxation of profits and income, and to make recommendations consistent with maintaining the same total yield of existing duties in relation to national income". The Royal Commission sets out to inquire whether in relation to, (a) salaries and wages, (b) profits of business and self-employment, (c) dividends and other sources of income, the present system of taxation is satisfactory, or could be improved, in relation

to (i) incentives, (ii) risk bearing, (iii) encouraging savings, (iv) the control of inflationary or deflationary tendencies, (v) the balance of payments, including the inflow and outflow from this country of capital investment, (vi) its effects on the distribution of personal incomes, (vii) other economical and social objectives. The evidence of the Federation of British Industries is of importance to all countries which work a system of taxing industries. The Federation opens its evidence by regretting the very limited scope laid down by the terms of reference of the Royal Commission, because in the opinion of the F.B.I. the main trouble with the present system of taxation cannot be usefully gauged by merely considering particular aspects of any part of the whole burden of taxation. In the view of the Federation, the past two decades have witnessed an important transformation in the relation between savings and the taxation of wages and salaries. The insistence on thrift and saving against "a rainy day," such as illness, unemployment, old age or early death have gone. These incidents of life have become the responsibility of the Modern State and are provided for through a system of forced savings generally known as National Insurance contributions. As regards the effects of the tax upon the incentive effort of individuals, the F. B. I. is of opinion that the rate of tax is a greater deterrent to effort in those income ranges in which it is impossible to obtain a reward in any way equal to the time and labour expended than it is in the lower range of incomes. In fact, apart from the findings of the Royal Commission, it is common knowledge that the redistribution of wealth brought about by taxation, and inflationary tendencies, have tended to eliminate the very rich in terms of income, while these factors have made it almost impossible for those in the lower income groups to save

at all. The pattern of tax burden carried by lower income families in Britain (under £ 500 a year) per family per week in 1948, is given below² :—

Taxes,	Cost in shillings.
Income Tax	8 11
National insurance	5 4
Death duties	0 6
Total direct	14 0
Drink and Tobacco	31 4
Purchase tax	4 6
Local rates	4 8
Other indirect taxes on consumption	2 4
Employers' national insurance contribution	10 6
Total personal consumption taxes	53 8
Total	67 8

Nor does it advance the case to argue that the wage-earning class is better off today than before, for in the nature of the case, they do not tend to offer risk capital which alone can advance the progress of industry and support the wage-earners. The following table compiled by Mr. J. R. Cuthbertson (Sunday Times, February 3rd, 1952) illustrates the fall in risk capital in Britain.

Distribution of Real Incomes & Estimated margins for risk saving.

Ranges of net income after Tax					Approximate number of incomes in ranges		Estimated potential risk savings (£ millions.)	
					1938-39	1949-50	1938-39	1949-50
(1949-1950 prices)								
£ 500-1,000					1,940,000	2,460,000	8	10
£ 1,000-2,000					507,900	385,000	26	20
£ 2,000-6,000					190,000	88,000	25	25
over £ 6,000					25,000	60,000	0.2	0.2
Total					2,662,900	3,003,000	59	55

Hence, in comparison with pre-war days, the current of the margin of savings for investment in anything less risky than Government securities, debentures, building associations or insurance policies by those whose incomes still allow some saving is hardly £55 million a year. Moreover, not only is risk capital hard to come by through savings, but even the return on risk capital, today, in some cases, is not attractive enough to draw it into industrial business. This is the story of the Delhi Cloth and General Mills Co., Ltd. India. Speaking at the 63rd Annual General Meeting of the Company, December 14th, 1951 the Chairman said, "I may mention here that out of 4,596 shareholders of the Company, more than 4,308 receive less by way of dividends than the average worker receives as wages and allowances."

If risk bearing capital is in short supply due to the practical elimination of the investor class; the policy of government taxation of industry, by way of Profit Tax, Surtax, etc., threatens still further the survival of industry in anything like worth-while conditions. In fact, the changing pattern of industrial finance is brought about by the growing practice of many a Modern State — whether to nationalise all industries or to build the Welfare State — to finance economic activity from budgetary surpluses recovered from ordinary revenue. A case in point is the economic development of India as envisaged by the Government's Five Year Plan. "For financing this development", said the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, at the 25th Annual Session, "they (the Planning Commission and the Government) would rely on public savings, i.e. surpluses of Government on revenue account and corporate sav-

2. Source : H. E. Crawford & E. Short. *That's the Way the Money goes*, p. 80. 1951.

ings, i.e. undistributed profits of public and private corporations... Thus, out of Rs. 1,121 available by way of internal resources no less than Rs. 604 crores are to come through budgetary policy working towards revenue surpluses. The Commission's reliance on Government surpluses instead of on savings by individuals for financing economic development has led them to the conclusion that the financial resources are very little." But how are Government surpluses on revenue account to be realised, if not by way of further taxation of incomes and of industry? But such means frustrates the very ends they purpose to achieve. 'For one thing', says the President of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, "the diversion of current revenue surpluses realised through high taxation in financing Government's capital projects deprives the private sector (of the Five Year Plan) of funds. But the damage is not restricted only to this. By and large the rate of investment is very much lower in the public sector and consequently not only do capital projects financed through budget surpluses reduce the funds available at one time, but retard the growth of the economy by a lowered rate of investment." Following the government policy of direct ownership and control of industrial concerns, the major States in the Indian Union, as the table below shows, have planned the financing of industries from budgetary surpluses.

Industrial Development Expenditure³
(1946-47 to 1949-50)

States	Lakhs of rupees	Percentage of total expenditure
Assam	13	.. 22.
Bihar	68	.. 4.5
Bombay	72	.. 1.5.

3. Source : *Provincial Development Programme, 1949. Appendix, I & III.*

States	Lakhs of rupees	Percentage of total expenditure
Central Provinces	1,33	.. 7.8.
East Punjab	7	.. 0.5.
Madras	1,66	.. 3.8.
Orissa	1,59.	.. 10.1.
United Provinces	1,49	.. 3.2.
West Bengal	22	.. 1.4.

In Britain, the British industry is the milch cow on which our planners would nourish the Welfare State: and the milking process is carried on by a series of taxes — income tax, surtax, excess Profit Tax and Purchase Tax. The effect of this system of paying for the cost of the Welfare State is already proving disastrous. It is almost impossible to develop a medium sized business under private enterprise because after paying all the different taxes the business is subject to, the owner finds that he has nothing to live on, even though he lives on a moderate scale! In fact, thanks to this system of taxation which renders plant and machinery replacement almost impossible, industrial production is lowered and the pattern of both ownership and structure of British industry is fast changing. The larger part of British industry is passing under the control of salaried officials who have a relatively small interest in the concern and this cannot be increased, due to the burden of taxation on their own salaries.

Systems of modern taxation and the prevailing inflation have deprived industrial shares from offering that degree of security which the investing public claims from such investments. This explains, to some extent, the growing popularity of insurance as a form of investment in India. Over the last decade life insurance business in India has grown rapidly, as the table below illustrates.⁴

Year	Sum assured.	New Premium incomes	Addition to life fund.	(Rs. million) Net rates of interest.
1940	352.3	19.1	60.0	4.37
1943	652.3	44.3	87.1	3.88
1945	1,269.9	72.0	129.2	3.48
1946	1,371.6	78.6	158.4	3.20
1947	1,195.7	66.7	155.5	3.03
1949	1,310.8	73.5	181.3	3.05

It is interesting to note, that besides the ordinary taxes every citizen must pay, a part of the small savings of the ordinary man in life assurance business finds its way back into Government possession, for under statutory obligation, Indian Life Insurance companies are required to invest 25% of their funds in Government securities and 25% in Government securities or other approved securities, and the remaining 50% in "approved investments". But to what extent are these companies able to invest the remaining 50% of their funds in industry, and thus provide risk capital which is the life blood of industry? The Review referred to writes: 'The life offices cannot provide risk capital and, under the Insurance Act, they are precluded from investing their funds in equities of newly established undertakings, as they are not "approved investments", but they can play a positive role (i) in advancing loan capital to sound and efficient industrial concerns for purposes of expansion and (ii) in buying sound industrial equities which, by supporting the market in ordinary shares would to some extent facilitate raising of equity capital' (p. 1117). The trend of investments by life assurance business in industrial securities, i.e., loan capital, preference and ordinary shares, over the period 1939 to 1949, as given by *Commerce*, December 1951, is as follows:

4. Source : *Commerce*, December, -1951, p. 1112.

Year	Percentage of total investment.
1939	6.8.
1944	9.4.
1947	11.5.
1948	12.8.
1949	19.9.

Thus, within a limited field, life insurance business in India comes to the rescue of industry. In fact, it would appear that insurance is becoming a more popular form of investment than shareholding, for while the number of policyholders in all India would amount to about 23¼ lakhs, the number of shareholders is only 20 lakhs, "which means that roughly for every 5 policyholders, there are 4 shareholders" (A. C. S. Iyengar, *Who Owns the Capital?*, 1949, P. 4).

It was not so long ago when the simple fact, that the welfare of Labour is essential to production, was not grasped by many. Today, the struggle to establish the rights of workers and to introduce a more humane relation between Labour and Management has tended to obscure another simple truth, namely, the necessity of risk capital, Labour's partner in production, for a sound and healthy economic organisation of society. The mutual dependence between Labour and Capital was neatly expressed by Pope Leo XIII when he said: "Capital cannot do without Labour, nor Labour without Capital"; and while the greater part of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *On the Condition of the Working Class*, is written in defence of the rights of Labour, he lays down an essential principle of taxation when he says: "The right to possess private property is derived from Nature, not from man; and the State has the right to control its use in the interests of the public good alone, but by no means to absorb it altogether. The State, would, therefore, be unjust and cruel if under the name of taxation it were to deprive the private

owner of more than is fair" (sec. 35). In his *Social Order*, Pope Pius XI refers to this passage and says, "It is unlawful for the State to exhaust the means of individuals by crushing taxes and tributes" (sec. 49). "At the same time," continues the Supreme Pontiff, "a man's surplus income is not left entirely to his own discretion. We speak of that portion of his income which he does not need in order to live fittingly . . . the employment of a large income in increasing the opportunity for remunerative work, provided the work is devoted to the production of really useful goods, is to be considered, according to the teaching of the Angelic Doctor, an excellent act of liberality, particularly appropriate to the needs of our time" (sec. 50, 51). With the growth of industrial society in which private property is, for the most part, in the form of industrial shares which private individuals acquire through investing their small savings, an oppressive system of taxation tends to deprive the individual of his just reward and industry of one of its principal means of survival. Those who indiscriminately decry all forms of capital, may remember that without risk capital there can be no welfare either for Labour or the State!

While no one would grudge the government the money it may need for "carrying on its business", the ordinary man may well question the government's adventure into fields of enterprise which are best left to the economic activity of the ordinary man, under government supervision. That government spending has increased beyond all reasonable limits precisely because it has taken over activities which by no stretch of the imagination may be termed "essential" to the State, needs no stressing! Steeply rising Income taxes, Profit tax, Excess Profit tax and a host of other financial measures are used to meet his expenditure; and such measures only tend to reduce human incentive

and the wealth producing capacity of the country. Isn't it ridiculous for any government to exhort its people to greater effort and industry, when the whole fiscal policy of the government, cuts at the root of those human values which alone can build national prosperity? What sane person would place his security in any insolvent business? and this is just what so many Modern States ask of their citizen.

Stripped of its economic jargon and political verbiage, taxation means taking the peoples' money. The phrase "government money" ultimately means the peoples' money, and then the ordinary man is entitled to ask: "is it better for the citizen to have his money spent by him or for him? Theorists and, perhaps, some politicians would delight in asserting their ability to spend other peoples' money to the best advantage of the owner; but the ordinary man would give another answer! And the ordinary man's answer would approximate nearest the conditions of a free democratic society of which we hear so much, and experience so little today! For most people, in our modern industrial society, their little savings are their "property" and the challenge of any free society is its ability to protect that property and its use by individuals, within the limits of the law. In its ultimate analysis, what does the establishment of the Welfare State mean, if not, the denial in practise by our planners, of man's ability to plan and direct his own life in a normal, moral and rational manner? They deny man's ability through his own (and not State controlled) efforts to sacrifice present satisfaction to future need; to put away something for that ever threatening rainy day; to use his property for his own welfare and that of the community and by the use of his own natural talents to build a society ruled by social justice and charity. Indeed, the true Welfare State, and

one in keeping with man's human dignity would be one in which the government fosters all those conditions in which the maximum amount of liberty would flourish, not through State control, but through man's own natural and God given talents.

C. C. Clump.

A GREAT SWISS

Switzerland boasts of being the oldest republic, it might boast of being the most stable. Yet its history is marked with many vicissitudes and reflects many a strain and stress which at one time or other befell European-weal or which arose from internal conflicts. When Georges Python was born, the country had gone through its last severe crisis: the Federal Pact of 1815 had been torn to shreds, the Catholic cantons had been pillaged by Protestant gangs and the Sonderbund vanquished.

The canton of Fribourg itself was still the prey of revolutionary forces in 1856. A faction had imposed its government, passed its ordinances, and was persecuting the officials of the previous regime; convents were sacked, seminaries closed and the bishop exiled. Five revolts of peasants proved abortive but a mass meeting at Fribourg in 1852 prepared the 1856 elections which returned a conservative majority. In Switzerland the conservative party is the one that is keenest on preserving the ancient traditions of individual liberty, canton autonomy and international neutrality.

Georges Python was born at Portalhan on September 10, 1856. His father died prematurely and left the education of the child to the watchful eye of a pious and energetic mother. Like so many saints and heroes, Georges always nursed a living cult for his mother.

The little Georgie was a lively lad, studious, democratic in his moods with a bellicose touch which led him many a time to settle the accounts of small kids with bigger boys. He had a fair share of adventures, was once rescued from drowning in the Lowerz Lake, at another time escaped death miraculously; he had mounted a peevish horse which galloped back to its stable but stopped dead before the low lintel of the door. The most vivid memory of his schooldays was a speech of the conservative leader, Louis Wuilleret, who stressed the need of a Catholic University. Georgie, then 15, took up the idea and boasted before his classmates that "he would be the one that would found that university." Classmates, and still more masters, had great fun over it until the day the little prophet made good his boast.

The idea took deeper root and became a sweet conviction when he married the daughter of the conservative leader and lawyer who contributed so much to religious pacification and to the 1857 constitution. The political struggle made sharper with Bismarkian influence and federal radicalism went on with ups and downs. It was severe when Georges became president of the Catholic Association of Students and made his oratorical debut in 1879 at the inauguration of a study circle for workingmen: "It is good that the youths who will occupy public posts in later life should make the acquaintance of workmen and learn to love them. Together they will build up that Catholic democracy to which the future belongs".

Whilst pursuing his university studies, he entered the political arena, and served the good cause in electoral battles in which he soon proved a master at manoeuvring. "A regular Bonaparte", said Canon Schorderet, the founder of the Catholic press in Switzerland and the soul of the Catholic resistance. By 1884 Python

was elected to the national council (Grosse Rat), the youngest among the members and possibly the keenest. Soon he became the most popular and in 1886 was elected to the Council of States and selected for the department of Public Instruction in Fribourg. He was thirty years old. He at once took in hand what had been the dream of his schooldays: a Catholic University. By December 1886 the law was voted, a fine Christmas present for Fribourg, said the president, Mr. A. Theraulaz. Yet it was only a plan and Python's main work during the following three years was to give it a silver body. The few opponents of the scheme pleaded poverty and financial prudence. In 1887 Python had created a certain fund, and in 1889 he prevailed on the cantonal legislature to make a start. Once the University would be begun, funds would be found and donations forthcoming. Pessimists objected that there would be no students; Python answered that professors had to be discovered first. He deputed Gaspard Decurtins to go the round of all Catholic centres of the continent and to recruit professors and lecturers. Decurtins was quite successful and on October 12, 1889 the Fribourg Government selected the teaching body. It had been decided to limit the immediate institution to the "Faculties" of law and literature.

A celebration was organised to celebrate the occasion. Canon Schorderet gave Georges Python his full meed of praise with fiery conviction and bold metaphors: "In every building the foundations are hidden. Mr. Python, the founder of this university, is also in the underground and in the cellars where are worked the presses he made free. It is through the press that truth frightens a certain public opinion, and it is through the press that this Catholic University will get across the mud of that public opinion on the wings of the twentieth century democracy." Decurtins was

honoured as the travelling salesman of great ideas and he did not fail to give Python his due share in the good work that had been done. What was most interesting was the declaration of L. Morard who represented the countryside: "The countryside voted for the university because the countryside knew that the university would give the people an additional asset to their faith and create an elite. We do not regret the sacrifices we made. Were the University to give us, but once in a century, a man like Mr. Python, all our millions would be saved." Python was moved deeply and when applauded by the crowds massed on the public square had only three words: "God is good".

Leo XIII was prompt to show his approval; he felt so interested in the project that he took in hand the establishment of the "Faculty of Theology". He would himself nominate the professors and he chose them from the Dominican Order. But Python had to do the rest and the rest included finances. The municipal council was prevailed upon to vote a recurring grant (half a million francs) for the new faculty. The trouble was not over. Federal law forbade the erection of new convents; the Dominican Friars were not, however, under the same restrictions as the Jesuits who were forbidden by the Federal Constitution (enforced by the so-called broad-minded and tolerant Protestant majority) to have any activity in church or in school. Python turned the obstacle; the Dominicans would put up in an old convent of theirs, the Albertinum at Estavayer.

The Faculties of Medicine and Sciences were a more serious problem, and a much heavier financial burden. But Python was not at the end of his wits. In 1892 he created a State Bank which was to relieve agricultural mortgages and also contribute to the support of the University (a yearly grant of 80,000 francs

for the new Faculty). He did better and showed himself as shrewd a business man as a professional banker. With his intuitive powers he discovered the money he needed close by, in the waters of the Sarine river which, if harnessed, would supply electric power and profit. The company (Eaux et Forêts) was getting bankrupt; quietly Python bought factory, dams and lands. There was opposition, from the municipality but a providential flood came threatened to destroy the buildings and dissipated municipal competition. After a few years, the Fribourg electric service was spread all over the canton, and then overflowed to Neuchâtel, Vaude and Berne cantons; later on extended to Alsace and Franche Comté. Part of the profits (one-third) went to the University, the rest to the canton. By 1927 the University had a fund of three million Swiss francs, and a yearly budget of half a million francs. Even his adversaries had to acknowledge Python's resourcefulness and a radical representative of Fribourg paid due homage to his memory in unrestrained style: "The people of Fribourg will never forget the forceful and beneficial energy which Mr. Python wrung out of the brutal and wild torrents, energy which works for the service of all down to the humblest cottager, and in that light which illumines towns, villages, roads and cottages, there shines with dazzling splendour the name of our creator of the Electric Undertakings".

In May 1895 the Council of Fribourg had voted the project; in November 1896 the Faculty of Medicine and Sciences was opened. In August of the following year, an international scientific congress was held at Fribourg which gathered 700 savants and scholars: de Lapparent, de Hertling, Lagrange, Toniolo, Batiffol, and Ratti who was to become Pius XI and who celebrated Switzerland as "*Helveti gens una Jovi carissima summo*".

Python had achieved the dream of his schooldays. His principles and methods had been clear from the first, and his views may help to clarify the visions of those who enthusiastically speak of a Catholic University in India. A crucial question was the choice between a State University and a Free University. A free University fed by donations from the faithful was a fine ideal, and, in the eyes of many, it was the most prudent plan in a country in which Church and State were not on easy terms. But in the canton of Fribourg conditions were better than elsewhere from the days Canon Schorderet had created an atmosphere of co-operation. Yet people argued, What will happen if a radical majority is ever returned to power? To which Python readily answered: "Rather a poor objection? Why spoil the present with fears of possible happenings in the future? Is it not even wiser to make sure that such happenings will not happen and is not a Catholic University started today a helpful guarantee for the future?" Python wanted a Catholic University and the only way to have one was to make it an official university like the other 5 cantonal universities of the Federation. History has proved his solution to be the correct one.

The University was Python's great creation; humbler, though not less important and beneficial was his initiative and zeal for the cause of primary and secondary education. Whether in the national council (1887-1896), or in the Council of States (1896-1929), he was the foremost champion of Catholic schools. He also played a decisive, though secondary role in the Catholic social movement, where he supported the efforts of Gaspard Decurtins and his projects of social legislation. Decurtins and Python held the same views, and had complementary temperaments; Decurtins was the ebullient energiser, Python the intellectual moderator.

Decurtins and Python were associated with Curti, a Protestant democrat who had seen through the bluff of Swiss anticlericals and with Favon, a disillusioned free-thinker who fostered similar social reforms through divergent expectations. They discussed together each time a social project was mooted. With Decurtins taking the lead, they moved the Federal Government to convene an international conference that would discuss and promote reforms on an international scale: child labour in mines, and factories, abolition of night labour for minors and of dangerous work for women, Sunday rest and maximum of working hours. The conference was to be held at Berne in May 1890, but in February the Kaiser of Germany announced an international gathering for March in Berlin. The Berlin conference passed a few resolutions, and the Swiss plan of realistic reforms was held in abeyance.

In October the Catholic Union of Social Studies met at Fribourg with Mgr. Mermillod in the chair. On that occasion, Count de Blome of Vienna recapitulated recent events with felicitous precision: "There is social progress all along the line. Ahead is Switzerland with its official initiative for international legislation of labour. Then comes Germany who appropriated the idea and tried to implement it . . . Nothing can be nicer than to prepare triumphs which others will enjoy . . . You sowed, others harvested and will go on harvestings in your stead . . . The Berlin conference was the work of Mr. Decurtins".

In 1887, Mr. A. Deucher, head of the department for commerce, industry and agriculture, had organised a Swiss Labour Secretariat open to workmen and peasants, and also a Labour Association (*Arbeiterbund*) which federated the Pius Verein, the Grutli workmen's associations and the socialist organisations. Through the *Arbeiterbund*, Decurtins took up and re-

vived the Berlin resolutions and called an international conference at Zurich in 1897. Decurtins, Python, Bebel, Liebknecht, Guesde, J. Brunhes, A. Toussaint, etc., took part in this conference which was to start a series of international gatherings to study and promote labour interests.

Python was also associated with the Catholic Labour Conferences which marked the social movement after the publication of the *Rerum Novarum*. He was prominent in the Labour Federation of Fribourg, the Christian Social Study Circle, in the Catholic Association for the Protection of Young Women. His special field, however, remained the educational problem, the political platform, and what may be called, the electoral apostolate.

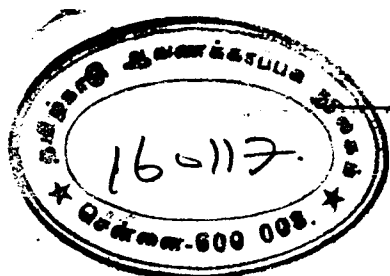
He had hardly put the last finish to the Swiss Civil Code and run the elections of 1911 when fatigue took its toll. By 1912 he was sentenced to a medical rest. A creeping paralysis hampered his movements though it could not tame his soul. He went on working as best he could, managed to preside at the Council of States in 1915-16, and made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1920, but he had to withdraw from the parliamentary battlefield.

There followed the martyrdom of continuous suffering and of progressive inactivity. In November 1926 a phlebitis was diagnosed. In December an obstinately loyal electorate returned him to the States Council. Loyalty was no cure; Python took the oath in his house but had to keep to his bed and feel his strength ebb away. He died on January 10, 1927.

Python's country was small; his soul was great. He was not an ordinary politician, he was a statesman. Tireless energy, marvellous lucidity of judgement, broadness of views, political sagacity, dauntless faith,

intense loyalty to Swiss unity and to Catholic democracy, devotion to each day's duty: these were the moral features of this great man. The Fribourg University did not fail to honour his memory. On May 24, 1927, it held a Georges Python Day. Students, professors, magistrates, lawyers came in turn to tell his great deeds. His genius had stamped half a century of Swiss history, and the Fribourg University remains as the imperishable work of his genius and energy.

A. Lallemand.



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Public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects; therefore, where no crime has taken place and there is no cause present for grave punishment, they can never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for reasons of eugenics or for any other reason..

Furthermore Christian doctrine establishes, and the light of human reason makes it most clear, that private individuals have no other power over the members of their bodies than that which pertains to their natural ends; and they are not free to destroy or mutilate their members, or in any way render themselves unfit for their natural functions, except when no other provision can be made for the good of the whole body.

Pius XI in *Chaste Marriage*

SOCIAL ACTION

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

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- (1) To spread the social teachings of the Catholic Church.
- (2) To provide theoretical and practical training of social workers.
- (3) To serve as a centre of information about Catholic social works.

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