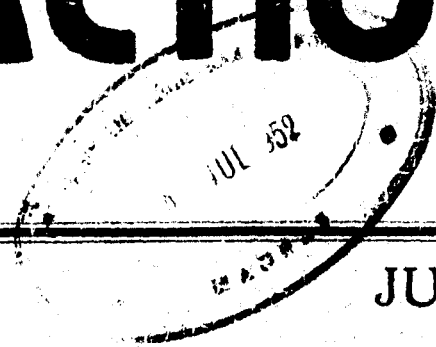


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9. WAGES

Section I.—Meaning of words

Capital (in general) : "wealth used for the production of more wealth" may be :—

(a) *money* invested in business or industry : or *goods* which a merchant has in his shop and which gives a money return when sold—*Circulating Capital*.

(b) *plant, machines and instruments of industry and trade* which yield a revenue without changing hands or circulating further—*Fixed Capital*.

Capitalism : "system of production, exchange and distribution of goods and services with the following characteristics : a large proportion of the working population are wage-earners ; the ownership and control of the entire, or greater part, of the economic system are in the hands of a relatively small minority, and lastly, the primary motive of these owners is maximum profit."

N.B.—In a further lesson on Private Property we shall return to a fuller discussion of Capital and Capitalism.

Distribution : "the division by means of wages of the total wealth (goods and services) between the members of the country".

Economic regime : "the organisation which results from the different human actions of producing, buying, selling, exchanging and using goods and services for the satisfaction of human wants".

Profit : "the difference between the expense of producing commodities and their selling price".

Socialism, (economic) : "a system of planned economy which is directed by a central planning authority appointed by the State". The ownership control exercised by such an authority may vary from one that is full and entire as in the

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Section II.—Wages & our modern economic regime

(a) The aim of economic organisation. The economic organisation of any country whether Capitalistic or Socialistic serves a twofold purpose:—

- (i) To satisfy the material requirements (e.g., food, clothes, etc.) of the people.
- (ii) To provide incomes to a vast number of people. Such incomes may be, either interest or dividends from investments in industry, or wages earned by workers.

In this lesson we are concerned with WAGES only. How are wages fixed? Generally speaking, in capitalistic and moderate socialistic countries, the chief factor which decides the price of labour is, as economists tell us, the demand and supply of labour. Thus if the supply of brick-masons is greater than the demand, the wages of such workers will tend to fall. The same is generally true of the price of raw materials, such as, coal, iron, etc.; if the supply of coal is greater than the demand for it, the price of coal will tend to fall. Of course, the working of the law of demand and supply holds good only on certain conditions, and it does not explain the final cause which decides the level of wages. Hence we must ask a further question. From the viewpoint of the owner and employer what causes his demand for labour to increase or decrease? Now to the employer and owner of industry, Labour like raw materials, is merely a factor of production. In order to produce his goods, e.g., boots and shoes, he has to pay wages to workmen and the price of iron, coal, leather, etc., which he needs for the production of boots and shoes. Wages and the price of raw materials, therefore, enter into the costs of production, and in order to keep profits high, the employer must keep these costs of production as low as possible. Hence owners and employers will tend to increase or decrease the demand for labour only when such an increase or decrease will yield higher profits.

Generally speaking, therefore, the demand for labour in a Capitalistic regime will tend to be regulated by the profit-yielding possibility of an increase or decrease of labour; while in a Socialistic regime the material efficiency of State-owned industries will regulate the demand for labour.

It follows, therefore, that both Capitalism and Socialism tend to treat labour in the same manner in which raw materials are "priced" and "valued". That is to say, both systems

tend to disregard the important fact that Labour is the human factor of production, while raw materials are the non-human factors of production. Because Capitalism and Socialism tend to disregard this distinction, the former often sacrifices the human interests of workers to the benefit of private owners, and the latter sacrifices the workers to the good of an omnipotent State.

Section III.—Wages & Distribution

The wealth of any country in the form of goods and services is enjoyed by the greater majority of people chiefly through their wages. It is clear that small income earners have a smaller share of this wealth than those enjoying a large income. Some of the chief reasons which lead to inequalities of wages are:—

- (i) Physical inequalities among workers which fit some workers better than others to undertake heavy manual labour.
- (ii) Intellectual inequalities which preclude many workers from entering skilled employment or employment requiring long years of study.

While the average worker usually understands that inequalities of wages must exist in any society, he generally resents, and with good reason, an insufficient wage which does not permit him and his family to enjoy a degree of reasonable comfort. Complete equality of wages is not essential to a healthy social order, nor, even if it can be realised, can it alone establish social justice and peace. "It is found by practical experience," writes Pope Leo XIII, "that many a workman lives poorly and miserably, in spite of shorter hours and higher wages because of his character being bad and religion having no hold upon him." (*On Christian Democracy*). This is the moral element in the problem of distribution, and one which is completely neglected by both Capitalism and Socialism.

Section IV.—Pius XI on fixing a just living wage

In *Atheistic Communism* Pope Pius XI teaches us that the claims of a just wage are claims of social justice. "Social justice," says the Holy Father, "cannot be said to be satisfied so long as working men are denied a wage that will enable them to secure proper sustenance for themselves and for their families" (para 52). That is to say, labour is given in exchange for the wage, and to pay less than the living wage is a gross injustice. The price of labour here and now is actual

circumstances, must enable the wage-earner to support himself and his family in reasonable comfort.

In *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI indicates the main elements to be considered when fixing a just living wage. These are :—

(a) *The personal needs of the worker.* This includes the average expenses of the family budget of an honest worker and his family, and also the opportunity to save something from his wage. We must note carefully that Capitalism and Socialism hardly take this element into consideration ; while in Catholic teaching, this is the most important element and comes first in fixing a wage-level.

(b) *The financial state of the employer and his business.* While inefficient and bad management cannot excuse an employer from paying a just living wage, it may happen that due to circumstances beyond his control he cannot pay a just wage, e.g., high costs of raw materials, etc. In such a case a remedy must be sought by a joint management-labour council, and if need be, the State should be asked to help.

(c) *The interests of the whole community or country.* This is the most difficult element to be reckoned with in fixing a just wage. It needs a detailed study of the connection between wages and prices in the whole economic organisation of the country so as to maintain a correct level of wages in the different industries and between prices of different goods. Hence a knowledge of economics and of the working of the practical economic system is essential to a correct estimate of this factor in fixing the level of wages.

READING. On fixing a just wage : *Quadragesimo Anno*, paras : 67-76 ; 76-88. On social justice and the living wage : *Divini Redemptoris*, paras : 49-55. On Wages in economic theory : Read chapter on Wages in any book on economics.

EXERCISES AND FIELD WORK—

1. What is the aim of our economic organisation ?
2. What do you understand by human and non-human factors of production ? Explain the importance of this distinction when fixing a just living wage.
3. What factors would you take into consideration when fixing a just living wage ?
4. Find out the costs involved in the family budget of :—
(a) a domestic servant. (b) a skilled carpenter.

C. C. C.

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HERE AND THERE

New Brooms

The recently elected assemblies are working in full swing. Like new brooms, they wish to sweep clean. But the dust and the rubble that has accumulated defies every type of broom, from the lordly Congress sweeping machine to the humble and almost insignificant Independent hand brush. It is consoling however to see the brooms at work, but will they sweep the country clean or come to an abrupt halt against the stacks of rubbish piled high by the mismanagement of Government and the unscrupulous behaviour of the citizen ? Time alone can tell !

The Food Front

The food problem especially in the towns is getting more acute and the opposition of the people to the rise in prices is taking a menacing turn. The Socialists have taken to Satyagraha, Gandhiji's favourite weapon of non-violence, to shake the Government out of its

lethargy. But the Communists prefer the general strike to provide them with an occasion for violence. In the meantime, the Finance Minister is adamant on the withdrawal of subsidies to the States. Food subsidies alone cost the country 90 crores a year. The Food Minister is perforce compelled to bear the brunt of the popular wrath. But Kidwai has a reputation for neatly getting out of tight corners. Better procurement measures, decontrol of food grains in surplus States, and an efficient system of communication should bring some relief to starving people. But the situation is tense.

Gandhism and Communism

Shri. J. C. Kumarappa has for several years now been accepted by the Indian public as the official interpreter of Gandhiji's mind and writings. Strange to say he now discovers that the finer shades of Communism mate easily with Gandhian principles. His admiration for the achievements of Russia and China knows no bounds. He seems to be dazzled by the spate of five-year plans and the milliards of roubles, and the carefully selected aspects of Russian life that he was shown under escort.

But Gandhiji stood for values quite opposed to Communism. He was a great believer in the supernatural; and his whole life, not excluding his politics, was guided by honest principles. Gandhiji voluntarily stripped himself of this world's goods, while the Communists would strip everyone else of their possessions to keep them for the party and the Communist bureaucracy. Gandhiji always stressed the importance of the spirit over material well-being. The Marxian dogmas state just the contrary. Could opposition be extended further?

Vinoba Bhawe

What is much closer to Gandhism is the striking example of Vinoba Bhawe, the great apostle of Bhodan. Vinoba Bhawe has achieved wonderful results where even the legislative might and executive power of the Indian Government has failed. And he has succeeded because he has followed faithfully in the footsteps of the Mahatma. The hearts of India's millions still respond to sweet persuasiveness and the appealing power of austerity and self-sacrifice.

Vinoba Bhawe's solution may be out of date with modern conditions, but there is none to doubt the sincerity of his purpose and his long marches in Communist infested Telengana were a triumph of idealism over greed and hatred.

Community Projects

Nearly 200 crores are to be spent on the rehabilitation of India's 500,000 villages. The improvement is to take place through Community Projects, dear to the heart of the American Ambassador of India, Mr. Chester Bowles. In an article in *Commonweal*, Mr. Bowles speaks out his mind. "Nor can we assume," he writes, "that by importing some of our ultra-modern features—sleek modern hospitals, fluorescent-lighted schools, one-hundred horse-power tractors and combines—Indian village life will be transformed into a model of American democracy." He continues, "With the advice of American farm specialists, with DDT, tube wells, better seeds and fertilizers, and a few simple farm tools from American plants and factories, with American vaccines and know-how, but with the entire programme directed and managed by Indians, 15,000 villages and some 10 million Indian people will soon have their first honest chance to participate in a

great movement to solve their own problems and work out their own advancement."

Mr. Bowles notes that in Etawah, where a pilot scheme was initiated, yields of potatoes and wheat have been increased as much as 400% while over-all food production increased by 46%, in three years, and there has been equally remarkable gain in village health, literacy and home improvement. The farmer has been lifted out of his apathy and sense of helplessness to a new plane in which he feels the joy of existence and senses a bright future in the offing.

Red Caps

The Socialists have been to Pachmari for a change and a rest cure. And after having invigorated themselves with the fresh air of Socialist idealism, they will return to the sweltering plains to put their ideals into practice. But at least they have profited by the hard lesson of experience. They are determined to have no truck with the Communists. They have been deceived too often. At long last they are beginning to recognise the tempter in his true colours. But shearing off from the Commies is not enough. The Socialists still cling to Marxian tradition of Statolatry, or the adoration of the State. They concentrate so much on the wood that they forget the trees. They are so taken up with the State, that they overlook the individuals who form the State. Group life is important and deserves attention; but the individual comes first and the State is for the individual, not the individual for the State.

A. F.

○ PARADISE, ○ PARADISE! SOVIET TERRORISM

An increasing number in this country are becoming more and more puzzled as to what is the real situation in Russia, China and in other Communist-dominated countries. This bewilderment is only increased by the reports of those who took part in the different delegations to Communist countries. Owing to the clamping down of the Iron Curtain, strict surveillance and perverse propaganda, it is impossible to know with the desired precision and accuracy exactly what conditions are like in Russia and among her satellites. However, the very secrecy with which Communist countries, and Russia in particular, are fenced round should make us suspicious. If Russia is the paradise Communists claim it to be, then why not let the common man who is just curious go and see it, not just specially prepared show-places but the whole of it, if he wants to visit the whole country. And since we are always being told that the Russian people are overflowing with gratitude to Stalin and his Party for all that he has so kindly and selflessly done for the Russian people, it is only natural that a visitor should want to mingle freely with the people and share in that Communist joy and gratitude of which we hear so much. If I have the time and the money I can wander around the non-Communist countries of the world unmolested, talk freely with their peoples, visit them in their homes, and criticise their government if I happen to dislike it. Why is not all this possible in Russia?

The suspicion that Russia is not the paradise Communists make it out to be, is confirmed from very many sources. The Soviet experiment has now gone on for over thirty years and it has not been possible to stop up all the leakages of information. We treat here of just one permanent aspect of life in Russia which shows that this paradise has more than one serpent to mar its vaunted happiness. The evil we speak of is the terrorism created by the Soviet secret police.

Terrorism seems as natural to Communism as water to a fish. It was only a few weeks after the "glorious" October Rebellion which gave power to the Russian Bolsheviks that the first child of the Communist Party, called Cheka, was born, to be followed by GPU, NKVD, and MVD—all secret police. The Cheka's first activities were directed against the Russian army which has ever been a danger point for the men of the Kremlin. Mass arrests and executions of officers, to whom were added other members of the bourgeoisie, began in 1918 and continued until 1921. Any attempt on the lives of those in power immediately brought on wide-spread and indiscriminate arrests and executions. Exact numbers are hard to come by where every statement is so strictly censored and 'conditioned' to meet the policy of the Communist Party, but from various sources fairly accurate estimates can be made. After an explosion at the Party headquarters Moscow, in 1919, 20,000 were executed. During 1920-21 there was serious unrest among the peasantry who were strongly displeased with the Government exactions in taxes and kind. All uprisings were put down with great severity.

Russia entered on a period of relative quiet with the introduction of the New Economical Policy in 1921 and this respite lasted until the establishment of col-

lective farms under the first Five Year Plan. The Kulaks (peasant farmers) strongly resisted the collectivisation of their land: whole villages were 'liquidated' by the GPU as the Cheka was now known. (It would seem that as soon as the Communist-secret police become particularly odious, they change their name, but by no means their nature). The ruthlessness of the Government and the resistance of the peasants brought on a terrible famine and it is estimated that from three to six millions died of starvation during 1931-33, while millions more were taken to forced-labour camps. Forced collectivisation with its executions and deportations ushered in on a large scale that very striking feature of Soviet life, labour camps. Propaganda has made us familiar with the stupendous Russian achievement: the Volga-Moscow canal, the alternative railway route to the Far East, the Dnieper Dam, the Kolyma gold fields, to mention but a few, but this propaganda has not kept us informed how the achievements are accomplished and what price they cost in human suffering and lives. Cheap slave labour for these and other projects was supplied by the NKVD (the new name for the GPU since 1934). These secret police had almost unlimited power: no real evidence was required for arrest and condemnation, while a sentence up to ten years could and was given without trial. As Vladimir Petrov, who experienced six years of Soviet concentration camp life says: "Many people arrived in camps having in their records only two or three letters explaining their crime. For instance: S.E. (suspicion of espionage), S.T. (suspicion of terrorism), S.D.E. (socially dangerous element), S.H.E. (socially harmful element). No fewer than one-half of those arrested during the period 1936-38 were assigned

the 'letters' with terms of imprisonment from three to ten years."¹

From a glance at our newspapers and from scraps from conversations heard all around us, according to Soviet standards about fifty per cent of our own population must be "socially dangerous elements".

A wave of arrests and executions began in 1935 and continued until 1939; the peak was reached in 1937-38 in the now familiar pattern of wide-spread arrests, mock trials, abject confessions on the part of the accused, followed by condemnation. Even the notorious NKVD itself was severely purged. It is impossible to know the exact number of executions and imprisonments, but the estimate given by F. Beck and W. Godin in *Russian Purge* that in 1938 fourteen million prisoners were in concentration camps seems reasonable. Arrests during the Yezhov² period are put down as five to ten per cent of the entire population; the population of Russia being about 150 million at that time, then from 7 to 14 million were arrested—and arrest nearly always meant condemnation. Were we to have a similar regime here and the same percentage of arrests, then from 16 to 36 million would be in forced labour camps.

Potential enemies of his ruthless state power are killed in advance. Among these 'enemies' political prisoners, i.e., those that criticise Government in a manner that is considered normal among us and which can be read in any of our newspapers any day, receive

1. *The Soviet Union*, Ed. W. Gurian, Pg. 143.

2. Yezhov was chief of the political police and direct organiser of the famous trials during the purges. As in most of Stalin's dramas the last act included the execution of Yezhov himself.

the worst treatment. They are allowed no lawyer, nor would any lawyer dare to defend such a case. The most usual sentence for this class of prisoners is ten years: F. Beck and W. Godin state that "sentences of twenty-five years forced labour or imprisonment were not uncommon. Death sentences were said to be frequent, but our impression is that they did not exceed ten per cent. For senior military officers, high party officials and officials of the NKVD they are said to be the rule."³ As I. Deutscher in *Stalin* says: "The number of the victims will perhaps never be known. According to some sources, in the army alone about 20,000 officers, 25 per cent of the entire officers' corps, were arrested and several thousands shot. The whole structure of the State was shaken."⁴ There is little need of a death sentence for a political prisoner because he stands small chance of surviving the sentence: undernourishment, overwork, disease and terrible working conditions break down the strongest. Compared with the political prisoners, thieves, forgers and even murderers have an easy time.

In 1941 when Hitler attacked Russia a defeatist movement ran through the country and there were surrenders on a large scale to the enemy, the NKVD had to be reinforced and functioned behind the fighting lines, shooting retreating or deserting soldiers. Another form of persecution during the war was the banishment to Siberia or Central Asia of foreigners, many of them staunch Communists, Soviet citizens of foreign origin, those who had lived under German occupation in Western Russia and were later liberated by the Red Army and the millions of Japanese and

3. *Russian Purge*, pp. 71-72.

4. Pp. 380-381.

German prisoners of war, among whom the fate of hundreds of thousands is not yet known.

The latest purge which the secret police—now the MVD—are carrying out is in literature, art and science, *v.g.*, the Lysenko controversy. The purpose behind this new move seems to be an attempt to prove the superiority in every respect of the Soviet way of life, to demonstrate the pre-eminence of Soviet science, literature and art, and of course, to prevent any anti-Communist ideas from infiltrating among Soviet subjects.

On October 17th, 1951, the Soviet authorities in Vienna seized half a million copies of a map showing the location of Soviet forced-labour camps up to 1941. About 700,000 are reported to have died on the Stalin-canal project, while the present number of prisoners in concentration camps is estimated to be from five to seven millions, some authorities put it higher, but this figure does not include a different kind of compulsory labour on the ever increasing number of collective farmers.

Sudden arrests, torture, forced confession of guilt, forced labour and a violent or lingering death are all terrible enough, but what is even more oppressive to the human spirit is the 'atmosphere' created by an all-seeing, all-hearing, omnipotent and despotic State which spies on the activities of almost every adult citizen who must daily expect arrest at any moment on the flimsiest of pretext.

It is almost impossible for the average man to imagine what living under such a regime means where one dare not confide in even one's best friends, and where any known criticism of the Communist Party leads to arrest and imprisonment. Arrested on trumped up charges, even should they survive their term of

imprisonment 'political' prisoners cannot be re-instated as normal citizens. Vladimir Petrov in *It Happens in Russia* describes how on return from six years in the mines on a faked charge despite the fact that he was an engineer and that there were many vacancies, no one would employ him. "We don't take counter-revolutionaries," he was told. "You're outside the law and the sooner you realise it the better it will be for you. You'll get fewer blows to your pride . . . Remember, the Soviet Government never forgives any one for any thing!"⁵

George Orwell in *Animal Farm* and in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* catches the authentic note of an all-pervading fear, the certainty of ultimate arrest and the success of mass indoctrination. This all-pervading atmosphere of fear is conveyed by these passages in his novel, 1984: "It was terribly dangerous to let your thoughts wander when you were in any public place or within range of a telescreen," thought Winston. "The smallest thing could give you away. A nervous tic, an unconscious look of anxiety, a habit of muttering to yourself—anything that carried with it the suggestion of abnormality, of having something to hide. In any case, to wear an improper expression on your face (to look incredulous when a victory was announced, for example) was itself a punishable offence When once you were in the grip of the Party, what you felt or did not feel, what you did or refrained from doing, made literally no difference. Whatever happened you vanished, and neither you nor your actions were ever heard of again. You were lifted clean out of the stream of history." Orwell gives a fascinating description of an evolved system by which all records of

5. Pg. 328.

the past are changed so that the Party could obliterate all trace of a past event and say that it never happened: "Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. In this way every prediction made by the Party could be shown by documentary evidence to have been correct; nor was any item of news, or any expression of opinion, which conflicted with the needs of the moment, ever allowed to remain on record. All history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and re-inscribed exactly as often as was necessary. In no case would it have been possible, once the deed was done, to prove that any falsification had taken place."

Historical facts are changed, a torrent of statistics poured out to show that compared with the previous year there are more tractors, more factories, more houses, more clothes, more electricity, more of everything "except disease, crime and insanity". But what is more terrifying than the falsification of history, is the unquestioning acceptance of this falsification on the part of the ignorant masses. Orwell brings this out well in his wonderful satire *Animal Farm* where the pigs take the part of the Inner Party and the sheep that of the foolish Proletariat. The sheep were trained to bleat "four legs good, two legs bad!" and thus drown any opposition. But when the pigs became more and more tyrannical and re-introduced the ways and vices of Man whom they had driven from their farm—even to the extent of walking on two legs—then the sheep, like a well trained Communist mob, set up a tremendous bleating of "Four legs good, two legs better!" While the newly adapted version of the commandments of the farm read: "*All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others.*"

It is true that Orwell's descriptions are fiction and satire; yet they are a condemnation of a system that is terribly real and what he describes in fiction, exists in reality. The Soviet regime rests on fear and the spread of Soviet Communism throughout the world is intended to suppress any attempt to overthrow its despotic power.

A. Nevett.



SOCIAL SERVICE FOR STUDENTS

"Youth," complained George Bernard Shaw in one of his pessimistic moods, "is wasted on the young." The heroism, the idealism, the generous self-sacrifice of the young enthusiast are qualities which could be put to better use were they conferred on older and wiser people, thought G.B.S. But in these matters nature is the best judge. Let us follow her lead and canalise the simmering energies of our young men and women towards the right goals, where they can be put to the best use nowadays. And perhaps the most important of these is the service of the country through social uplift. Indeed the opportunities for social service in this country are manifold. You have only to start off at a single point before you realise the vista of possibilities that almost overwhelm you with their clamour for relief and redress.

In undertaking social service, there is one point that requires special emphasis. The motives that inspire the social service worker should be clear-cut and definite. Ideology is like the fuel that keeps the motors

running, no matter how rugged the road. A vague flair for social service out of an emotional sense of sympathy for the poor and the downtrodden will soon evaporate at the first sign of difficulty or ingratitude or criticism. For even the poor man has a sense of his dignity and will not meekly submit to the patronising charity of a bourgeois social worker. But where grown-ups might fail, the genuine desire to help and serve of boys and girls is readily appreciated. This is where the school can play a part.

Will the reader pardon me one more observation? There is a general complaint among social workers that social work finds poor response from the young men and women of today. This is another reason why social ideals and social service should be inculcated into the minds of children while they are in school. Social work throws open to them a new world of sights and sounds, a world poignant with the drama of human misery and suffering. It leaves a lasting impression on their young hearts and minds, one that the passage of years cannot dim.

Schools

Here is a striking instance of the type of social service school-boys can do. The League for Social Service, started by the Principal of St. Paul's, Belgaum, comprised nearly forty enthusiastic young pupils at its commencement. They were given a simplified course on the meaning and purpose of social service. The inauguration of the League was a solemn occasion for the boys. Each of the social service workers took the oath in the presence of distinguished visitors and of the whole school. The speech made by their leader is characteristic of their attitude towards working for others, and the reasons for doing so. Here are some excerpts from the speech.

"We have taken the pledge to be servants of the servants of God,—servants of the servants of men. Love for others in thought, word and deed; love especially for the poor and the down-trodden will be the noble flame that will burn brightly in our lives. Bravely shall we nourish the flame, strengthen it, hold it aloft, and bear it, to all places, where we hear the wails of oppression, the cries of misery, the plaints of pain."

"Believing as we do in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men we shall spend ourselves in the service of the Almighty and of our fellow-men. We shall always and everywhere uphold the equality of all men, the dignity of the human person and the sanctity of human life."

"Our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, once said: All of us talk of India, and all of us demand many things from India. What do we give her in return? India will be what we are. Our thoughts and actions will shape her. If we are big, so will India be; and if we are small, so also will India."

"Our programme of social service will consist in studying social problems and principles, and in applying them in feeding the hungry in clothing the naked, in visiting the sick, in relieving want, misery and suffering. We stand for the poor, we help the poor, we serve the poor."

Activities

One of the main activities of the League has been the feeding of the poor. The social service workers collect rice and money from others, chiefly their fellow students—most of whom either give a few annas out of their pocket money or at least a handful of their weekly ration of rice. On Sundays, the poor boys of

the school are given a good meal of rice and curry, the members of the League personally distributing the food.

They often go begging through the town for funds for social uplift. Occasionally they visit the poorer sections of the town under the leadership of the Principal, distribute clothes and medicine where needed and clean up the locality. The boys have also visited the local hospital and the local jail. They soon hope to visit the neighbouring villages on their errands of mercy.

Scouts

The Scout Troop can easily be geared to social service. Rabindranath Tagore in Shantiniketan has already set the pattern for scout activity in social uplift of the villages, when he sent his scouts to teach the village folk cleanliness, hygiene and the social virtues. In Hyderabad, Deccan, the scouts of the All-Saints' High School visit the nearby villages regularly. I once had the opportunity of seeing them at work. Four of them set out one fine morning in the school car for a village seven miles away. They carried along a couple of mattocks, a shovel, some brooms and a tin of phenyl. They were certainly a merry crowd chirping like sparrows all along the way; and as cosmopolitan as one could desire in India, if their names reveal anything, for they were Francis, Reddy, Farid and Anand.

When they reached the village, they were cordially received by the police patel whose acquaintance they had made on a former occasion. Accompanied by this official, they went about inspecting the soak-pits they had built on a previous visit to the village. These soak-pits were three feet deep, but filled up with pebbles and covered over with large stones at the top. The

dirty water from within the house was channelled into the soak-pit and not allowed to stagnate in the middle of the road as formerly. Many of the villagers had taken up the idea and built a very neat drainage system that led into the soak-pit. But some of the pits were dirty and smelt foul, because their mouths were clogged, and the owners had not bothered to open them again. The boys eagerly settled down to work to clean up the filth and to pour phenyl down the drain into the pit. But the police patel warned the slothful owner that he would be fined if he failed to keep the pit clean in future.

The boys gave a liberal helping of phenyl water to every house-holder who asked for it and this happened fairly often. The village looked clean. The lanes had been swept; the dirt stacked in heaps outside the village. But the overflow from the village well had formed a foul evil-smelling green patch of dirt and filth. The villagers themselves set to work to drain off the dirty water when the scouts pointed it out to them. Willing hands soon had the drain cleared and a large dose of phenyl invigorated the heavy atmosphere with a touch of freshness and life.

It was gratifying to note with what glances of approval the scouts were greeted on their tour through the village. And the boys themselves took their duties quite casually without the least show of patronage or squeamishness. They were aware of the fact that they were helping to forge new customs and traditions among a people proverbially conservative, whom more enlightened methods of hygiene and cleanliness had not touched.

Colleges

Leaving aside Medical Colleges, who can launch

their students into social work without much difficulty by means of free service in dispensaries and mobile units, what can the ordinary college boy or girl do in the line of social work? The Consolidated Report for the year 1951-52 of the Social Service League made up of college students of St. Joseph's College, Tiruchirappalli, gives a brief survey of the type of work the League is doing. Every Wednesday the Leaguers set out on their respective tasks. Much of their work is concerned with cleaning up the dirtier parts of the town, and trying to inspire the local inhabitants with a sense of cleanliness and hygiene. Some of the members organise games for the children, others of them with a flair for dramatics, have trained the children to contribute items for entertainments during the national festival days.

A Milk Distribution Scheme for 120 children arranged and managed by the Leaguers finds a place of special mention in the Report. Every day three of the youngmen took it by turns to distribute the milk. Vitamin tablets and shark liver oil were also given to the children who were medically examined every month.

The students have set about rehabilitating one of the worst slum areas of the town. Piles of rubbish have been cleared away, but the real trial to overcome is the apathetic mentality of the people who fail to respond. They are quite ready to see the students at work, but will not lift a finger to help themselves or to co-operate. Such apathy is noticeable both in the towns and in the villages, and forms a stumbling block to the enthusiasm of every young social worker. In these cases it is not persistent effort alone that will succeed; some form of compulsion by the public authorities, a fine for example, is also needed.

Out of the experience gained from such spade work, the League hopes to launch out into more elaborate schemes of Co-operative Societies and Economic Surveys of Families and the like. For social work should be closely connected with economic uplift and moral welfare. The nature of man is so rich and complex that nothing but an all-round satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs can result in self-development and progress.

Field of Work

The point is that both high school and college students have a vast field for social work. They have only to start at one point, before an indefinite number of possible operations opens up before their gaze. Under enthusiastic and inspiring guidance, students can perform wonders. "Youth can be madly generous," wrote Fr. Martindale. Youth can give without counting the cost. Idealism and heroism are the peculiar traits specially observable in the make-up of adolescents and of young men and women.

Perhaps in India, girls have even a larger part to play in the development of our people than boys. For they can more easily contact the women, who desperately need to be awakened to their vocation for the betterment of the home. It is the women who set the right tone within the family circle. It is they who are the chief factors of influence on the children. Cleanliness, healthy ways, good manners, love of home and country are all imbibed through the mother's silent example and positive teaching. To bring all this about is the role of the female social worker.

A. Fonseca.

□ □ □ □

A SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

Taking at random the number of industrial disputes in India, during any one month last year, we find that in November 1951, there were 112 disputes which involved 61,783 workers, as against 107 disputes involving 64,783 workers in the preceding month; this gave a time loss, during the month, of 175,791 man-days as against 187,338 in the previous month. In Great Britain, even the rule of a Labour Government conducted on the principles of Socialism, did not succeed in eliminating labour disputes, and the several unofficial strikes which the country had to contend with threatened to cripple a Government struggling with an economic crisis of no mean proportions. The fact is that while one may deny the Marxist contention that class-struggle is the key to social progress, few would deny that "society today still remains in a strained and, therefore, unstable and uncertain state", as Pope Pius XI points out in his encyclical, *The Social Order*. The root cause of this social malaise, the same Pontiff tells us, is found in the fact that our society is "founded on classes with divergent aims and hence opposed to each other."

This we know is the legacy of the economics of the last century, and which, even today we have not completely outlived. Liberalism brought into existence a social structure or framework in which individuals were grouped into opposing units both in the political and economic field: in politics, we have opposing political parties, and in economics we have seen the growth of opposing and rival producers, economic units, competing for "the open market". Obviously, any attempt to raise a social structure or framework on the "self-interest" principle of Liberalism, must inevit-

ably lead to social unrest, and a growing disregard of man's social responsibility. The anti-social effects of Liberalism are too well known to need repetition. It must suffice to say that it provided Karl Marx, writing towards the middle of the nineteenth century, with all the evidence he needed to support his contention that liberal economics, or capitalism, breeds internal strife and carries with it the germs of class-war. Marx, himself, solves the problem of social peace and harmony by urging the working class to hasten the proletarian revolution, from which he promises the emergence of a classless society free from all strife. The Marxian experiment, however, in the U.S.S.R., where we still find a strong Police-State with its vast and numerous slave-labour camps, is effective proof that Marxism will always remain an Utopia! The Marxian experiment fails, precisely because the unity of the human family, and a healthy social framework, can never be established on the principles of hate and violence.

In terms of Catholic sociology, a peaceful healthy social order depends on two essential factors. A standard of moral integrity (respect for human rights), and a social framework or material structure erected on sound principles (in keeping with man's true nature and destiny). Just as the successful operation of any piece of machinery demands both a skilful operator and a machine free from technical defects, so also, the healthy social order requires men and women imbued with a standard of morality, and also a social framework free from faulty principles. Both are essential to a good, healthy society. With this framework or material structure of society we are here concerned. Pope Leo XIII, Pius XI and the present Supreme Pontiff advocate a structure based on the organic unity of society. That is to say, a unity of the human family,

of such a nature that members "are bound together by an order which is carefully fitted together and disposed; their need for one another is mutual, and affects this one or that at one time more than another; and the whole is regulated by their natural, that is by their Providential, instincts and destinies." This is the organic unity of society; it implies a social framework so constructed that, on the one hand, there exists a mutual dependence and responsibility between members of society, and on the other, there operates a principle of a graded hierarchy and of authority. If, therefore, the rift in society created by the excesses of individualistic liberalism is to be repaired and set right, this can only be effected by a close co-ordination of all economic activity in society. Thus it will come about that every class and profession will have its own rights, duties and obligations towards each other and towards the whole human family. Social legislation, according to the mind of Pope Pius XI, should aim at bringing into existence just such a structure—one that will knit a firm bond of union, and of social responsibility, between members of society.

This structure or framework, to preserve its organic unity, is built of different small units or groups. These various economic groups, sharing the same interests, and forming the material structure of society are, in the words of Pope Pius XI, termed, "vocational groups". The use of this term as applied to our modern economic society is instructive. Economic function in society is to produce goods, either in the material form like food, clothing and shelter, or in the form of services like healing, teaching, administration, scientific research and entertainment. "Vocation" is another word for function in society, and while it has the secular meaning of trade or profession, it is associated

in religious minds with the idea of duty and service to which we are called by Almighty God. In this light, industrial and commercial organisations take on a new look. Indeed, the director or manager of an industrial concern and the ordinary labourer tending his machine or hewing coal, all share the same vocation to supply their country with steel, coal, oil or transport or insurance or whatever be the nature of their product. Organized vocational grouping already exists in the learned professions of law and medicine; these professions are organized for self-regulation, to maintain standards of qualification, to enforce codes of professional conduct or etiquette for the two-fold purpose of protecting professional interests and of giving proper service to the public. In Europe several of the older professions have inherited traditions and standards of organization from precapitalist days, during the period of the medieval guilds, when manual labour trades were regulated on the same principles as the professions. In more recent times, the newer professions like accountancy and engineering have now been organised on similar lines. Thus, as far as organization and declared aims go, the old liberal professions come nearest to the "vocational groups" advocated by the Encyclicals.

These vocational groups are not class organisations. In the modern economic structure of society, there are many trades and industries which display group organisations which may be termed vocational, but such group organisations are of a class within a vocation and not of the vocation as a whole. India has a number of Trade Unions formed according to the trade or industry in which members of the Union are engaged; there are also some Employers' Federations or Associations formed according to the trade

pattern. Such organisations are of a class character and of a vocational character at the same time. Thus, the Weavers' Union is vocational in so far as its members are all occupied in the weaving trade, and it is also a class organisation in so far as it is limited only to wage-earners, excluding management, of the whole textile industry. On the other hand, the vocational organisation of an industry is composed of the free association of all persons (owners, management, workers, consumers' representatives) connected with the commercial or industrial enterprise. Thus, the vocational grouping of the steel industry would bring together, shareholders, management, technicians, engineers, furnacemen, all types of workers and consumers' representatives, in short, all persons interested in the good and welfare of the whole steel industry. Each group—shareholders, management, workers, consumers—have their own special interests and problems, but above and beyond these special and particular interests, these different groups are linked and bound together by their own social responsibility towards, and interest in, the prosperity of the whole industry. This is the primacy of vocational or professional consciousness over class consciousness, and it is based on the social responsibility of every member of the trade or industry towards the common welfare. The advantages of vocational grouping are obvious; in fact, economic units grouped on the vocational principle are able, given a fair chance to change the whole face of our industrial world. It tends to imbue owners of industry with the idea of service towards human society, and lessens the exaggerated profit-motive; it helps to improve Management-Labour relations so necessary for a high degree of production, and lastly, it tends to safeguard the interests of the consumers against the risks

of high prices due to any "Pact" between Management and Labour.

Such vocational groups, says Pope XI, are "if not essential to civil society, at least natural to it". These groups are "natural", in the sense that they are in keeping with man's organized economic effort to produce his food, clothing and shelter. The proximate end of human society is to provide man with a sufficiency of temporal goods as a means to lead a virtuous life. Now, some of these goods can be obtained only by the whole community organised as a State, *e.g.*, law and order, defence, etc. This type of activity, therefore, is the proper object and business of the State Government, representing the whole community. Other goods, however, such as the production of food, clothing, shelter, etc., and which are the products of man's economic activity, these can be adequately obtained through the efforts of individuals. In fact, man's organised economic activity is merely an extension of his effort to preserve his life and is bound up with man's right to life. The first right of organised economic activity belongs to the individual as a free human person. The State was not instituted, despite the advocates of Socialism, to grow food or to manufacture boots and shoes or to run our transport system, but, in the economic field, merely to do those things which the individual and smaller associations are unable to do. Hence, so long as these vocational groups operate in a manner consistent with the common welfare, they must be allowed the maximum liberty and initiative. The State may not supplement, suppress or take over these groups, but allow them to operate as self-governing, under a Charter, free and independent associations.

The spontaneous and natural progress of industrialism today, reveals many features favourable to the

establishment of vocational groups. Modern industrialism with its occupational division of skilled and specialized labour, with the growing consciousness that commerce and industry are not the concern of management and labour alone, that industrial and commercial organisations have a social and public duty to perform, all this tends to set up structural changes in society in keeping with the pattern of vocational groups. Hence, social legislation which may be needed to establish the social structure on vocational groups would not introduce any drastic change so as to create a social order which, in terms of efficiency and industrial peace, surpass that attempted both by capitalism and Economic Statism.

C. C. Clump.



A SAINT IN SOCIAL ACTION

When the last trump is sounded, and film-producers, among others, have to render an account of their stewardship before the assembled nations, "Monsieur Vincent" will surely be totted up on the credit side of their account. The choice of his life as the theme for a film, is, however, but one more proof of the attraction which his personality exercises even in non-Catholic circles. The interest in St. Vincent has often been fostered by emphasizing the humanitarian aspect of his lifework, and the romance of his career; yet there is something else which is far deeper in him—the ardent love of God which lay at the root of his intense love for men. The study of his social activities

may however serve as an introduction to the profound personal religion of this modern saint.

For Vincent de Paul is indeed a modern saint, not chronologically it is true—some three centuries have elapsed since his death—but as one of the first of his contemporaries to understand the new times ushered in by the Renaissance, and to consider them with a just and sympathetic discrimination; one of the earliest too to observe and to seek a practical solution for the social question, which in its different aspects has become the problem of our own days.

Theory and Practice

It was not so very long ago that M. Ménabréa published a book in which he hailed Vincent de Paul as the founder of social science, the one who laid down its principles and methods. Evidence can be produced in support of this claim, yet it is surely more as a man of action that St. Vincent has obtained recognition. To him indeed "we owe the revolution which during the last 300 years has transformed social life, the spirit of our laws . . . which, after the terrible events through which we have been passing, remains our only hope," yet this revolution was brought about not so much by the spoken or written word—St. Vincent's writings are but "occasional"—as by the challenge of his deeds. "Jesus began to do and to teach," was a favourite text of his, and he based his methods on it. He did not simply gather meetings to pass ineffectual resolutions of protest, nor did he write lengthy treatises on the social question—he tackled the evil itself, whatever it might be, and was concerned not so much with condemning the evil as with doing good to the bodies and souls sinking beneath it; he did not just advocate reforms, he started them; he did not merely agitate un-

til poor-relief was provided and the sick were looked after, he launched his confraternities of charity and built hospitals.

Where others might have been dismayed by difficulties, frightened by failure, or reduced to inactivity by social conventions, Vincent de Paul launched himself with a divine courage and confidence full at the heart of the trouble, whatever ugly form it might take. And his activity bore fruit, not only directly to the benefit of thousands, but also indirectly, for official agencies under the pressure of public opinion in time recognised themselves as bound to provide assistance of all sorts.

Universal as the Sun

Among the characteristic traits of the great apostle of social action is the comprehensiveness of his outlook, the all-embracing nature of his charity. Camillus de Lellis, John of God, Peter Claver, John Baptist de la Salle, explored and laboured valiantly in one or other of the many fields of the social apostolate; Vincent de Paul's vocation was different, and he set no limits to his zeal: poor-relief, homes for the aged, hospitals, foundling homes, rural missions, seminaries—he took them all in his stride.

But was this vast and unceasing activity based on anything like presumption? Far from it, for a humbler man than Vincent de Paul it would be hard to find. He saw Christ in his suffering brethren, he was loving and generous towards these because he was loving and generous towards Him, and to neither love did he set bounds. Generosity is contagious, and St. Vincent's example brought to his side that army of helpers which enabled him to launch such innumerable works of charity. To maintain these he relied on

their assistance, but much more on Divine Providence. He waited for God to show him the way, but once he was convinced that God was leading nothing could hold him back, or stop him once he had started. Great in love and great in faith, here is what Pope Pius XII once said of him, "He was a man in whom faith in Christ supernaturalised a natural tenderness of soul, in whom the charity of Christ stimulated faith, and in whom faith and charity combined to conquer evil by good, and to work miracles for the relief of every human calamity and misery. The sun of his intellect is his faith, and the flame of his will is his love: two virtues, light and heat, which made him a hero of action on earth who was afterwards to pour down the rays of his goodness from heaven, not like a wandering planet, but like a fixed star whose beneficent light shines over the entire universe".

The Prudent Steward

Among the qualities which make Vincent de Paul a model for social workers are the common-sense and moderation which characterized his activity. Generous and loving to a heroic degree, he was no sentimentalist. As chaplain to one Queen, counsellor to another, tutor in a princely family, and the familiar of men of learning and virtue, he had acquired a profound knowledge of the world and of men. About the poor he harboured no illusions, knowing as he did poverty in a thousand and one forms. He united compassion for suffering with an astonishing acuteness in discernment of spirits, and drew quite firmly the distinction between the really poor person and the professional beggar, the one deserving of all help and compassion, the other to be sternly resisted as a menace to society.

In the matter of money too, his unbounded trust in God was accompanied by wise prudence. He gave what he had, he got from others what he wanted. Yet he never asked from others more than they had to give, and he knew the value of money: "utterly unlike, e.g., Joseph Cottolengo who never so much as kept accounts, Vincent estimated the value of every smallest coin: if he was utterly unselfish in the Francis-de-Sales sense, so he was extremely prudent. But that unselfishness, the abdication of all 'propriété', went so high as that of the sublimest mystics".

Inventive Charity

The egotist wilfully blinds himself to the needs of others—"I hate to see women standing", said the passenger in the crowded bus as he closed his eyes and settled himself more comfortably in his seat; but the true Christian devises new ways of helping his neighbour. Vincent de Paul read the signs of the times and saw clearly that the constant and regular practice of charity could no longer be entrusted solely to religious, it had to become the function of lay people of every class. He saw too that individual effort was to play an important rôle in modern society, and that Christians as such could not remain isolated either in their beliefs or in their habits. But private charity, when unorganised, is not an unmixed blessing; Vincent de Paul devised a way out, and in the associations which he founded he combined the advantages and eluded the evils of isolated personal charity on the one hand, and of what we might call "state charity" on the other. As his confraternities for men and women, beginning with the Dames de Charité, gradually spread, worldly people began to leave their homes to look after the poor, and the great realised that to serve is to reign.

Nor was his a superficial treatment of the problem of poverty. It was not indeed possible in his days, when economic science and commerce were in their infancy, to discern and attack the evil at its very roots, but he did go far towards finding a solution. On one side he encouraged the rich, by word and example, to give generously and to avoid waste by leading lives of greater simplicity; on the other he endeavoured strenuously to increase the opportunities of providing the necessitous with free and remunerative work—no easy matter, considering the underdeveloped state of industry in his days. The men's confraternities specially were to help in these efforts and "to assist corporally and spiritually the poor of the town and the villages thereto belonging. Spiritually by having them taught Christian doctrine and piety, and corporally, by enabling those who can work to gain their livelihood, and supplying the others with the means of subsistence, thus fulfilling the command given to us by God in the 15th Chapter of the Book of Deuteronomy, to act in such a manner that there may be no poor begging among us".

Pages could be written about each one of Vincent de Paul's charitable enterprises. They form such an imposing list that one wonders whether there is a single avenue of social service which he did not explore; God gave him a long life, and he used it well to look after God's children. His first works were connected with direct aid to the poor, then came a legion of other works: the foundation of the Sisters of Charity, the first non-cloistered women's congregation, the establishment of night-shelters for travellers, assistance to galley-slaves, hospitals and hospices, prison- and hospital-visiting, refugee relief, sanitation brigades, foundling homes, homes for the protection of girls, soup-kitchens, etc. In all these there was that combi-

nation of ardent charity and prudent good-sense, of the spiritual and the material, that stamped all his works.

Father of the Nation

"Pater Patriae" is a title which a very select few have earned; it was deservedly bestowed on St. Vincent de Paul by the Lieutenant-Governor of St. Quentin in a letter thanking him for having saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of poor men and women by his self-sacrificing mediation during the French civil war of the Fronde. Yet we would say that it was not France alone, but humanity at large that owed Vincent de Paul a debt on the score of his labour, example and inspiration, which have earned for him the title of Patron of all charitable works and associations throughout the world. And indeed Vincent de Paul has won sympathy even in unexpected quarters. No less a person than Voltaire wrote of him, "Vincent de Paul is my saint; he is the patron of founders. He has left more useful monuments behind him than did his sovereign Louis XIII".

These monuments that the Apostle of Charity left to the ages rest securely on the foundation of two truths: that all human beings are the children of God, and that they are all brethren of Jesus Christ. Social workers should find courage and inspiration in these words of the great saint, "We cannot better assure our eternal happiness than by living and dying in the service of the poor, between the arms of divine Providence, in the practice of self-renunciation that we may follow Jesus Christ".



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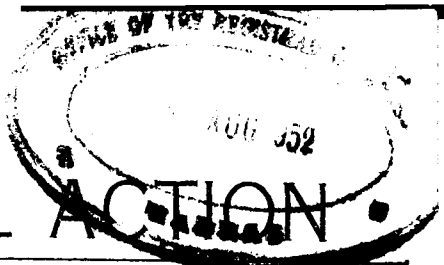
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SOCIAL ACTION

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HERE AND THERE

State Encroachment

Some years ago the Madras Assembly passed a bill forbidding animal sacrifices. Recently the Orissa Assembly was asked to consider a bill regulating the administration of the Puri Temple, one main reason being that a ceremony fixed for 5 a.m. is held at 5 p.m. What is the competence of the Assembly of a secular state in fixing religious routine by law? Are there no Courts in which such grievances can be redressed? Or are we to expect that each and every religious incident be settled by recourse to state law?

The proposed bill is one more proof that we are on the way down from democracy to bureaucracy. The tendency is growing everywhere. It can be observed in most countries; even the Mother of Parliaments is requested to do many things she never dreamed of in her youth. In England the Labour Party wanted to redistribute the national income by law and by bureaucratic methods; the Conservatives want another distribution, but by the same means. The State is being turned into an instrument of class domination. All parties want to get hold of the instrument and use it as a class weapon; politics is degenerating into a faction fight.

Each and everyone wants bigger and bigger pieces of the national cake. It does not strike the majority of citizens that the best way of satisfying popular hunger would be to make a bigger cake so that there be enough to go round. State domination has wrought havoc enough in our lives. It is high time that people should give up expecting everything from the bureaucratic state and realise that class-struggle will be fatal. Why not seek national salvation in sharing responsibilities as free men acting in brotherly concord?

Defending freedom in Asia

It is along parallel lines that the "Society for the Defence of Freedom in Asia" intends working, though their preoccupations overstep national boundaries and are focused on a fight for liberty all over the world. In the eyes of its sponsors, the choice which is to be made immediately is between Communism or a third world-war.

They plan to break through the Iron Curtain and rally the Russian people to democratic ideals and methods. They dream of converting the Red sympathizers and agents who are in our midst to a right approach to the solution of national and international problems. At the same time, they visualize a world-government, progressive disarmament, and equality of productivity in all countries, though the means they adumbrate do not all seem advisable. As a first start, they would invite India, America and the British Commonwealth to advance all world-causes by some kind of federal relationship. Their ideals are attractive. They deserve support.

Community Projects

Public conviction about democratic freedom will be tested in the Community Development Projects which the Centre will direct and which the States will take in hand. The projects should mark a date in India's history. The

money is advanced from outside, the management is in official hands, the enthusiasm is to be supplied by voluntary social workers. The Bharat Sevak Samaj is being organised to co-ordinate good wills and direct public co-operation. We shall know which officials are the servants of the public, and which are dictators in their own mood, and we shall know which citizens are in earnest about national prosperity. The Samaj is staffed by unpaid workers; it is open to all. Communists have already shown their interest in the venture, and they will not miss this new occasion of indulging their nefarious policies. Were it only to counter their plan, it would be worthwhile joining the Samaj. Let all good citizens be on the alert.

No Apologies

No excuse is needed for this attitude towards Communists. Many of their fellow-travellers are painstaking idealists, but Communist leaders are impenitent philosophers who have gone astray. With the Communist party there is no emotional reaction, no change of mood; emotion and mood are nowhere in their policy; their policy or rather their policies are hard conclusions of their merciless principles.

If they share in the government of democracies, it is to overthrow the democracies. With one foot in the stirrup, they have a chance to unseat the rider. They did so in the Balkan countries, except in Yugoslavia where Tito knocked down the Russian intruder. The only way to deal with Red leaders is the clear-cut policy of no compromise. They must be kept out of all government agencies at all costs. Italy and France were saved just in time by that hard policy; the U.S.A. was forced to like tactics. India will not be saved by any other means.

GANDHI AND MARX

The coupling of names serves various purposes : it may be malicious gossip, or a parlour game, or a refined species of cruelty by which grammarians torture their students in search of the feminine of drake, stag, and buck, or it may be the symbol of fidelity and love as Rama and Sita, David and Jonathan, or it may signify a contrast as Mars and Minerva, Akbar and Aurangzeb. It is in this last category that Gandhiji and Marx have been recently compared by K. G. Mashruwala in his *Gandhi and Marx* and by Chandrashanker Shukla in a chapter of his *Gandhi's View of Life*. This juxtaposition of Gandhiji and Marx will serve a useful purpose if it brings out the similarities and the contrasts between these two reformers and enlightens us on the Communist claim to be the best way of life for India. If Gandhiji was not only essentially Indian in his outlook but also a faithful interpreter of Indian thought and culture and the trusted spokesman of his people, and if Marxism is essentially opposed to Gandhiji's teaching, then it follows that Marxism is essentially opposed to Indian culture and the Indian way of life.

We are informed by Chandrashanker Shukla that Gandhiji never read the writings of the four Communist evangelists, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but that he had sufficient knowledge of the fundamental Marxist doctrines from discussions with Communists and non-Communists, and from the reading of books sent him by Communist friends, although another contemporary claims that Gandhiji did read some of the Communist classics. However, whatever the case may be, it is clear from Gandhiji's writings that he made no distinction between Marxism, Communism and Stalinism, but knew the theories proposed under these titles in a general way. We shall then not be giving a distorted view if we contrast, not the individuals Marx and Gandhi, but Communism and Gandhiji's philosophy.

We are well accustomed by now to Communist somersaults accompanied by a most cynical reversal of policy. Signs seem to portend that following on Communist election successes, we are entering upon the honeymoon period. We may expect the bridegroom to murmur all manner of sweet things and we should not be surprised if he claims our goodwill by stating that Gandhiji was also a Communist. There is even a seeming justification for such a statement : Gandhiji often claimed to be a better Communist or Socialist than the Communists or Socialists themselves ; he wanted to change society, so do the Communists. He was very solicitous over the well-being of the poor and oppressed, so are many Communists. If there is a common point between Gandhiji and some Communists, it is the desire to better the lot of the poor and unfortunate. But, even here the similarity is superficial : Gandhi wished to improve the condition of these unfortunates by winning the co-operation and goodwill of all classes of men, while Communism claims to achieve the same purpose by stirring up class warfare : there is all here the difference between love and hatred. In his conversations with Louis Fisher, Gandhiji explained the difference between his so-called 'socialism' and that of the Communists and their sympathisers :

"I do not want to rise on the ashes of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. In their socialism, probably these have no place. Their one aim is material progress. For instance, America aims at having a car for every citizen. I do not. I want freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a stair-case to Sirius if I want to. That does not mean that I want to do any such thing. Under the other socialism, there is no individual freedom. You own nothing, not even your body."

"Yes, but there are variations. My socialism in its modified form means that the State does not own everything. It does in Russia. There you certainly do not own your body even. You may be arrested at any time, though you may have committed no crime. They may send you wherever they like."

We see then that the difference between the two ends

is fundamental : while Communism aims at the mere material, temporal happiness of man, Gandhiji desired his *complete* betterment, above all, his spiritual and eternal happiness—an aim which is repugnant and offensive to Communism. Not only are the two ends different, but the means to obtain those ends also differ fundamentally : while Communism would use force, and generate hatred to achieve economic equality,—and when they control the State they will *enforce* equality—Gandhiji would reach his goal through non-violence, which is love, and by the personal example of voluntary poverty and association with the lowest, as the following passage shows :

“Under my plan the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view but will straightway make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception, if I am the owner of fifty motor cars or even of ten *bighas* of land. For that I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost Communist although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich. They have no hold on me and I can shed them at a moment's notice, if the interests of the masses demand it.”

In Gandhiji's view, then, the first place must be given to non-violence, truth, contentment, self-control, co-operation, detachment and similar virtues. If these virtues are sought first, then all other things will be added.

To those who are superficially attracted to Communism—and they are an ever-growing number in India—there appears to be no fundamental difference between Communism and the Gandhian way of life. It has even been said that Gandhism is Communism *minus* violence, whereby the false impression is created that there is only some trivial difference between the two. No true Communist would be-

lieve for a moment that there could be any reconciliation between Communism and the Gandhian way, but he will be quite ready to use Gandhiji's doctrine to deceive the woolly-minded that there is little difference between the two philosophies and that consequently Communism is nothing else but a desirable prolongation of Gandhism.

It would be impossible in the space available here to take the whole of Gandhism and Communism and show how fundamentally they are opposed. All we can do is to take a few important points and bring out the contrasts. Let us make a start with religion. A few texts will suffice to show how God and consequently religion and morality hold a central and dominant place in Gandhiji's philosophy.

“To me God is Truth and Love ; God is ethics and morality ; God is fearlessness. God is the source of Light and Life and yet He is above and beyond all these . . . Even as my denial or ignorance of the existence of an earthly power will avail me nothing, so will not my denial of God and His Law liberate me from its operation ; whereas humble and mute acceptance of divine authority makes life's journey easier even as the acceptance of earthly rule makes life under it easier. I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever changing, ever dying, there is underlying all that changes a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing power or spirit is God. And since nothing else I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is. And is this power benevolent or malevolent ? I see it is purely benevolent. For I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists... If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself, God is Truth . . . And when you want to find Truth as God the only inevitable means is Love, i.e., non-violence, and since I believe that ultimately the means and the end are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is Love.”

Communists have more than once asserted that the primacy which Gandhiji gives to God and religion aids the capitalist to exploit the proletariat, that his praise of non-

violence holds back the Communist revolution and that his plea for the *charkha* and village industry is reactionary.

In opposition to the Gandhian primacy of God and spiritual values, Communism is materialistic and atheistic. In fact its atheism flows from the materialistic doctrine first outlined by Engels and then subsequently elaborated by all orthodox Marxists that man has no purely spiritual facilities, no spiritual, immortal soul, that God as a pure Spirit is the creation of the imagination and consequently that life after death is a myth created by the ruling class to prevent the proletariat from revolting against the harsh and unjust conditions imposed on it by the rich. This is the meaning of Marxist's famous expression that religion is the opium of the people; he (falsely) argues that just as one takes opium to escape into the false happiness of a land of dreams, so too religion by holding out hopes of future happiness after death deludes believers and prevents them from revolting against their present misery. "The mortgage," says Marx, "that the peasant has on heavenly possessions guarantees the mortgage that the bourgeois has on peasant possessions."

In passing we should note in all honesty that there is a temptation to abuse man's belief in life after death and to make use of it to avoid doing justice; one can adopt a form and practice of religion that feels quite comfortable in the face of injustice and misery, and live a life far removed from the true demands of justice and charity, a life which is the expression of a weak, watered-down religion. Communists can have no true criticism of real religious principles in general, still less of the revealed truths of Catholicism—which is their greatest enemy—but they do find material for criticising and condemning religion in the behaviour of those whose lives are in flagrant contradiction with the faith they profess.

So far Communists have been cautious enough not to show their atheism openly in this country; they bide their

time and wait until they are stronger and more sure of their influence. This has been their policy wherever they know that an immediate and open attack on religion will cause resentment and aversion. But as long as Communism remains Communism it is atheistic and diametrically opposed to religion. Listen to Lenin, the man who brought Communism up to date: "Religion is a clumsy sort of spiritual whiskey in which the slaves of capital drown their human being and their revenge for an existence little worthy of man. But the slave who has become aware of his condition and has risen to battle for his emancipation has already come half-way toward being a free man. The awakened worker of today leaves heaven to the priests and bourgeois hypocrites and turns toward the conquest of a better existence here on earth."¹ "The struggle against religion must be firmly bound to the concrete action of class action, even aiming at the total disappearance of the social roots from which religion takes its source."² "Atheism is a natural and inseparable part of Marxism."³

Many men and women have been executed and many more have died the even more horrible, lingering death which accompanies most long experiments in Soviet concentration camps, and this not for denying "a natural and inseparable part of Marxism", but for not falling in line with some small change in policy, or, more often, for no recognisable crime whatever. This being so, we can readily anticipate the punishment meted out to those who attack atheism, "a natural and inseparable part of Marxism". We have not need to look far for confirmation of this statement: the treatment meted out to religion in China and Soviet dominated countries is eloquent proof

1. *Religion*, Lawrence, London, p. 12.

2. *ibid.*, p. 19.

3. *ibid.*, p. 5.

enough. And where the persecution of religion is not violent, or where it is even tolerated, as in the case of the Russian Orthodox Church, this is not because atheism has ceased to be an inseparable part of Communism, but merely because it is not expedient to attack religion openly and violently, just as it is a matter of expediency and strategy not to attack religion openly in India today.

Belief in God and the practice of religion is essential to Gandhism; atheism and the destruction of religion is an inseparable part of Communism. No one who really understands Gandhiji's thought could possibly believe that there could be a reconciliation between a philosophy of religious belief and love, and a creed of atheism and hatred. Let the unwary remember that Communists are ready to employ *any* means, fair or foul, to achieve their ends, for *whatever* serves the interests of the Communist Party is thereby justified: "Our Morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the proletariat and the needs of the class struggle."⁴ To distort Gandhiji's doctrine would be mere trifle for them, provided it served their purpose of duping the unwary and of bringing the Communists to power in this country for the liberty of which Gandhiji gave his life. Were the Communists to achieve their purpose it would be the end to all liberty.

A. Nevett.

4. *ibid.*, p. 56.

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OUR AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT

J . . . S . . . living in the village of Chinnaguruvalur of the Cuddapah District is one of India's 38 millions of propertyless agricultural workers. The distress of such workers has been aggravated, in the once flourishing land of Rayalseema, 'the land of kings' due to successive years of drought, the failure of river sources and the drying up of spring wells. Rural Welfare organisations have gone into action, and the problems they meet with and their attempted solutions are of instructive interest to social workers battling with similar problems in other parts of the Indian Union. The following "bill" of economic status, drawn up by the Rural Welfare Committee and Welfare Officer of the area, gives the pattern of life which obtains among the landless agricultural workers, mostly Harijans, in Chinnaguruvalur.

The Economic Status of J . . . S . . . a Harijan Family in the village of Chinnaguruvalur

Name and Village	.. J . . . S . . .
Father's name	.. N . . . N . . .
Occupation	.. Cooly.
Present wages	.. 3/4 seer.
No. of members fit for hand work	.. 5 members.
Annual Income	.. Nil.
Particulars of property owned	Two huts.
Original debt	.. Rs. 1218-0-0.
No. of lenders from whom borrowed	.. 14.
The purpose of loan	.. For buying food stuffs, clothes, cattle and to clear out old debts.
Rate of interest	.. 1% per month.
Period during which the loan was taken	.. 12 years.
Amount repaid so far	.. Rs. 2052-0-0.
Balance to be repaid	.. Rs. 2084-0-0.

Proddatur,
16-12-51.

Behind the cold facts and figures of this Bill of Economic Status is the grim story of deep distress and misery, which is the lot of J. . S. . and numerous landless agricultural workers. J. . S. . the head of the family of nine is a landless, casual, farm worker—occupation: cooly. Four other members of his family enjoy the same occupation. Owning no more than two mud huts, which are merely makeshift shelters and which afford no protection against the inclemency of the weather, J. . S. . and the other working members of his household hire themselves out as manual labourers. Labour which should be, for J. . . S. . . and all men, a means to develop the human person, to obtain economic and social security and conditions of life in keeping with the human dignity, in this case, tends to enslave man and condemn him to a subhuman existence! The process of enslavement follows almost naturally. J. . . S. . . and his fellow workers are unskilled, propertyless, agricultural labourers, and as such, their work in the fields of the ryots is limited to only a part of the year. The off-season period, even during a “good year”, covers about four months in the Summer. J. . . S. . . never earns enough to provide himself and his family with even the bare necessities of life: food, clothing and shelter. He is paid in kind, the princely amount of “three-quarter seer of grain” for a day! Even the most stringent economic methods will not enable such a worker to feed, cloth and provide himself with the ordinary needs of life out of his wages; hence dire necessity drives him to do the most obvious thing—to borrow money from his employer. The latter is only too ready to oblige knowing full well, that if the worker’s wages do not suffice to provide the necessities of life, the return of the debt will have to be paid in service! The strangle-hold is fixed, by the execution of a bond, and then the enslavement is complete. J. . . S. . . becomes the bond-slave of the ryot, and is in his master’s service each hour of the day and each day of his life.

The findings of the Report of the Rural Welfare Officer and of the Sub-committee complete the picture of these workers. The Report notes the following facts:—

- (i) Ryots are in the habit of lending money to Harijans without any consideration as to whether the latter will ever be able to repay the loans.
- (ii) When the interest on the loan has reached a considerable figure, and leaves the debtor no hope of ever repaying the amount, the unfortunate Harijan is forced to execute a bond.
- (iii) By the terms of the bond, the ryot acquires the right to the service and labour of one member of the debtor’s family, so long as the interest on the principal is not paid.
- (iv) “It is significant,” says the Report, “that the ryot’s liberality in lending money is directly proportional to the number of members in the Harijan family.”
- (v) Untouchability in these areas has been removed only “in some measure”.

The recommendations of the Report fall into two parts. The first part deals with a plan to bring about what the Report calls, “a psychological change in the Harijans”. It consists in the establishment of Harijans colonies of about ten families. Each colony would be made up of a cultivating ryot, a spinner, weaver, house-builder, carpenter, blacksmith, potter, barber, washerman and cobbler. The expense incurred for the founding of the colony and for its management during the first five years is to be borne by the Government. The second part of the plan deals with the problem of indebtedness. It recommends financial aid by the Government so as to bring about a just settlement between creditors and debtors, and thus free a number of bond-slaves.

The distress of landless agricultural workers is illustrated yet again, in the village of Khalispur in Uttar Pradesh. According to the Government Report (August, 1951), on an enquiry into the condition of agricultural workers in Khalispur, we find conditions which approximate to those which obtain among the landless peasantry in the village of Chinnaguruvalur. The total population of this village in Uttar Pradesh, at the time of the survey amounted to 1,010

persons, mostly Muslims. The families in the village numbered 202, of these 171 were agricultural families made up of 12 families of non-cultivating, 111 of cultivating owners, 6 of cultivating tenants, 27 of attached agricultural workers with land held free of rent, 11 of attached workers without land and 4 of casual landless agricultural workers. The landless agricultural workers in the village are mostly drawn from the *Chamars*, and the wage-earners of these families work as "Harwahas", casual field workers and domestic servants. The rates of daily wages of these agricultural labourers were generally As. 4 to As. 8, excluding As. 2 the value of *gur* allowed as perquisite for all agricultural operations. In addition to the above rate of wages, attached workers received either Rs. 2 a month, or were allowed one bigha of rent free land, and Rs. 4 in cash a year. Children were not employed as agricultural workers. As regards indebtedness among these types of workers, the Report remarks, "Debt was mainly due to the inability of the families to meet consumption expenditure". The following two tables taken from the same Report, illustrate the average annual income, expenditure and indebtedness of each family of propertyless agricultural workers in Khalispur.

TABLE I

Average annual income and expenditure for each family

Occupation	No. of families	Average no. of persons per family	Average income	Expenditure					
				Food	Clothing	Fuel	House	Misc.	Total
Attached workers ...	11	3.0	488.3	402.4	42.7	1.8	10.8	23.2	480.9
Casual ...	4	3.0	251.5	240.9	2.0	0.7	2.5	5.7	251.8

TABLE II Indebtedness per family intensively surveyed

Occupation	No. of families surveyed	No. of families in debt	Total debt at the end of the year	Average debt per family
Attached workers	11	2	Rs. 137.9	Rs. 68.9
Casual workers	4	2	9.8	4.9

Obviously, any policy of rehabilitation of our agricultural proletariat must include both a short-term and long-term plan. There is immediate need of restoring to these workers their human dignity by the suppression of all forms of forced labour and the status of bond-slaves. "In Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur and Monghyr," writes *Rural India*, March 1952 "such hereditary slaves still exist with a burden of debts, going back to five generations with 1 to 5 cottahs of bad land often given to them, and earning an *anna* or $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per diem, which he forfeits when there is no work in the field . . . In Gaya while the ordinary 'Harwaha' earns 3 seers, the 'Kamia' obtains only $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers as wages" (page 100). Such conditions are not unknown in other parts of the Indian Union. Here then is need for immediate action, such as has been done for the *Dublas* in Bombay. It is intolerable that so large a proportion of the country's population should be denied the primary freedom granted to every Indian citizen by our Constitution. While we rightly demand a fair and just deal for our citizens over-seas, should we not show, at least, as much concern for our fellow citizens who are condemned to a life of a bond-slave at home? Charity we are taught begins at home!

But for the average citizen, political freedom alone, unless accompanied by a measure of economic freedom, is meaningless. It is useless to pretend that once our agricultural proletariat are freed from their slave-masters, all will be well. Due to long years of oppression, the lack of professional training and skill, the want of education, the absence of habits of thrift and self-help, ways and means must be devised not only for economic rehabilitation but also for moral uplift. Hence, no long-term plan of rehabilitation will be complete or useful unless it undertakes the long and hard way of teaching our agricultural propertyless workers the value of those primary social qualities of cleanliness, thrift and self-reliance which will wipe out all sentiments of inferiority complex, and establish these workers as useful members of the Indian polity.

C. C. Clump.

GOOD MONSIEUR HARMEL

It is quite fashionable to criticize France or to pity her, and some Frenchmen take the lead, even in that fashion. The present study will not follow their lead; yet though out of fashion, it is up-to-date. In the social development of democracies, indeed nothing seems more up-to-date than discussion, and legislation about co-management, co-partnership, etc. Up-to-date are the associations of Catholic employers which were started after the war and are bent on embodying the teachings of the social encyclicals in their business; up-to-date the piecemeal legislation on Industrial Councils in several countries. All such up-to-date ideas and reforms were anticipated by Leon Harmel (1829-1915) who stood unique in bourgeois France and even in the Christendom of the XIXth century. As a social pioneer, he is up-to-date now because he was archaic last century; he was an employer who dared build his undertakings on out-of-fashion lines, a Christian who was Christian enough to apply the principles of social justice in his own enterprise. In many ways his achievements anticipated the doctrine of the *Rerum Novarum*, his methods are an inspiration to employers who foster social progress, and his experience should caution reformers against optimism about law-created co-management.

Great men take after their land and their race; Harmel was the child of the Ardennes and of a Christian lineage. He inherited humour and alertness from his mother, initiative and tenacity from his father, and a living Christian faith and practice from both. A keen social sense was already evident in his grandfather, James, who had seen his house and smithy at Sainte Cecile burnt down by the 1793 revolutionaries and who decided on a new venture that would help the rehabilitation of his family and of his fellow-workers. He would buy wool in Belgium and France, have it carded and spun at home by cottagers and then set up a textile factory.

Fluctuating conditions forced him to migrate to La Neuville-lez-Wassigny where his eldest son, James-Joseph, took charge of the business and where Leon was born on February 17, 1829. Finally the family moved to Warmeriville, near Reims, and chose a site which was to become the famous Val des Bois. The family grew faster than the wealth (eight children in eight years), domestic life was austere, education deeply Christian and painstaking. Leon was at the Reims lyceum for three years, neither a boy-genius nor a conformist to school regulations and programmes, rather inclined to Chateaubriand's romanticism in literature and to ultramontanism in outlook. For a time the lad nursed the idea of becoming a priest, but finally resigned himself to become an apostle in coat and pants. In 1853 he married and joined his father's business which he took in complete charge after 1865.

It was under his father's guidance that he tried his hand at social apostolate; with him it was a matter of religious conviction and of democratic complex. "The great work of our times is the salvation of our brethren the workmen." Much had to be done: religious indifference, casual morality, scattering of husband, wife and even children throughout various factories, etc., all told the misery of soul and body. Voltarianism, economic liberalism, revolutions had done their work. Was it not a duty for employers to take up the work of social rehabilitation? Or to pay spiritual as well as material wages? "Must he not in strict justice take care that souls do not perish in his factory but receive their daily bread as the body does?" "The factory must be organised on a Christian basis and raised into a work of faith and moralisation."

In the Harmel tradition, the employer's first duty was example. Regular church-going, inspiring moral conduct, frugality of life, punctuality, professional honour, devotion to tasks, and at the same time, charity, fellow-feeling for subordinates, unassuming attitude and comradeship with the

workmen, finally gentle if constant vigilance. Harmel himself paid out the wages, he paid them to the man for the work done by himself, his wife and his children; the family spirit had to be fostered. From the first years, a savings bank (1842), a family fund (1846). This latter fund, it must be noted as a Harmel trait, was administered by the workmen's delegates; it was providing sick benefits (half-pay), free medical service, medicine and free funeral. On occasion it even made collective purchases for the factory hands. Moreover, and this was young Leon's special field, there were soon a Sunday School for youths, a musical society, a section for games and entertainments. Every year a 'Factory Day': solemn service in the morning, games in the afternoon, and, in the evening, workmen's delegates shared the family dinner of the employer. Spiritual rehabilitation was pursued with equal zeal: chapel, sodalities, schools under nuns and brothers, etc.; the workmen were taught to say 'our' chapel, 'our' schools, 'our' associations. The rehabilitation of home life was also kept in view and families were given all facilities to settle near the factory.

The Harmels always showed a strong sense of family life, they knew the value of home life. Leon himself was to say later on: "Carnegie considers that relatives are a nuisance in business and he always kept his people away from his undertakings. He managed to build up a business, but he failed to found a family. Possible he turned many employees into millionnaires, but if he had a numerous family, he would have had it sunk into the proletariat. For us business is a means, the family is the aim." It is with that sense of the family that the Harmels built their own simple homes on the grounds of the factory. Were they not to share home, work and ideals? Were they not one with the workmen? Was not Mrs. Harmel to be the providence for the sick and infirm? Was not Leon to be found at the death-bed of each one? And so brothers and sisters settled in the factory compound. The tribe was growing fast: Leon's nine children and a dozen nieces and nephews were

there by 1869 to learn and carry on the family traditions of faith and work. Learning the traditions meant austere discipline and regulated study; the father saw to the discipline being effective, the mother touched it up with tenderness.

Suffering did, however, visit the happy home: sickness of Leon, death of Mrs. Harmel, Prussian invasion of 1870 and visit of the Kronprinz, economic depression, etc. The grain was made to die, but the harvest germinated and grew well.

So far the Harmel experiment had been made under the bushel. It was soon to light up the whole of French Christendom and show the path of social renovation. Quite a few did tread the path but the renovation was not achieved; if it failed in the following decades, it was because men were blind or weak-kneed; the light remained as bright as ever.

Throughout France social workers had grown anxious about conditions, and in 1871 a Central Office of the United Associations (Bureau Central de l'Union des Oeuvres) was created in Paris. A first congress was held at Poitiers in the following year. Leon went in order to get ideas, but he was prevailed upon to prepare a report for the 1873 Congress at Nantes. The title he chose was "Christian Organisation of a Factory". Besides detailing the experience of Val des Bois, he stressed what the spirit of workmen's associations should be. "The employer needs more devotion than authority. He must handle souls as a nursing sister handles wounded bodies, with tact, sympathy and a light hand which avoids hurting whilst curing. This is a very important point; it should guide the employer when he decides what he should do by himself, and what he should get others to do, without ever seeking vain popularity."

There was a little touch of paternalism in the role he assigned to the employer, but he was soon to realise that workmen should be given greater opportunities of initiative

and decision. Soon he came to focus his method and to formulate it as "the apostolate of workmen by workmen". This formula was rediscovered by the founders of the J.O.C. several decades later, and given as typical slogan in what is called "specialised Catholic Action".

It was this method that was the source of numberless and endless discussions in the 'Union of Catholic Clubs' (Oeuvre des Cercles Catholiques) which Albert de Mun founded after the disastrous Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune. Leon Harmel took part in the first congress of the Union and met its leaders, de Mun, de La Tour du Pin, Maurice Maignen, etc. He had long hesitated; he preferred working within the frontiers of his own enterprise and shunned a project of national dimensions. As he wanted enlightenment from on high, he sent a delegation of pilgrims to Lourdes: "I did not fancy that the sign from Heaven would be anything else but some sort of suffering." Hardly was he back from the Lyons Congress where he was most impressive that the sign struck him cruelly. A fire destroyed the main building of his factory. Some said, it was Satan's revenge; Leon answered, It was God's sign. Two days later in the same spirit he closed a letter to Mgr. de Segur with these words: "Pray with us that none of these workingmen's souls be lost in this horrid transition period which may last from six to eight months." Rebuilding was taken in hand immediately; some workmen were kept at work in the godowns which had been spared, others could be shunted to friendly factories. Donations for the workers' families came from all over France. The factory did not close. A Harmel is never downhearted.

Three months later, Leon was present at the Lille Congress which did so much to launch the 'Northern Employers Catholic Association' (Association des Patrons Catholiques du Nord). From then onwards he became, as Canon Fichaux called him, 'the initiator of our factory associations' based on his method 'apostolate of workmen by workmen'. Lille, Montpellier, Reims and many other

cities saw him and heard him. From every corner of France he was urged to codify his views and experience. But as he said, 'he was not a theoretician and would be sorry to become one', to which Mgr. Pie answered: "Good constitutions are those that are lived before being written down". He put pen to paper and in 1878 he had finished his *Handbook of a Christian Corporation* ('Manuel de la Corporation Chretienne').

Two hundred pages in which, besides the spiritual activities, the economic institutions of Val des Bois were described: mutual help, life insurance, savings bank, hostels, library, etc., with, inserted here and there, any amount of explanations on the advantages of good lodgings, school bookshops, wholesale purchases, etc., the whole followed by documents tabulating results and suggestions for adapting the method to other conditions. "Our method is not the only one; it is not necessarily the best. We do not dream of imposing it on others; we give an instance, we do not offer a model... The passion of our life is to save the workmen among whom we live, we have no other ambition."

A few quotations will bring out Harmel's mind. "Workmen feel the need of association; this need is rooted in man's nature. If it leads them astray, it is because it is shunted down a wrong path... Today the employer has a broader influence than in the Middle-Ages and since duties are parallel to rights, the employer is bound to take greater initiative; he should be the founder and protector of the corporation... Workmen's associations are necessary; the more we enlarge their views, the better they will understand the utility of such associations... Workmen must be associated in the welfare we want for them... These associations will be worthy of their name only if they are self-governed through the workers' committee. It is this committee which will give the workers an active share in the common good and so will make the honour of the association to be their pride, and give them courage and energy

to work for the welfare of all." In Harmel's view, a corporation was intended as a professional association for a common purpose. It might cover one large factory or unite the workers of several smaller factories. For the sake of unity it should enrol none but Christians. The Committee should be run on business lines; no legalism, no literature, but devotedness, doctrine and activity. The best members will be found to be the workmen who have suffered; (suffering is a light, it teaches the mind and opens the heart. Those who have been purified through sufferings are the best in organisations). They may be clerks, they may be manual workers; leaders are found in any class. "An association of employers in the same branch of industry and a parallel association of their employees, having the same faith and religious practice, united into one body and dealing together with professional interests make up a corporation which is typical of what should be the Christian organisation of an undertaking." "Some employers will possibly fail to respond to this idea," he told social workers, "well, start a committee all the same; once the corporation will be in working order, others will surely join." (Alas! history was to prove that this forecast was unduly optimistic.)

As to workmen, they certainly are more ready to form associations. They are the first and the steadiest, but they must be given aims and objects which cater for the needs not only of their souls but also of their bodies. "If the best economic union without any religious side is a body without soul, a pious association without economic interest is a soul without body." "I live with employers and employees, and I tell you that if your pious associations are not professional as well, they will do little good." "Why do you not find workmen ready to help you? It is not because you have taken no interest in labour welfare or in labour welfare according to professional order? . . . That is the only way to keep an association alive, loyal and consequently popular, because it will meet a need which is real and understood by all."

In the second edition of the Handbook two years later, Harmel more than ever stressed the necessity of giving the labour elite an economic and social training: "The Church's teaching in matters economic and social is a necessary complement to Christian education. Hence it is desirable to have priests giving the committees a course of social doctrine and ethics . . . Workmen should be taught the problems of the day. They hear people all round talking capital, labour emancipation, co-operation, socialism, resistance policy. How are they to make out the truth unless errors are countered by the truth? . . . May we venture to express a wish for the education of our sons and daughters? It is that some room be made in their studies for Catholic social science. Ignorance precludes right practice. All our miseries come from our neglect of social duties, and we shall never get them to be known unless our youths are taught suitably. We wish for a text-book drawn up for our schools and colleges."

The above will do as a summary of Harmel's handbook. The contents may not be uniformly methodical; principles, regulations, suggestions, etc., are possibly arranged in an uncertain and confused sequence. But each para is bursting with apostolic inspiration; at every step the leading idea breaks through; it is useless to work at the improvement of workmen without the workmen's co-operation. The only fruitful help is self-help and if this self-help is to be elicited, workmen must be given their due share of ambition, initiative, responsibility and execution. If employers refuse to take the initiative, let workmen start their own unions, whilst waiting for the employers' co-operation.

Such were the views of Harmel in 1877, at a time liberal orthodoxy reigned supreme, state intervention was shunned, and the bourgeois spirit paralysed the efforts of the best leaders.

Congratulations came to him from all quarters. Leo XIII himself made it a point to send his official commendation.

through Cardinal Langenieux. On a bright morning of June 1879, in the chapel of Val des Bois which was filled to capacity with workmen and industrialist friends, the Brief was read solemnly by the Cardinal. Three points were stressed: the devotedness of the employers, the assistance rendered by religious orders, the workmen's association. "We congratulate the eminent employers who have undertaken and carried out such a remarkable work; we congratulate the workmen who co-operated with them; and we urge all employers and workmen of the large factories who pursue religious and patriotic progress no less than their own advantage to go and witness the order, peace and mutual love reigning at Val des Bois and to do their best to follow such a noble example."

Harmel felt greatly encouraged by this Brief; he threw himself into an endless round of meetings and congresses in which he tirelessly spread his views and methods. A few sentences from his speeches will bear quotation. "Persuade your friends that preventing a single sin in their factories is much better than the best philosophical discussion".—"You are in a ship which is sinking, hurry up and do your duty." "Instead of uselessly fighting against the spread of industry, go, welcome machinery and baptize it" as your forefathers went out to meet and baptize the invading barbarians. "Before action, truth . . . I would be only too glad to accommodate everybody. But what to do? Liberalism is the only adversary of the corporation Liberals pretend that whatever be the terms of the labour contract, they are just since everybody is free", which liberal opinion he refuted (Nantes, 1881) in words which were an anticipated commentary of a famous passage of the *Rerum Novarum*: "The service which a worker gives his employer is a thing real to which there corresponds a determined value due by the employer to the workman. If in practice this value depends only on the number of competitors, the worker is at the mercy of the employer's greed. Do not say the worker is free to accept or refuse the harsh

conditions imposed on him. It is not true. When the wage has gone down lower than bare necessities, a part of the family is in the direst need; hence no resistance is possible. Take a group of workmen feeling the pangs of hunger and obsessed with the thought of wife and children. Do you not think that an employer has all facilities to force them down to the wage he wants? But such profits which will result from this undue lowering of wages, will they be honest? Are they not rather a unjust profit made out of other people's misery? Hence, there is no question of equality between the contracting parties since one has lost his freedom. Against the employer there goes the clamour of justice which demands equality between the contracting parties and a wage corresponding to the value of the employee's work."

When Harmel was preaching social justice and defending the rights of workers, he impressed people, Albert de Mun used to say, "Like a Moses coming down from the Sinai quite ready to break the Tables of the Law on the heads of men". Somebody else, a municipal councillor of Nantes, said: "I disapprove of his whole programme. Yet he gave me the strongest religious feeling I ever had. He seems a mad fellow. Yet is he not a saint?" And a third summarised his impressions in the following words: "Harmel was a saint. It is the supernatural, mystical complex of his soul that explains his apostolic success. Harmel was neither an erudite, nor an orator, nor a writer; but Christ showed through him and conquered the opponent. One day Harmel told me: 'When I speak badly, that's Harmel; when I speak well, that's Christ.'" These words gave out Harmel's secret.

(To be continued)

A. Lallemand.

Fr. G. Guittou is the leading biographer on Harmel. *Leon Harmel* 2 vols. Paris, Spes, 1927—*La Vie Ardente et Feconde de Leon Harmel*, Paris, Spes, 1930.

BOOK-NOTES & REVIEWS

That matters are oversimplified when Labour is considered as a monolithic group is made apparent in the February copy of the *I.L.O. News* which reports on the steps taken to solve at an international level the pressing problems of the world's white-collar workers.

The I.L.O. set up a 13-nation Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers; I.L.O. experts submitted that "non-manual workers at present account for an average of more than 30 per cent of the populations of industrialised countries gainfully occupied as wage-earners". Furthermore their numbers are increasing faster than those of manual workers. This shows the growing importance of the complexity of the part played by white-collar workers. At the same time one must note that in many countries their standard of living is inferior to that of manual workers. This, the *I.L.O. News* remarks, shows there is a dangerous gap which threatens social peace. Besides the general question, the Committee has two special items on its agenda: the rights of performing artists; working conditions in shops and offices. In many places the excessive and abusive custom of recording and sound and vision broadcasting endangers the formation of true great artists. On the other hand, structure, lay-out, and equipment of many shops and offices are deplorable. White-collar workers have specific problems which differentiate them from the class of manual workers.

A parallel conclusion can be drawn from the study of an industrialised parish of the Borinage (Belgium). *Les Douzières de l'action sociale Catholique* reports that a sociographic enquiry observed several groups (or milieux): bourgeois, merchants, artisans, peasants, and workers. It notes among the workers two distinct conditions: *evolved status*; *proletarian status*. The first is made of skilled workers: technical education, high quality of work, contacts

with many firms and many regions, better home equipment and surroundings, all such factors develop a particular psychology. Of proletarian status are the manual workers of coalmines and glass-factory-hands.

Working class solidarity does exist, but it is largely emotional and comes out in case of accidents, deaths, etc. It is also at work to secure financial and material advantages, though membership of trade-unions has gone down. Mutual help is rendered if it does not lead to troubles or complications. There is no ambition to claim co-partnership in industries and raise the status of the working class as a whole. Moreover the group of "evolved status" dwell and live apart from the proletarians who respond with envy and mistrust.

This complex character of social life, particularly among what is generally called the working-class, should caution all against undue generalizations about 'milieux'; some prefer to organise apostolate on a class-basis (stand organisatie); others react against what they call "ouvriérisme" (workerism) and advocate unitary organisations.

That the matter of social classification is delicate could be had from a study of Mr. E. Goffman in *The British Journal of Sociology*. An individual may be rated on a scale of esteem (Victoria Cross) or ranked on a scale of status (shoulder-pips), position and role. Status symbols can be occupation symbols or class symbols. Occupation symbols may be required by anticipation (diplomas, etc.). But class symbols are as complex and delicate to handle as the notion of class itself (education, skill, talent, level consumption, cultural pursuits, personal association with certain groups, manners and social habits, "tastes" and fashions, etc.). As classes constantly rise and fall as well as individuals in terms of relative wealth, power and prestige, and as class symbols have an upward and a downward circulation, it is impossible to draw up a hard and fast classification of symbols or group the social qualifications which neatly define

or describe any particular social class. Yet classes do exist; they exist in the so-called classless society of Russia, and however much we may attempt to level up mankind, they will express the resistance of elite groups to be levelled down and of specific associations to be swallowed up in a human magma.

A. L.

L'Organizzazione Professionale. xxiv. Settimane Sociale Dei Cattolici Italiani, 1951. Istituto Cattolico Di Attivita Sociale. Edizioni Dell'Ateneo.

The popularity and utility of Social Weeks is being more and more proved. This Italian Week covers extensively the field of trade unionism in its different aspects: the actuality of trade unionism, its development in democratic countries and its position under collectivism, i.e., Communism, the economic repercussions caused by unionism, the proper ordering of relations between political parties and unions, the principles underlying the strike, and the application of Catholic thought to union practices are among the many interesting topics treated. The conclusions of the Week are very usefully summarised at the end of the book. One would have liked to find a more extensive bibliography than the one given and it is a pity that the Webb's biased *Soviet Communism* is listed, while their extremely useful *History of Trade Unionism* and *Industrial Democracy* are omitted.

All interested in trade unionism will find this treatment on professional organisations helpful and instructive.

A. N.

The *Home Review* is the annual magazine of St. Paul's Seminary, Tiruchirapalli. The diary allows one to follow the even tenor of seminary life, the *Holy Year Chronicle* tells us that many eyes are longingly fixed Romewards, and the varied articles reveal the academic preferences of

leisure hours. Readers will be interested to know that our future priests are earnestly studying social questions, as shown in the three essays on co-operative societies, and in the study of the Indian Constitution. Social works should come natural to a priest as embodiments of Christian charity, whilst pious associations are but too often like disembodied souls. It complicates the training of priests and it takes seminaries like St. Paul's to do the job properly.

A. L.

Catholic Action. By the Most Rev. L. Mathias, S.D.B., D.D., Pp. 246, Madras, Huxley Press, 1952.

The Director of the Catholic Action of the C.B.C.I. has answered the expectations of Ordinaries, Clergy and laity in preparing the present handbook of Catholic Action. Definition, Purpose, Obligation, Organisation, Practice, all the main elements of this specific form of apostolate are treated in turn with method and clarity. Most of all will be appreciated the valuable sheaf of Papal pronouncements on Catholic Action, which call for repeated meditation.

The manual fairly reflects the true-to-life elasticity which must characterise the practice of the lay-apostolate as well as the doctrinal basis which must be its universal inspiration. It contains model statutes, practical suggestions for meetings, and rituals for enrolment ceremonies: a real treasure for those who are at a loss about details of organisation. It also lists many activities which bear the stamp of authentic Catholic Action and awaken the interest of those who never find anything to do. But some readers need be told that if the manual carries no explicit suggestions about the social field of Catholic Action, it is only due, we personally surmise, to the departmental organisation of the C.B.C.I., which the book scrupulously respects with meritorious restraint. Nobody should entertain the fear . . . or the hope that Catholic Action keeps lay-apostolate

away from social action. The Papal pronouncements and this manual's doctrinal chapters are sufficiently clear on this important matter.

A. Lahuri.

The Un-Marxian Socialist—A Study of Proudhon, by Henri de Lubac, S.J., Pp. 304, 16 sh. net, Sheed & Ward, London.

It is generally taken for granted in many places that the inspiration of Socialism is essentially Marxian; hence materialist, and therefore atheistic. Fr. de Lubac in his extremely sympathetic study of the French Socialist, Proudhon, shows how deeply Proudhon is indebted to the Gospel and the Bible for the inspiring nucleus of his ideology. A couple of epigrams—*Property is theft* and *God is evil*—have been handed down to English readers of economic and social literature as Proudhon's main contribution to the thought of his times. But to judge a man by two short phrases torn out of their context is manifestly unfair. Fr. de Lubac seeks to place Proudhon in the right perspective by a thorough investigation of his writings.

Proudhon was a contemporary of Marx and like him deeply interested in the social question. He has the same burning style, and is more vituperative; but he has not the vast capacity of Marx for factual research. He differs from the latter however by the deeper profundity and precision of his intellectual insight. Whilst Marx remained bogged in matter and the means of production, Proudhon realised that religion was no mere superstructure, but played an important part in moulding culture and material welfare. Marx resolved the contradictions of the Dialectic in a higher synthesis as he had been taught to do by his master, Hegel. The more acute thinker, Proudhon, realised that the 'persistent antimony' could not be resolved. The tension would always remain. Yet in spite of this state of irresolution, there was definite progress within the antinomy. Socialism for Proudhon became the doctrine of 'Universal Reconciliation'. The word to express this recon-

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ciliation is according to Proudhon, Justice. Justice brings about an equilibrium in the social world.

For Catholics, Proudhon has a message that has importance even today. He fiercely attacked the smug complacency of his Catholic contemporaries who used religion to cloak the frightful injustices of the time. To these men, property was sacred and untouchable. The rich were to be congratulated on their wealth, for they could then practise almsgiving on a large scale, while the poor were told to submit to the divine will and place their hope in a future paradise. 'Property is theft' angrily exploded Proudhon. In a similar way, his opponents maintained no one was to interfere with the economic system which left to itself achieved a perfect harmony designed by divine providence. Proudhon spluttered, 'God is evil'. And who dare question him? Such outlandish conceptions of property and divine providence deserved the contempt heaped on them by Proudhon and others like him.

But Proudhon should have known better than to identify such strange notions with the teaching of the Church. His condemnation of the Church is hardly justifiable. But Proudhon was too proud and sensitive to ask for an explanation. He clung to his prejudices, thus harming only himself.

If anything, Fr. de Lubac is too sympathetic towards the man he writes about. But it is only by such 'worlds of sympathy' that we can come to understand those who disagree with us and catch a glimpse of their point of view.

A. F.

The Geography of Hunger, by Josue de Castro, pp. 288, 18 sh. net, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1951.

Josue de Castro was Chairman of the Executive, Food and Agriculture Organisation. His key position in the organisation that deals with food production and distribution all the world over gave him a unique opportunity of an

few of the world food situation such as few are
 ed to enjoy. His book is a lucid exposition of the
 olem of hunger, understood in the broadest sense of the
 term,—protein deficiency. And his conclusions are equally
 challenging. For he is quite confident that the world can
 support double its present population, if men will only make
 use of technological advance in farming methods, and utilize
 vast tracts of the earth that still lie untilled.

"The crucial point of the essay," he maintains, "is the
 argument that overpopulation does not cause starvation in
 various parts of the world, but that starvation is the cause of
 overpopulation. This idea sounds paradoxical, since hunger,
 an agent of deterioration and death, seems unlikely to pro-
 voke an excessive increase in population. But in reality
 this is just what happens."

His arguments to prove his assertion are convincing.
 It is obvious that he has given the matter much thought
 and forestalled difficulties against his position. Some re-
 viewers have complained of the lack of statistics in the
 book. But de Castro bases his arguments on indisputable
 facts. Some of his assertions, for instance, his attacks on
 the selfish methods of British Imperialism and the colonial
 policy of the West in regard to the Orient and the dark
 continent, may give offence in certain quarters, but the
 main tenor of his argument holds true.

World co-operation is needed to banish hunger. Self-
 sufficiency for merely national sentiments will never do.
 Food planning on an international scale is our only salva-
 tion. This is our only road to survival.

A. F.



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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.

PERSONNEL

The I. I. S. O. was started at Poona on January 6, 1951 and is at present staffed by the following members of the Society of Jesus:

Rev. J. D'Souza, *Director*, Rev. C. C. Clump, A. Fonseca, A. Lallemand, and A. Nevett.

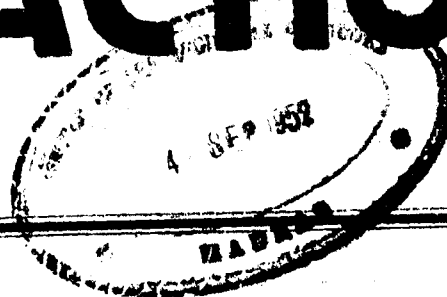
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Franciscan Inspiration

Catholics in Trade-Unions

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HERE AND THERE

Warp in Olympics

From a survey of public opinion, it is not clear whether the Helsinki display was a sports competition or a conflict of political ideologies. With totalitarian communism, science, publicity, sport, everything has a political colour. By reaction the other countries emphasize the nationalist view as glaringly and as regrettably. That is how the Helsinki tournament turned into a skirmish of the cold water.

What has happened to sport under Red Fascism is of little direct interest. But what should be a matter of great concern for us is the deterioration which has marked the evolution of sports on our own side of the Iron Curtain. In the good old days sport was sport ; with capitalism it developed into a financial enterprise ; with the spread of democracy it grew tainted with communalism and politics. In former times people were satisfied that victories were won on points; in recent years quite a few expect them to be won on votes. Organised cheering, booing and whistling, invading the field, assaulting the referee, all such modern incidents betray the deterioration of sports in bet-ridden democracies. There is less and less sporting spirit in sport.

Social Rehabilitation of Sport

This gradual impairment of sports calls for the attention of social workers ; sports play an important part in

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POONA 1

solving the vast problem of leisure. It is hardly worth our while to attempt humanizing conditions of employment in factories and offices if we abandon the leisure so secured to impulses and conventions that are little in keeping with human dignity.

Sports should prove a healthy exercise for body and mind, afford relief from the day's toil, foster neighbourliness and favour a cultural tone which meets man's sense of honour and disinterestedness. Not all forms of entertainment would pass such a test and social workers have not been slow in denouncing certain films, dances, readings, etc. But even from among the athletic sports which are popularly regarded with favour, there are types which are less acceptable.

The entertainment (?) which has been the object of the most adverse comments is boxing, and it was most severely castigated in the U.S.A. where it is most popular. Last year the quarterly *Theological Studies* took up the ethical point of view and Fr. E. Hillman squarely analysed the moral features of boxing. He narrowed down his study to professional prize-fighting but boldly condemned it as sinful. His arguments are impressive, though we must expect promoters, prize-fighters and spectators to be shocked and not a few educationists to be amazed. As boxing is growing in vogue in India under the plea of sport modernisation and as prize-fighting is already included in the programme of the 1954 Asian games, his views are worth summarizing.

Evils of Prize-fighting

Fr. Hillman first argues that a prize-fighter regularly intends to knock out his opponent or at least to make him punch-drunk. But depriving another of his consciousness violently is to deprive him of his specifically human powers, it is to de-humanize him, an evil which recalls the evil of perfect drunkenness, an evil which is more deliberate and calculated in boxing than in the case of alcoholic excess.

Moreover the modern promoter wants a crowd and in order to draw a crowd he wants "Punchers" so that sports-writers may blatantly advertise the "smashing", "savage", "slaughtering" blows. But with the improved technique of punching, there has grown the number and gravity of head injuries, hemorrhage, blindness, mutilation, and brain concussion, which are regularly intended as shortcuts to victory. Medical experts in the U.S.A. are more and more emphatic on the baneful effects of hard-punches which severely impair bodily functions.

Finally if the spectators contribute to the money-prize, they also contribute to the savageness of the fight and share in the brutal display. They leave the stadium with impaired humaneness. Cockfights, bull-fights, fox-hunting are criticised because of their unwholesome influence on the finer feelings of the spectators and of the insufficiently motivated sufferings inflicted on animals. Brutish emotionalism is hardly a civilised pursuit in leisure hours.

India's Opportunity

Bodily violence is regrettable enough when needed for self-defence. All over the world praise-worthy efforts are made to prevent violence and war. Yet, with remarkable inconsistency, there grows a popular reversion to primitive behaviour. Nations develop medical services, popularise wonder drugs and cures, punish the least assault against bodily integrity, and at the same time people, even in the highest spheres, grow callous in their respect for human life; propaganda for abortion, euthanasia, brutish-boxing, never-racking entertainments and the like betray a lack of sound principles and virtuous consistency in public opinion.

India with her inherited cult for non-violence can do much to foster humaneness throughout the world. Let not up-to-date fads stunt her finer feelings and dissipate her immense possibilities for good.

A. L.

A PILGRIMAGE TO ASSISI

The readers of "Social Action" will not, I trust, think that I am striking too personal a note if I greet them after a long absence in Europe and America with a brief article devoted to the description of a visit to Assisi and the shrines which are associated with the life and friendships of St. Francis. Many of the things I saw and heard in the course of the last few months — the discussions in the UNO General Assembly, particularly in the Third or Social Committee wherein I represented our country, the Schools of Social Service in the different Universities of America which I visited after the General Assembly, and the talks with leaders of social service education there and in Europe, — will I hope be of use to the work of the Institute and for the cause of Catholic social work in general. My visit to the Indian settlers in Jamaica and Trinidad was also a memorable experience. Next month I shall write briefly something of what I saw of them, of their faithful remembrance of the Motherland, affection with which they welcome visitors from India, and of their social and economic problems of their hopes and aspirations. But of all these visits and contacts, I do not hesitate to say that the day spent in Assisi has left the most vivid impressions. The thoughts which it inspired are so closely connected with the preoccupations with social problems which today engage the minds of all earnest people. That is my excuse for asking the attention of the readers of "Social Action" to this topic.

I went to Assisi from Rome by one of the buses of the Italian Company of Tourism whose service is excellent from every point of view. I had as companion Fr. Saverimuthu, S. J., now Professor of Philosophy at Shembaganur, who had just then completed his course for a Doctorate in the Gregorian University and whose knowledge of Italian and things Italian were of the greatest use to me. The journey was rendered still more agreeable by the presence

among the passengers of Sir Arnold Lunn, the distinguished convert and writer whose wide knowledge and experience and varied contacts made his conversation fascinating. Our journey lay up the ridge of the Apennines and then down by a gradual descent, the road winding through beautiful valleys and skirting hills crested with castles and churches of historic interest. We passed also the exquisitely beautiful waters of the Clitumnus and almost held our breath at their crystalline purity and transparency. We made our swift journey in May, under a clear Italian sky, and exhilarated by its brilliant sunshine, and reached Assisi nestling among the hills of Umbria, sometime before noon.

There were but a few hours before us to make the round of the Churches which we wanted to see. We went first to the great Church of St. Francis which contains the tomb of the Saint and some of the finest examples of Franciscan art. The tomb is in the crypt and its stern simplicity is not hidden by any mistaken lavishness in the altar encasing it or the votive offerings around it. It is a hallowed spot where silence reigns in an atmosphere of prayer and lowliness. Above the crypt is what is known as the lower Church, a massive Roman construction covered with remarkable frescoes, the most memorable being the celebrated portrait of St. Francis by Cimabue a marvellous combination of austerity and gentleness, and the fresco by Pietro Lorenzetti of the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis. It is impossible to imagine the beauty of features and serenity of expression to match this fresco. It haunts the memory once seen. The main Church over the lower church is a Gothic construction and is of imposing proportions. The frescoes by Giotto on the chief events of the life of the saint and those by Cimabue on Old and New Testament subjects make this Church one of the supreme examples of religious art.

From this Church which no one can visit without feeling something of the spell which the spirit of St. Francis casts upon all those who come in contact with him, we went

to the celebrated church of St. Damien, one of the churches which the youthful Francis repaired with his own hands. Here one breathes the atmosphere in which the kindred spirit of St. Clare was nurtured. Everything here speaks of poverty and renunciation — the cloister, the rude refectory where Clare and her sisters lived, the little chapel where they worshipped, the bare and forbidding room where she died. Bare, rude and forbidding undoubtedly, but all transformed to the eyes of a reverent beholder by the ardour and exultation of spirit which total renunciation fosters and fans, an ardour that swept through Christendom seven centuries ago like a purifying flame.

From San Damiano, redolent with memories of St. Clare to the tomb of St. Clare was a natural move. Its centre of attraction is the incorrupt body of Clare exposed to the veneration of the faithful in a magnificent case. But in spite of this there is about the Church — its architecture, its decoration — a simplicity and purity of outline which reveals the authentic Franciscan spirit. From this church we wound up to the imposing heights of Mount Subasio, several miles away, and visited the Hermitage or mountain caves known as the Carceri where St. Francis and some of his earliest companions used to retire to pray. Later on St. Bernardine of Sienna built a convent with cells scooped out of the rock as narrow and austere as the half open caves outside, which Francis had first used. But over the ruggedness of it all broods the sweet spirit of Francis because this was the scene of that unforgettable idyll of his preaching to the birds. Overlooking the gorge outside the convent is the ancient ilex or holm oak on the branches of which the little brothers of Francis alighted to listen to the praises of their Maker.

And finally, out on the plain and far from the sanctuaries in the heights, the great basilica of the Portiuncula, Basilica de Santa degli Angeli, dominating the convents, shrines and dwellings that cluster around it. This modern basilica was built around the little church of the Portiun-

cula which Francis renovated and where he lived for several years. It was there that he secured from Our Lady the Indulgence which goes by the name of Portiuncula. The ancient convent, cloisters, chapels and cells and gardens which are linked up with this Basilica, are all associated with some of the most striking events in the life of the saint. Enclosed within the precincts of the Basilica and near the sanctuary is the spot where the saint rendered his soul to God.

No one who goes to Assisi and moves in and breathes the atmosphere which the memory of Francis and Clare has created there, can escape the compelling force of the ideals which animated them and made their lives a perfect miracle of the love of God and man. Francis realised as few other men that the heart of the message of Jesus was love, love of God and love for God's creation. He saw that avarice, the passion for wealth and all that it brings — power and comfort — were the great enemy of love and the sower of discord; he saw that it was impossible to love God and men as they deserved unless there was detachment from the goods of the world and the desire for those spiritual riches which the worm and moth cannot destroy. Hence his worship of Lady Poverty and his passionate love of the poor, the sick, the abandoned of all kinds. I do not know whether he envisaged the "social problem" as we see it in all its complexity. But he saw that in some form or other "the poor we shall always have with us"; and that there would be no harmony and love within the human family unless the rich were, for the sake of a greater good, content to part with or share their riches; and unless the poor also for the sake of the greater good learnt contentment and joy in spite of material hardness of their lives. With this message of universal love and earthly detachment he revitalized Christendom and sent a breath of life and hope among the nations that formed the variegated pattern of medieval Europe. We too at the present day are engaged in solving the problems created by greed and the

desire to dominate. We too want to give life and hope to a Society sick to death because of injustice and hatred. We want a better distribution of wealth and greater consideration for the worker and for the propertyless masses. The Communists propose the solution wholly materialistic in its content and tyrannical in its method of execution. They want social peace by destruction, the peace of the wilderness. The democratic countries propose solutions certainly more acceptable — progress through freedom, improved standards of life, and increased production by the accelerating the rhythm of private production. And orally at least they pay homage to spiritual values and appeal to Christian ideals. But very often the ideal beneath their solutions is one of a purely material well being and the abundance they seek is secured by multiplying human wants, and increasing human activity to meet them. Very few indeed seem to realise that there is no solution for the social and economic problem except through the "cult of poverty" if not in the heroic degree of Francis and his companions at least by the spirit of detachment, by the love of simple and austere ways, and on the foundation of unselfishness thus built up, by the love of heavenly things.

Not less apposite and not less necessary is another aspect of the life and spirit of Francis. Man has a craving for beauty and a love for all beautiful things. The problems of man's life must be solved in an integrated manner so as to embrace the substance of his activity in all its aspects. In solving the social problem we must see to it that his spiritual and material needs are satisfied and his cultural and aesthetic cravings fulfilled. His individual and social activity must tend to the preservation of beauty and the creation of new forms of beauty. Our industrial civilization tends to confound beauty with lavishness and waste, refinement with comfort. Our methods of production do not create forms of beauty, they tend to pile up monsters of hideousness. Ruskin foresaw this danger and inveighed against it with passion. But Francis of Assisi knew how to

combine beauty with simplicity and poverty. He loved the beauty of creation as few men have done. On all his words and gestures, on his attitude to sun and sky, birds, flowers and flowing waters, there is the stamp of a supreme grace and purity. The painters of the Franciscan school from Cimabue and Giotto to Fra Angelico, are among the supreme creators of artistic beauty. If we are to bring love and grace and beauty into human life we must assimilate more and more the spirit of Francis of Assisi. That spirit is not confined to any school or particular religious family in the Church. It is the spirit of the Gospel, it is the spirit of Jesus. It is the spirit that is reflected in the thousand facets of Catholic teaching, and Catholic life.

J. D'Souza.

WHY JOIN YOUR UNION?

Social principles serve little purpose and are regarded as little better than platitudes unless an attempt is made to apply them to concrete cases. In this context, the recent discussion in the press as to the obligation and the utility in joining a trade union is welcome. Discussion should, like a good thunderstorm, clear the air; let us hope that this will be the result of the present controversy.

A very brief summary of the nature of trade unions will be helpful in assessing both sides of the debate. Trade unions are necessary and exist of their own right; the worker has the right to a just wage, security and treatment in keeping with human dignity; such benefits he cannot obtain by himself individually, but only in association with others. In forming unions workers are defending their inherent right to a decent livelihood both for themselves and for their families. Because in the past men did not get their just rights, they were obliged to form

unions as a means of self-protection. In unity strength, is the lesson of the last one hundred and fifty years ; the isolated individual is a puny, helpless creature before the colossal might of modern industry and it is only by collective bargaining that the individual worker can hope to obtain justice. Through his union the individual has a chance of striking a fair bargain because the union is better informed about prices and conditions and can meet the employer on equal terms. Unions besides protecting the worker also help to see that its members keep the terms of their contract with the employer, and serve as a channel through which management and labour can discuss and settle their mutual difficulties in a friendly way. All this is a commonplace of Catholic social teaching and can be found in the Church's pronouncements on social doctrine.

To complete the picture we must shade in the dark patches which have become more conspicuous in recent years. Where labour has been long and fully organised, it has, in some cases, constituted itself into such a force as to form a monopoly which can enforce unjust and unreasonable demands and bring lakhs of workers out on strikes that are a disaster both to industry and the nation. Unions are sometimes known to seek their own interests with complete disregard for those of the consumer and the general public ; their leaders sometimes work for their own selfish advantage at the expense of both the worker and the employer ; unions are used as tools by this or that political party which puts its own interests before those of the unionists, even if it does not work against them. Where unionism has reached manhood, it should show the maturity and balanced judgement of a full-grown man. Pius XII, in his address to the Italian workers points out the danger of irresponsible action on the part of unions : "if ever they should aim at exclusive domination in the state and in society, if they should seek to exercise absolute power over the worker, if they should reject the strict sense of justice and sincere good will to collaborate with

the other social classes, they would betray the expectations and the hopes which every honest and conscientious worker places in them."

However, in spite of these disadvantages, the good points definitely outweigh the bad : unionism has considerably bettered the position of the worker and in most countries it still remains his greatest safeguard against exploitation. Those who are prone to dwell over much on the dark side of unionism would do well to meditate on the following passage : "If the practices of some labour unions are bad, this is probably because people with high Christian ideals and a spirit of apostolic service have not joined the union or, if they are union members, they have not taken the time and the trouble needed to gain the necessary knowledge to be given positions of responsibility."¹ Where efforts to get enlightened labour leaders elected have succeeded, workers and employers usually agree that their mutual interests are best served by collaboration and not by embittered contests of strength. "To obtain the desired concord between labour and capital," says the present Pontiff, "recourse is had to the professional organization and the labour union, understood not as weapons destined exclusively for a defensive or offensive war which would provoke reactions and reprisals, not as a flowing river which submerges and separates, but rather as a bridge to unite these groups."

Let us now turn to the Indian scene and examine the situation there. For the most part labour is unorganised : of agricultural labour far and away the greatest part cannot be said to have a semblance of organisation at all, while only a part of those engaged in other industries are in unions, and even in this case, membership fluctuates greatly according as benefits are in the immediate offing or not. Employers, in general, give no more than they are forced to, while an excess of manpower and the constant threat

¹ E. J. Ross, *Sound Social Living*, p. 298.

of unemployment makes labour weak and management strong. We are aware that there is the other side of the picture which brings out the faults of labour: inefficiency, a notable increase in the number of disputes, the instability of labour, largely drawn from villages and making a very high annual turnover, absenteeism, unreasonable demands and a docility to follow demagogues and trouble-makers, but the over-all picture is of a weak, disorganised labour force, rarely strong enough to enforce its just demands, and being but a very weak counterpart of organised labour in the West. The conclusion is that if the Church could declare unions necessary for the European conditions of 1929 (as she did in the Lille letter; this decision has nothing to do with the world slump which was shortly to follow), still more so are they necessary for the India of 1952. We may even go a step further and state that the cause of labour trouble in the country today does not arise from the existence of unions, but because labour is not organised or, where organised, because it is organised along the wrong lines.

Having outlined the situation, we can now put the question: "Must I join my union?" The answer is that unless your union is nothing but a tool of a ruthless party out to destroy true liberty and impose a crushing tyranny on all, then you should join your union. Among the reasons for taking this decision are the following: although I myself may get nothing out of my union in its present state than continual annoyance and a feeling of frustration, yet if I, and the many like me who could do something to improve my union, keep out of it, all other members and the labour movement in general suffer from my action. In other words, I must sacrifice my own convenience for the common good of my fellow workers, just as the soldier must be ready to sacrifice his life for his country, and a good doctor or devoted statesman sacrifice their health for a common cause. This obligation to join one's union and make a sacrifice for the common good of the working class

is well brought out by the following parallel which has more force than a mere comparison. When a country is passing through a crisis at the time of a general election and subversive forces are trying to set up a tyrannical government, it is the duty of every citizen with a vote to go to the polls and vote against such a party. This Pius XII made very clear during the Italian elections when he stated that under pain of grievous sin Catholics must go and vote to overthrow the Communist menace. Now if there is an obligation to join one's union because the union movement is weak, there is an even stronger obligation to join when, as in this country, Communists are straining every nerve to control the unions.

Another parallel, less strong than the above, can be found in the justification of the 'closed shop.' In this practice an employer may hire and employ union members only. This means that to get a job I must be a union member. It is argued against the closed shop that it unlawfully restricts the rights of employer and of non-union worker. Now although the closed shop cannot always be justified, and may be the occasion of serious abuse, there are cases where its practice can be upheld. To apply this to our problem, if in certain cases one man in justice be forced to join a union to get a job because though this is a very serious restriction of personal liberty, it is the best way to safeguard the workers' interests, surely then one may be obliged to join one's union in cases where personal liberty is much less restricted, but where the need for union security is very great, as at present in India. It is important to note why the closed shop may be justified. According to a very moderate opinion it is permissible when "a situation may arise where respect for vital rights of the workers by the employers can be secured only through their united action: then the rights of the group may prevail against those of the individual"² And another specialist states:

² J. Messner, *Social Ethics*, p. 366.

"The right of any worker to a job must be interpreted against the background of this social fact. (The history of 150 years of struggle to establish workers' rights.). Accordingly, instead of talking about the right of a worker to join or not to join a union, would it not seem more appropriate and more practical, to discuss a possible duty to join his fellows in a spirit of fraternal solidarity? At any rate, where the closed shop is essential to a union's security, I do not believe that the union violates the worker's right to a job by demanding that he join the union."³ And "Social justice and the common good may demand that a minority group of workers cede personal privileges to the welfare of all concerned. Most of the benefits and privileges enjoyed by non-unionists were not obtained by them through their own individual efforts, but through the bargaining power of the union as an organization. If, then, the closed shop is a practical necessity for the common good of all workers in the shop, private views and preferences of the individuals and minority groups should, it seems, give way to the priority of the common good of all workers as a body."⁴

The argument, then, for the justification of the closed shop in certain cases is based on the principle that I must sacrifice my personal privileges for the common good of the group. This is but an application of the very same reasoning why I should join my union. The last quotation above gives the added argument that I ought to join my union since I enjoy the benefits my union has won without giving anything in return for these hard-won advantages.

We will give one more example to emphasise the point from the purpose of the Association of Catholic Trade-Unionists (ACTU). (N.B. This is not a trade union, but

an association of Catholic workers who are engaged in different unions, according to their trade.) This Association exists to bring Catholics into trade unions, from which purpose it is clear that joining one's union is very much encouraged.⁵ Other aims of ACTU are to make Catholics in unions an organised force that will permeate their unions with the understanding and practice of justice and charity towards all workers and all classes, to spread the knowledge of Catholic social teaching so that all may know the Church manifests a genuine care of the worker's needs and is a firm upholder of his rights. Once again we see that we are exhorted to join our unions, not because these associations are models of rectitude, not even primarily for the benefits we may get from joining, but to influence our union to develop along the right lines for the benefit of the working class and of the nation, by the help of sound Catholic social principles which catholic unionists alone know.

If each of us lived in a vacuum, cut off from everybody else, I could argue that unions were no business of mine. But this is not the case; every man, as a social being, has obligations towards society which he cannot refuse to acknowledge without going contrary to his true nature: his acts have repercussions on others as they have on him. For a Christian the argument is even stronger: we are all

⁵ We do not treat here of forming Catholic unions since the question is hardly applicable to present conditions and circumstances in India. Briefly, papal directions on this point are: where possible, Catholic unions should be formed; where this is not possible, Catholics may join non-Catholic unions provided they are not subversive of Catholic principles. Cf. for instance, *A Code of Social Principles*, No. 114.

Catholics are aware they cannot join a Communist Union. But this should not lead them to abandon a non-communist union into which a few active Communists have infiltrated and caused a disturbance out of proportion to their numbers. Such a situation is an opportunity to react and drive the Communists out of their positions.

³ Benjamin L. Masse, "Does the Closed Shop Destroy the Right to work?" *America*, vol. LXVI, No. 16.

⁴ C. N. Bittle, *Man and Morals*, pp. 483-84. Cf. also, J. L. Toner, *The Closed Shop*.

members, one of another and no Christian can say: "I am not my brother's keeper," nor can he hypocritically wash his hands of all responsibility for acts done in the name of the whole community of which he is a member. Many do not vote alleging the corruption of politicians as an excuse. The Church has condemned this attitude and pointed out that the seriousness of the times and the danger coming from the forces of evil make it an obligation to vote. Many do not join their union, giving as a reason for this that their union is corrupt and dominated by party politics; the solution is to get into your union and change what is wrong. Many do not vote, thinking that one vote cannot make any difference, but the number of people who think thus is so great that elections are lost through the want of such votes. Many think: "It cannot make any difference if I keep out of my union." But the number of those who think thus is so great that as a consequence of their abstention, the union falls into the hands of undesirable elements. If you do not vote and a rascal is elected, you cannot say: "It's not my fault, since I did not vote for him." You should have voted against him. When your union is corrupt you cannot disclaim responsibility by saying "I didn't corrupt it." You, and others like you, should be in your union to prevent corruption. Remember that if you are a Catholic you have much to offer. Even men of goodwill go astray because they have not got the guidance of Christian social principles. You know—at least you should know — those principles, and in the light of them can do much to guide the decisions of your union. But if you, and those like you, are not in your union, you are not only partly responsible for the wrong done by your union, but you cannot blame non-Catholics if they act in ignorance of Catholic social principles which you have neglected to teach them. Owing to the fact that many do not join their union, or if members, do not attend union meetings, determined and well-trained groups, usually Communists, control the local union. Then owing to the

First Steps in C. S. A.

10. WAGES (Contd.)

Section V. Labour, the human factor of production.

In Section III we noted that *human labour* is a factor of production. That is to say, in the words of Pope Leo XIII, "Capital cannot do without Labour, nor Labour without Capital," in the production of goods and services. But whereas, Capital is something different and quite separate from its owner, human labour is bound up with its owner, and cannot be separated from him. The human energy, strength and intellectual labour which a man puts into his work is something of his own personality and a part of his being. This is why, Pope Leo XIII tells us that labour is *personal*. More than this, the Holy Father goes on to say, that Labour is also *necessary*. This is so, because in God's plan it is only by working, and by working hard, can man develop his moral, physical and spiritual powers. Again, for the vast majority of people Labour is a necessary means to preserve life; for by working, most people, earn wages which they use to satisfy their want of food, clothing, shelter and other necessities.

Unfortunately, in several countries, today, this human aspect of Labour is quite forgotten or neglected. This leads to insufficient or low wages, bad conditions of work and a disregard of the rights of the working classes. The encyclical *Rerum Novarum* treats, in detail, of the many wrongs our workers suffer when people, and especially, employers disregard the human aspect of Labour. This is why Pope Pius XI, insists, in his encyclical, *The Social Order, or Quadragesimo Anno*, that the personal needs of the workers must be the first element to be considered when we try to fix just wages. (see, Section IV).

Section VI. The Consumers' Choice

The goods and services which the consumer chooses to buy, or spend his income upon, is an important factor in production. Obviously, if people choose to wear a special kind of hat, then our hatters will gather Capital and Labour to make and sell this special type of headwear, and so on with other things people may decide and choose to buy. Generally speaking, in a country in which there prevails a simple or primitive type of economy, that is, a country in which consumers limit their choice to the consumption of food, clothing and shelter, the resources of the country in raw materials and in the skill of its Labour will be wholly devoted to the production of these goods only. But with the growing needs of the people, and when, besides food, clothing and shelter, they require education, transport, health services and many other goods and services, then the economy of the country becomes varied and complicated. In this case, the natural resources of the country has to be divided between these different goods and services which help to raise the Standard of Living. Now, since no single country is able to produce at home, all it needs to satisfy the wants of its people, there must be some means whereby other countries supply these wants.

Section VII. International Trade and the rate of exchange.

In Section III we learnt that Trade or Exchange of goods, makes it possible for people in one country to obtain goods produced in another country. In the early days of human society, "barter" was the method used to exchange one type of goods for that of another type, e.g. so many pounds of Indian tea for a certain number of Sheffield penknives. Later, or as some would say, with the advance of civilisation, money came to be used as a medium of exchange. The value of goods was reckoned in money, e.g. 5 lbs. of Indian tea = Rs. 15 = 2 Sheffield made penknives. The use of money as a medium of exchange within a country is easily understood; but a complication arises when there is question of trade between foreign countries which use their own type of money, such as, India's rupees; America's dollars; England's pound and so on. In the example given above, the Indian mer-

chants exporting tea to England want Indian money to pay their costs in India, and the British manufacturer wants English money to pay for his costs in England. How do they obtain the kind of money or currency they need? Once international trade opens between countries, each country builds up "money claims" in the other country or countries. Thus, our Indian merchant by selling tea to England builds up "claims to sterling" in certain types of banks in England, and so also, the British manufacturer who sells Sheffield penknives in India builds up "claims to rupees" in banks in India. Now, therefore, the British companies who wish to pay in rupees, for tea or other imported goods, need only go one of these special banks in England and buy Rupees. In the same way Indian merchants, who wish to pay for goods imported into India from England, need only go to these special banks in India and buy Sterling to pay for these goods. At any given time, and in all countries with foreign trade, there is a constant demand for the currency of different countries; and of course, if one country, say, India has exported more to Britain, than Britain has exported to India, then there will be a greater demand for Rupees than for Sterling, and the exchange-rate will move in favour of India. In general, the exchange-rate, is the figure at which the currency of one country exchanges for that of another. This figure is fixed, to a large extent by the relative price-levels (in terms of the money of any two countries) of the things in which they trade.

Social worker should note two important points which arise from all this:—

- i. The Economic Interdependence of the countries of the world. This follows from the simple truth that no country is completely self-sufficient. The easy flow of trade between countries is essential to the material welfare of the whole family of States, because it is the means whereby the wealth of the world is shared out among all countries, and this, in turn, helps to raise the Standard of Living in all countries. Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical, *The Social Order*, advocates the promotion of "happy international co-operation in economic matters by prudent pacts and institutions since economically they (the countries of the whole world) are largely dependent one upon the other and need one another's help" (para, 98).

ii. The Social Utility of efficient production. The benefits of efficient production, today, do not remain within the boundaries of the producing country alone. Trade helps to carry these benefits to other countries where the material well being of many people may be increased. Both capital and Labour do a great service to the peoples of the great human family when they combine to raise the productive efficiency of any country.

READING: Rerum Novarum: para: 34, On the living wage, and the nature of human Labour.

Economic & Political Life of Man: p. 163-168, on Foreign Exchange.

EXERCISES & FIELD WORK.

1. What does Pope Leo XIII mean when he says:—
 - (a) Capital cannot do without Labour nor Labour without Capital?
 - (b) Human Labour is both personal and necessary?
2. Why do people Trade?
3. How do exports pay for imports?

C. C. C.

general apathy, these are elected to the higher offices and in the end the whole Union falls into the hands of those whose policy is abhorrent to the majority who would never have allowed their union to be captured in this way had they been better informed. And who are better suited to give sound advice and point out the hidden, insidious dangers than well-trained Catholic unionists who make a profession of defending social justice? One cannot look with complacency on those who keep out of their unions and then wring their hands and shriek in horror at the misdeeds of unionism.

Last century, the great Bishop of Mainz, Dr. Ketteler, urged the German Catholics to join non-Catholic unions even though their leaders were mainly motivated by anti-Christian motives. His advice is most appropriate to our conditions and the case under discussion and we could not do better than conclude by quoting this great social pioneer.

"It would be a great folly on our part if we kept aloof from this movement (unionism) merely because it happens at present to be promoted chiefly by men who are hostile to Christianity. The air remains God's air though breathed by an atheist, and the bread we eat is no less the nourishment provided for us by God though kneaded by an unbeliever. It is the same with unionism. It is an idea that rests on the divine order of things and is essentially Christian, though the men who favour it most do not recognise the finger of God in it and often turn it to a wicked use.

"Unionism, however, is not merely legitimate in itself and worthy of our support, but Christianity alone commands the indispensable elements for directing it properly and making it a real and lasting benefit to the working class. Just as the great truths that uplift and educate the workingman, his individuality and personality, are Christian truths, so also Christianity has the great ideals and living forces capable of imparting life and vigour to the workingmen's associations."

A Nevett.



GOOD MONSIEUR HARMEL

(Continued)

Harmel was prepared to assist any social work, and always made a distinctive contribution. He willingly supported the 'Union of Catholic Clubs' (Oeuvre des Cercles Catholiques) which gathered together leaders of all classes and was intent on solving the social problem. It accepted the direction of Albert de Mun and the doctrine of de La Tour du Pin; Harmel established with both of them a most intimate friendship which did not prevent heroic discussions and well-marked differences. The fortunes of the Union fluctuated largely with fluctuating circumstances and varied personalities; there were temperamental dissonances, doctrinal differences and political divergences. Many employers shunned cooperation with workers and advocated protection and patronage. Intellectual temperaments were satisfied with ideologies, a type which, in the words of E. Dimnet, is persuaded that "If one is right in what one thinks, somebody else is sure to do the humdrum work of carrying out the thought." Some of the leaders held that the State should be a benevolent watchman, others pleaded for a State-providence. Some maintained that a monarchy was the only plank of salvation, others had sincerely rallied to the republic, etc.

What calls for our attention is the contribution of Harmel to the work of a Union. As he gathered experience, he was more and more insistent on co-operation between workers and employers. No patronage, for God's sake! Let us not run Workers' Councils as Sunday Clubs for school-boys! What we must set up is the government of the workers associations by the workers themselves.

Another of Harmel's contributions was the broadening of the scope of the Union. As de Mun writes in his *Ma Vocation Sociale*, the Union "had in 1873 reached only artisans and clerks; it was hardly spread to the countryside. The example of Harmel opened new horizons.....

We found in the sphere of industry a superb confirmation of the principles we had stated at first. A splendid future was open to our ambitions; our minds, turned hereafter towards the working masses, had of necessity to seek a solution of their problems. From then onwards the solution was to be sought in social legislation and in corporative organisation."

The sharpest divergences among the leaders were in regard to the method of organisation and work. Marquess de La Tour du Pin was all for study, Harmel for action. Both agreed that study and action were necessary, the divergence was a matter of emphasis and dosage. Harmel wanted it light enough to prevent going the wrong way, but once that amount of doctrine was secured, action, trial and error method, history and experience. "In economics if the head nears the heavens, the feet must remain on the earth."

The Union had three sections: propaganda, finance, organisation. A fourth was added, education with a Study Board (Conseil d'Etudes); this last section was given a prominence deplored by Harmel: endless discussions on principles, a monthly periodical exclusively devoted to theories, planning, mental constructions, etc. Harmel used to exclaim: "We are a work, we are not a school. Action is our purpose. Why have those excursions into the realm of the absolute and seek, a priori solutions?" He was keen on study, but study of practical questions: labour contract, constant level of wages, bonus, insurance, partnership problems. All his life he felt shy of theories and theoreticians. Theories lead people to believe that theorizing is working. Theories divide. Action, always action, like O'Connell who never did anything else, Contact with workmen; the running of workers' associations would teach more than all the theories in the world." Such were his views.

"Get your sections in working order. You are a soldier, you'll never be a philosopher. Leave all that talk to the Byzantines who have nothing else to do when the house is

on fire." "If the Catholic Church had had a Study Board the Apostles would never have converted anybody, or at most a few only." "Moreover what we have is not exactly a Study Board, it is rather an Oracle Board." "All these good folks who are not employers reason like books. But when they come to apply their theories, they drift into the impossible or the ridiculous. Let them leave people who have some practice the trouble of drawing conclusions which they themselves fail to comprehend." "A laboratory is the proper thing for a factory, but it should not be built in the machine-room." "With your theorizing, you will kill work."

Most speeches gave that outlook and were couched in that style. It would be out of place to analyse his views here, focus them and amend them suitably. In the long run, the studies of the Union were helpful if not immediately, at any rate in the following decades. Moreover, and here we see that Harmel's ardour somewhat obscured his vision, many of the 'conclusions' were ideas worked out of his very concrete methods and experiments. Several leaders, like Mr. de la Guillioniere, would say: "The only real social doctrine we learned came out of the Harmel-de la Tour du Pin tournament." It was indeed a tournament in knightly style, even if the pen was as sharp as a word, and the sword was always buttoned. The jousts never wrecked those noble friendships. Harmel used to repeat: "I most heartily love those whom I fight against. I esteem and admire them." "I would be sorry to be in your way, but I love you so much that I am not sorry to hurt you a little." *Magis amica veritas.*

Harmel was diffident of political work and state intervention; yet when de Mun was elected to Parliament, Harmel nursed some hope that much could be done. He was disappointed. de Mun was a lone warrior fighting on behalf of the workers; moreover he made a mistake when displaying his royalist loyalty in a speech of which Leo XIII publicly disapproved. Harmel himself never wanted to

have monarchism and social reform confused or even linked together; it would be harmful both for the royalist cause and for the workers' cause. What he kept urging was his plan of industrial organisation, and he felt happy beyond words when a resolution of his raised prolonged applause at the Autun Congress (1892): "The directors of Catholic Workers Organisations unanimously consider that the corporative regime is the only remedy to the evils due to the actual anarchical conditions. This regime has three distinct features: a moral bond, freely agreed to, between employers and employees: a material bond between them through the common and inalienable corporative patrimony; a fraternity bond between the enterprises united within the corporation. Moreover an official status for the corporation should be obtained from the State. This corporative regime can exist in a single undertaking as is done in Val des Bois or it may be created between similar enterprises through unions which would be the starting point of a general movement of moral and material prosperity in large-scale industries. Such corporations should be established everywhere so as to prepare a corporative regime which is the only way of solving the social problem." The resolution was approved; "heads and hearts were in unison," Harmel said. Alas! it was not long before the resolution was challenged by facts. Bandits sacked the establishments of Montceau and the anti-religious press shouted: "There you have the clericals tasting their aristocratic socialism. In this pillage, what a revenge on Autun." They feigned to ignore that the arson had been planned by militant Marxists. Moreover, as Harmel pointed out immediately, "the Montceau factories were not organised on a corporative basis. It was no better than a schoolboys club; the workers had not been grouped or associated for the common task, and in their isolation were the easy prey of anti-social propaganda. The corporative system supposes a common administration of common interests." Mr. de Mun himself at the general meeting of the Union (1884) mentioned that Mr. Chagot, the employer, had admitted the

failure of his method, and paid due tribute to Harmel's. "The Val des Bois experiment has deepened my convictions. It was the lesson of this patient experiment that I embodied in my parliamentary speech on professional trade-unions in 1883."

As early as 1879 Leo XIII had written: "All masters and workers of large factories should follow the example of Val des Bois"; in 1887 he repeated: "Let us have many Harmels." Many Catholic industrialists were only too keen on getting acquainted with a method that might solve the social problems, and they invited Harmel for meetings and speeches. He was prompt in answering all invitations.

The most unpleasant, if the first, task was to disturb the conscience of capitalists and liberals. In those days as well as today, many an employer closed his eyes to social principles because they are troublesome. Why bring principles in factory organisation? Why mix religion and business? Harmel countered in no minced words: "Anybody who has authority over men is responsible for the soul of these men. And he is responsible to God. . . . It is a duty of strict justice to give the workmen a fair wage; who ever violates this duty is guilty of a crime which the Church lists among those that cry to heaven for vengeance. But who could pretend that the employer's duty for the soul of his workmen is less stringent? Who would deny this is part and parcel of the salary a worker should expect from his employer?" Moreover there is the employer's responsibility towards society: "Machinery and factory have come to break up the harmony of the home. The employer has taken the child into the factory and deprived it of paternal protection; has he not to replace the father? And *vis-à-vis* society, is he not bound to make up in all possible ways for the disorders created by the factory?" He had said so in the Nantes Congress of 1873; he was to repeat the same hundreds of times in all the industrial centres, Lille, Roubaix, Marseilles, Rouen, etc., etc. All his harangues often terminated with a slogan of his that became famous: "Bad employers are pilloried in hell".

There were some risks in approaching employers with an argument about their austere social duty, but "did he not owe them full truth? By way of getting some support for his words, he had suggested the idea of a Catechism for employers. As happens to those who suggest good ideas, he was told to write the first draft; benevolent theologians revised it and by 1886 the Catechism was published. "A perfect book", said Fr. Lehmkuhl; "a master-piece," said Fr. Costa-Rosetti. It was published as 'edited by Leon Harmel' and in the editorial view it was meant for seminarists, confessors and religious rather than for employers who might not feel much inclined to read it'.

The very success of Harmel's campaign, the spread of his ideas, the growing number of his contacts and hearers, brought him a crop of incidents which could only ruffle his temperament; objections, doctrinal differences, side-issues, etc., continually came up for endless distasteful discussions. Harmel was sorely tried; there was so much to do and so little time in which to do it that he felt impatient of controversies. He had a general intuition of what was to be done here and now, and was always under the pressure of his faith and charity. Whether it was a duty of justice or equity or charity, whether it was safer to range it within the field of state intervention or of private initiative, etc.: such questions of theory had little importance, at least immediately, and the work had to be done immediately. He would gladly leave to philosophers and theologians all the talent, honour and leisure of sorting out these problems and ranging their answers in their proper categories.

What was crucial for him was to make out what was actually to be taken up today, and to take it up today. What was equally important with him was the method of work; this problem of method in social rehabilitation was the main source of his divergences with his fellow-industrialists of Northern France. He fully acknowledged their splendid social effort, and he paid due homage to their generous initiatives and remarkable achievements (Lille University, etc.). But through intuition and experience, he

was convinced and wanted all to be convinced that the workers had to be directly associated with any effort at social rehabilitation. He wanted the Church to come and "baptize democracy, that wild heroine" as Fr. Ventura said. Workmen had to be emancipated by workmen; this was his leading principles since 1870. The method had this other advantage, that all associations would be enabled to live thanks to economic institutions for workmen. From 1885 he had launched works of assistance, and after thirty years was not yet convinced that they were decisively useful. The only efficacious way was to bring out and educate the initiative of the workmen themselves, help them to educate themselves and to educate the others: it was the apostolate of workmen by workmen.

Employers who ignore or fear the initiative of workmen are "like so many Louis XIV's; the associations they start and patronise are nothing but Sunday Clubs (patronages; popular education frightens them as if it were a monster." Some used to object: "Well, if workmen begin to think by themselves, what is going to happen to us? We won't be masters any more." Even Henri Bayart, a prominent social worker and a disciple of Harmel, felt shy of Harmel's popular lectures and social education. Harmel had a longer sight and a broader vision. He knew that if responsibility had to be strengthened at the top, it had to be introduced at the lower levels. There could be no training to responsibility without the exercise of responsibility. Orders if they were to be obeyed had to be understood, and they had to be accepted willingly. Slaves never obey.

Leon confessed that he had inherited his method from his father, James Joseph. "After having noted that his personal and direct influence could not dissipate the workmen's diffidence, he hid himself, but as the heart is hidden in the chest, whilst supplying the motive power to all the limbs. The employer had to become the heart of the undertaking. In the words of Cardinal Vanutelli, "Harmel's democracy was the Gospel's democracy." A. Lallemand.

(to be continued)

A NEW SOCIAL FORCE

Only a few decades ago, it was generally accepted that the application of an ethical or moral standard to solve the problems of life was taboo. And this narrow prejudice would have continued, had not two world wars intervened to rouse men out of their complacency, and make them aware of the futility of their materialistic prescriptions for the cure of a sick world. The Second World War, in particular, acted like a fiery catharsis to compel the agnostics to recognise the inherent exigencies of the human individual. One of the most important of these was the spiritual side of human nature that had been woefully abandoned and almost denied.

The popularity of the Moral Rearmament Movement both in Europe and America is due to the growing awareness of this fact, despite the inherent weaknesses of the system. The Movement was started by Frank Buchman, one-time Lutheran Minister, who was born in 1878 in Pennsylvania. In 1909, in Princeton, New Jersey, Buchman had founded the 'First Century Christian Fellowship'. But it was only when he migrated to Oxford that he really began to gain the influence with which his name is associated today. It was in Oxford that he adopted the title 'Oxford Group Movement' to designate his new experiment in the social sphere. The Oxford Group Movement must be carefully distinguished from the famous Oxford Movement of nearly a century ago, which was led by Newman, Keble and Pusey and which resulted in Newman's conversion to Rome. Buchman has tried to make use of the associations the former movement still inspires in the minds of people to boost up his own. Today however Buchmanism has assumed a new title; it is known as the Moral Rearmament Movement.

The origin of the Movement may be traced to Buchman's peculiar spiritual experiences. When invited to the Disarmament Conference in 1921, he suddenly quit the Committee because he had heard an interior voice telling

him to resign. It was at that moment that he received a vivid intuition that man must first be transformed interiorly before war can be banished from this world. In a speech made on June 4th, 1950, Buchman relates: "One day I discovered all the pride, the egoism and the sins that held me captive. All my life seemed to be centred round my own person. If I wished to change, it was this huge "Ego" of mine, that needed to disappear. I found that I had nurtured feelings of resentment against six individuals in my heart. I prayed to God to change me. He asked me to get reconciled with those six men. I obeyed and wrote six letters of apology. That very day, God used me to change the life of a friend. I now know that if I were to obey God, I could perform miracles. I came to grasp this wonderful truth. *When a man listens, God speaks; when a man obeys, God acts; when men change, the world is changed.* This is the revolutionary way that I have walked for the last 46 years".

Buchman is not afraid to assert that the root cause of our present distress is moral. People need to rearm themselves not with machine guns and atom bombs but morally. The restoration of morality is the indispensable condition for the restoration of our economy and peaceful social life. Men must return to the practice of those elementary virtues that they were taught at their mother's knees. These are the "four absolutes"; honesty, purity, disinterestedness and love. Men who live up to these four absolutes will be able to generate a power that will break down the barriers of hate and cruelty that dominate our world.

Merely telling people that they must live moral lives will achieve little unless they pass through a spiritual experience that will transform their mental outlook. Buchman strongly believes in making a man pass through a profound emotional experience so as to become keenly aware of his relation to God. The process of change is a direct one, involving an intense emotional shock that transforms the patient on the instant. It is known as 'life-changing'.

This is not something new; the same method has been in use among the Quakers for a long time. But Buchman has made 'lifechanging' the spearhead of his movement for disarming the world and settling its problems without resort to the terrifying weapons of a modern war.

According to Buchman, God can change the world and He is desirous of doing so, but men must listen to His voice and follow His dictates. If men are willing to do so, then the world will soon be transformed. God has a plan for each nation to bring about the peace that we so ardently long for. And God's plan is much more efficacious than any political planning or diplomatic arrangements.

Buchman's plans for spreading his ideas on the European Continent suffered a set-back when the Second World War broke out in 1939. But in 1946, a Moral Rearmament Centre was opened out at Caux-sous-Montreux in Switzerland. A vast hotel was bought and furnished by Buchman's supporters. Its former name 'Caux Palace' has been changed to 'Mountain House'. All sorts of people have made a pilgrimage to Caux. Ministers of State, parliamentarians, industrialists, trade unionists, workingmen, rabid Marxists, militant Communists, men and women with difficulties in their daily lives, people of every religious belief. There is no distinction of caste or creed; all are equally welcomed. In fact the warm welcome that one receives at Caux has become proverbial. In spite of its hugeness, no servants are employed at Caux. The pilgrims help the permanent staff in doing the work of the house. The spirit of fraternal charity is remarkable and leaves a deep impression on everyone who has visited Caux.

The transformation of the pilgrim takes place during the meetings, which take place twice a day. Members of the audience relate their spiritual experiences with a naivete that at first shocks the listener but disarms him soon enough into persuading him to do the same. The mutual relation of such spiritual experience is known as 'sharing'. It often consists of a public confession of faults. People

relate how they have failed in the observance of the 'four absolutes'. While the mind is being emptied the confessionalists await for 'guidance' or an impulse from God. It is on this impulse that they must act. If they are not sure, they must consult their companions.

At the meetings remarkable conversions have taken place. Journalists have been known to confess that they have ruined the character of an adversary and set about making amends on the spot. Men who have not paid their income-tax, or given a false statement, immediately set about making reparation in full. A man who has an enemy may at once write him a note of apology as the first step of reconciliation. The emotional shock experienced at these meetings is very intense, and often results in a complete change of moral outlook and habits. The transformation is generally rapid. The first cordial reception on entry into the 'paradise of Caux' is augmented by the exceptional personal confidences and intimacy that serve to draw the newcomer to unburden himself both privately and at the public meetings. Even over the dinner table, no other topic of conversation holds the eater's attention but the exchange of spiritual ideas and experiences. In this way the habitual reserve that takes so long to wear down elsewhere vanishes almost immediately at Caux. The recipient is thus prepared more quickly to receive the ideas of the Buchmanites.

Briefly the main thesis of the Moral Rearmament Movement may be stated in the following terms.

The present crisis in world affairs stems from the fact that men have turned their backs on God. The Movement places no trust on merely political or economic panaceas for world peace; it strongly holds that only by changing men can a changed world atmosphere be engendered. In order to build a new world, we need new men. At the same time, we must start by changing ourselves before we try to bring about a change in others. If we succeed in changing ourselves, we shall acquire the power of effecting a change in the lives of our neighbours. Men are changed

when they are brought to realise the relations in which they stand to the Divinity. They must freely and willingly focus their lives on God, and be ready to carry out His will in their regard. But to know God's will, they must listen to His voice in silence. Prayer for guidance and the spirit of recollection will eventually enable them to hear God's message, for it is in silence that God speaks. To know whether they are in the divine favour, they must examine their conduct with reference to the four absolutes; absolute honesty, perfect purity, utter disinterestedness, and intense charity.

In practice, one must constantly seek for light and guidance by prayer and recollection before every important action of the day. Members of the Movement must realise that they are not alone in their ascent to God. Every member, on leaving Caux, tries to gather round him ten other men whom he infuses with the spirit of the Movement. Each of them is expected to help the others to achieve the ideal of the four absolutes. In times of doubt and crisis, the companions must give guidance and consolation. No one is therefore alone in the fight. There are others ready to help. The mutual desire for moral change begets mutual co-operation. Such fraternal comradeship smooths the difficult path of the 'four absolutes' that lead to peace. The sublimation of the lower instincts in the service of an ideal forged during the time of great emotional stress is more easily secured and maintained.

Today the Moral Rearmament Movement is concentrating all its energies on the solution of the social problem. It sees in Communism the arch-enemy of the human race and the democratic tradition. It wishes to introduce the moral element into the relationship between management and labour. Some of its members have been requested to bring about peace in labour relations and have succeeded by basing their solution on the principles of the Movement. Both management and labour are initiated into the spirit and practices of the Movement and then persuaded to settle

their quarrels in peace and goodwill. The moral element needs to be emphasised in the world of industry; Buchman and his followers have had the courage to do it. That is the secret of their success.

At a first glance, the Moral Rearmament Movement seems to be a simple sure way of ridding the world of conflict and oppression both in the public and the private sector, in the world of industry and agriculture as well as in that of the nations. It has won millions of adherents in its cause. Its 'paradise' at Caux has produced remarkable conversions among the most varied types of men. In its fundamental approach to modern problems it is correct. Men have forgotten God and must return to Him, if they wish to enjoy the five freedoms, especially the freedom from fear. And the emphasis on the transformation of man before transformation of the world he lives in is a conclusion with which most thinking people heartily agree. But the point at issue is the process of transformation and its stability. In other words, is the conversion likely to persist after the emotional matrix that gave it birth has vanished?

To put men on the right track, the Buchmanites prefer to approach the divinity through some sort of direct contact. An intense emotional experience resulting from communication with the Supreme Being is ardently desired and earnestly sought for. Men must listen to His voice in silence; they must be prepared to receive and follow His message. But by what criterion can they be sure that they have received the divine message? Is the Supreme Being so anxious to communicate Himself in such a remarkable manner to every person who wishes to enjoy the experience of what a divine communication is like? And who is to tell the recipient whether it is really God speaking to him? Could it not be that the so-called divine message is the result of auto-suggestion? And could not the emotional upsurge felt on the occasion be due to group-suggestion and group-feeling? We know so little about the mental make-

up of the human being, that one must be extremely chary of passing judgement in such delicate matters. This is not the first time that men have claimed direct revelation from the Supreme Being. But past experience in such matters seems to show that there is here a vast field for self-deception and hypocrisy. Buchman has no criterion for judging of the truth or fallacy of these experiences. He only suggests that the recipient consult his fellows. He believes that they can provide him with the required guidance. If that is so, would not this be a case of the blind leading the blind?

Though the Moral Rearmament Movement might find favour with various religious denominations, precisely because it seeks to do away with differences in belief and secure co-operation by appealing to a few fundamental principles, the Roman Catholic Church can only regard such a course as a betrayal of Christianity. For though the fundamental principles of the Movement are Christian to the core, yet they are far from being the full message of Christianity. Christianity without Christ is simply unthinkable. It is like the husk without the coconut, the peel without the fruit, the shadow without the substance. The peculiar significance of Christianity is not what it has in common with other religions, but in the differences. These contain the special contribution of Christianity to men hungering for the truth and seeking for the light.

It is for this reason that Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, has condemned the Moral Rearmament Movement as a danger both to non-Catholics, to whom it offers "a morality without dogma, without a principle of authority, without a supremely revealed faith," making them "sheep without a shepherd," and for Catholics, because, if they go to Caux, all they find is "a subjective pietism of the authentic Protestant stamp."

Besides the general belief in God and the determination to do His will, the Catholic Church insists that the world needs Christ and His redemption if it is to be saved.

God approaches man through His divine Son and through the Church. Man of his own strength can never live up to the ideals of the 'four absolutes'. He always stands in need of the grace of God, which is given him through the Sacraments. But the Moral Rearmament Movement bypasses these highly significant doctrines for the achievement of unity at any price. It welcomes anyone and everyone into its fold; and though it is true that it tries to make each person more fervent in the practice of his own religion, the end-result of the process is religious indifferentism. Is not the semblance of unity being bought at too high a price? Is the sacrifice worth it? And how long will the results of the sacrifice last? These questions hardly seem to bother the Buchmanites. They are out for results at the cheapest possible price. They are only busy with the short term process. They forget the long term achievement that is far more important.

The Moral Rearmament Movement seems to underestimate the real danger of the world situation today. Communism is not the only peril. Evil as such is a much vaster thing than Communism. And it is undoubtedly with evil as such that a moral movement should grapple. But the Moral Rearmament Movement has got mixed up with political issues. It has succumbed to the persistent wooing of the Capitalist world. It has now become a tool in the hands of the Capitalist group that form one plank in the Anti-Communist front. It busies itself in solving labour-management problems, but has grown suspect in the eyes of the workmen because of its affiliations with management. However as a movement that seeks to do away with war by the novel method of exclusively emphasising spiritual values, it still arouses the passionate sympathy of those who dread another war and are aware that force can never be the mother of peace. But the mystique of the Moral Rearmament Movement is embedded too deeply in hazy emotionalism. This is the real canker at the heart of the Movement. Only reason guided by faith can procure to mankind the peace it longs for.

A. Fonseca

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HERE AND THERE

One More Try

For the "Grow More Food" campaign the Land Army was mobilised. The only hit it made in the news is that it is going to be demobilised. The Food Campaign is to be replaced by and expanded into the Community Development Projects, the Land Army will be absorbed into the Bharat Seva Samaj. More plans, more money, more rules, more volunteers. It is the latest and possibly the last attempt of the Congress government to rouse public opinion and public goodwill into a supreme effort to set the country on the road to prosperity.

The key to success lies with the people. Unless the movement gets hold of public imagination and generates enthusiasm in the country-side, it will die down in a few weeks. As far as available information goes, its fate is still uncertain. We have had the case of the national movement. It was alive with revolutionary fervour, but once independence was obtained, the fervour cooled down, solidarity evaporated and the national effort was dissipated in party competition, regional rivalries and personal pursuits.

How It Happened

The relaxation of effort can be explained, if not excused. The disastrous consequences of Partition, the difficulties of unifying a complex country, the task of framing a federal constitution, natural calamities, foreign complications, communist troubles, all circumstances working in the same direction cramped the effort of the national leaders. The aim had been largely limited to a negative part and had not from the first covered a full positive programme. Whether more could have been achieved whilst adhering to the principles of civic liberty and parliamentary practice is doubtful. It is argued that a dictatorship would have proved more efficient, though at the cost of human lives and human values. The cost would have been too high indeed and the means too repugnant. It is not even certain that a ruthless tyranny would have done better. All told, India has done well in comparison with Russia and China, whatever may be said by travellers who have swallowed the one-sided official pronouncements of red propaganda.

Contrast

Where communism appears to score on the democracies is in the sustained enthusiasm and effort among organisers and disciples. Communists nurse an ideal with a faith which astonishes most people. What is their secret? Part of it is negative; leaders prevent any outside current from damaging the warm faith of their people and the hold of the leaders: Iron Curtain, censorship, police measures, political persecution, etc., cut short any diversionary information and tendency, and consolidate the masses into a one-purpose machinery. In addition there is a positive factor: the conviction and willing service of thousands of volunteers. It is this faith in communism that people accustomed to the multiple ways of free democracies admire and do not understand.

The Communist Secret

It is glibly repeated that communism is brought about by poverty. But as Douglas Hyde remarked: "poverty, squalor, social injustice, bad conditions are the things upon which it feeds . . . they are not the things from which it originates. Communism is not first and foremost a social or political problem. It is a spiritual problem".

It was born within the bourgeoisie, nursed in discussion groups and directed by middle-class intellectuals; in India it thrives among students, professors, journalists, people who are not destitute. It is not an economic system; not even only a philosophy. It is a cult. It appeals to idealists, to people who are "hungry for a cause, starved of a faith in which to believe, frustrated by the apparent purposelessness of modern life". Communism holds out an ideal and claims a total loyalty for a cause that will bring justice and happiness to all. It offers revenge for injustice, a reign of fairness and peace, a cause worth fighting for to all adults and youths who ambition creative effort and are willing to serve unto death.

The Challenge

Such a faith cannot be countered by bread alone or any sugar-coated Point Four. It can only be displaced by being replaced. Propaganda, organisation, action are methods or tactics in the struggle, but only a spiritual answer can smother the attraction of communist faith. What the Catholic Church offers is very definite and effective, and that is why the Catholic Church has been the only body to resist and conquer communism in Europe. What have our national leaders to hold out against Communism? Bread and cake will not do. Civic freedom for freedom's sake is purportless. Can they revive the ideal which was theirs and the nation's before Independence? Could they warm up the imagination and fire the enthusiasm of youth with an ideal of Great India, not against anybody but for every-

body, not to shake off a foreign yoke but to construct a homeland of justice and peace, of comfort and culture, of freedom and efficiency, of an India leading among all nations?

The Plan is out ; it is crowded with economic data and targets. What of the ideal the people need and expect ?

A. L.

SOVIET DIALECTICS

Most books on the Soviet Union fall into one of two classes : some are paeans of Communist achievement and sing the arrival of that long awaited millennium foretold by Karl Marx ; others are really horror stories, more terrifying than anything which the most criminal brain in capitalist countries can produce, and are told and retold by numberless people who have fled from the Communist paradise. But such books do not explain, perhaps, they are not intended to explain, the baffling, turning, twisting, zig-zag and even apparently contradictory mind of the men of the Kremlin and their foreign policy. If the USSR is a paradise, why is movement to and from that country not freely permitted ? If the men of the Kremlin are really lovers of peace, why is every step towards the consolidation and unity of the world sabotaged by the USSR ? The Marshall Plan was followed by large-scale Moscow-inspired strikes in France, Italy and elsewhere ; the Brussels' Treaty and the plan to set up the Bonn Republic was the signal for the blockade of Berlin. In one breath the Kremlin demands all-German free elections, and in the next it denies the U.N. Commission any facility to investigate conditions which may allow free elections in that country ! It demands the universal banning of atomic weapons and denies international control of atomic power ! It set off the Korean

peace talks and drags them on over many weary months ! It says, "Peace" but every broadcast from Radio Moscow is a programme of hate ! And so on, and so on, the enigma of the Kremlin fogs and muddles the view of the ordinary man.

*Total Empire*¹ goes a long way towards solving this enigma, and helps the man in the street to obtain a coherent and unified view of the antics of the Kremlin. There is a definite, unchanging and determined purpose and aim behind the meanderings and contortions of Soviet foreign policy, and it is the motive power of every Communist move, be it a strike in some Asian country or the Soviet veto in the United Nations Assembly. As a member of the American Relief Association in the USSR, in 1921-1923, early incidents soon taught the author the pattern of the mind of the men of the Kremlin. In the city of Eupatoria in the Crimea, the staff needed for famine relief in the area, was recruited, by direct agreement with Moscow, from among the native population, "on grounds of competency irrespective of politics, religion or social status". Just before the staff could go into action, the local Communist Party chief objected to the method of recruitment, demanded the disbanding of those already engaged, and offered a new list of workers, all nominees of the local Communist Party. A deadlock ensued. The matter was referred to the highest Soviet authorities in Moscow. "The old familiar pattern," writes Fr. Walsh, "was resurrected : Oh, yes, that was some local subordinate official ; he could not have known of the agreement. He will be removed".

On another occasion, Colonel Haskell, the leader of the A.R.A. met Communist dialectics with the only answer it understands—firmness. When great quantities of American supplies were built up on Russian soil, the Kremlin turned a somersault and refused to keep the agreement

¹ By Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., 1951, pp. 293, The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, U.S.A.

drawn up between the U.S. authorities and Litvinov at Riga. Colonel Haskell refused to enter upon a new agreement or, "to be seduced into the interminable negotiation by which Soviet dialecticians always hope to smother the facts, confuse the issue and exhaust their opponents. The Communists were given a deadline, set at some forty-eight hours later, for an answer without equivocation." Kremlin dialectics were met by firmness and retreated! Commenting on these and similar facts, Fr. Walsh writes: "These relatively unimportant and far-off incidents would seem trivial in 1951, if they did not reveal something that is neither trivial nor incidental: the permanent psychology and unchanged inner workings of the Soviet mind, which transcend time and place and reveal themselves with continuity and uniformity in issues great and small".

The key to the jig-saw puzzle which Soviet foreign policy presents, and indeed, to the general tactics of Communist imperialism, is the Marxist concept of World Revolution. In their own jargon it is known as Dialectical Materialism. It started off the Russian Revolution, and still is the essential key to an understanding of its outward success and continuity. The timings of zigzags and the recognition of opportunities in the general postwar demoralization were all present, to be sure, but the cornerstone of the Communist faith remains unaltered.

Space does not permit a detailed study of Dialectical Materialism. In the Marxian context, "Materialism defines itself as the doctrine which explains all human phenomena, physical, mental and moral, by the activities, combinations and reactions to matter, to the exclusion of spirit and ideals". The dialectics is Marx's special contribution to this theory, and in this he applied Hegel's triadic thought-process to the development and progress of the Universe: the pattern he drew up remains constant and unchanging—thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. Lenin's revolutionary leadership consisted precisely in two ideas; the universal

scope of the Revolution and Soviet Russia's function as the brains and dynamo of a gigantic upheaval. "His successors down to the present day," writes Fr. Walsh, "have added only detail and body to the blue print blocked out by the master architect."

As an example of this unchanging Lenin-Stalin development, we have the progress of the Soviet concept of justice which, despite outward changing forms, remains essentially an instrument of the Soviet Government for continuing the Revolution both within and outside the U.S.S.R. Krylenko, the former Soviet Attorney General, openly defined justice under Communism, saying, "The court is a weapon for the safeguarding of the interests of a given ruling class . . . a club is a primitive weapon, a rifle is a more efficient one, the most efficient is the court . . . our judge is above all a politician, a worker in the political field . . . We look to the court as a class institution, as an organ of government power . . ." When Mr. Vyshinski succeeded Krylenko he put forward the same concept of Soviet justice, in the second edition (1936) of his work dealing with the nature and organisation of the judicial system of the USSR. "The Court of the Soviet States," he writes, "is an inseparable part of the whole governmental machinery of the proletarian dictatorship . . . This also requires that the whole of the Soviet Courts be so construed as to secure an unswerving fulfilment of the general Communist Party Line by the court." In 1941, he added, "Neither court nor criminal procedure is or could be outside politics. This means that the content and form of judicial activities cannot avoid being subordinated to political class aims and strivings". Faithful to the same development, the Soviet Secret Police, though appearing under various legal forms and titles—the Cheka, OGPU, NKVD, MVD—it remains an organ of ruthless power, of class justice and of swift annihilation of all political opponents.

How is the Soviet dogma of World Revolution applied to Stalin's foreign policy? The answer to this is found in

Lenin's treatise on Imperialism, and in his work on *The Infatuate Delusion of Leftism*. In order to confuse adversaries and win the support of the unwary masses, the ordinary meaning of words has been twisted, turned upside down, and special definitions have been attached to traditional terms. So, today, we have a new vocabulary born of Communist ideology: *truth* becomes synonymous with Marxism; *falsehood* means anything not in accord with dialectical materialism; *democracy* is that form of the State which obtains in the USSR; *justice* is whatever advances the cause of the World Revolution; *morality* is everything that Stalin does or Lenin recommended; *freedom* is the ability to submit to Communism; *peace* the tranquility which follows conquest by the Red Army; *war* any attempt to resist Soviet aggression; *Fascist* everyone who is a non-Communist; *reactionary* any one who resists the latest decrees of the Politburo. This vocabulary appears less strange and weird when we remember that Lenin in his *The Infatuate Delusion of Leftism* strictly counsels his disciples, saying: "We must be prepared to employ trickery, deception, lawlessness, withholding the truth and concealing the truth". In fact, the whole pattern of applied dialectics, which is now known as the Lenin-Stalin development, was designed by Lenin in Volume XVIII of his Collected Works, in which he openly states: "To build a Communist Society by the hands of Communists—this is a childish idea. The Communists are a drop in the ocean of the people. They will only be able to lead the people along their path, if they correctly define the path in the sense of a world historic direction. We shall be in a position to define economic development if the Communists are able to build up this economic system by other hands, while they themselves will learn of this bourgeoisie and direct it along the path they wish it to go".

Applying this Lenin-Stalin development to the rise of Fascism, Dimitrov, in 1935 devised the Trojan Horse tactics

and of it was born the "United Front" of the Russian Revolution. This Communist somersault, which surprised not a few people, now embraced every social class in a world wide mobilisation: all workers, all lovers of peace and all enemies of war and Fascism were brought together in the United Front! Every Communist Party, in every country, fell into line, and they were instructed to woo every social class with a great show of amiability and conciliation!

Meanwhile, the acrobats of the Kremlin were preparing yet another feat of dialectics. While the hue and cry against Fascism was in full blast, and Nazi Germany was branded as the hated foe, the Soviet-Nazi Pact of 1939 came as another dialectical somersault, and incidentally, upset the Party Line outside Russia. Now, of course, the world-wide Communist tune was changed: Roosevelt and Churchill were "the war-mongers", and it was an "imperialistic" and "capitalistic" war that these war-mongers had started, and all mention of Fascism was quietly dropped—but not for long. In June 1941 Hitler began blasting the Communist Fatherland, and the USSR was thrown into the camp of the United Nations. One more zigzag and one more somersault, and the Party Line now piped down the *International*, dissolved the centralized administration of the Third International and even made a show of reestablishing the Orthodox Church in Russia. Yet, all the while the firm purpose and unwavering aim of the World Revolution engineered from Moscow remained unchanged. This gives the Communist Party Line its strength, continuity and determination, despite its contortions and somersaults, and it is this which makes the policy of all democratic States appear shallow vacillating and hesitant.

In India, the all too familiar Lenin-Stalin Party Line which has so successfully thrown certain Eastern European States into the orbit of the USSR, is already unfolding itself. Obviously, all parts of the country do not show the same stage of development.

The first stage was witnessed when, as in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, the Indian Communist Party contested the last General Elections on the basis of a democratic political party.

The second stage, when the Communist Party in the Assembly aims at ousting all other political parties, is according to Mr. Tilak Raj Chandha (*Thought*, August, 2nd, 1952) being done in the PEPSU Legislature. "The three Communist members," he writes, "have played a significant role in the making and breaking of Ministries They have utilized their position adroitly. At first they joined hands with the Akali's United Front and helped it to oust the Congress Ministry. Now they are abusing their own creation, as if someone else was responsible for that illegitimate offspring". In Kashmir, dialectical somersaults worthy of the best Communist acrobats in Europe led our Indian Communists first to support Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, and then, later, to switch over their allegiance to Sheikh Abdullah. The support now given to the Kashmir leader assumes new significance, in the light of Mr. T. R. Chandha's bold contention. He writes: "The Communists have been preparing and designing to sabotage the internal politics of Kashmir so that eventually they may have a compact geographical area to experiment with their conception of an Indian Yenan . . . they have important contacts and friends in the ruling party. The President of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly is a Communist; two members of Sheikh Abdullah's Cabinet also worship at the same shrine; and the Deputy Home Minister seldom makes secret of his leanings."

The third stage in the Lenin-Stalin Party Line development which is one of open rebellion, violence and terrorism was made prominent during the Union Parliament's debate on the Preventive Detention Bill.

This, in fact, has been the method of Soviet expansion during the post-war period: "the Politburo has achieved

its purpose by means short of armed force—by not firing a shot in open warfare, but by the indirect approach, by infiltration of trusted agents". To those who had hoped that once the USSR was within the UNO, her collaboration would be secured for peace and world security, it has become clear that the presence of a revolutionary force, dedicated to violence and class war, in the Security Council and the General Assembly is an "unnatural union of fire and water". By the same token there are many member-States of the United Nations, which doubt the wisdom of allowing Red China into the United Nations Organisation. In the light of contemporary events, the United Nations Assembly has done little more than furnish the Kremlin with an outpost and a sounding-board of world opinion on Communist endeavour in different parts of the world; and not least, as a forum for continued assaults in vitriolic language on the motives and conduct of non-Communist Governments. The stereotyped incriminations of Molotov, Vyshinski, Gromyko and their successors are all designed to supply renewed justification for keeping the World Revolution actively prepared to repel a fictitious invasion by capitalists and imperialists of Communist countries.

Speaking of the events in France in 1798, Lord Acton said: "The appalling thing in the French Revolution is not the tumult but the design. Through the fire and smoke we perceive the evidence of calculating organization". Obviously any counter-attack to the Soviet menace must take into consideration its "calculating organisation". That is to say, "the Soviet creed must be met and answered by chapter and verse of an integrated philosophy of life". Though at present, the military attitude and strength of the USSR is predominate and must be countered, it is futile to suppose that the real issue can be solved by physical force alone. Nor, again, are economics alone the key to world peace. The true issue lies between two moral opposites and no counter-attack may hope for success unless it implies a strong renaissance of those spiritual values from which

are born both strength to resist evil and power to build peace. Materialism must be countered by spiritual freedom born of a higher law than any State, or man-made law. "The value of human personality, the image of divinity which man carries in his soul, the consciousness of heritage as sons of God, the resulting obedience to the instincts of brotherhood—all coalesce to constitute a bed-rock of motivation for the good life and for fulfilling the responsibilities devolving on the good citizen"

C. C. Clump.

□ □ □ □

ST. PAUL'S CREDIT BANK

For the poorer type of people in this country to whom the whole banking system is a mystery and who feel too shy to step ungroomed into the spacious tiled lounges of a modern bank, the easiest way to get a loan is to apply to the money-lender. Here you meet a man who is only too pleased to do business in the casual informal way you rather prefer. And he gives you the money on the spot without question. Sometimes you needn't even attach your signature or thumb impression to any kind of document. He will tell you exactly how much you have to pay when he meets you on the next occasion which will be your weekly or monthly pay-day. Of course his charges are high, abnormally high. But he is careful not to reveal the percentage of interest he actually charges. He prefers to calculate in terms of so many annas per rupee, and seen that way, the interest rate does not appear as high as if he had said: "I charge interest on the loan at a meagre 48%." That's not much, is it?" But when the next pay-day comes around, and you transfer the new precious notes into your purse for safe-keeping, and plunge it deep into your trouser or breast-pocket, your sweet complacency and pleasant

dreams of prosperity are shattered by a soft whisper and a greasy smile. "Friend! How about my interest? Don't forget the loan I made you. Would you prefer to pay the interest, or would you like to pay part of the loan too? You might pay part of the loan if you prefer?" He mentions a couple of rupees. You pay him though you find it hard on your scanty collection of notes. But the next pay-day there he is again, waiting for you. You try to give him the slip, but you fail miserably. You plead rising prices, doctor's bills, house rent long overdue. He makes a grimace, but insists. And you part, maybe, with another couple of rupee notes. And so the game goes on, you don't know for quite how long, and you are being bled all the time.

A Solution

This is an instance taken at random and it is typically true of life. People need money for the unforeseen eventualities of life, which seem to strike hardest where they are felt the worst—among the poor.

Faced with numberless situations of this type, the energetic parish-priest of St. Paul's, Parel, Bombay, Rev. Fr. F. Mata, S.J., has built up a loan society with the co-operation of his parishioners. The Society is known as the "St. Paul's Credit Bank". Its aim, as outlined in the Rules and Regulations of the Bank, is threefold:

1. To instil in the people a spirit of thrift, by encouraging them to put by something for a rainy day.
2. To advance loans to needy people in this area at low interest rates.
3. To instil and develop a spirit of co-operation among the parishioners to the benefit of all concerned.

The Bank ensures social security both for those who invest and for those who draw upon it; for both it is a readily accessible centre where deposits and withdrawals are effected with the minimum number of formalities.

The Bank is staffed by honorary workers, and is open for business every evening, and on Sunday mornings, since the men have to attend to their jobs during the day. But there is an official Board of Directors, consisting of a Chairman, two Managing Directors, two Honorary Secretaries, a Treasurer, a couple of Advisers, one Legal Adviser, and two Official Arbitrators, who are the parish-priest and his assistant. The Arbitrators have to settle any disputes arising amongst members of the Bank, and the decision of the Arbitrators is binding on all persons transacting business with the Bank. Their decision is final.

The Bank was instituted as early as March, 1948. On July 31st, 1950, it was registered and licensed as a non-scheduled Bank with un-incorporated members, under powers exercised by the Registrar of Bombay. The Bank was recognised as an individual money-lender, subject to the Money-lender's Act of 1946, of the Government of Bombay, and could therefore provide loans with a charge of only 6% per annum on them, if they were secured. As a matter of fact, the loans are only granted on adequate security.

Funds

The Bank raises funds through investments from among the parishioners. The monthly investment has been fixed at not less than Rs. 3 and not more than Rs. 50. "If an investor fails to pay his monthly investment for a continuous period of six months, a penalty of Rupee one shall be imposed on him at the end of the financial year, for irregular payment of investment." (Rule 10) However the Bank accepts to pay interest at 2% per annum on Fixed Deposits (which are multiples of fifty). But again according to Rule 7(b), "an investor shall not withdraw more than 50% of the total amount to his credit at a time without one month's Calendar notice unless he desires to close his account with the Bank." When the investor's monthly investments reach the sum of Rs. 50, the amount is automa-

tically converted into a share and the investor is now entitled to payment of an annual dividend.

Loans

The Bank recognises two types of borrowers, investors and non-investors. When an investor wants a loan, he can borrow it on the strength of his investment, or in case that is not sufficient, he is entitled to draw the loan on the added strength of another's investment, with the latter's consent. But the process by which non-investors are granted a loan is very original and typically suited to the circumstances obtaining among the poor in this country. The mass of Indians prefer solid gold to any type of silver or paper currency. The East, and India in particular, has been called 'the gold-sink of the world'. The appetite for gold in our country is insatiable, and perhaps in the long run, for our poverty-stricken masses, gold ornaments are their safest sheet-anchor of security. A woman often carries her dowry in the shape of gold and silver ornaments around her neck, arms, and legs.

So the best security a non-investor can offer is some gold ornament ; a necklace, a ring, a chain, a bracelet. This security is made over to the Bank and the owner is given a receipt for the articles, which are then valued by a trusted jeweller, and locked up for safe-keeping till they have to be returned. The loan usually amounts to about 90% of the value of the security. But before the loan is given, the general circumstances of the borrower must be known and the purpose for which he needs the loan revealed. The Bank so far has not bothered much about how the borrower uses his loan, for it has ample security. The maximum interest that is charged is 6% per annum or eight annas per Rs. 100 per month on secured loans, and 9% per annum or twelve annas on Rs. 100 per month on unsecured loans. But the Managing Officers of the Bank are allowed to fix lower interest rates after taking into consideration the merits of each case.

Repayment

Loans can be repaid either by one full payment or in regular monthly instalments, within the period fixed by the Managing Officers of the Bank. The monthly instalments cover total interest and part of the loan, so that as the loan decreases in amount, the interest rate is proportionately lowered. This is certainly to the advantage of a borrower.

Sometimes an investor may stand as surety for a non-investor. In case the borrower fails to pay, his investments may be attached by the Bank.

When payments are not made in due time on the fixed dates, then it becomes the duty of the secretary to ask for reasons for non-payment of the instalment. If the borrower's reasons for non-payment are not satisfactory and he fails to resume payment, the secretary is to inform him that his security will be forfeited to the Bank within a month of the date of notice, unless he resumes payment. As a matter of fact this has rarely happened. People are generally anxious to get back their sureties.

It may also happen that the investor who has stood surety for a borrower may become unfit to continue as surety, if he himself is in financial difficulties. In that case the Bank can ask the borrower to find another surety and withhold the deceased investment till the full loan is paid of.

Finally a borrower who makes his payments regularly may be given a bonus by the Bank. No borrower can claim the bonus as a right; and a borrower who has been irregular in re-payment is thereby excluded. The bonus is meant to secure a psychological advantage; it makes payment of the loan an attractive proposition to the borrower.

Advantages

The Bank ensures an easy, safe, and informal method of providing the poorer classes of people with the urgent loans they need. Credit facilities are provided at a very cheap figure; generally below 6% per annum. It is true

that every registered money-lender may not charge more than 6% on a secured loan, and 9% on unsecured ones. But it is also true that the law can be evaded in hundreds of ways. The courts will only accept a written proof of guilt. When a man needs money he will accept any terms that may be forced on him; his urgency may be so great. It is so easy in such circumstances to get him to attach his signature to a bond that makes out the loan to be Rs. 100, whereas actually only Rs. 75 may have been paid. When payment has to be made, the debtor will have to find Rs. 100 plus interest on that sum.

The peculiar feature of St. Paul's Credit Bank is that it is based entirely on the scrupulous honesty and co-operation of its honorary workers. The Bank will continue successful or fall with them. Absolute fidelity of the managerial staff is the *sine qua non* in such enterprises, and St. Paul's Credit Bank is lucky to possess it. These men are well acquainted with the clerical side of the banking business, since they have had the experience in their working lives. So the actual honorary work undertaken does not weigh so heavily on them as one might imagine. Once the Bank is started, the procedure becomes routine movement with a little practice.

The following balance sheet is for the year ending December, 1951.

LIABILITIES

	Rs. a. p.
Savings Bank Deposits	7,101 11 0
Fixed Deposits	1,650 0 0
Suspense Account	
(Amount unclaimed by Investors)	62 0 0
Reserve Fund	58 0 0
Net Profit	200 14 9
	9,072 9 9

ASSETS

		Rs. a. p.
Loan Account		
Current	Rs. 7,195 0 0	
Old	Rs. 265 0 0	7,460 0 0
Printing and Stationery		
Printing & Stationery purchased	Rs. 412 8 3	
Less Depreciation	Rs. 104 8 3	308 0 0
Suspense		
To amount held in suspense		13 0 0
Cash Balance		
Amount in Treasury		1,291 9 9
		9,072 9 9

PROFIT & LOSS ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

	Rs. a. p.
Interest	383 3 4
Bank's charges	208 7 2
Entrance Fees	41 0 0
Fines	19 0 0
	651 10 6

First Steps in C. S. A.

11. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

III. CAPITALISM

Section I.—Historical Outline

CAPITALISM is an economic organisation in which, (i) the majority of the working population of a country are wage-earners; (ii) the ownership and control of the entire, or the greater part of the economic regime is in the hands of a relatively small minority, and (iii) the chief motive of these owners is maximum profits, can be best understood by means of a rapid survey of the history of Capitalism. This type of economic regime first flourished in England and in Western Europe, and its development is marked by three stages:—

The First Stage, which is sometimes known as the Age of Merchant Capitalism, flourished in England about the 18th century. During this period the most prominent capitalistic concerns were the large Trading Companies and the clothing trade. The former brought in fat profits from the foreign trade with India and America, while the latter employed large capital in setting to work craftsmen scattered all over the country. Other industries also, like coal mines and iron works were organised along capitalistic lines, and all owners of capital were just as keen on making maximum profits as their successors are today.

The Second Stage, usually known as the Age of Industrial Capitalism, is, however, ordinarily accepted as the true period of Capitalism and it was brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The term, "Industrial Revolution" merely indicates changes which were introduced in methods of production and manufacture. The ground for such changes was prepared by a combination of factors: the demand for increased production caused by the opening up of new markets in countries where the large Trading Companies did business; the employment of new "capital" which these Companies collected and lastly the great mechanical inventions of the

18th and early 19th centuries, which, (i) made it cheaper to produce goods on a large scale than on a small one; (ii) made it cheaper to have workers gathered in a factory where the great machines were set up, rather than to have them working in their own homes; (iii) led to the collection of "capital" in the hands of a single person or a small group of partners.

We should carefully notice the change in the form or type of private property this stage of Capitalism introduced. Before this period, private property, in the main consisted of the land of the peasant farmer and the tools of the small craftsman, but with the coming of Industrial Capitalism, and already to some extent during the period of Merchant Capitalism, the form or type of private property underwent a change. Private property now came to mean "capital" more generally in the form of money and investment shares, and since this type of property on capital was being concentrated more and more in the hands of a few, the whole institution of private property was called into question and even condemned by the industrial working class, who enjoyed practically no share in this new type of private property.

The Third Stage is the final phase of Capitalism, and is generally known as *Financial Capitalism*. With the coming of this stage the real control of business and industry passed into the hands of financiers, who lend money to middlemen for industrial purposes. This is called "capital monopoly" or "financial capitalism". In *Quadragesimo Anno*, Section 106, Pius XI refers to this phase of Capitalism, when he speaks of "those who, because they hold and control money, also govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood to the entire economic body and grasping in their hands, as it were, the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will." Our Holy Father here gives us a very graphic picture of Financial Capitalism, because by a series of financial combines and inter-locking of banks, the few who control these financial institutions also control the industrial and commercial welfare of whole countries for both commerce and industry need money in order to carry on their business. In fact, just as the health of the human body needs an adequate supply of blood in every part of the human body, so also the economic health of a country needs an adequate supply of money in every industrial and commercial concern to acquire capital equipment (i.e., machinery, buildings, etc.), to pay for raw material and the hire of labour. In this way, as Our Holy Father says,

those who control money and credit exercise a powerful stranglehold on the economic life of the country.

Section II.—The Main Principles of Capitalism

Like all man-made institutions, Capitalism has its own particular "spirit" and principles, an understanding of which is essential to a true knowledge of Capitalism. In other words, just as each individual acts and behaves according to what he believes—or, according to his philosophy of life, as some say—so also Capitalism is organised, or managed according to certain definite principles which, however, are not always openly expressed or stated. The chief of these principles are:—

(a) *The Law of Self-Interest*. This law is central to the doctrine or philosophy from which Capitalism flows. That doctrine which flourished chiefly in 18th century Europe is known as Liberalism, and in economic matters it taught that the complete unfettered self-seeking of each individual finally leads to the good and welfare of all men because the really competent only can make a success of business. This is why Capitalism is known as the *Economics of Liberalism*. Practical experience of Capitalism, however, has proved that complete unfettered individual self-seeking in economic matters tends to create great inequalities of wealth within the country.

(b) *The Law of Free Competition*. This law flows from the Liberal teaching that each man is the sole and absolute master of himself. Therefore in all questions which concern the individual, the individual himself is the sole and best judge of his own interests. Applied to economic matters this law advocates the complete freedom of each individual—especially freedom from Government intervention—in producing, buying and selling so that from such competition among rival producers the country will be supplied with the best goods, since each producer will do his best to improve upon the products of his rival, and capture the market.

(c) *The Law of Supply and Demand*. This law is really a necessary corollary to the Law of Free Competition, because it is only when rival business men are free to compete with each other, that they will naturally move their resources or supply (of property, money, investments or even labour) to wherever they find a demand and at the highest remuneration—i.e., a price or wage.

This Law of Supply and Demand is often spoken of as an "economic law" and the social worker must have a clear understanding of the nature of economic laws. Now, in every country

we have what are called Civil Laws, that is, certain rules and regulations which a citizen must follow and observe as a member of the State in which he lives. Then, we have Scientific Laws, which are really statements about cases and effects in nature. Again, all men are ruled by the Moral Law, which is imperative and, in general, orders us to do good and avoid evil. Scientific laws on the other hand are not imperative, but merely indicative, telling us what result we must expect when certain conditions obtain. Thus we know, for instance, that water freezes at a certain temperature, but the scientific law does not command us to freeze water!

Now economic laws resemble scientific laws in that they are merely indicative not imperative. They merely indicate "in general how people tend to act" under certain circumstances in economic matters. Further, economic laws are ultimately founded on the motives from which people act, and experience tells us that these motives may and do change. Because economic laws merely state how people tend to act in economic matters, such laws may clash with the moral law, because people may and do act from wrong motives. When this happens, the economic law must be brought into harmony with the moral law, and the moral law must not give way.

READING—

Quadragesimo Anno, paras: 100-104; 112.

Economic and Political Life of Man. pp. 22-23; 57-59.

Any book of Economic History, on the Industrial Revolution.

EXERCISES—

1. What changes did private property undergo with the rise of Capitalism? Illustrate your answer.
2. What do you understand by an "Economic Law?"
3. State clearly the difference between the Moral Law and Economic Law.

C. C. Clump.

EXPENDITURE

	Rs. a. p.
Dividends on 96 shares of Rs. 50 each @ 4%	192 0 0
Interest on Fixed Deposits	38 11
Printing & Stationery	104 8 3
License Fee	5 0 0
Postage & Sundry Expenses	110 8 6
Net Profit	200 14 9
	651 10 6

So far the Bank has lent some Rs. 18,000, and has made a net profit for the year ending December, 1951, of Rs. 200. Weekly and Monthly Meetings are held by the Directors and the books are checked annually by government auditors.

Savings

More important perhaps even than the amount loaned, is the amount of savings invested in the Bank. The 1951 Balance Sheet puts Savings Deposits at over Rs. 7,000. The bulk of this money comes from people whose average income is Rs. 100 a month. They put by Rs. 3 regularly. This is an excellent habit to cultivate and preserve.

Expenses

The biggest initial item of expense that the Bank had to encounter was stationery. Notices, forms, ledgers, rules and regulations, pass books, receipt books had to be printed. A room in the school accommodates the bank; this saves rent. The staff works on a purely honorary basis. Expenses are thus cut down to the bare minimum.

Bank Investments

The Bank does not invest its money in government securities or shares in the market. The investments are

used mainly as capital out of which to provide loans. The interest payable on the loan covers the normal expenses of running the bank.

Conclusions

The Bank is not a profit-making institution. Its main purpose is to teach poor people how to save and to help them with cheap credit during times of emergency. At the same time it relies for its erection and prosperity on the co-operative spirit of the parishioners, and the absolute honesty of the managerial staff. These are qualities not so easy to find in a world where it pays to be dishonest and selfish. The success of the Bank is a fine tribute to the deep Christian spirit of moral uprightness and charity that have brought it into existence. From the practical point of view, the bank is easy to set up and run. No capital in hand is required to obtain the license from the Registrar, except payment of the tiny license fee and the understanding to abide by the regulations of the Money-lender's Act. The bank is like any other ordinary money-lender, except that it runs for the good of the debtor and not so much to benefit the creditor.

A point that needs to be emphasised is the fact that the bank is not purely a charitable institution. It must be run on business lines, if it is to succeed. Every loan must be secured. Security ensures payment. An unsecured loan will in the majority of cases have to be written off as a bad debt. No savings bank that gives unsecured loans will be able to survive. Our people must be taught to save and to pay for the services they are rendered. The general trend seems to be to get as much as one can, free of charge. This is a false conception that has to be eradicated, and the quicker we set about doing so, the better for the country. St. Paul's Credit Bank sticks rigidly to the rule that there must be surety for every loan. It has abided by the rule and prospered.

Would that we had many more banks of this type in the country. It has proved a boon to the poor man and rendered him a service that few other institutions seek to perform.

A. Fonseca.

GOOD MONSIEUR HARMEL

(Concluded)

The flow of visitors to Val des Bois was endless. They came to admire or check what was done in this peaceful oasis. Cardinals (Langenieux, Pie, Gibbons to name a few), bishops by the dozen, priests, monks, capitalists, social workers, all kinds of people who wanted to get inspiration or to criticize, some also to appease their conscience with the satisfaction that somebody else was doing something somewhere. Cardinal Gibbons, on his way back from Rome, where he had taken the defence of the Knights of Labour, was treated to a full-dress reception; band, songs, parade of the firebrigade, and a repetition of the annual meeting of the corporation which included a short report from each of the twenty committees: syndicate, mutual help society, discount service, savings bank, co-operative bakery, wholesale purchase co-operative, hostel, firebrigade, choir, band, athletic society, games, bar and entertainment committees, archery society, legal advice bureau, St. Vincent de Paul Society, etc., and also pious associations, Rosary and Blessed Sacrament confraternities, Third Order of St. Francis, Apostleship of Prayer, etc.

After the reports had been read, Harmel gave a few words of explanation on his method: "Our many committees with their well-fixed work tend to develop personality by bringing out talent and devotion. Those who are interested become the apostles of the material and moral uplift of the workmen. They acquire each a clearer view of

their duties and possibilities in the religious, economic and professional spheres. They grow into men free, and capable of handling their own affairs and the affairs of the community." Cardinal Gibbons was a man to understand the Harmel method. Had he not along with Cardinal Manning in England and most of the U.S.A. bishops vindicated the right of the workmen to organise themselves for their defence and progress?

Two points must be stressed for a full understanding of Harmel's method. He welcomed newspapers, periodicals and lectures to spread the social doctrine. But he insisted on personal training, and for personal training he considered that nothing was more suitable than study circles on practical subjects, current questions and problems of daily life; every point of discussion in a committee was a subject of study. In the committees administering economic interests he also wanted self-training; even the children of St. Philomena association had to organise not only their games but a small savings bank (223 account books in 1896 with a total deposit of 5.589,30 frcs). He was careful, however, not to put pressure on anybody to join any of these social works (barring the mutual help society which was compulsory), and there were workers who stayed in the factory for ten, twenty, thirty years without joining any. Nor did he enforce his decisions, which explains how workers occasionally voted against his proposal; he allowed them to learn through their mistakes, as in the case of a co-operative cloth-shop and meat-stall, etc., which failed. Even after he had organised a Family Fund for the benefit of large families, and kept supplying the funds, he left the distribution of benefits (which he called Family Wage Supplement) to the workmen's committee. Workers also enjoyed an equally free disposal of savings; they usually preferred to invest them in Val des Bois itself, but a certain amount went into buying houses for the workmen. Harmel did not much favour house-purchase by workmen. As early as 1841 he had built a few tenements; in 1897 he

raised them to the ground and rebuilt separate houses (some 36), but he never tried to force them upon his men. A home on the factory grounds would have meant enslaving a family to the factory; investments of savings in a house might lead to inheritance troubles, possibly starvation for years and a dreadful mortgage, etc. The housing problem was left to the discussion and decision of the workmen. In everything, the method of self-training, which let us underline it, made the task much harder and more trying for the adviser of the group.

The projects of legislation which came up before Parliament were also matter of discussion in the workers committees: factory accidents, for instance. Val des Bois had since 21-1-1846 its mutual help society: half and half contribution from employer and from worker, half salary in case of accident, half of the wages for lowest, and one-third for higher levels in case of sickness; invalidity compensation (interest on a capital equal to 1,500 times the daily wage), etc. Let us not detail all the social works in Harmel's factory, but let us note the dates of their foundations, 1846 which means two years before Karl Marx's Capital. Many of them anticipated the *Rerum Novarum* and most of France's social laws by ample decades. Even the Factory Councils which are the latest progress of democratic legislation were anticipated at Val des Bois by the Professional Council set up in 1885; it was the outcome of long and trying experiment guided by Harmel; it was the blossom of a family spirit, possibly a return to a medieval system. In any case it was out of fashion in the eighties of the last century, but it is up-to-date in 1952.

What this training method demanded from Harmel in time, devotion, patience, challenges appreciation. The Committee meetings themselves numbered forty a month on an average, occasionally fifty, as can be checked from the *Echos de Val des Bois* which printed advance notices; in the sole month of September 1890 there were 81, six of them on the 4th of the month. Of course Harmel was not

present at each one of them, nor did he stay the whole time, particularly in his last years ; but he made sure one of his sons or the spiritual adviser was present. In any case he remained in permanent contact with his workmen. By turn he invited to his table the 28 sections grouping the 280 members of the trade-union, and he used to declare he felt at his best when among his people. "My workmen are better than any group I have met in my journeys." When praised for his devotedness to their cause, he replied : "I have no merit in all that, I love them spontaneously." He felt a workman among workmen and had the keenest sense of democratic equality. When he heard a rumour that he might be made a Roman Count, he managed to have the idea abandoned and he wrote to his sons who were then in Rome : "Please, nothing of the sort. Let's not moult into half-castes."

With the year 1890, social action was making for a climax : international conference in Berlin called by the Emperor in which Mgr. Kopp was to speak as imperial delegate ; Catholic international meeting at Liege with the Cardinal of Mechlin and Mgr. Doutreloux presiding and with the adhesion of Cardinals Manning, Langenieux and Mermillod, with the presence of de La Tour du Pin, Harmel, and the leading members of the Friburg Union. At long last in May 1891 the *Rerum Novarum* which indicated as sources from which a cure could be expected for social evils, the Church with her doctrine and beneficence, the State with its legislative and executive powers, the world of industry, employers and employees, with professional associations. Harmel was overjoyed. At once he organised a pilgrimage to Rome (he had led his first of many in 1885) in which employers and workmen would go and thank the Pope for his Workers' Charter. The year saw no less than eighty thousand pilgrims from France. This was too much for the taste of Freemasonry ; pilgrims were assaulted, national animosity roused, and riots provoked. The

pilgrimages had to be cut short and Harmel went back to his social tasks.

His earliest creation after the Encyclical was the Family Fund which was to secure and maintain family wages for his people. The second was the Social Study Clubs (*Cercles Chrétiens d'Etudes Sociales*) which was reserved to workmen and which prepared the Christian Workers Congress at Reims (1893). This was the first Congress of Christian workmen. Harmel had trained the leaders and Leo XIII had approved of the idea. From that time onwards and in spite of opposition, Christian trade-unions were formed (*syndicates ouvriers*) in place of the mixed associations which employers had so far patronised. It is about that time that Harmel organised the Brotherhood of Trade and Industry (*Union fraternelle du commerce et de l'industrie*) (1891) and the Champagne Rural Trade-Union (*Syndicate agricole de Champagne*) (1894). The first was an association of businessmen keen on restoring ethical sense and professional honour in commerce and industry, and on promoting suitable legislation. The second was a professional organisation of peasants ; Harmel drafted the statutes, nominated a suitable president, opened his halls for professional and convivial gatherings. It mattered little to Harmel that he was not a peasant ; professional organisations was a Papal watchword ; that was enough for him.

The controversial ebb did not last long, and doctrinal discussion started anew. The Liege school with Mgr. Doutreloux pressed for a greater intervention of the State in social welfare, Mgr. Freppel with the Angers school stood by the idea that the role of the State ended with the protection of liberty. Harmel had learned from experience that few employers would willingly seek the workmen's rehabilitation and he supported the Liege school ; this led into painful discussions with his colleagues of Northern France. With C. Feron Vrau of Lille he went to interview Leo XIII. A common declaration was drafted, read and approved at the

Congress of Mouvaux (1895) and Reims (1896): "Employers would proceed with their mixed syndicates; the workmen with their separate studies and trade-unions." The Christian Workers' unions and congresses had come of age.

These discussions and differences are mentioned as a lesson for all. What happened in France, happened elsewhere and will happen in India in the course of social development. We may talk about a New Order, we have only the same old mankind to work with and to work upon. On the other hand, whilst praising Harmel and his foresight, one should never forget the magnificent work of the Employers' Association of Northern France.

Harmel had shown the way with separate workers' organisations. de Mun was prompt to encourage him: "The hope of the future rests with them. They are a real school for professional organisation, representation of popular interests and a practical measure to counter Marxism." This plan was again approved of in Rome: "It is a practical embodiment of my ideas." (Leo XIII). Co-operation was not wanting and the Federation of Christian Workers of Central and Western France was floated at the Nantes Congress (1895). When introducing Harmel, the Bishop said: "The whole of France is listening to him and can witness in Val des Bois that he puts in practice what he advocates; some years ago he led French labour to Rome, recently he had an audience from the Pope; his words will be an echo of Leo XIII." Workers unions were founded here and there, success was so great that Harmel was chosen as President of the Union of Catholic Clubs; the Union had come to realise which way the movement was going; it was not steering to the left, but towards the high seas.

The Workmen's Congress of Reims in 1896 was important. Were the Unions to take part in politics? Would they rather remain strictly professional? A dilemma which no association with public interests can escape in a democratic regime. Little was decided. Harmel himself

was hesitant: he knew what political power can achieve but he was also intensely afraid of dissensions. He was satisfied with stressing the point that 'the organisation should remain autonomous, Christian and active'. Had he been followed with greater unanimity, it is likely that the French Confederation of Christian Workers would not have had to wait for another twenty-three years before being founded.

A striking initiative of Harmel was the organisation of Social Study Weeks for seminarists whom priests and laymen were soon to join. They grew into regular assemblies: 200 priests at St. Quentin in 1894, 700 at Reims in 1895. Then students, lawyers, doctors, engineers, officers, etc.; but as the Weeks came to be held at Val des Bois, numbers had to be restricted and parallel meetings had to be held elsewhere. Laymen, priests, bishops were swelling the social current in Catholic France. Such meetings prepared the now famous *Semaines Sociales de France*.

Another interesting initiative of Harmel was his attempt to enrol the Third Order of St. Francis in the social movement. He had heard Leo XIII reminding these lay Franciscans of their social role; he had read from the Most Rev. Minister General of the Order 'that from the first days of their existence, the children of St. Francis had worked for the solution of the then social problems'. He dreamed of forming the thousands of Tertiaries into a social army. He first gathered (1883) the provincial superiors from France, Italy, Germany, Belgium and Holland; he got them to set up a permanent committee and obtained Leo XIII's approval for his apostolic work among Tertiaries. He characterised their task in three words: militant, mediator, organiser. He had even, and this is the strange fate of pioneers, to remind some Franciscans of the social role of Tertiaries in explanations covering the history of the order, the spirit of St. Francis, and the mission of his children, finally modern tasks suited to their possibilities.

In the main the Tertiaries had to rekindle Christian home life and break the power of masonry. There were several impressive Congresses, Limoges, Assisi, Reims, especially Rome where 18,000 Tertiaries met to hear the Papal message anew. The message met with a ready response in a few towns, but on the whole results were meagre owing to circumstances too long and complex to explain.

With a like zeal he resumed his work for the Roman pilgrimages; they had to help rallying the working masses to the Papacy and to give continued proof that Leo XIII was truly in favour of the workers' movement and of what (without special preference for any political regime) he called "Christian democracy".

At the turn of the century the political struggle became acute in France and full of dangers for the Church. Harmel, as he told the Workers Congress at Blois in 1899, had a definite policy: clearly republican, clearly democratic, and above all clearly Christian.

Circumstances were now hampering Harmel's social apostolate. Dominance of the political affray, resistance to the workers, movement, old age and especially the death of his son Felix, who had taken over the management of the business, forced him to withdraw from the public scene and resign himself to the smaller dimensions of his dear Val des Bois. Not that the business motive was dominant with him, however absorbing the care of a textile factory can be in troublous times; what was dominant with him was his ideal of maintaining a modern factory on the basis of social justice and charity. He reshaped the

men in the professional and disciplinary direction of the factory. It aims at maintaining a loving understanding based on mutual trust between employers and workmen.

It is made of elected workers who gather together once a fortnight with one employer.

They are called upon to give their views on all change of wages, and matters of discipline, accidents, hygiene, apprenticeship and work.

They are the workers' interpreters with employers for all grievances and desiderata.

They study reforms that would make work more efficient and productive. The working women have their own Council with like duties.

Some features call for special attention: meetings reserved to workmen; competition between workers; bonus for suggestions of improvement; regular training of Harmel's sons and relatives through every step (apprentice, workman, foreman) with promotion only on the decision of the Factory Council; working hours and regulations voted by the Council—The consequences? No strike, no appeal to arbitration tribunal, discipline, increased production, and social peace; a real family spirit. A sign of this family spirit can be had from the long standing of workmen in the factory; in 1890 several families had been with the Harmels for twenty, thirty, forty years, seven of them fifty years, as long as the Harmels themselves. A Factory Council grows like a family; it is not created by ordinance.

Old age could hardly slow down Leon Harmel's activities, but the 1914 invasion of France forced him to seek a

of men, his loyalty to the Popes. Of his faith we have endless proofs from his diaries in which he noted his daily thoughts, and private practices: masses, rosaries, mortifications, etc. It was a diary kept up with a novice-like punctuality by a modern business man. His letters to his children and grandchildren, particularly to the religious among them, reveal all the highest and best that can grow in the heart of a Christian father. His favourite authors were, Faber, de Saint Jure, Gueranger, de Cochem: he meditated their books and spread them around him.

There was even a touch of mysticism in his spiritual outlook. One sign will do, the Intimate Association (*Association Intime*) which he quietly started about 1870. He was a genuine disciple of St. Vicent de Paul and used to visit the sick in true Vincentian spirit. The sick was boldly invited to unite his sufferings with those of Christ in a spirit of reparation and apostolate. "You know how hard it is to achieve the salvation of workmen. To get results, I am badly in need of helpers. Would you be ready to be my fellow worker?" Then he went on expatiating on the virtue of suffering, and had soon won over one more associate. There was only one rule: to make a daily offering of one's suffering for the conversion of the workmen of the whole world. The association was approved by the Archbishop of Reims in 1869 and it quietly spread in Val des Bois and elsewhere. Once a Voltarian deputy had ironically asked in Parliament: "How much do they cost, those communions at Val des Bois?" When told of it, Harmel rejoined: "The costs are the sufferings of those voluntary victims of the Association. If people say it is hard to come by, I would answer: 'Sow Christ, and you will harvest heroism'."

Joined with his temperamental fellow-feeling with all men, these views and resolves of Harmel make up the secret of his social apostolate, and of his fatherly sway over his workmen. In the Val des Bois, and soon all over the place, his father had been called 'Daddy Harmel' (*Le Bon*

Père). Leon succeeded to the title at the death of James-Joseph (1884); it was made quasi-official at the suggestion of La Tour du Pin and with the unanimous applause of the workmen. His elder brother, Jules, could not help remarking: "Leo got the inheritance, I didn't even get my pottage of lentils." But the modern Esau stood with Jacob and the house prospered in full harmony. For the family spirit was strong among the Harmels, and factory life was an extension of family life.

If Daddy Harmel was a good father to his men, he was a good son to the Popes he knew, Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV. As Cardinal Vanutelli testified, Harmel knew that 'in obeying them, he was obeying his only Master Jesus Christ'. Always the good and faithful servant! His devotion can be had from the many interviews he obtained from them, the laudatory epistles he received, the thousands of pilgrims he led year after year to the tomb of the Apostle. His loyalty can be evidenced from his initiatives many of which were anticipating instructions contained in the encyclicals, from the zeal he put in spreading the *Rerum Novarum* and implementing its doctrine, from his willing compliance with the wishes of Leo and Pius on the policy of French Catholics in public affairs. Whether a forerunner or a follower, he was always at one with the Popes in social doctrine and practice. This made him somewhat unique in the last century; this makes him up-to-date in 1952.

A. Lallemand.

BOOK-NOTES & REVIEWS

In "Freedom First", the organ of the "Indian Committee of Cultural Freedom", Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader, tells of his inner thoughts on the moral state of the world. He contrasts the ideal of ancient days when religion had a hold on the people with modern mentality and reminds his readers that the problem of human goodness is of supreme moment today. His conclusions are best quoted in his own words:

"For many years I have worshipped at the shrine of

the goddess—dialectical materialism—which seemed to me intellectually more satisfying than any other philosophy. But while the main quest of philosophy remains unsatisfied, it has become patent to me that materialism of any sort robs man of the means to become truly human. In a material civilisation man has no rational incentive to be good. It may be that in the kingdom of dialectical materialism, fear makes men conform and the Party takes the place of God. But when that God himself turns vicious, to be vicious becomes a universal code.

I feel convinced, therefore, that man must go beyond the material to find the incentives to goodness. As a corollary, I feel further that the task of social reconstruction cannot succeed under the inspiration of a materialist philosophy.

It may be asked if any social conditioning is at all necessary for men to acquire goodness. Is not man essentially good? Are not most men in every society decent?

Yes and no.

Man is a socio-organic being; he is partly the product of "nature" and partly that of society. What man is by nature cannot be said with certainty. Indeed the very concepts of good and bad are supernatural or super-organic. There is nothing good or bad in nature. Human nature, apart from the instincts of self and race preservation, is most likely of a neutral character which acquires moral tones in accordance with social conditioning.

It is true that in every society most men are decent and good. These men go through life without being called upon to make vital moral judgments. Their routine of life runs within narrow circles, and custom and tradition answer for them the questions concerning right and wrong.

But firstly, these harmless decent men are apt under social stimuli to turn suddenly wild and vicious. Decent Hindus and Muslims, living peaceably together, didn't hesitate, as we know to our cost, to fly at each other's throats when the social passions were aroused.

Secondly, what is vital for the character of society and for the direction of its growth, is not so much the character of the inert mass as that of the elite. It is the philosophy and action of this group of the select to determine the destinies of men. To the extent the elite become godless or amoral to that extent evil overtakes the human race.

Let me hasten to remove a possible misunderstanding. I do not mean to suggest that all those who profess a philosophy of materialism are vicious nor that all non-materialists are good. But what I do assert is that there is no logic in materialism for the individual to endeavour deliberately to acquire and practise goodness. On the other hand, those who go beyond matter will find it difficult to justify non-good.

Non-materialism—I am using his negative phrase because I have no particular school in mind—by rejecting matter as the ultimate reality, immediately elevates the individual to a moral plane and urges him, without reference to any objective outside himself, to endeavour to realise his own true nature and fulfil the purpose of his being. This endeavour becomes the powerful motive force that drives him in its natural course to the good and the true. It will be seen as an important corollary of this that only when materialism is transcended does individual man come into his own and become an end in himself."

In the *Revue de l'Action Populaire*, E. Pin commends the conclusions of a thesis of J. L. Fyot on the fundamentals of political and economic science. Economic phenomena cannot be fully explained without reference to the dual character of man who is essentially individual and social. Those who deny either of these can only come to conclusions which are disastrous for economic life and for economic science. Theoretical and practical liberalism neglects the social side; it comes to a dead end or it has at every step to bring in all the bonds which join men as producers and consumers. On the other hand, either collectivism cannot explain its plans for production and distribution as rational

or it must allow the individual to play its part in both. These two aspects of man are called his dimensions; the schemes which reason on only one of these dimensions can appear scientific but they cannot give a full rational explanation of the economic process. The great problem in economic life is to harmonise what is individual with what is social in each man and in all men.

India and the World, by N. Agarwalla, pp. 119. Calcutta, A. N. Chakrabarty, 1952. Price: Rs. 4.

Shri Nursingdas Agarwalla is a successful industrialist who pursues higher aims in art and literature. He is the chairman of The Union Society which promotes union of hearts at all possible levels. The present book was inspired with the same noble preoccupation. It describes institutions and depicts ideologies (equality, secularism, capitalism, socialism) with a smooth brush which prefers the chiaroscuro of compromise to the sharp lines of antithesis. It would be futile to look for clear definitions and adequate chronologies. The author tones down ideas in the hope of toning down tempers, but it is doubtful that he will be welcome by any of the opposite schools and camps. His method is shown at its best in the last chapter "Synthesis of Democracy and Communism", which is a summary of two letters he made bold to address to Mr. Truman and Mr. Stalin. Most likely the letters proved ineffectual; and it is to be expected that the present book will not meet with greater success, in spite of the high-souled emotions which pervade it, and because of its ideological chiaroscuro.

A. Lahuri

Year-Book of Labour Statistics, 1949-50. I.L.O., Geneva, pp. 431, \$ 5 or £ 1 10 sh.

This is a very valuable volume containing the principal statistics relating to labour in over 60 countries of the world. Up-to-date statistics especially for India are hard to come by, but the I.L.O. has succeeded in putting what there is available on the subject under one cover.

The statistics have been obtained for a wide variety

of labour problems, v.g., working population, employment and unemployment, hours of work, wages, family budgets, social security, etc. Each section is briefly introduced by a note on the sources and the reliability of the statistics.

The volume will prove a god-send to research workers seeking a handy reference book on labour topics. Much of the statistical data has already been published in the monthly publications of the I.L.O., like *Industry and Labour* or *Studies and Reports*, where the statistics take on life and colour against a description of their peculiar economic background. If some more references to these articles had been included in the Year Book, the volume would have served its purpose to perfection.

A. F.

The "Bulletin d'Information" of the J.O.C. of August 1952 discusses the problem of Basic education from the point of view of workmen. The argument begins with a story which is but too familiar: the story of a factory girl who is cheated of her wages because she can neither read nor count.

The argument goes on stating that illiteracy is one of the great problems of the world. It is the problem of no less than 1,200,000,000 men and women, about half of mankind. The other half begins to grow aware of its own responsibilities for such a situation and the slogan "Basic Education" is bandied about with pleasureable facility, as if it were a magic word.

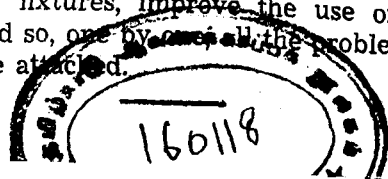
But what exactly is basic education? It is the elementary minimum of formation and education which will enable every man to understand and find his own solution for the problems which directly concern him, while progressing towards the full achievement of his personality.

It would require a volume to say fully and completely all that is hidden in this summary definition, for Basic Education covers not only the learning of the alphabet, but can also be extended to the domain of hygiene, the setting of a home, methods of agriculture, civic education and even to the elements of philosophy and moral life. It is evident, however, that learning to read and write is the

initial stage which throws open the door to a thousand other essential possibilities of culture. For, as Mr. Jaime Torres Bodel, the Director-General of UNESCO, said with conviction: "Illiteracy allows the existence of the most unjust frontier—that divides those who can read from those who cannot. We have terrible memories of the concentration camps, but we sometimes forget that, without prisons or barbed wire, more than 1,200 million men and women live in the implacable, invisible and inner dungeon of ignorance. We propagate the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but how can we presume to "universal", when we know that not one man in two can so much as read it!".

In general, it can be said that Basic Education is the adult adaptation of the elementary (primary) instruction which, unfortunately, many adults have not received at school.

Basic Education then, will admit many other concrete elements besides the rudiments of writing, of arithmetic or of the native language. On one hand, it will inform young mothers of the nourishment which they should give to their babies, on the other, how to avoid certain mosquitoes which spread disease, or again that one should not fear the hospital, believing that one enters it only to die, but rather than one enters it to be cured! It will teach: the peasants how to increase the yield of their little patch of ground by very simple means of fertilization, the fisherman how they can multiply the fish in a lake which is the only means of subsistence for a whole under developed region, their womenfolk a thousand yet unknown ways of preparing food from poor ingredients. Basic Education will train the family in all that will render the place in which they live more habitable — how and why to lay a flooring on hardened ground, insert a window, install sanitary fixtures, improve the use of water and light.....and so, one by one, all the problems of everyday life will be attacked.



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HERE AND THERE

Starting Anew

The Village Uplift Movement is on. It was solemnly launched on Gandhiji's day with a bout of spade work by the Prime Minister. Mr. Nehru has done his share, setting up of the Planning Commission, checking and revising the plans, forming a Ministry of Planning, and giving the all-clear signal to the workers. It is hoped that he will not be called away from his all-India tasks to go and inaugurate this or that community project; he should not be turned into a "play-boy" as he said when called upon to open sundry factories and laboratories. *Ne sutor infra crepidam.*

The work is now in the hands of all the officials and volunteers at state, district and village levels. The officials are there to give explanation, and guidance and to sanction detailed plans and expenses. The volunteers should regard it as their main task to supply the villagers with incentive and example. In the long run self-help is the only help that is effective. Here is the rub; our peasants are slow-witted, depressed and discouraged. It will take weeks and months to rouse in them the desire and the hope of self-improvement. For centuries any individual improvement

made them an easier target for exaction by petty officials and from friends and relatives. A common effort and progress might, however, cure them of their diseased psychology, though a diseased mind is what is most difficult to cure.

It was right to have the plans associated with Mahatma's memory. But was it sound psychology to begin the hard work of the community projects with a public holiday?

Merciful Bombay

The Bombay State boasts of being as progressive as its capital, and its legislation is not shy of bold experiments. It has acquired a reputation for austerity, but it knows when to temper severity with suavity. Prohibition remains in full force; yet allowances have recently been made for the weak. The plans for jail reform reveal a like trend towards benignity; they are discussed with the modern preoccupation of rehabilitating the actual criminal rather than deterring the potential offender. The most interesting experiment which is proposed permits smoking in the jails.

We are so systematically taught that tobacco is at best a useless weed that it is surprising to see modern state authorities favouring the spread of this mysterious craving of mankind. Some opponents of Bombay Government even suspect the measure as part of a subtle campaign against smoking. Prohibition of alcohol could rest on a strong Indian tradition, backed by religious and social sentiment. Smoking could invoke the practice of many a professional ascetic or mystic. Were smoking to become associated with jail birds, it might turn into something as distasteful as drinking, and once the prejudice would be firmly established, it would serve as a platform for an all-out offensive against the wretched weed. Such subtlety, however, is hardly within the ambition of day-to-day politicians. The only consolation left at present to the inveterate smoker is to reflect in all humility that the weed is helpful in rehabilitating criminals.

Man vs. Machine

The handloom industry is going through a crisis. Mr. Rajagopalachari proposed that it should be given a quasi-monopoly in some types of dhotis and saris. At once capitalists and economists flared up: "the handloom is symbolical of stagnation and poverty; the mill industry is dynamic and dynamism is what the country wants. This may look cruel but it is scientific economy." Which argument points to a dangerous psychology, the psychology that our economy should be dominated by money and machinery. This upside down mentality must be set right. The human person and human values should be given priority in our industrial policy; as Gandhiji said repeatedly, cottage industry is the only social institution that will save the rural masses and the country. The handloom may be improved, it may be speeded up with cottage power, but the cottage-scale of production is precious beyond computation.

Progressive Madras

Welcome news comes from Madras. Public interest in social sciences is waxing strong. The government still feels shy of new academic ventures, but private initiative has already started two centres for social teaching. A recent conference of Catholic Principals studied the problem in a spirit of idealism tempered with stern realism, and it is expected that next year several centres will be opened for different branches of social teaching and endeavour. The results will take some years to be tangible and tangibly appreciated; but from now on since expert educationists have taken up their share of the task, social workers are free to explore fresh avenues and address themselves to other tasks which are possibly more humble and more urgent.

In a few years' time, Catholic India will be truly social-minded.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

The Satyagraha movement in South Africa by the Indian and African communities in protest against the racial policy of the Government of Dr. Malan, has focussed the attention of the whole world on the menace of racialism on the African Continent. However the spirit of racial discrimination which is so crudely manifested in the apartheid policy of the South African Government is present in lesser measure and in less offensive ways in many parts of the world, and not least among those who have expressed their sympathies for the South African Satyagrahis in an emphatic manner. The proposed discussion of the South African situation in the General Assembly of the United Nations this year will undoubtedly help to draw the attention of the world to all aspects of the problem, and to all the regions where in a greater or lesser degree it threatens the cause of harmony and peace among nations. In particular it will have to be studied in the context of the overflowing populations of Asia,—of India and Japan in particular, and the prospects of peaceful and fruitful emigration into the vast empty regions of the world which a selfish policy based on fear and egoism, keeps closed to these industrious populations.

To India in particular, the South African crisis is only one item in the bigger problem of Indians overseas, of their status and prospects, of their relation with the mother country and of the inevitable repercussion of these questions on her foreign policy in general. Few people realise the extent of the movement of "colonization" as we may call it, by which India in recent days has resumed her role of ancient times of going beyond her frontiers, and building up thriving communities in many quarters of the globe. It is only now that the people of India begin to realise the extent of the oversea settlements, the variety of the condi-

tions in which they find themselves, and the problems that confront them there. There are flourishing Indian communities in the West Indies—in Jamaica, in Trinidad, in British Guiana mainly, and also in smaller numbers in the islands and coastlands of the Caribbean sea. They are about 1,80,000 people of Indian descent in Trinidad, about 30,000 in Jamaica, more than 100,000 in British Guiana where they are nearly one-half of the population. In other parts of the world too there are almost equally impressive figures of Indian colonists. The South African situation is of course well known. There are numerous agriculturists of Indian descent in Madagascar. The great majority of the population of Mauritius is Indian, numbering over a 100,000. The Indian workers and settlers in Malaya number several hundred thousand. There are large numbers in Ceylon, in Burma, in Fiji. There are smaller communities in other parts of the world including America and Canada. At a conservative estimate there must be about a million and half people of Indian race in lands beyond the seas.

Most of these settlers went overseas as humble labourers, often in conditions which amounted to a mild form of enslavement. Our readers will remember that the liberation of "indentured labour" was one of the planks in the programme of the Congress in earlier years. As long as India was under the political domination of a foreign power the status of Indians overseas was not an acute problem in most places where they had settled down. Only the more glaring instances of injustice or of human treatment provoked the educated sections in India to indignant protests. With the growth of the national movement these protests took the form of specific demands and led to political pressure through the British Colonial Office, on those who were exploiting the Indian worker. In most of these colonies the Indian labourer had been called in to save agriculture which was threatened by the absence of native labour or, as in the West Indies, by the refusal of the liberated slaves to continue to work in the plantations. Little by little these groups of modest and industrious workers who had often

no means of returning to India, settled down, in some cases secured grants of land and obtained elementary civic rights which had been refused to them in the first instance. Mahatma Gandhi's Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa was the first great landmark in the struggle of Indians overseas for full citizenship rights and the recognition of their place in the political set up of the countries which they had made their homes. That fight ended in a substantial victory on South Africa and great amelioration of the colonists' conditions in other lands. It brought out the decisive role of the Government of India in defending the rights of these people of Indian origin.

With the Independence of India, there is a new phase in the relations between the mother country and these children beyond the seas. They naturally experienced a sense of exultation in the emancipation of the mother country and they hoped that their status in their new homes would be raised and that the fight for securing such rights as were still denied to them would be taken up by a powerful and respected Indian Government more effectively than by the British Rulers. In certain cases there were attempts to return to India by those who had left her shores in times of economic difficulty and who believed that under Indian rule they would not only be welcome back to their motherland but would share in the economic prosperity and social emancipation which Swaraj was bound to bring. India therefore faces, the difficult task of meeting this double claim, namely of effective protection by international and diplomatic action against injustice and facilities to return when it is desired. Independent India has not taken much time to define her attitude clearly and tactfully in the face of this problem.

There can be no doubt that these men and women of Indian origin are citizens of their adopted lands who have contributed greatly to the prosperity of these new homes of theirs. Moreover they are regions where for the most part there are unoccupied or sparsely populated areas which

offer to the industry and above all, to the agricultural skill of our people an admirable opening and ensure for them a greater degree of prosperity and well being than would be possible in the conditions actually obtaining in India. Hence the natural attitude to adopt towards these children of our race is to advise them to secure the rights and privileges which should be theirs in full measure by virtue of their citizenship. The example of an unquestionable patriotism and the determination to contribute to the progress of these lands by the exercise of their traditional virtues will secure for them before long not only recognition, but a prominent part in the government and the public life of the colonies. India's right to intervene on their behalf by diplomatic action in the United Nations Organization or with the Colonial Governments, would be based upon fundamental human rights to which the United Nations Charter and their covenants have given a new force and primacy. That right is reinforced by the natural desire and admitted responsibility of India to come to the rescue of people of her race and culture to whom these fundamental rights are denied.

To claim this indirect protection from the Mother country does not in any way compromise the loyalty which they owe to their own country. They seek a legitimate means by which that new country of theirs might become so completely theirs that their attachment to it might be without reserve and regret. Such ties based on community of race and culture is an admitted element in international life and causes no political difficulties elsewhere. It binds the many millions of the children of the Irish race ~~for~~ example to their distant motherland with a love which matches in fervour and devotion the love of the actual inhabitants of the Emerald Isle. It does not compromise the patriotism or the civic loyalties of the many millions of people of Irish descent in the United States or Australia for example. It binds the children of Spanish motherland with the same enduring ties whether they be citizens of Mexico or one or other of the South American republics. These

racial and cultural ties on the international plane and on a worldwide scale help to bring scattered areas of the world closer and foster international contacts.

It was my good fortune to pay a visit to two of the most prosperous of these overseas Indian communities and come to know their spirit and attitude to the mother country by personal experience. Last April I spent a few days in Jamaica and Trinidad and had opportunities of meeting representative groups of the Indian colonies there and address them at various centres. It is not easy to speak without emotion of the warmth of their welcome and the pleasure they experience in welcoming visitors from the Mother country. Nor is it easy to suppress the feeling of pride which the visitor is bound to feel when he sees the way in which these settlers, originally most of them workingmen, have taken advantage of the opportunities they secured there. They rescued the agricultural economy of the islands when they were threatened a hundred years ago, by lack of labour. They have transplanted there the vegetables, the fruit and flower trees of the Indian homeland. In Trinidad of which they form one third of the population they are an important element in the prosperity of the sugar industry and have almost the monopoly of the vegetable market. They have established schools and have made progress in education and some of them are achieving success in the learned professions. They have taken a constructive part in local politics and the Government of the island includes a Minister of Indian origin. Their pride and joy at the emancipation of India and at her growing importance in foreign affairs is manifest, and their attachment to the traditions of the old country profound. It was with pleasure that I noted that communal feelings and separatist tendencies had not weakened them as they have weakened us at home. The Muslims, the Christians and the Hindus lived on terms of amity and though attempts at causing cleavages have not been wanting, they have not succeeded to any appreciable extent.

This does not mean that they have not their problems. There is a certain number among them, though very few relatively speaking, who speak of returning to the mother country. They have still problems concerning their civic rights just, as we have them in communities nearer home, in Burma or Ceylon. But they are being handled with skill and devotion by an able and very hardworking Commissioner in the West Indies, Mr. Sahay. It was my good fortune to be able to speak to them along the lines which I have indicated above, and to feel that though some of them may have expected more dramatic results from our independence, they realised the wisdom of the policy which India has been following in their regard.

That wise and moderate policy has not been appreciated in South Africa and has not enabled us to secure for men of our race the elementary justice which all men have the right to expect from every Government worth the name. Years of patient negotiation and appeals to public opinion and repeated expressions of International concern through the UNO, have not succeeded in persuading the rulers of South Africa that they are seeking a solution of the problem of harmonious living among racially distinct groups which is foredoomed to failure. It is a solution inspired by racial pride and economic injustice. Those who struggle against apartheid laws do not do so because they want racial admixture or the lowering of the standards of a more advanced community. They want opportunities for raising their own standards so that collaboration and mutual assistance may be possible on a basis of economic equality and cultural similarity. When a bare 20 per cent of the population refuse these rights and opportunities to 80 per cent of the people in their own country, the leaders of this arrogant minority are preparing for themselves a struggle in which they will not have the last word; and what is worse, sowing the seeds of racial animosity which may cause havoc in all parts of Africa and have its inevitable and painful repercussion in all other parts of the world. notably in Asia.

The Catholic Church has condemned racial discrimination and exclusiveness in unequivocal terms. The Gospel recognises no distinction between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian. The primitive Church preached her message and gathered her harvest in Europe, Asia and Africa. The oneness of mankind, the dignity of all human beings and their equality before God are fundamental in the Church's teaching regarding Creation and Redemption. In recent years the Church courageously opposed the racial doctrines of Nazism. Pius the XIIth in particular in his repeated declarations on the social question has recalled to all Catholics these principles of human equality, and more specifically he has spoken to the American Episcopate and the Church in America of the position of the negro and the need for solving the racial problem there in the spirit of Christian charity and brotherhood. "We confess" he said, "that We feel a special paternal affection for the Negro people dwelling among you; for in the field of religion and education We know that they need special care and comfort and are very deserving of it. We therefore invoke an abundance of blessings and we pray fruitful success for those whose generous zeal is devoted to their welfare." (*Catholic Mind*, Vol. 38, p. 927). Moreover the Delegate Apostolic and the Bishops of Africa have on two different occasions intervened in the present bitter conflict by recalling firmly and clearly Christian principles of brotherhood and charity, of "that common fellowship which should override racial conflicts and national frontiers." The Bishops admit the presence of inequalities but they should be overcome "by a prudent and careful planning, and in the practice of charity and justice. . . . We Christians freely admit the diversity of man. For us the human race is one" (*New Leader*, 29th June 52.).

Catholics of India will watch the struggle of their brethren in South Africa and their African fellow citizens with profound sympathy and prayers for their success. They cannot but feel deeply distressed by a policy which contradicts the fundamental teachings of our religion and dis-

credits the Christian name. Their opposition to Dr. Malan and his evil policy will not be diminished by his Government's threat "that Churches and societies which undermine the policy of apartheid and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation will be checked." (*Ibid*). Christianity has contributed powerfully to the emancipation of the Backward classes in India. It can and will play its part in the emancipation of the non-white populations of South Africa from this latest type of "caste" exclusiveness.

J. D'Souza.

FREEDOM FROM WANT

Before the conclusion of hostilities of the second world war, there existed a growing conviction among statesmen and leaders of the allied powers, that international peace and security could never flourish in a world in which one half of humanity lived on subhuman standards of nutrition, housing, health and education. Moreover, when the shooting war came to an end, motives of self-interest not unmixed with humanitarian considerations made it increasingly clear that unless the more rich and more advanced countries helped in the economic development of the underdeveloped countries, the economic life of the former would be endangered, and long continued subhuman social and economic conditions would help spread Communism which, indeed, is the tuberculosis of all weak and diseased social organisations. Hence, by means of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations and through freely negotiated agreements between advanced industrial countries and underdeveloped countries, a number of socio-economic organisations are working in several South East Asian countries to fight poverty, disease and illiteracy.

Under Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, all Member States have pledged themselves "to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social development." And as early as December 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations "recognizing that the members of the United Nations are not yet all equally developed" asked the Economic and Social Council to "study the question of providing effective ways and means for furnishing, in co-operation, with its Specialized Agencies, expert advice in the economic, social and cultural fields to Member Nations who desire this assistance." The nature of assistance which the UN Specialized Agencies offers to underdeveloped countries was made clear by Mr. Jamie Torres Bodet, Director General of the United Nations Economic and Social Council at Geneva in July 1949. He said, "In order that those unfavoured by history and geography may catch up with the more fortunate, it is not enough to furnish them with the means of progress. They must be made capable and desirous of using them for that purpose, it must be *their* progress which is involved, and they must know it. It is therefore essential that technical assistance be closely linked with a corresponding effort to guide peoples towards an active and intelligent participation in the shaping of their own destiny as they themselves see it."

The United Nations and its Specialized Agencies did not take long to go into action to serve, in a practical manner, the actual needs of countries requesting any assistance. As early as 1947 twenty-four experts were sent to nine countries, at their request to advise them on various social welfare services, which have been provided on an ever increasing scale ever since. In October 1948, a mission of experts from the United Nations, the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the International Monetary Fund, was sent out to Haiti, at the country's request, to survey almost all aspects of its economy and to recommend

measures for development. By December 31st, 1950, technical assistance rendered to India was covered by one housing expert and another in criminology from the United Nations; three experts from the Food and Agricultural Organisation; ten from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and five from the World Health Organisation. An interesting feature of this technical assistance programme is that while an underdeveloped country may be receiving assistance in certain fields, the country itself may be able to send experts from other fields in which the country may be more advanced. Thus in 1951, twelve experts under the auspices of the United Nations were recruited from India to work in other countries. Besides the provision of economic and technical assistance on an international basis through the United Nations Specialized Agencies, various regional technical assistance programmes freely negotiated between advanced industrial countries and underdeveloped countries aim at reducing the gap between the most and least developed countries. The most important of these are, perhaps, the American Point Four Programme, the Colombo Plan and the Community Projects.

The Point Four Programme of American aid to underdeveloped countries is essentially technical in character, and is an attempt to help the people who receive this aid, to help themselves. It was formulated by President Truman in his inaugural address in January 1949, when he outlined the four major courses of action of the United States foreign aid policy. Point Four was the fourth of these courses and aimed to give technical assistance to all underdeveloped countries. The programme is, in fact, a recognition of America's responsibility for the welfare of less developed countries, and also an attempt to share with other countries the experience gained from hard work, imagination, courage and technical skill which have led to the emergence of the USA as one of the richest and most powerful nations in the modern world. In June 1949, President Truman gave effect

to Point Four by recommending two measures: the Technical Co-operation Act (TCA) authorizing the expenditure of funds required for the execution and administration of the technical assistance programmes, and an amendment to the Export-Import Bank Act of 1946, so as to give the Bank authority to guarantee private capital from the USA, contributing to the development of foreign countries, against any risks particular to these investments. The first country to obtain a grant under the Point Four Programme for the improvement of health, agriculture, education and living conditions in villages, was Iran. In December 1950 India signed an agreement for assistance under this programme, and five projects were approved with a provisional allocation of 1.2 million dollars. Three of these projects relate to improvement of health and agriculture and have already been started; the two others aim at developing the country's ground, water and mineral resources.

The Colombo Plan was first discussed at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference held at Colombo in January 1950. The Plan recognized the urgent need of developing the rich natural resources and immense potentialities of South East Asian lands, and not only of those within the Commonwealth in this area. The Plan is not, and was not intended to be a programme of "free-gifts" to these countries, and so each country was asked to prepare a development programme and to assess carefully the national resources available for such development. In general terms, the aim of the Colombo Plan which covers a six-year period, may be described as an attempt to organise development in South East Asian lands so as to raise the standard of living by means of a co-operative approach to the problems of development and especially to that of increased food supply. Given the low per capita income of the peoples of these countries, and lack of technical knowledge it was evident that external assistance would have to provide a measure of financial assistance and also expert technical assistance. During the first year of the Plan financial and technical assistance was received from various Commonwealth

countries and from the USA. Of financial assistance, Australia made available, by way of grant, a sum of £A 8.75 million; Canada agreed to provide 25 million dollars in the year 1951-1952; New Zealand agreed to furnish a million pounds a year during the first three years; the United Kingdom's financial assistance has been chiefly by way of releasing sterling balances according to agreements made with the countries in the area. Technical assistance has been provided mainly in the form of scholarships, technical experts in the field of agriculture, hydro-electric power development, high-ways, railways, bridge construction, health and education.

Perhaps, the most comprehensive and ambitious Rural Welfare development programme yet launched in this country is the Community Project Scheme begun in October 1952. The term "Community Project" is of American origin and it is used in the USA for the development of a settlement which may be either agricultural or industrial. As applied to Indian conditions, the term merely refers to a group of villages making up a rural settlement, whose over all natural resources are carefully ordered and developed. "The central object of a Community Development Project" writes the Planning Commission of the Government of India, "is to secure the fullest development of the material and human resources of the area. The attainment of this object in rural areas demands urgent measures for a rapid increase in food and agricultural production. Work will also be undertaken for the promotion of education, for improvement in the health of the people, and for the introduction of new skills and occupations so that the programme as a whole can lift the rural community to higher levels of economic organization and arouse enthusiasm for new knowledge and improved ways of life." The idea and the common pattern of the Community Development Programme bear the stamp of American enterprise, and details of the scheme with respect to staff, operations, finance and work are made to conform to certain

and markets which give the highest profits. Strange as it may appear, this "free competition" which is the essence of Capitalism, has in the course of time led to a restriction of competition among producers and businessmen and so to the establishment of our Modern Capitalistic Combines and Amalgamations. Such Combines and monopolistic bodies are, in fact, the logical outcome of 'free competition.' In the early days of Capitalism when markets were plentiful and many countries undeveloped economically, "free competition" gave fat profits to such businessmen as came out best in this type of competition; but with the economic development of many countries and the narrowing of available markets, "free competition" gave place to "cut-throat competition," and it became the interest of those engaged in this competition to agree to combine their resources and either limit output or keep a uniform price level, so as to sell at a fixed profit.

To-day every branch of our capitalistic society, whether in production, trade, transport or finance is organised as a Combine or Amalgamation, often on an international basis. In general, Combines are of two kinds: *horizontal*; i.e., an amalgamation of similar firms or industries, as the Imperial Tobacco Company; *vertical*; i.e., a combine which includes all industries which contribute towards the production of the finished article, such as the British firm of Dorman, Long & Co., which is primarily a great iron firm, but which now covers "the whole field of production from pig-iron to battleships." Among International Capitalistic Combines we may mention the gigantic Swedish Safety Match Company, which before World War II dominated the International Match Company and with it controlled over 150 match factories in 28 different countries; in India it operates under the name of the Western India Match Company (WIMCO) and controls nearly 60 per cent of the total output of the match industry. In the International Financial Field, Barclays (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) Bank formed by the amalgamation of the Colonial Bank, the Anglo-Egyptian Bank and the National Bank of South Africa operates in Africa, the West Indies and the Near East.

Section IV — The Opposition to Capitalism

Long before the Capitalism reached the phase of "Financial Monopoly" it evoked strong opposition and reactions. In Western Europe this opposition which came chiefly from the workers and middle classes and was led by men and women imbued with humanitarian principles showed itself in three principal ways:—

(i) *Politically*, i.e., in the creation of a party which aimed at capturing political power so as to use the Government to remedy the wrongs done to the working classes by the spread of Capitalism. From this attempt was born various Socialistic and Labour Parties in different European countries. Opposing the Capitalistic principle of "no State intervention" in the industrial life of the country,

these reformers demanded State intervention, and which was, to some extent at this period, shown by State Laws protecting factory workers.

(ii) *Socio-Economically*, i.e., the creation of associations of workmen in order to safe-guard, promote and develop the interests of workers. From such associations was born the Modern Trade Union Movement.

(iii) *Economically*, i.e., the creation of associations chiefly among the middle class and working class consumers (i.e., people who use food, shelter, clothing, etc.). From associations was born the Modern Cooperative Movement, which began in Britain in 1844 with the establishment of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society by 28 men with a capital of £ 28.

Section V — The Judgement on Capitalism

In trying to form a right judgement on Capitalism we must be careful not to confuse the ECONOMIC and MORAL aspects of this social institution.

(i) *The Economic View*: i.e., Capitalism as a wealth producing machine, or as a machine for making houses, boots, ships and so on. From this view point the question we must answer is: "Has Capitalism, or has it not, brought on the market a sufficient quantity of good hats, shoes, ships, motor cars, etc.?", in other words, "Has Capitalism helped to increase the material standard of living of the people?" The ANSWER to this question cannot be obtained by comparing the Standard of Living in Capitalistic countries with that in Socialistic countries, for the simple reason that Socialism has not been in existence sufficiently long in any country to make a comparison possible. True, much is heard of the Soviet Standard of Living, but for every one person who favours that way of life, two may be found to condemn it! A partial answer to the question may be found by asking whether in the development of Capitalism, the Standard of Living of the broad masses has been raised. Here again, in the opinion of some economists and sociologists, though Capitalism is subject to "trade depressions" usually causing unemployment, there has been, in general, an upward trend in the material Standard of Living among the masses in Capitalist countries. The ordinary worker, in general, is better housed, fed and clothed than those of early Capitalistic days.

(ii) *The Moral View*: i.e., the influence for good or evil contained in the principles of Capitalism. The question we must answer then, is: "Do the principles of Capitalism help to establish social justice and charity in society." Tested by principles of Catholic morality, Capitalism stands condemned of several serious defects. This is not surprising, because born as it is of the teaching or philosophy of Liberalism, Capitalism necessarily reproduces the

standards. The Government of the United States of America in agreement with the Government of India undertakes to share in the financial and technical resources needed in the execution of the Community Project. Technical experts are provided through the Technical Cooperation Programme Agreement between the two Governments, and will be available at the Centre and at State levels in almost all fields of the Community Development Programme, such as, Health, Education, Irrigation and Small Scale Industries.

The Community Project Organisation functions at different levels. At the top there is the Central Organisation for the Community Project Administration with its Committee of Advisors, so that each type of operation is linked with that Ministry in the Government. Moreover, certain operations are directed by this Central Organisation, as for instance, "the running of special training centres not otherwise existing, or the running of projects in States where no suitable machinery exists for such purposes." The other sections of the Central Organisation are, the Personnel Section, the Planning Section, Finance and the Administrative Section. On the State level, each State has its own Development Committee, while each District has its own District Development Organisation with a District Development Officer.

Each Community Project is made up of the following units :

- i. A Village Unit, on an average, will consist of an approximate population of 500 distributed in about 100 families. And each village unit chosen for the operation of the project will have certain basic amenities, with regard to water supply, health, housing, education and communications.
- ii. A Mandi Unit made up of about 15 to 25 villages linked up with a common market and a centre of other activities. Such a unit will include amenities not found in the Village Unit.
- iii. The Development Block, this will be made up of from four to five mandi centres together with their satel-

First Steps in C. S. A.

12. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

III. CAPITALISM (Contd.)

Section III — Capitalistic Organisation of Society

In the first section of this Discussion we made a quick survey of the development of Capitalism over a fairly long period of time. The picture which that survey gave us would not be complete unless we have the patience to fill in the details of our modern Capitalistic Economic Organisation. As we already know, the Economic Organisation of Capitalism, like that of Full Socialism, or Communism, or Fascism, is made up of various parts, the most important of which are Production, Consumption, Distribution and Exchange. Now, under Capitalism, each of these parts, like the whole Capitalistic Organisation, is built upon the following main principles:—

(i) *The absolute right of private property.* This principle is rooted in the teaching of Liberalism from which Capitalism springs; for if, as Liberalism teaches, *man is absolutely his own master*, then it must follow that his private property (whether it is land, buildings, money invested in business and industry, or a factory) is his own absolute property, over which he has an absolute right. Further, the exercise of the right of private property can suffer no limits or restrictions except such as the owner may wish to impose upon himself. Thus there can be no check upon a man who uses his private property (money) for running a drug-factory which harms numberless people!

(ii) *The Maximum Profit Motive.* This principle naturally follows from the Liberal teaching of "complete unfettered individual self-seeking in economic matters." In fact, if man is completely free to seek, by every method, *his own interest alone*, then in business and in industry he will seek the maximum profit, even if in so doing he harms the welfare of the community and of the workers.

On these two main principles the world of Capitalism is built. That is to say, the free and absolute exercise the right of private property in combination with the maximum profit motive has resulted in "free competition" among owners of capital in order to find cheap means of production, most efficient methods of production

central error of that doctrine — the absolute freedom of man subject to no authority, neither human or Divine. In economic matters, this has led to absolute unfettered self-seeking which has bred the following outstanding social evils :—

(a) **Selfishness** : in every type of economic activity, whether of producing, buying, selling or exchange. It is this sin of selfishness which denies the worker a just wage, which condemns him to live in slums, to work in unhealthy factory conditions, and which, in short, treats men, as Pope Leo XIII says, "as mere instruments for money-making."

(b) **The anti-social use of private property**. Because Capitalism is based upon self-seeking, private property is made to cater for the satisfaction of the owner alone. Thus, in practice Capitalism denies the "social aspect" or "social work" which private property, rightly understood, must accomplish. Hence it is easy to understand the grave social evils which result from private property when organised in the shape of Capitalistic Combines and international financial combines. As Pius XI tells us, in *Quadragesimo Anno*. "The laws enacted for joint-stock companies with limited liability have given occasion to abominable abuses." (Para : 132). Again, speaking of "The war waged against private ownership," Pius XI, in the same Encyclical tells us, "ultimately it is not the possession of the means of production which is attacked, but a form of social authority which property has usurped in violation of all justice." (para : 114).

(c) **Exaggerated love of gain of profit**. In itself profit is not blame-worthy. Those who put their money (private property) into, say, a boot factory do a service to the community, and like all service, they deserve some reasonable recompense. But under Capitalism, built upon absolute self-seeking, the profit motive over-rides all claims of justice towards workers and consumers.

It follows, therefore, that the reform of Capitalism must be two-fold, as is the aim of Catholic Social Action. This reform must bear upon :—

Firstly, the Structure of Capitalism, i.e., upon Capitalistic Combines, joint-stock companies etc. Secondly, the Morality of Capitalism, i.e., upon its wrong principles of absolute self-seeking, exaggerated profit motive, etc.

C. C. Clump

lite villages. The headquarters of the Development Block is planned to be a rural-cum-urban township with an approximate population of 5,000 distributed in 1,000 families. Residential accommodation for about 1,000 families and greater amenities will be provided for in each Development Block.

iv. The whole Project Area will be made up of three Development Blocks consisting of approximately 300 villages, and its headquarters also known as an Urban-cum-rural township is planned to have a population of 10,000 to 20,000 people. Besides the common features found in the rural-cum-urban township of the Development Block, the Project Headquarters will enjoy greater facilities for health, education and rural welfare in general.

From the moment that the site has been selected and survey work begun for the project area till the whole scheme has been finalized, a period of three years has been estimated as the required time to implement the whole project.

Since every Community Project is a multi-purpose organisation, the training of its personnel covers a vast number of subjects, so that no aspect of rural life may be omitted. Thus the curriculum of the training of the Supervisory Staff in the first course just completed at the Bakshi Katalab Centre at Lucknow included such subjects as, Rural Extension Service ; Rural Life and Psychology; Preliminaries of extension activities ; Technique of supervision ; The Theory and Practice of Agriculture; Horticulture and Vegetable Gardening; Plant Protection; Agriculture engineering; Animal husbandry and veterinary; Cottage industries; Health, sanitation and village hygiene; Adult education; Co-operatives and Panchayats. Besides this theoretical knowledge great stress is laid on field work or practical work by the trainees. As the Planning Commission points out, "The main purpose of our training is to change the psychology and outlook of our future workers.... We have to add practical training skill and the extension spirit to

our trained personnel... To bring this about the trainees will approach the cultivators, bring them round to try the improved activity of the day; do it and show it in the field under their environment, with their tools and resources, and leave only when the cultivator would leave."

The very nature of these Community Projects makes more than evident that success will depend, to a very large extent, on the type of workers engaged in these Projects, and therefore, the qualifications required are of a very special quality. Emphasis is rightly placed on the importance of "personality, ability for organisation and qualities of leadership"; on the necessity of candidates for this type of work coming from rural areas; on a knowledge of a Provincial language, Hindi and English; on having been trained in Community organisation work and having had some experience of field work in rural areas.

All social workers will welcome the opportunity offered them by these Community Projects to help revitalize the Indian countryside, and dramatize for men anew, life as it can be lived at the fountain source of organic power, life on the soil. Obviously the first and most urgent need is to arouse an intelligent interest in the land on the part of all classes, urban and rural. People actually living on the farm and in rural areas must be taught to understand more perfectly the economic benefit of home productivity. The mine and factory worker must be shown the possibilities of part time farming where circumstances render that possible. City workers must be given the vision of that far-reaching organic good which comes to every nation through rural culture, co-operation in rural communities, intelligent land programmes, home production, home arts and crafts. The Community Projects will find use for every type of social worker from the university graduate to the village social worker, who by means of local study circles and field work will help re-establish healthy rural families and rural communities as living cells and members of the body politic.

□ □ □ C. C. Clump. □

COMMUNIST POLICY IN INDIA

Last year saw much striking of breasts and expressions of repentance by the CPI (The Communist Party of India); its members had erred, grievously erred. So the Polit Bureau said and so it had been told to say and mean what it said. A firm purpose of amendment has been made and a new programme and policy drawn up.

It will be well worth while to examine the CPI's future policy. In general, it plans greater concentration on the peasantry and on agrarian reforms, a shift away from individual violence, a greater use of the middle-class bourgeoisie and a strengthening of the independence of the States from the Centre.¹ The details of this policy are very instructive and the study of them will prevent much tilting at windmills and chasing after will-o-the-wisps.

Communists will never allow that other besides themselves can interpret Communist policy; in this matter, they do not hesitate to claim the gift of infallibility. But in order to lessen the charge of 'perversion' which will inevitably be raised, we have allowed Communists to speak for themselves. Hence the large number of quotations. That the CPI thinks the plan of action drawn up in the *Programme and Policy* important can be seen from the following editorial in *Cross Roads* (Communist) August 10, 1952: "The last one year has witnessed a decisive

† The principle sources are:- *The Statement of Policy of the Communist Party of India*. November 1951. (Policy)

Programme of the Communist Party of India. October 1951. (Programme)

E. M. S. Namboodripad, *On the Agrarian Question in India*.

People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1952. (E.M.S. Namboodripad)

S. Parameswaran, *The Peasant Question in Kerala*. People's Publishing House, Bombay. 1951. (S. Parameswaran)

change in favour of the people. The publication of the Draft Programme by the Communist Party of India proved to be an important landmark. Analysing the Indian situation with a clarity and simplicity that was never known before in our country, the document called for the broadest United Front of all democratic forces, of all anti-imperialist anti-feudal parties, organizations, groups and individuals in order to assert our national independence and democracy.... Armed with this weapon our people won significant victories in the election battle."

Agrarian Reform

In "The Peasant Question in Kerala" S. Parameswaran sums up the general situation as regards the peasant movement. Up to now the CPI has failed to realise that a strong movement among the peasantry would unite ninety per cent of the people. A section of the Party leadership, forgetting Stalin's teaching that "the peasantry represents the main army of the national movement" have exaggerated "the roll of the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie whom they look upon as the main force to be rallied in the Democratic Front"; another section of the Party have looked "upon the peasantry as nothing but a part of the 'backward petty bourgeoisie masses.'" Both errors have disregarded "the main task of the working class in a colonial country, to develop the peasant movement."² A similar error has been committed by "the other left parties and democratic groups" whose style themselves Marxist and with whom the Communists are ready to work in a United Front. These parties have not understood that "the essence of Marxism lies in the most dominant form of relations of production based on the separation of the producers from the means of production — which in a colonial country with feudal relationship is the monopoly of

² S. Parameswaran, p. 62.

land in the hands of a few feudal and semi-feudal landlords."³

E. M. S. Namboodripad analyses the Party's main errors in dealing with the agrarian question in the post-war period.⁴

First Stage : —

From August 1945 to the August, 1946 resolutions of the Central Committee. Failure to foresee the coming unrest and discontent among the peasants and consequently the Party "was unable to organise kisan actions to keep pace with the INA demonstrations, the RIN Revolt, the preparation for the All-India Railway Strike, etc."⁵ The Central Kisan Council was allowed to promise its co-operation with the Congress-sponsored National Planning Committee, thus following a "Legalist-constitutionalist path" instead of a mixed revolutionary method; but the chief error which was to be "the seed of all subsequent sectarian mistakes in formulating the slogans of agrarian revolution" was "the failure to distinguish strictly between the feudal (rent-and-interest collecting) landlord and the capitalist (surplus-value-appropriating) landlord, the tendency to include even rich peasants in the landlord class."⁶

Second Stage : —

From the August 1946 resolutions of the Central Committee, to March-April, 1947. The Party adopted the programme of leading and directing the peasants' struggle, but with no co-ordinated plan and the credit for these struggles goes to local initiative. During this period the following

³ Ibid. p. 62.

⁴ E. M. S. Namboodripad, pp. 56-62.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 56-57. Note here and in many other instances to be quoted later how Communists claim to be the instigators of outstanding strikes and rebellions.

⁶ E. M. S. Namboodripad, p. 57.

struggles took place ; the 'Quit Kashmir' against the Maharaja Hari Singh ; Telengana in Hyderabad ; Punnuprayalar in Travancore with the slogan 'End the Diwan's Rule,' 'American Model Constitution into the Arabian Sea ;' Tebhaga in Bengal ; and the struggle in North Malabar where the peasants were led by the Kisan Sabha and the CPI.

The Party accuses itself a failure in exploiting the initiative of the peasant and of linking up their struggle with that of the middle - and working class.⁸

Third Stage :—

March-April, 1947 to December 1947. "The principal character of the mistakes can be put in one word — 'left' sectarianism." And this period was marked by a period of "retreat from the policy of leading struggles," and by realisation that "no kisan struggle can be victorious unless the revolutionary initiative of the kisans is unleashed and kisans helped to set up their own fighting organisations. The campaign for the support of the general democratic movement was thus made almost a substitute for the organisation of the kisans themselves."⁹

Fourth Stage :—

December, 1947 to March, 1950. This period was marked by an "extremely sectarian approach to the peasantry in general that led to the virtual dissolution of the All-India Kisan Sabha making it defunct in practice."¹⁰

Fifth Stage :—

This is the final stage and stretches from March-April, 1950 to April-May, 1951. This period produced two trends:

⁷ The peasants were organised behind the factory workers of Alleppey. This type of organisation is set up as a model.

⁸ In these documents, 'working class' means industrial workers in mills, factories and the like.

⁹ E. M. S. Namboodripad, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 61.

one of "continuing the sectarianism of 1948-50 in new forms — 'excluding rich peasants with feudal tails' from the anti-feudal front.... "The other, that of Comrade Joshi and others, "denouncing all militant struggles (including Telengana) as adventurist, interpreting the unity of all the peasantry in such a way as to deny the special revolutionary role of agricultural labour and poor peasants, denying the fact that, on some issues and on some occasions, the rich peasants will go over to the enemy, the denial of the necessity for any illegal mass organisations and partisan units, etc."¹¹

All five stages have two common features which point out the chief errors and lay the bases for future action ; they are :

"(i) On the issue of the objective of agrarian reform, they do not make the strict distinction that it is necessary to make between the parasitical feudal system of production and the capitalist system and hence, instead of the objective of ending the former and of restricting while promoting the latter, they advocate the policy of treating them alike ; (ii) On the issue of leading kisan struggles, they do not advance the basic task of so leading every struggle as to unleash the revolutionary initiative of the kisans to the maximum and help them to set up their own fighting organisations. It was within the framework of this incorrect understanding that the Party shifted its policy from time to time."¹² But, adds the same author, it would be wrong to look on the Party's post-war activities among the peasants as a series of blunders. This would be to overlook the achievements and experience gained and "to forget the very fact of the revolutionary upsurge among the kisans in the post-war period, to forget the very rapid disillusionment of the mass of peasantry regarding the Congress and its government, to forget the rapid growth of the feeling among the

¹¹ Ibid. p. 61.

¹² Ibid. pp. 61-62.

kisans that this government has to be replaced by one which will satisfy their demands.”¹³ With this historical background we may now examine further details of the agrarian programme.

Chinese Model :—

The *Policy* reviewing past strategy emphasises the erroneousness of thinking that the ‘reforms’ desired by the CPI can be brought about by parliamentary methods alone, and then states that “our main road is already charted out for us” in the doctrine of orthodoxy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the example of the Soviet Union and Chinese Democracy. It was wrong, notes the *Policy*, to have thought that “the main weapon in our struggle would be the weapon of general strikes of industrial workers followed by countrywide insurrection as in Russia,” as also was the later theory “that since ours is a semi-colonial country like China, our revolution would develop in the same way as in China, with partisan war of peasantry, as its main weapon.”¹⁴ “After long discussion, running for several months, the Party has now arrived at a new understanding of the correct path for attaining the freedom of the country and the happiness of the people, a path which we do not and cannot name as either Russian or Chinese.”¹⁵ The future *Policy* will take its inspiration from orthodox Marxist doctrine from the Russian and Chinese Revolution, but adopt itself to local peculiarities. What lessons are to be learnt from China? As in China, India’s problem is essentially an agricultural and peasant problem: “We are essentially a colonial country, with a vast majority of our people living on agriculture.” Real freedom means taking away the land from the feudal landlords without compensation. “This anti-feudal task, when fulfilled, alone will mean the real liberation for our country because the main

¹³ Ibid. p.63.

¹⁴ *Policy*, p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 3.

props of imperialist interests in our country, as they were in China, are the feudal. So, like the Chinese, we have to fight feudalism and imperialism. Our revolution is anti-feudal, anti-imperialist.”¹⁶ But there are important differences: in China, Communism had the Liberation Army to give substantial aid; and anti-communists had no good communication, while in India communications are good; the Chinese Communist army could manoeuvre and retreat until it reached Manchuria. “There, with the industrial base in hand, and the great friendly Soviet Union in the rear, the Chinese Liberation Army, free from the possibility of any attack in the rear, rebuilt itself and launched the final offensive which led it to victory. The geographical situation in India in this respect is altogether different.”¹⁷ There are other salient points of difference: “Moreover, we must bear in mind that the Chinese Party stuck to the peasant partisan war alone, not out of a principle, but out of sheer necessity.”¹⁸ Owing to the nature of the struggle in China the peasants and the Party became separated from the working classes in the cities, but separating peasants from the working classes should not built up into a principle for India. Such an outlook ignores the fact that we have a big working class and that it has a role to play, which can be decisive in our struggle for freedom.”¹⁹ In India, then, there must be united action between peasants and workers, the latter acting as the spear-head of the united movement. Thus “The C. C. wishes to convey to comrades this great lesson of history, a lesson which is neither only the Russian path or the Chinese path, but a path of Leninism, applied

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 4.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 5. One may speculate if things will be so different with Tibet Communist and Communism very active in Nepal, Burma and Kashmir. The Communist present demand for a large measure of autonomy for Kashmir seems significant.

¹⁸ *Policy*, p. 5.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 6.

to Indian conditions."²⁰ Such a policy will help comrades to understand that the main question is not whether the struggle is to be violent or non-violent. "Such a poser is a poser of Gandhian ideology, which in practice, misleads the masses and is a poser of which we must steer clear. Marxism and history have once for all decided the question for the Party and the people of every country in the world long ago. All action of the masses in defence of their interests to achieve their liberation is sacrosanct. History sanctions all that the people decide to do to clear the lumber-load of decadence and reaction in their path to progress and freedom."²¹ Which is nothing but an application of Communist ethics that everything that helps the Party, violence included, is good: whatever hinders its progress is bad. Whoever stands in its path must be removed, violently if necessary. In this context the *Policy* condemns individual terrorism as frequently practised by Communists in India. Such terrorism is evil, not because violence as such is evil, since the individuals who practice terrorism "may be heroic and selfless and applauded....." still such actions are not permissible "for the simple reason that therein the masses are not in action. Therein, the belief is fostered that the heroes will do the job for the people."²²

(To be continued)

A. Nevett

²⁰ Ibid. p. 7.

²¹ Ibid. p. 7.

EDUCATING FOR CITIZENSHIP

If there are few Catholic lay leaders among us today, men and women who are truly Catholic and real leaders, who, exert a telling influence in Catholic circles and in the various channels of public life, the fault, in our opinion, lies to a large extent in our educational system: we have failed to provide a really complete training for life, and to inculcate in our youth a sense of social responsibility.

With the development of the experimental sciences and of modern industry an increasing emphasis has come to be placed on the utilitarian aspects of education, and training in social competence has been proportionately neglected. It is not Catholic educators alone that are wanting in this matter, of course; others perhaps have to blame themselves even more, for the lack of social mindedness seems to be a general phenomenon. The Vice-President of India referred to this in his recent address to the Banaras Hindu University; Dr. Radakrishnan is reported to have said, "For the task which faces us today we require young men of disciplined enthusiasm and dedicated service, if we are to establish an order which would eliminate social injustice, economic inequalities and other evils of the present system. It is from the universities and schools that we must get a never-ending flow of trained leadership, competent to deal with the complex problems which the future holds for us. We need not only technical competence but also disciplined loyalty." Regretting the lack of this spirit among modern youth, he continued, "The country needs men of spirit and sacrifice and not idlers who fritter away their energies in trivialities." However others may stand in this question of social formation, it is in proportion to the role Catholics can and ought to play in public life, and to the share we have in educating India's youth, that our contribution towards training for citizenship must be. If we do

not take a prompt lead in this matter, we may be sure that anti-social and subversive elements will step in to poison the minds of the young.

How do We Stand?

If social-mindedness does not become real among Catholics, we shall be guilty of ignoring present-day problems, of failing to apply Catholic principles to their solution, and of allowing key social positions to fall into the hands of Communists and fellow-travellers. How social-minded are we now, exactly? A set of questions originally proposed to American educationists may be adapted and adopted in order to help us gauge the situation in India:—

How many of our former (University or High School) students who are businessmen are spreading the ideas of the social encyclicals — if they heard about them from us! — and striving, for instance, to promote cooperation between labour and management?

How many of them who are lawyers and doctors are using their knowledge to promote stability in the family, the community?

How many of them who are employees, clerks for instance, who strive to bridge the gap between capital and labour, to combat Communist influence in the unions?

How many of them are engaged in what we might call extra-professional activity in the civic field, taking part in national and community welfare projects?

How many of them treat their servants as justice and Christian charity demand? etc.

Social Formation

The answers to the above questions will surely not be satisfying; it is good to realise this, yet the realisation is not enough, for social-mindedness cannot be formed overnight. Its acquisition will be the fruit of a constant training that must start in youth, the age of ideals and enthusi-

asm: "Youth has idealism, energy and courage. Our young people are not tied down to settled ways, nor have they experienced the weariness and disillusionment which often follows failure. They bring to problems a fresh and unsullied point of view. They are more easily moulded along patterns dictated by ideals, since they have fewer ingrained prejudices which might militate against such patterns," says Fr. John F. Cronin in *Catholic Social Action*.

We must train youth in our homes and — it is here our immediate concern — in our schools; theirs has been hitherto a largely negative approach to social problems, "educators have failed to recognise that schooling in social concepts and stimulation through social motivation are vital components of a full-rounded education, and education for life." In most of our Catholic institutions, an Indian missionary commented, due importance is given to the teaching of piety, purity, work, discipline, which is all most praiseworthy, but has sufficient attention been paid to the fostering of charity among little children, and of a sense of brotherhood and cooperation, of human dignity and of fairness, among those who are older? We must instill into the young the social sense that widens horizons and destroys self-centredness, the prudence, charity and justice necessary to deal with life's problems.

In a most instructive study on "Youth and the Social Encyclicals" (*The Catholic Educator*, February 1952), Bro. Leo V. Ryan, C. S. V., points out that our task in this connection is to form correct attitudes in our students and train them in the use of criteria for the evaluation of social problems, rather than to supply them with a set of ready-made solutions to individual problems; to lay more stress on study and training rather than on immediate action. Once young people have assimilated the fundamental principles concerning man's dependence on God and his social nature, the dignity of man and of labour, the sacredness of the family and the unity of mankind, they must be encouraged to apply these principles to the problems they are about to face in life.

Official Directives:—

Nor should it be thought that the demand for social education is just another phase of the modern fad of the social sciences ; the Church herself desires that the Christian social formation of our laity should not be delayed until the years of maturity have been reached. The Sacred Congregation of the Council said in a letter to the Bishop of Lille (June 5, 1929) : " And on this subject, in view of a more thorough social Christian formation, and one more adapted to youth, the Sacred Congregation suggests that, in the various clubs for young men and boys and educational institutes, some social education suitable to the capacities of young people should be given, as is already done with excellent results in certain dioceses. The effect of such instruction will be not only to protect the young from the errors to which they are exposed, but also to make them realise the beneficent activity of the Church in the social sphere."

But how are we to impart social education ? The syllabus of studies is largely beyond our control, and the timetable is crowded enough already. What then is to be done ?

The immediate solution — and indeed the fundamental one — specially in the schools, would seem to be not a special course in social science but rather the teaching of the usual subjects with a social bias. Fr. Louis J. Twomey S. J., of New Orleans' Loyola University, has the following remarks to make : " With few exceptions, such perhaps as mathematics and the physical sciences, there is no course in the curriculum from the lowest grades through graduate and professional schools, that cannot be made to serve the purpose of social indoctrination. This end is to be gained not by weakening the contents of the course, but by focusing the student's mind on the method whereby he can use the factual and cultural knowledge acquired from the course better to equip himself to make his proportionate contribution to the society of men in which he lives. Thus will be built up social attitudes to make the student aware

that God did not create him to be an isolated individual, but a member of society from which, as a member, he is to receive certain benefits and towards which he has certain obligations."

The chief subjects taught at school and college have a social bearing. Take religion and morals — do not the ten commandments provide a comprehensive social code whose implications can be explained to students, and can they not also learn the connection between the Gospel lessons and social problems ? Then there is history — how many occasions does it not provide to expose the dangers and horrors occasioned by selfishness, greed and injustice in high places, and to exalt noble deeds too ! Again, in the study of literature, the lives of the great lovers of mankind, and the literary master-pieces inspired by this love, can be placed before our pupils.

Outside the classroom, school organizations like the Sodality and the Boy Scouts can help very much in creating a sense of social responsibility, whilst the praiseworthy enterprise of some schools in starting social service leagues shows that civic activity is not entirely beyond the powers of schoolboys ; social virtues like leadership, cooperation, fair-play and self-control can be actively fostered and developed on the sports field ; an attractive and well-managed bulletin-board can be of great value in imparting, in a popular fashion, information and instruction on social topics.

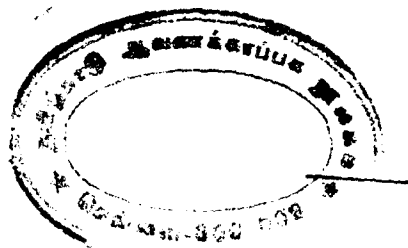
In the case of older students there is more scope for social education both in the classroom, in subjects such as civics and sociology, and outside it. At the College level great fruit may be obtained by founding Christian associations and forming study-circles, as was suggested by Pope Pius XI. Organisations like the Sodality, the Legion of Mary, Catholic Students' Unions, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, can be valuable means of promoting social education and the social apostolate ; the launching of cooperative enterprises and social service leagues, as well as the fostering of Catholic social action through existing national and secular

movements can be more easily attempted at the higher levels of education. Admittedly, more than one difficulty will have to be overcome, and more than one disappointment to be bravely disregarded, but we cannot shirk our duty to youth and society.

Obligation and Opportunity

On Catholic parents, on our teachers, and on those who direct their activities, rests a great responsibility that is also a glorious opportunity, to educate the children of today so as to make of them the citizens of tomorrow, the pillars of the Church, the builders of the nation. May the following words of the Bishops of Quebec, in a Joint Pastoral Letter, serve to arouse them to apostolic action in this field : "Unless teachers take care to give a sufficient doctrinal preparation on this subject, unless they direct their pupils towards the splendid realities of the generous life which they should lead, our young people will easily withdraw themselves from such a life, being more attracted by an ambitious and hedonistic egoism, soon ready to sacrifice everything for the success of a lucrative career which is socially useless if not evil. The adult carries over into life the habits of thought and action which he acquired and with which he was inspired during his youth. Consequently all those who have the responsibility of educating young people must be preoccupied with their social formation."

The Plenary Council of Bangalore is no less insistent on the urgent need of training youths to Catholic Action at school (No. 149) and to civic action (No. 244) and on the necessity of fostering social action among all (No. 236, sqq.) These decrees should not go unheeded in the present-day circumstances of India.



J. Correia- Afonso

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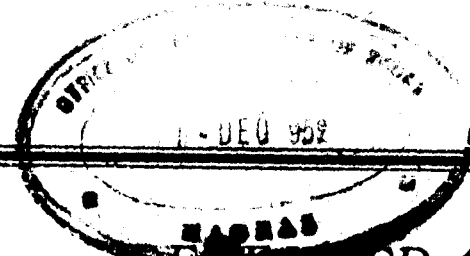
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HERE AND THERE

Talks

In the course of this month, Catholic India will have splendid opportunities to discuss social problems. Madras is setting up all kinds of platforms for all kinds of speakers. The most solemn gathering will be the International Conference of Social Work which will discuss methods of raising the standard of life in South-East Asia. Catholic delegates will be numerous; we are not only interested in promoting corporal works of mercy but are fully aware of the dictum that conditions of life affect the practice of virtue. In India there are millions that are so miserable as to be unable to observe Sunday rest or to have any margin of wealth or leisure to give free play to their natural benevolence. Christian wisdom invites earnest efforts at improving their lot.

At the International Conference Catholics will have occasion to bear witness to one of their strong convictions. Birth-control advocates will take advantage of the occasion to spread their nefarious doctrine and to seek support for their vicious practices. Their persons are to be loved; their errors are hateful and should be countered by all possible means. They will be challenged and checked by Catholic delegates; in particular it would be intolerable that these apostles of a sorry modernity should impose their view that the birth-control problem has no ethical implications.

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P O O N A, 1.

At times people are liable to talk as if the Catholic attitude were a matter of church discipline like Sunday observance or fasting rules, whilst it is a principle of universal ethics, that holds good for Catholics and non-Catholics. The only thing peculiar to the Catholic Church in this matter is that it is the only institution that has clear ideas about it and has the courage to face unpopularity in proclaiming them.

Among Ourselves

It is expected that Catholic social workers will profit by the occasion to have meetings of their own in a more homely style. Delegates from all provinces and from different countries will be present, to share conclusions of parallel experiments and consolidate parallel resolutions in an international solidarity of faith and effort. The more internationalism becomes an economic reality, the greater the need of putting Catholic social endeavour on a world-scale provided it be based on realistic achievements.

Action

Occasionally social workers who are in earnest feel impatient of meetings, discussions and lectures. What is the use of all that talk?, they say; let us have action.

They should reflect that talk is both a preparation for action and a humble form of action. It is surely action to convince, persuade, decide, encourage others, create common consciousness, and spread the idea of solidarity and community. Action also the spoken and written word which discusses plans, harmonises effort, and tests results of realistic undertakings. Talk is futile if it be insincere, unrelated to facts or irresponsible. Resolutions are useless if not carried into effect; they even point to intellectual or moral bankruptcy. But the doers of the word are always worth hearing: their words are wings of action.

Community Projects

One would have expected unanimous effort at village uplift and, at worst, rivalry in effort between the various parties. Yet our Red fellow-citizens remain true to form; they will mope, criticize, obstruct. With impenitent Marxism they oppose anything and everything that falls short of their objective. Relief and rehabilitation of the 1952 peasantry is no objective of theirs; it would at best be a means to get at their ultimate political revolution. That is why when they met the Planning Commission, they did not, like the other parties, ask for explanations, but profited by the occasion only to argue their case.

On the other hand, clever tacticians as they are, they allowed only a few leaders to come forward; these could be denounced if they failed to advance the cause, they could be outbidden if they succeeded. In any case the game must go on; any failure in the community projects will be magnified, results decried, and ridicule will be showered on the whole plan. An atmosphere of uncertainty and agitation is the most suitable climate for a Red Revolution.

The Red Nucleus

The Red peril is ever present, whatever be said about the features of Indian mentality and tradition. It may develop into a mortal danger in either of the two possible ways: a *coup d'état* or an electoral landslide. Little time is left to counter it effectively. In both alternatives the strength of the communist endeavour will come from the intellectuals who are frustrated with to-day's realities and feel attracted by the ideal communist propaganda evolves for the unwary. These intellectuals are the key-people that need enlightenment and training, and that will command the allegiance of the masses. They will not make their choice between different sets of goods and gadgets; they will choose between ideals and causes. Sound doctrine is more imperative than ever.

A. L.

SOME RECENT STRIKES

We have witnessed three important strikes during the last few months in the Bombay State. Not all of them can be called strikes in the strict sense of the term. One of them was more in the nature of a lock-out by management than a strike. However, since the labour movement in this country is still in the process of formation, a brief outline and review of each of these phenomena will serve as excellent illustrations of the major trends at work in the Indian labour world.

The Air India Lay-Off

Technically called a lay-off, the management of Air-India really resorted to a lock-out when it gave nearly 2000 men notice of complete stoppage of work. This was meant to be management's answer to the go-slow policy of the workmen who were deeply dissatisfied with the decision of the Labour Appellate Tribunal in favour of Management. Nearly two years ago, the Sen Award had been partially welcomed by the workmen. They had been allowed their increments; the surplus number of hands threatened with retrenchment were to be absorbed. But the Company had appealed against the judgement. And soon after, the employees had done the same because the Award had failed to satisfy all their demands. This is invariably the case in India. The Industrial Courts take time and money, and the party that is not favoured in the verdict always tries to circumvent the award either by appealing against it, or where this is not possible, by safeguarding its interests in some other way. And though the matter might be settled temporarily, no final solution is possible unless labour and management agree to a single formula satisfactory to both. But this is extremely hard to hammer out in the law courts.

The Air-India Unions

There are four unions in Air-India, the most numerous

being the Air-India Employees' Union and the Ground Engineers' Union. When the employees have to treat with management, representatives from the four unions get together as a Liaison Committee and then hold discussions. There is also a Work's Committee made up of employees' and management's representatives.

Communists

The misfortune of the Air-India workmen's unions and Liaison Committee was their dominance by a small coterie of Communists. These men got into power by sheer hard work and skilful manoeuvring, while the rest of the workmen, among whom there are several hundred Catholics, preferred to sit back or were forced to do so and watch the prestige of the Communists increase by reason of their activity and opposition. The Communists faithfully followed the Marxian pattern of class warfare ever since they were installed in power. They completely resisted every overture of management to come to terms with the workmen. And at the same time they used the most unscrupulous tactics to keep their fictitious majority in the managing committee of the unions. It is they who made it impossible for the Work's Committee to settle down to producing anything positive.

But the decision of the Appellate Tribunal came as a severe blow to their prestige. The men were dissatisfied and restive. And a demonstration fostered behind the scenes by the Communists was staged against the management. But perhaps the Communists had bitten off more than they could chew. Management suddenly adopted a tough policy. A lock-out was their answer. Nearly 2000 men were laid-off for reasons of sabotage. Nearly 20 men were instantaneously discharged, among them 10 prominent Communist leaders. This sudden stoppage of work, the resultant inactivity, and the absence of a strike fund made it impossible for the men to hold out against the Company for any length of time. The management seemed to hold

the whip-hand. The more educated workmen began to realise that their leaders had made some serious mistakes. In the meantime the company would have nothing to do with the Liaison Committee, the majority of whose members were Communists or fellow-travellers. A few days after the lay-off the Company withdrew recognition of the Air-India Employees' Union. This made matters worse for the men since they had no representatives through whom they could contact or bargain with management.

The Lay-off was brought rapidly to an end when management proposed an amnesty by recalling all the men back to work except those who had been given notices of discharge. The Communists had been feeling the growing hostility towards their party and their policy and shrewdly advised the men to go back to work, hoping to make up for lost prestige by controlling the union from outside the works, and through their stooges from within. The Anti-Communist element among the workers was neither sufficiently organised nor sure of its lead to challenge the Communists or replace them.

Lack of Interest

What gave the Communists their chance was the fact that the vast majority of the workmen are not at all interested in trade-unionism. Workmen are apathetic and just too busy with their individual concerns to realise that they could vastly improve their situation if they were to stand together and follow the right leaders. Union meetings are not to their taste, and they will only attend when some serious issue arises or their jobs are at stake. They are content to follow Communist leadership, because they wish to take it easy and because they are ignorant of the real motives and aims of the Communists.

What is more pitiable is the fact that to a certain extent they are fellow travellers. Much of the Marxian dogma of the inevitable conflict of classes is deeply ingrained in

their minds. For them any kind of co-operation with management is suspect. Certainly management is partly to blame for bringing about such a situation, since many of the workmen have grievances against the company, and have received no redress, despite their efforts to seek it. As long as such cases remain, management can never hope to win the confidence or the sympathy of their workmen. And though the company may have succeeded in getting rid of the most important Communists leaders, the sense of injustice still prevails among the workmen and serves to fan their brooding enmity for management.

The Tribunal

On the other hand it seems to be a sad fact that at least to outward appearances the procedure in conducting the case in the Appellate Tribunal gave workmen grave reasons to suspect the impartiality of the judges. It is difficult to give credence to such impressions as reported by workingmen who were present during the trial. But these grievances rankle in the mind and the judges must be blamed for having created them, when they could easily have avoided giving cause for any interpretations of the sort by absolute impartiality on their part.

Communist power

Finally it must be admitted that the Communists so far ruled the roost in the Air-India unions. They had the best speakers, the hardest workers, and organising capacity. Their leaders were highly educated men, and were trained in all the tactics of gerrymandering and filibustering to make the unions do their will. But they hadn't bargained for the company's tough policy, and for the fact that the labour legislation in this country is not so much in favour of labour as most people seem to imagine. The presence of an active, slowly growing minority of bitter anti-Communists within the ranks of Air-India's workmen made their position less secure.

It is always a puzzle to understand how middle class men who are well educated and with ample means should become Communists. The explanation is possibly that there is a hunger of the body and a hunger of the soul. Communism not only promises wealth and abundance to the physically hungry; it also offers the hungry in spirit a 'vision', an ideal to achieve. To the educated man who steps out of our universities today, life has not much meaning. It appears to him as a confused process of events, bringing him both happiness and pain, but he fails to understand the meaning of its bewildering pattern of good fortune and ill. His mind has little hold if any at all on the spiritual side of human existence; he has never been given a clear-cut philosophy of life, an outlook on the world as a whole, a *weltanschauung*. But he finds this in Communism, even if its fundamental principles are materialistic. And his hunger is partly satisfied. It is only perhaps after years of travel in this spiritual desert that he suddenly awakens to the fact that he has been chasing illusions and that his soul is still a void aching for fulfilment.

The Awards

Recently the Industrial Courts have come in for a large share of criticism from the Labour Minister of the Central Government. Mr. Giri would much prefer to suppress the industrial tribunals and get management and labour to settle their differences among themselves. There seems to be some reason for his contention, since in the present instance, the Sen Award has been completely reversed by the decision of the Labour Appellate Tribunal. The increments claimed by the men and allowed by the Sen Award will not be paid. The former retrenchment by the Company of the 124 men is admitted to be justified because the company is burdened by surplus staff and is suffering financial losses. Indeed the recent lay-off gave the company a chance to retrench a few more men.

But the point is whether such complete reversals of previous judgements cannot be called into question by the parties to the dispute. Mr. Sen thought that the management was partly to blame for the high cost of the firm. He contended that if management could cut down the cost of certain items by increasing inter-departmental efficiency which was feasible they could easily save over a lakh of rupees every month, just sufficient to cover the increase in the wage bill due to increments. Moreover the Air-Transport Inquiry had stated that the company had five Dakotas too many and one Skymaster which was not being used. Much money had been invested in procuring large quantities of spares for replacements in aircraft. Why should Labour suffer if the fault for excessive costs lay at management's door?

Mr. Lakshmana Rao, the latest adjudicator, contended however that the company had been making losses for the last three years, that though the company had made the initial mistake of buying five Dakotas too many, these were not a serious loss to the company as they could be put to use any day. He further maintained that no amount of inter-departmental efficiency could ever bring about savings out of which the increments could be paid. The high cost of depreciation was absolutely necessary in view of the increasing competition both within and without the country and the high prices of the latest flying models. The Air-Transport Inquiry Committee had held the high costs within the firm to be the result of surplus-staff and high wages. Mr. Rao concurred and therefore decided that the increments had to be stopped and the number of staff decreased.

Other Alternatives

Despite the arguments *pro* and *contra* the retention of staff and the payment of increments, the fact remains that there are other alternatives to those suggested by the Air-Transport Inquiry Committee and the latest award. The management often complained during the course of the

proceedings that they could not increase their operations because of government interference and control. They had built up their staff and invested in flying equipment to cover an average of 50,000 flying hours a year. Instead they were now not allowed to exceed 30,000. They had expected to carry the night air mails, but the government had given the contract to another company.

However it is a fact that the possibilities for air travel are on the increase. Perhaps now that the first class on the Railways has been suppressed, many more passengers might be induced to travel by air. Communications in this country are still few and far between. The country is so vast that to cover the land with a sufficient network of railways will take much time and money. But perhaps the government has a vested interest in the railways. The Rs. 40 crores profit made by the Railways last year might dwindle down to a loss, if the air lines were allowed to compete more freely with rail communication. This is however a distant threat; government could certainly be more liberal in its policy towards the air companies.

But the Tatas have quite enough of other interests to solve the unemployment problem in one particular branch of their industrial undertakings. They could easily offer the retrenched men alternative employment in some other of their factories. This should not be too difficult. In a general way, if a company suffers losses, these should be equally divided between the topmost grades of pay and the lowest fringe of salaried workmen. It is not fair to sack the latter while the former continue to enjoy their high standard of income and comfort. Let the sacrifice be equally divided. After all, the firm is a single unit working for a single end, and unless the workman is made to feel that his from stands or falls with him, no amount of toughness with the Communists is going to achieve anything. The problem of the industrial world is deeper than merely ridding it of Communistic influence. The Communists may go but the

circumstances that produced and maintained them in power remain, and until these are eradicated, no firm can ever enjoy peace and stability, or gain the loyalty of its workmen.

(To be continued)

A. Fonseca

JESUIT COMMUNITY PROJECTS

The Jesuits were founded in 1540; in 1549 they had landed in Brazil and by 1588 they were canoeing up the endless Rio de la Plata to go and work among the Guaranis of Southern Brazil and Paraguay. These aboriginals of South America had a gruesome reputation. Travellers said they were wild savages, even cannibals; not that they ate each other, but they felt at their best when banqueting on prisoners of guerilla warfare. The Jesuits had a better look at them and depicted the Guaranis as gentle, tractable and readily amenable to organisation. Cruelty in the jungle is born of fear which leads to senseless reprisals; the Jesuit approach was one of disinterested sympathy which wore down all apprehension. In order to make sure their method would succeed, they made it a condition that "no white settler, not even a Spaniard would enter the Guarani territory;" the King of Spain agreed and in 1602 the Jesuits established their first colony, called "Loretto," at Asuncion. A few decades later there were some thirty such colonies, one of 8,000 people, most of them numbering only some 3,000 Guaranis. All told, the Jesuit "Republic" was a modest community involving 150,000 people scattered over 200 square miles.

A strange fate attended these Jesuit community projects. Catholic authors criticised them severely, Protestants praised them to the sky. Those Catholics were in alliance with Spanish Capitalists who had lost their chance of exploiting

the aborigines; the Protestants sided with English politicians with whom any stick will do to beat the Spanish dog, even if he is not called Franco. Leaving the detailed history of the Paraguay settlement to properly equipped specialists, it will be sufficiently objective to rely on the summary description of Mr Charles Gide, the French Huguenot who confessed he had no particular reason to be sympathetic towards Jesuits.

The Guaraní townships had their administration modelled on Spanish municipalities: mayors, councillors, executive officers, police chief and public prosecutor. The *corregidor* (chief executive) was appointed by the Spanish governor of the province, the other officials were elected by the people, though it is likely that more than once the advice of the Parish-priest had a decisive weight. Occasionally he vetoed elections and exercised a supervision that was not entirely spiritual. The system can be best described as a democracy toned down with paternalism. Whether raw democracy would have succeeded with the Guaranis who were illiterate and unprogressive and who had been governed in former times by dictatorial *caciques* is very doubtful. The township remained under the authority of the Spanish Kings and of the provincial governor. The governor was interested only in the tax being paid, and the King was satisfied with distant blessings on the enterprise. In any case the Guaranis of the Jesuit settlements had little to complain of when comparing their condition with the fate of other Spanish colonies. They paid a nominal tax which amounted to only one-fifth of what was paid elsewhere, and only men between twenty-two and fifty were taxable. The tax did not suffice to cover administrative expenses which did not in any case include the upkeep of the Jesuit missionaries; these who usually were two in each station, an elderly parish-priest and a young curate who learned the language and journeyed about, had to be provided for by particular bounties of the Spanish crown. The Guaranis were also privileged in the matter of military service. In

theory they would have had to supply a small contingent of men, had the Spanish King required their services, but they were called to the colours only two or three times in the course of a century and a half. Once a week, however, there was a military exercise which looked like a parade for the entertainment of civilians rather than a training for commando service.

Of greater interest was the economic regime. Was it communism as is occasionally said, communism of that voluntary small-size type as obtains in monasteries? It was not; one should rather call it co-operativism. Each family had its own house, each was entrusted with a field which was large enough for its needs and which it cultivated as best as it could. On the other hand, houses and lands were assigned to each for use and not for ownership; they were granted free but could be taken away in case the family would cease to cultivate the field any longer or to occupy the house. Ownership was closely associated with work and production. Besides the fields allotted to individual families, there was land reserved for the whole community. This land was called "God's Field", and its produce went to support the aged, cripples, orphans, etc. It was cultivated by groups of children or when necessary by requisitioned adult labour. Agriculture was limited to two crops: maize and cotton. Town planning was simple and uniform. All the villages were built on the same pattern: a square in the middle, houses on three sides of the square, the church and public store-rooms on the fourth.

A distinctive feature of the economic regime was the absence of trade. There was only one public shop or store-house in which the produce of God's field was garnered and from which it was sold or distributed. There was no individual shop-keeper; private trade for profit was eliminated and accumulation of capital was precluded by reserving houses to actual occupiers and fields to cultivators.

The public store-room was used also for commodities brought from outside. There was little external trade and it was carried on a co-operative basis. The needs of the settlers were simple and hardly went beyond what was produced on the spot. Yet as there were no iron or copper-mines, tools and utensils had to be fetched far away. Year after year a trade caravan took the long road to Buenos Ayres or Santa Fe. The delegates were picked for their neighbourly sense rather than for their business acumen since nobody was a trader by profession. During their long absence their fields were looked after by the community. The horses of the caravan were loaded with a little tobacco, some cotton goods and hides, but especially with maté, the famous leaves which had been plucked from jungle trees and which still make the national "tea" of South America. In Buenos Ayres or Santa Fe the goods were sold; with the proceeds the provincial tax was paid, and church ornaments, metal goods, particularly tools and musical instruments were bought. Little was required, for the cottage industries in the settlements were limited to spinning and weaving. Money was regarded as a curio rather than as a medium of exchange; there was no currency, no banks, no savings scheme. The little communities lived on the simplest of styles as would have charmed Gandhiji.

Were the people contented? From all available accounts they were. They certainly had all that simple folks could desire. Nearly every Sunday they had dramatic performances and staged plays which were reminiscent of the "miracle plays" so popular in medieval Europe. They also gave a good deal of attention and time to music. Not only was community-singing a favourite pastime but all manners of concerts with all kinds of wood, copper or stringed instruments enlivened their gatherings. There was even dancing; as this noble art was not in the training curriculum of Jesuits, a professional dancing-master had to be engaged; he was the only Spaniard admitted into the settlement.

The teacher was so good and the pupils so apt that the Guaraní repertoire counted as many as seventy dances.

What contributed most to the general happiness was the high standard of Christian morality which was maintained in the colonies. No crime, no murder, no misdemeanour; a system of close supervision prevented the lapses of the weak and brought to book the occasional delinquents. Another note-worthy feature of Guaraní mentality was the ease with which offenders readily confessed their guilt in public and submitted to the punishment which was usually the whip. According to C. Gide, they regularly indulged in such confessions; he even calls it a mania. Undoubtedly abuses crept in since public confessions were forbidden in the case of women. But the excesses tended only to prove that the Guaranís experienced a desire of inner purification and external atonement, which simple souls of the wilds can develop and which is little understandable to people of "higher" civilisations. The delinquents used to kiss the hand of the executioner, saying: "May God reward you for saving me by this light punishment from the eternal torment which I have deserved"; a prayer which reveals a spirit of other-worldliness few moderns would fancy in "savages." Even as late as the nineteenth century soft-spoken Renan was blunt enough to exclaim: "I do not see why a Papuan should have an immortal soul." The Jesuits of Paraguay knew better and they realised that the Kingdom of Heaven is for the little ones. They have left on record that in settlements years passed without a grievous sin being committed.

Are we then to say the Paraguay Jesuits had built up a Utopia? or that their policy was the best possible? It would be presumptuous to give a firm answer, since the documents that would have supplied the necessary data were destroyed or scattered. There are, indeed, a few posers. Was it a sound policy to keep the schooling at a primary level? How is it that in the many decades the

settlements lasted, apparently no Guarani was ever educated to the priesthood? Were attempts made in that line? Was the distrust of Guarani improvidence overdone? In the long run was it wise to keep the people in their primitive simplicity and in isolation from the big wide world? With the records destroyed, one can hardly surmise what was in the mind of the policy-makers. All we know is that the Guaranis of Paraguay lived contented; no destitution, no financial worries, an even tenor of life which responded to the classical *aurea mediocritas*. We also know that the settlements did not perish because of maladministration or any inherent deficiency. They were destroyed by brute capitalism. They had enemies in the slave-dealers of South America. In 1629 the Portuguese of Sao Paulo led a military expedition which plundered, slaughtered or captured the non-resistant Guaranis. The Jesuits then asked for permission to train a little defence army which repelled the 1630 attack; but a century later, it was badly defeated by a superior force of Portuguese and Spanish slave-dealers; seven missions were sacked and the settlers dispersed into the forests. The ruin was consummated in the following decades; the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and Spain and from South-American possessions. The Fathers were led away and shipped to Italy and the settlers scattered in the wilds. Of the colonies there remained only the ruins of churches and the undying gratitude of the Guarani tribe which has survived to this day.

The Paraguay colonies were unique community projects. They were planned as a protection for primitive tribes and were peopled with aboriginals only; they were not intended to evolve a new type of society. They lasted one century and a half and disappeared only when destroyed by outsiders.

Other settlements were made in North America, some under Christian aspiration, others with social idealism. The Christian settlements were made with European im-

First Steps in C. S. A.

13. NATIONALISATION

Section I. — Meaning of words.

Nationalisation (or, Socialization) is a Government policy which tends to transfer industry and commerce from the hands of private individuals (who aim at private profit), to the hands of Government (which aims at the general welfare).

Socialism: (economic) is a system of State administration characterised by the attempt to put the State in charge (in varying degrees) of the industrial and commercial life of the country for the general welfare. Nationalisation is the economics of Socialism, and it may be complete or moderate according to the brand of Socialism under which it operates.

Section II. — Historic Outline.

A rapid survey of the development of State control of industry is essential to a good understanding of Nationalisation. In Western Europe, this type of control first appeared as a reaction to the evils of Capitalism; and even to-day, Nationalisation is put forward as a remedy to our social ills which are rooted in the spirit of Capitalism (Cf. Discussion 13). The economic power which Capitalism tended to concentrate in the hands of a few did not always operate for the welfare of the workers and small-income individuals. These persons, therefore, began to agitate for State Control of industry and business as a means to give the workers and middle classes a fair share in the wealth of the country. In Western Europe, the home of the Industrial Revolution, the *Factory Acts*, were the first and earliest measures of State

interference in the industrial life of the country — the first Factory Act was passed in 1802 and dealt with hours of work. It is a long step from that first measure of State control to modern types of State control implied in Nationalisation to-day! Since 1919 Nationalisation has received wider acceptance in many countries, till to-day its supporters believe that all social, industrial and economic ills can be cured by this economic system.

Section III. — Types of Nationalisation

(i) *Complete Nationalisation*: This is the economic policy of Full Socialism, whether under the label of Communism or Fascism, and it aims at applying full State control to all areas of industrial activity. Soon after 1919, this economic policy was adopted in Russia, and after the second world war, all those States that look towards the Soviet Union have laid it down as the basis of industrial and agricultural reconstruction. The method advocated to establish this type of nationalisation varies: Communism employs violent revolution, while non-revolutionary Socialists advocate legislation.

(ii) *Partial Nationalisation*: This is the economic policy of Moderate Socialists who support State control of "key industries" and "public utilities" (e.g., transport, lighting, etc), on the grounds that if these industries are left in the hands of private owners they exercise too great a power over large section of the public. This type of nationalisation has won favour especially since World War I.

Section IV. — The Moral Aspect of Nationalisation.

Like all socio-economic problems, Nationalisation also has both its moral and economic aspects; that is to say, while we attempt to raise "the standard of living" or "increase material prosperity" (economic aspect), by means of Nationalisation, we cannot lose sight of the morality of Nationalisation, which involves such questions as, "Does it

secure the rights of the human person? Does it make for social justice and charity?" We must remember that every action which is "economically useful" is not always "morally right."

At the bar of morality, Nationalisation to justify itself, must give satisfactory answers to the following main questions:—

(i) Does it safeguard human dignity, personal liberty and man's sense of moral responsibility. Now, while the main body of supporters of Nationalisation lay all emphasis on the *material* improvement which appear to come from Nationalisation, few consider the effect upon the human person brought about by such an economic regime. What is the price of Nationalisation in terms of man, his human person, dignity and responsibility? The price, let us note at once, is excessive! Those who reject the moral aspects of this regime lapse at once into a purely *materialistic view of human life* — denying to man anything more than economic efficiency and prosperity. No Catholic can accept such a view of life. Moreover, the exercise of the moral sense of responsibility in social life, even in buying, selling or manufacturing goods, is a central teaching of Catholic morality; now, under Nationalisation how can an individual exercise this sense of responsibility when the State directs, plans, rules and owns all industrial resources of the country? This over-all State ownership leads to State control of the individual's choice; he is no longer free to exercise his choice of the goods *he wants*, but is forced to take what the State industries *impose* upon him! Private business thrives precisely because such business compete with each other to satisfy the wants of the buyer: State controlled business works on the principle: "Take it or leave it!"

(ii) Does it respect the natural rights of man? Speaking on May 7th, 1949, our Holy Father Pius XII warned the world, that "to make of this Nationalisation a normal rule of public organisation of economy would be to reverse

migrants; several lasted nearly as long as the Paraguay colonies but decayed from internal deficiencies. On record are the colonies of Shakers (English Puritans), Perfectionists of Oneida (Americans), Inspirationists and Harmonists (Germans), Dukhobors (Orthodox Russians), etc. All were dominated by religious ideals which grew dim after the founder's death and gradually vanished in the course of successive generations. Equally worthy of note are the community projects which were devised as attempts to build up a new type of civic society. Owenite colonies (Scotland), and Fourierist settlements (Mexico, France, U. S. A.) were short-lived. The most famous were the Icarian colonies launched by Etienne Cabet, a French journalist of the mid-nineteenth century, who set out to embody the utopia of his novel, *Journey to Icaria*, in economic organisations. The attempts were heroic, even though the economy was not altogether communistic; but the settlements never lasted very long (Texas, 3 months; Nauvoo 7 years; Cheltenham, 6 years; Corning, 18 years; Icarian community, 8 years; Icaria Speranza 3 years; New Icaria, 20 years.). One cannot argue that they were economic failures thought outside funds had often to be called for. The sources of their decay were rather of a moral nature; democracy was to be absolute and this led to oppositions and dissensions, but, according to Cabet himself, what ruined his plans was the instinctive craving of man for private property, which he wanted to rule out completely.

Similar conclusions come out of the reports of recent efforts at communistic life (New Llano in the U. S. A.; the Sunrise Community and the Farm Security Administration efforts in the U. S. A. the Ejido in Mexico, the Kvutza in Palestine, the Kolhhoz in Russia). In all cases after a few years or even after a few months, the pioneering enthusiasm dwindles down and at the founder's death it dies out, individualism reappears followed by dissension of hearts and division of properties, unless outside pressure keeps up

the flame longer as in Palestine or unless governmental tyranny maintains normal tendencies in check.

The only communities which survived through several generations had all a high spiritual inspiration and a certain disdain for earthly wealth. This historical fact brings out one of the inner contradictions of communism. Communism holds as an axiom that matter is the only thing that matters. But matter and everything material cannot be really shared; in the best of cases it can be suitably divided. Anything that is to be held in common must be spiritual or in some way spiritualised, it must lose its importance as material wealth so that nobody is keen on appropriating it for his well-being or his security. Bodily needs must be made little of as it were, and spiritual pursuits must engross the attention so that it matters little to any member of the community who gets hold of this or that. Detachment from things material, which involves a certain disappropriation, is necessary to give some play to the interest of others in these very same things. Otherworldliness must be vivid enough if this world is to be given its real importance and material wealth allowed to play its social function. Make matter the one and only thing that matters and you abandon it to the selfish cravings of men.

A. Lallemand

HOUSING

Presiding over the all India Industrial Housing conference held at Delhi in August 1952, the Union Minister of Central Works, Housing and Supply remarked: "Ultimately this movement should embrace the whole country—not confined to towns and cities alone and reach practically every village." The pronouncement is, indeed, welcome, and every citizen of the Union will agree that housing in general and not only industrial housing in particular, is a problem of serious urgency. In fact, the tragedy of our age is that, while the most advanced scientific principles of engineering and architecture are applied in the construction of edifices to house our Banks, Commercial Offices and even factories and warehouses, the dwellings of our people are allowed to continue in a condition little worthy of human dignity. The Prime Minister of the Union Government expressed the same concern when, early in March 1952, at the opening of a Dyes and Pharmaceutical factory at Parnera, he said: "I just wonder how the industrialist who finds money for several things finds no money for housing labour. It is a difficult problem, but if the Government and industry cooperate much can be done."

This does not mean that industrial housing has not, from time to time, drawn the attention of those concerned. An Industrial Commission in 1918, and later, the Royal Commission on Labour investigated the problem of industrial housing. Again, in 1945 the Government of India appointed a Health Survey and Development Committee. Their Report published in 1946 gives a good over-all picture of housing conditions in the country at that period, and in many instances, that same picture is true of housing conditions which obtain in India of 1952. "We are not satisfied," says the Report, "with the housing conditions prevailing in any of the places we visited. Over crowding is a feature common to all these centres. Further, the hygienic

condition of the houses and their surroundings is, in most cases, very unsatisfactory" (Vol. I, p. 80). Speaking of our rural areas and the complete indifference of many major municipalities towards the enforcement of laws against over-crowding, the Report says, "In rural areas, houses are without water supply and latrines; lighting is inadequate or non-existent; many are in a state of disrepair and without ventilation... There are laws in the major municipalities dealing with the prevention of over crowding and the observance of elementary rules of hygiene; and they also exist in some of the enactments relating to smaller municipalities. But the authorities have shown little or no interest in their enforcement; and very few local bodies have attempted to control or to encourage the development of housing on proper lines in urban areas.... There is practically no control of rural housing throughout the country. (Vol. II, p. 233.).

Although, and most unfortunately, the recommendations and suggestions made by the Report (1946) of the Industrial Housing Subcommittee of the Standing Labour Committee of the Government of India had to be abandoned owing to financial difficulties, the minimum housing standards recommended for a married industrial worker are worth keeping in view in any discussion on a policy for housing. For this type of worker the Report recommended: (i) two rooms with a combined total floor area of not less than 240 square feet. (ii) in height, no part of the structure to be less than ten feet from the floor to the lowest part of the ceiling. (iii) a verandah on one side of the building and not less than seven feet in width. (iv) a kitchen with a chimney and space to store food and fuel. (v) an independent bathroom. (vi) a lavatory. (vii) window-space in each room to be equal to at least ten per cent of the floor-area of the room. In order to provide adequate drainage, twenty such houses should be built on an acre of land, and this would constitute a unit. These units should

be built around a civic centre which would provide schools, parks, a hospital and shopping centre. The cost of each permanent house conforming to the above specifications was estimated at between Rs. 3,500 and Rs. 5,000. The very comprehensive aim of the National Planning Commission included, as one may expect, a preliminary industrial housing plan. According to its estimate more than a million houses were required for workers employed in large industries alone, excluding all those employed in small-scale industries, urban wage-earners and those engaged in the distributive trades. The Planning Commission, however, modified slightly the minimum standard family accommodation recommended by the Industrial Housing Subcommittee of the Standing Labour Committee in 1949, "so as to furnish each family with separate accommodation containing one living room (12' $\times$ 10'), a verandah, a kitchen (8' $\times$ 10'), a bath and a latrine and provision for adding another room when resources permitted" (*Supplement to Capital*, December 20, 1951).

But necessity knows no law, and while departmental administration was busy studying housing plans and estimating costs, the country woke up to the distressing fact, that after partition in August 1947, the Indian Union was faced with millions of evacuees seeking food, clothing and shelter! Perhaps, it is not well realised, even today, how magnificently the country rose to meet this emergency, despite its general poverty and limited resources. The housing of displaced persons alone is an indication of what can be done when the will and determination are not lacking. The rehabilitation of evacuees has meant not only the construction of new houses, but the establishment of entire townships in various parts of the country. The following Table from *The Rehabilitation Review of May-August 1950*, shows the progress made up to 31st August, 1950, hardly three years after partition, in the housing schemes for urban displaced persons.

SOCIAL ACTION

State	Units completed.			Units under construction.		
	Houses.	Tenements.	Total.	Houses.	Tenements.	Total.
Bombay	822	6378	7200	480	1650	2130.
Delhi	3170	9688	12858	616	2933	3549.
Kutch (Kandali)	1524	576	2091	678	760	1438.
Madhya Bharat	600	—	600	220	—	220.
Madhya Pradesh	3213	—	3213	2689	—	2689.
Pepsu	3086	500	3586	382	—	382.
Punjab	6103	15326 2	21429	870	—	870.
Rajasthan	603	—	603	697	—	697.
Saurashtra	405	—	405	100	—	100.
Uttar Pradesh	7479	—	7479	815	—	815.
West Bengal	913	—	913	900	—	900.
TOTAL	27918	32459	60377	8447	5343	13790.

Notes : 1. 'House' here means an independent residential unit with one or more rooms and provided with kitchen, bath and lavatory ; 'Tenements' are single-roomed units normally with common baths and lavatories.

2. Single-room mud huts costing about Rs. 300 each.

Though the Rehabilitation Housing Scheme was devised to meet a national emergency, those who have visited rehabilitation centres and townships will agree that the design of both houses and tenements compare very favourably with other housing schemes drawn up in more happy times. In the Delhi Scheme, single-room tenements provide one main living room of 14 feet by 10 feet, with a verandah of 7 feet in front, together with a bath and latrine for every two tenements and a low walled-in court yard. These buildings have been so constructed that at any time, two tenements may be combined to give a good size two-roomed house. This type of building has been put up for people who are unable to build their own houses, and the rent varies from Rs. 12 as for tenements at Kotla Ferose-shaha to Rs. 10 for those at Azadpur. Single-storey, one-room tenements of this type are less likely to become per-

manent slums than those of the two and three storeyed type which are built in some major Indian cities, and which have already been converted into slumdom. The ordinary houses provided for in the Delhi Scheme are usually of two rooms, though there are structures which contain three rooms and even double-storeyed houses providing self-contained flats. In the two-room structures for low income earners, each room measures 12 feet by 10 feet, and has a kitchen, a bathroom, a verandah both in front and at the back and a walled-in court yard. These are fine semi-detached buildings very like the bungalow pattern and are normally meant for people who have the means to purchase houses from the Government at cost price. The specifications of these houses compare very favourable with those recommended by the Planning Commission. From the above Table giving the number of houses and tenements built or under construction for urban displaced persons, it will be seen that more houses than tenements have been built and planned. This stress on houses rather than on tenements is most welcome, especially to all social workers who have had occasion to work in the "chawls" and "cherries" which disfigure so many of our great cities, and in which overcrowding and insanitary conditions of living render these establishments a danger to public health and morality.

The achievements of the Rehabilitation Housing Scheme augur well for the successful operation of any future housing scheme when its difficulties and obstacles are estimated. Before a single structure could be erected there were many important problems to be solved : financial resources had to be estimated and guaranteed ; suitable localities for houses and townships had to be found ; land had to be acquired and developed so as to provide every facility for easy communications, water-supply and good drainage ; the pattern of houses and townships had to be planned and designed to the last detail, and finally, building material and equipment had to be acquired and distributed on a priority basis. In general, the housing schemes were planned and

implemented by State Governments in accordance with the general policy laid down by the Union Government. Long term loans were advanced to the State Government, and quotas of scarce building materials were allotted according to the requirements of the various constructions. In many instances, land for building purposes had to be acquired through passing the necessary legislation, and then developed so that it could be rendered fit for building purposes. In other cases and when the land was owned by the Government, it was often given outright on the payment of suitable occupancy prices. The actual work of land development and the construction of houses was carried through by P. W. Department; other agencies included the local authorities and the Improvement Trust Committees where such organisations existed, and the Cooperative Housing societies. In this way a national crisis was successfully met and overcome, and few will deny that in the context of the nation's welfare and prosperity, the housing problem, today, is one of national importance.

The appalling damage done to the State by inadequate housing is sufficient to raise the whole problem of housing to one of national importance. In fact, the welfare of the State, ultimately depends on the welfare of each and every family on its territory, and a necessary element for the welfare of every family is good and adequate housing. No thinking individual can escape feeling deep concern and anxiety about the type of our citizens of tomorrow, when today there are thousands of children in the country who do not know, and perhaps, have never known the privacy of a good home, which is the first and natural training ground of the citizen! There is no need to invoke the authority of our social statisticians to prove, that in most large cities, and in many smaller towns there are large sections of the population who have no shelter or resting place at night, except such as they find along our roads and streets; that there are others who enjoy a makeshift protection in narrow, insanitary, dirty hovels constructed of bamboo, tin sheets and often thatched with old rags;

that the built-up permanent slums of our large cities are the breeding ground of sickness and disease; that the children condemned to such man-made subhuman living conditions are handicapped at the very start of life and have little or no opportunity to develop into good and useful citizens. That such conditions exist is evil enough, but the tragedy deepens when these conditions are accepted by many, as being the normal conditions of society, and this conviction tends to grow due to the long continuance of such evils! It is within the author's experience that, not unfrequently, children and even adults long accustomed to living in slum conditions, without adequate sanitation, ventilation and room-space find it difficult to settle down in good and healthy housing conditions; they feel lost when provided with the required room-space for healthy living, they are innocent of the most elementary knowledge of sanitation and hygiene and unless carefully helped tend to fall back into methods of living which conform to slum conditions. That is the depth of the tragedy and danger which threatens the future generation of a nation, in which the greater part of its population suffers from insufficient and inadequate housing conditions.

(To be continued)

C. C. Clump.

□ □ □ □

COMMUNIST POLICY IN INDIA

(Continued)

Further Details on Land Reform

While the CPI intends making use of Tenancy and Land Reform Acts, such measures must not be considered as the ultimate solution. Why? "The point is that the colonial feudal economy has reached such an acute phase of its crisis that no solution is possible within the frame-

work of this economy; you solve one problem here and immediately another problem arises there; nay more, the very solution of one problem here gives rise to another problem there."²³ What then is the fundamental solution? The answer is "the abolition of landlordism, distribution of land to the landless and land-hungry peasants, cancellation of agrarian debts, emancipation of agricultural economy from the clutches of imperialists and other measures to reorganise our rural economy."²⁴ Of such paramount importance is this solution that "Agrarian Revolution has thus become not only a way forward for the landless, land-hungry and landlord-exploited masses but the only way forward for the entire nation, recognised and accepted even by enlightened sections of those exploiting classes who stand to lose by it."²⁵

The anti-feudal nature of Communist land reforms gives rise to some interesting reflections and to some surprises. The Party now distinguishes: (1) the feudal landlord who merely collects rents and interests; (2) the capitalists land owner who, while not doing manual labour himself, carries on cultivation by means of hired labour; (3) the rich peasant who does manual labour and employs workers; all three classes owning over thirty acres.²⁶

The Party considers it a tactical error to have it expelled the rich peasant from the kisan movement. Another manifestation of crude "leftism" within the Party was to attack capitalism along with feudalism. "Nobody had the vaguest idea that capitalism in agriculture, like capitalism in industry is an advance on the present situation in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country."²⁷ Thanks to the enlightenment from on high as to the correct Marxist-Lenist thesis,

²³ Parameswaram, p. 34

²⁴ Ibid. p. 34.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 35. cf. also p. 45.

²⁶ cf. E. M. S. Namboodripad, p. 48.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 27.

the CPI now knows "the struggle in India today is not between capitalism and Socialism, but between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and the mass of our people on the other; further that in this struggle capitalist economy, the capitalist class, has a role to play and that the mass of the people led by the working class can make use of it, provided they take all precautions that the capitalist elements are not allowed to drag the people into the arms of imperialism and feudalism."²⁸ And the Central Committee can now do what it failed to do before, namely, accept and apply the lessons of the Chinese Revolution which through its agrarian reforms, carrying out a policy of deliberately building a rich peasant economy which means nothing but promoting capitalism in agriculture."²⁹

Consequent on the distinction between the feudalists and capitalists, the latter receive sympathy from strange quarters. Indeed the lot of the agrarian capitalists does not appear a happy one in communist eyes. Firstly, there is "a disproportionate increase in the taxes on the agricultural sector." "Secondly, there is a problem of fluctuations in prices..." These affect the big capitalist farmers and specially so in "a colonial country like India which produces raw materials and strategical goods, because it is the American and British financiers who manipulate the prices of these commodities."³⁰ Thirdly, the rich peasants have to pay heavy sums to get full proprietary rites by paying compensation to the zamindars. We get further insight into the reason of placating certain classes of landlords from a remark of S. Parameswaran: "It would be wrong on the part of the democratic movement to forget this distinction, lump landlords of all categories together and demand unrestricted and unconditional prohibition of eviction. For, it would enable the big landlords and their Government to rally the poor and medium landlords behind

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 39.

SOCIAL ACTION

the anti-peasant programme and thus extend the area of conflict. It is necessary that all efforts are made to rally the poor and medium landlords behind the programme of democratic changes in the existing Tenancy Act, without sacrificing the interests of the peasants."³¹

Putting an arbitrary limit, as the Socialist Party has done, of thirty acres, not only ignores the fact that certain types of farming can only be scientifically carried out on a large scale, but also "completely ignores the fact that large scale production even on capitalist lines is an advance not only on the present position but on small-scale production in general, since it will improve technique and lay the basis for a subsequent Socialist collectivisation. It ignores the fact that certain types of scientific farming can be done only on a large scale and that to put an upper limit to all forms — particularly at such a low level as 30 acres — will be a retrograde step in the development of cultivation."³²

Briefly, the communist decision on the agrarian question is the abolition of feudal exploitation in its two main forms: interests and rent. The lands of all feudal landlords should be confiscated without compensation.³⁴ As for the capitalist landlords, where they have built up a monopoly, a certain limit will have to be put, but high enough to allow efficient cultivation. At present, no restriction at all should be put

³¹ Pp. 48-49.

³² *We Build for Socialism*, p.6.

³³ E. M. S. Namboodripad, p. 49.

³⁴ "Compensation is to be opposed not because its payment is wrong in principle (though, of course, there is no justification for it in principle either) but because its practical effect will be to saddle agriculture with so heavy a burden that it could not make all those advances that are necessary to improve its technique and increase its productivity." E. M. S. Namboodripad, p. 47.

on the holdings of rich peasants.³⁵ Since there is not enough land for all, even after confiscating the holdings of the feudal landlords and putting restrictions on those of the capitalist landlords, we are faced with the alternative "either give some land to everybody though the holding of each will be less than an economic holding; or give some people sufficient land to constitute an economic holding and leave the rest absolutely landless."³⁶ The solution is to give *all* some land. This is a surprising decision in the light of what has just been said of not cutting down the holdings of the capitalist landholders below an efficiency level. If all are to be given a bit of land this is evidently to increase fragmentation and all the evils attendant on it.³⁷ The reason for such a decision can only be the immense appeal the offer of some land must have to the landless peasant: soundness is sacrificed to Party ideology.

The conclusion to be drawn from the discussion on the agrarian policy is that while certain practical proposals can be made and organised efforts set afoot to put these proposals into execution, such measures are only stop-gaps and make-shifts because "colonial feudal economy has

³⁵ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 49-50. But in *The Programme*, p. 18, which is meant for popular consumption and to win votes, no such distinction between the various kinds of landlords is found. It is simply stated that the intention is "to hand over landlords' land without payment to the peasants including agricultural labourers and to legalise this reform in the form of a special land law and thus realise abolition of landlordism without compensation."

³⁶ E. M. S. Namboodripad, p. 50.

³⁷ The Communists followed a somewhat similar policy in Eastern Europe. In 1945 they began breaking up the feudal states and redistributing them among the peasants thus winning support from a sector of the peasantry. But the plots were so small that their new owners could not make a living out of them and so, after continual failure, they had no other choice then to put their livestock and lands in the collective farms.

reached such an acute phase that no solution is possible within the framework of this economy; you solve one problem here and immediately another problem arises there; nay more, the very solution of one problem here gives rise to another problem there."³⁸ The complete change of the peasant agrarian system must be regarded as a programme of immediate and great urgency: to look upon these basic changes as an "ultimate programme" as distinct from "the immediate programme" will be wrong and dangerous. The practical solutions proposed for current problems must be a step along the way to the fundamental solutions of the basic problems. And these solutions are "the abolition of landlordism, distribution of land to the landless and land-hungry peasants, cancellation of agrarian debts, emancipation of agricultural economy from the clutches of imperialists and other measures to re-organise our rural economy."³⁹

Linguistic States

The CPI's advocacy of these States seems to be based on the strategy of divide and rule for it would be easier for communists to capture one State at a time than to take over the whole country at once. Furthermore, besides the usual policy of exploiting a grievance, *v.g.*, the demand for an Andhra State, there is also the attempt to loosen the control of the Centre over the individual States. The expressions used in the *Programme* show how far the effort to bring about such a separation will go: "vast areas and millions of people of one nationality are compelled to live under the rule of bureaucrats and governments dominated by another nationality. Large tribal areas, with their own economy and culture are put at the mercy of the landlords and financial sharks of this or that alien group..."⁴⁰ In tribal areas where "the population is

specific in composition... or constitutes a national minority" they will be given complete regional autonomy. The labelling of local and linguistic differences as the domination of one "nationality" over another is very significant; and the proposal also promises to be a happy hunting ground for Communist anthropologists sorting out the tribes of a specific composition. In a line with this policy, is the attack upon Hindi as the national language⁴¹; "In the name of a united country, the language of a part of the country, namely, Hindi, was declared an obligatory state language for all nationalities and states, to the detriment of their own national language".⁴² The programme further lays down: "Right of people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue in educational institutions; the use of the national language of the particular state in all its public and state institutions; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region, where necessary, in addition to the national language. Use of Hindi as an all-India state language will not be obligatory. In Hindusthani-speaking areas, safeguard and protection to Urdu and Devnagri scripts and the right of the people to the use either of the two scripts."⁴³ It is again to be noted that by 'national' is not meant pertaining to the whole country, but linguistic and regional. This programme of autonomy for linguistic groups is very reminiscent of one of the few excursions into theory made by Stalin in his essay on *The Problems of Nationalities and Social Democracy*. As Commissar of Nationalities after the civil war, Stalin had to deal with sixty-five millions (out of the then Russian population of 140 million) who were of non-Russian nationalities. Eager to attract these peoples, Communists offered them all autonomy and selfgovernment, later to subject them to strict control from Moscow. In India, the

⁴¹ Loc. cit. The anti-Hindi movement cannot be said to be of communist origin, but is ably exploited by them.

⁴² Programme, p. 9.

⁴³ Ibid. pp. 15-16.

³⁸ S. Parameswaran, p. 35.

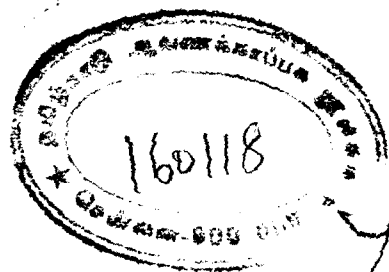
³⁹ Loc. cit.

⁴⁰ Pp. 9.

unity and similarity between different peoples is far greater than that between the different peoples of the Soviet Union, but the fostering of local jealousies and the exploiting of claims, which have an appearance of reasonableness, for linguistic States, helps Communists to build up strong pockets of resistance. This will especially be the case if the Kerala State includes North Malabar, and the Andhra State includes Telengana; in which case, the Communists stand a good chance of getting a majority in these new States. The present support given to Kashmir is another example. Communists want this State to be loosely connected with the Centre, moreover, the fact that it has abolished the zemindari system without compensation makes them like to appear as the heroes of this act. The Communist Cross Roads writes in its editorial, July 27, 1952: "The issues in the Kashmir question are the issues common to the entire democratic movement. The new burdens being thrust on the people in every State in the recent budgets are forcing upon them the realisation that the Constitutions of India must be amended and that these States must have greater autonomy." Acting on the same policy, Communists join with other parties in putting pressure on the Central Government to allocate more revenue to the States and to allow States, like Madras and Cochin-Travancore, to have a share in the export revenues which are at present going to the Centre.

(To be continued)

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