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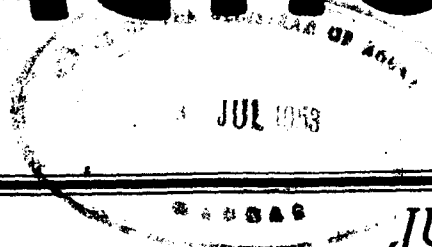
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HERE AND THERE

The Parties

We hear much today of the coalition of the two largest parties in the country, the Congress and the Praja Socialists. The Socialists are responsible for the wooing. Will the marriage take place? It is not going to be a life-long contract, by no means. Merely a '*mariage de convenance*'. The two parties will preserve their own programmes and entities. But the mere idea has shocked the souls of a large number of pious, bourgeois Congressmen, and an equally large proportion of fervid Marxists among the Socialists. How can the two strains mingle? What monstrosity may we not expect from so disparate a union?

At the same time both parties are stricken to the heart with shame and sorrow over their shortcomings and defections. The leaders have publicly bemoaned the fact and drawn up long lists of good resolutions for themselves and for their members. As the older and wiser party, the Congress has set an outstanding example in this respect, though there is nothing new in what they propose to do. May we hope and pray that these good intentions on all sides will not succumb to the weakness of the flesh in these difficult days of easy money and lax consciences.

Behind the Curtain

Trouble behind the Iron Curtain might be welcome news to the peoples of the free democracies. But the blood

and the terror, the atmosphere of spying and suspicion, the anguish of soul, the fear of reprisal is a very heavy toll to pay for the desperate revolt of the poor victims of Soviet exploitation. First Czechoslovakia, then East Germany, and then who knows which country behind the Iron Curtain has passed and is passing through these excruciating struggles for freedom. Poland is already verging towards a similar state of active hatred and rebellion against the Russian conqueror. The Russian people are building for themselves a host of implacable enemies who will seize their chance of revenge the moment it arrives.

And in the midst of these ugly happenings, we hear siren voices tell us of the miraculous Soviet achievements in caring for the health of the Russian people. One would like to know how many of the real Russian people visit these sanatoria and enjoy the facilities of rural dispensaries? Perhaps they are meant exclusively for Communist party members and their friends? How else can one reconcile the violent upsurge of the people in the Soviet satellite countries and their cruel repression with the apparently highly benevolent acts of a humane Russian government?

Conversion Issue

What is our Secular State coming to? Will all the guarantees concerning freedom to practise and propagate religion remain verbal promises made in the first fervour of Indian Independence? Were the minorities wise in being so acquiescent and trustful in not demanding for more genuine pledges? These are the questions that are troubling the minds of the Christian minority and have thrown them into a state of anxious embarrassment, fear and disappointment with the present government. To the Christian it seems so strange that while any citizen may 'convert' a fellow citizen to his own way of thinking, he may not do so when it is a question of religion, which is indeed the most crucial business in human existence. The country can go 'Communist' with apparently nobody

bothering, but if a few people turn to find religious solace in Christianity, immediately there is an uproar in certain circles. Are Christians not as good citizens as any others in the country? Must they be forced to dismantle their educational and welfare institutions for lack of trained foreign personnel merely because evangelism displeases a few interested parties in high places? Must the whole country suffer for the sake of the prejudices and the fanaticism of a few individuals?

Social Teaching

Courses for social work have been inaugurated under Catholic auspices in the new scholastic year in Jesuit colleges in Bombay, Madras, Trichinopoly and Mangalore. Diplomas will be conferred on the successful students, who will be equipped with sound knowledge of social service, its theoretical background, and the practical training to put their knowledge into practice. In Calcutta, St. Xavier's College has started a Labour course for workingmen. *Social Action* welcomes these efforts wholeheartedly as one of the most important methods of enlightening Catholics and non-Catholics on the social teaching of the Church, and preparing men and women who will help with the material and social uplift of the country in a spirit of sympathy and sacrifice.

High Prices

In the wake of unemployment come high prices. This is certainly a strange phenomenon. But for the poorer sections of our community it is a heavy blow. It is always painful to see the pinched faces of starving people, to hear their hungry voices and be unable to help them. At times one really wonders how they manage to prolong their lives on so little. It is not poverty that they endure; it is inhuman misery. God help those responsible for creating such man-made scarcity for the sake of selfish gain. From these indeed the penalty will be demanded till the last farthing.

A. F.

THE QUEST FOR AN IDEOLOGY

We are living in an age of ideological conflict. Our century is strewn with the wrecks of some of them, like Facism, Nazism, Liberalism. But there are others that are still struggling for supremacy like Marxism, and others that have stood the test of time, like Parliamentary Democracy, but have to be accommodated to new situations that are forever arising in a dynamic world. Every new constitution that sees the light of day owes its origin to a particular pattern of ideas and values, which forms the composite ideology, the driving force behind institutional changes in society. The second International Congress of Political Science that held its sessions at the Hague last year adopted as the subject for its discussions the influence of ideology on political change. The discussions veered around the three following topics :

- (a) Political rules and analysis of ideologies.
- (b) Dissemination of ideologies ; methods and conditions.
- (c) Research on ideologies.

Though the *Rapporteur* on this particular session complained that the participants had not been given time enough to meet each other and discuss their findings before the public meetings so as to work out a logical scheme, some of their conclusions are worth consideration.

What is an Ideology ?

There are various kinds of ideologies, religious, political, social, metaphysical ; but we are busy here only with political ideologies. A definition of a political ideology was given by one of the discussants, Dr. Loewenstein. He describes it as a "consistent and integrated pattern of thoughts

and beliefs explaining man's attitude to life and his existence in society, and advocating a conduct and action pattern responsive to and commensurate with such beliefs." A briefer definition, that of another discussant, Dr. Lojendio, emphasises the same thought-content of the word. An Ideology, says Dr. Lojendio, is "a system of ideas set up for the sake of action". These definitions implicitly distinguish an ideology from a mere theory. An ideology has legs ; it is meant for action ; it inspires action. On the other hand an ideology is not the same thing as the political institutions that it inspires. Our social and political institutions are the structure and the mechanism that guide our day-to-day lives in organised society. We could not live at peace without them. They owe their existence however to some ideology or other ; they are the result of the desires of men groping for a pattern of society which will satisfy their needs and ideals. The Representative system for instance can be singled out as an example of an ideology emerging from a belief in human equality and the two-party system that it devised was the social institution through which equality was sought to be concretely realised.

The influence of ideologies on modern Constitutions is undeniable. The Indian Constitution is inspired by the desire to ensure its peoples Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. And the long section on Fundamental Rights is an amplification of the aims and objects of the Constitution. All these concepts are ultimately the result of much thinking of how to arrange a democratic society in which each man will be given the honour due to his dignity as a human being and the opportunity to develop himself in an atmosphere of freedom. The Rule of Law and the Parliamentary mechanism of England have been taken over and incorporated into our Constitution. And the Federal system of the U.S.A. has to some extent influenced our methods of government. If India's Constitution is copied by Egypt, the same set of beliefs and convictions, together with

the corresponding institutions, will be carried over into the Egyptian constitution.

Social Change

How does ideology effect social change? Either by the democratic process or by revolutionary action, answers Jules Blanchet. Very often it does happen that due to vested interests or political lethargy a state of disequilibrium is produced in society by the divergence existing between the ideology and its concrete realisation. People may desire a state of justice through a more equitable distribution of property; and instead inequality of incomes may still persist. A time comes when the imbalance is too great; equilibrium is then restored by a new law or a revolt of the oppressed against the rich. To redress the balance new institutions may have to be forged; only through them can the stability of society be secured.

Ideologies do not stagnate in a free society. They are always allowed to develop and continually adapt themselves to new social situations. They are said to be mobile, even dynamic. At the same time, they are not all of the same pattern. In a totalitarian society, the ideology is sought to be determined and fixed once and for ever. It might evolve under force of circumstances, but even these new appearances are carefully watched and strictly controlled. The conflict of social ideologies causes the social evolution to move towards the most rational structure of social organisation. But the process is not an even one. There are regressions and progressions; much depends on the correct interpretation of human needs and the peculiarities of the social situation in terms of the new ideology.

Some ideologies are freely accepted. This is generally so in a free society. But others are forced down the throats of their adherents, as is obvious from the experience of our own century when large masses of people have passed under the grip of totalitarian regimes.

The Need of an Ideology

An ideology provides the individual with a rational explanation and justification of the existing order. The function of the ideology is therefore teleological. It provides the members of a particular society with the reason for the existing institutions peculiar to them. Thus 'the American way of life' tends to justify to every American the social and political institutions of the U.S.A. where freedom of enterprise and equality of persons are sought to be guaranteed through them. In a similar way the Administrative Law of France guarantees to the French citizen prompt justice in case of any injury he might have suffered at the hands of the French government officers. In this way, the ideology evokes the loyalty of the citizen to the political institutions of his country.

However in normal life, the political ideology never stands alone; it achieves its purpose by working together with several other non-political ideologies, such as the religious ideology, and the metaphysical ideology. As a matter of fact the political ideology is very often closely interwoven with the religious ideology. There must be a closely compact system of beliefs and convictions in which both religious and political influences play their respective roles in order to achieve a stable social and political order. Nor can we leave the metaphysical ideology out of consideration. The present dissatisfaction for instance with the existing ideology of material progress and productivity that caters only to the physical side of man is due to the absence of a deeper insight and insistence on the ideological value of faith and belief in man's spiritual nature and aspirations.

Changes in Ideology

There is no doubt that ideology is affected by its environment. Indeed while an ideology tries to bring about a change in the social structure, it is often intrinsically affected by the environment it produces. The classic example of how this takes place is the slow evolution of the Marxist

thesis under Lenin and Stalin in Soviet Russia. According to orthodox Marxist theory, the revolution should take place first in advanced capitalist countries, which possess a large and strongly united proletariat. But instead of countries like Germany or England setting the lead, it was in Russia, a backward industrial country in 1917, that the revolution took place. Marxist ideology was then revised by Lenin to suit the new circumstances. Lenin maintained that the proletarian revolution depended more on the proper organisation of the revolutionary movement than on the economic state of the country. Lenin transformed Marx's theory of how the classless society would be established into a theory of how to nourish and carry through a successful revolution.

In a similar way, Stalin after having established himself in power and built up a powerful bureaucracy revised the Marxian dogma of the withering away of the state by maintaining that the time for the demolition of the state had not yet arrived and that until the Soviet state had destroyed all her enemies, the Soviet government was a practical necessity which could not be dispensed with under any circumstances.

Mao-Tse-Tung established the Communist state in China by organising a discontented peasantry through a highly disciplined party. While Tito maintains that in Yugoslavia the peasants are the real backbone of the Communist Party.

This is sufficient evidence to show how environment influences ideology, and sometimes even proves it false.

Ideologies and Classes

Does an ideology owe its existence to a class or does it transcend class distinctions and arise from an entire social group like a party or a religious denomination? This point was keenly discussed at the Congress. The Yugoslav representative, a strong Marxist, upheld the Marxian thesis that every ideology owes its origin to a specific class. Of

course the word class has to be understood in the Marxian sense of a division of the people based on property qualifications. The Anti-Marxists denied the theory and said that an ideology really arises from a social group that extends beyond the barriers of ownership. A case in point was the rise of Nationalism which belonged to an entire nation irrespective of the classes into which it was divided. But the Marxists were ready with the answer that ultimately Nationalism too began with a specific party before spreading to the entire people who later came to regard themselves as a nation. And the discussion ended there. But the Marxian position was never proved, it was only affirmed.

The Quest

The search for a suitable ideology that will bring peace to a troubled world is going on actively among thinking men. Almost all the political ideologies we know of are being debunked one after another. Liberalism has failed miserably. Marxism has tried to take its place. But the totalitarian state that it has erected is viewed with terror and disgust by people who still enjoy and value freedom. Fascism has had its day. Rationalism and Materialism, more metaphysical than political ideologies, are losing their grip on the minds of the most noted thinkers of our days. Socialism is passing through a period of anxious misgiving; it has lost its bearings and is trying to recapture the spirit that inspired its first promoters. Today Democracy seems to be the challenging word in politics. But like Socialism, Democracy too seems to be suffering from a violent internal discontent. What does Democracy really stand for? Where is it actually practised? Who are the really Democratic nations of the world? The Soviets claim to be as democratic as the so-called free countries of the globe. Does democracy merely signify economic security? Or does it also mean freedom to pick and choose one's way of life, provided one does not thereby injure one's neighbour? It is too evident that the Soviet type of security without spiritual freedom can never be called democracy. The lack of freedom

of thought, expression, and movement behind the Iron Curtain gives the lie to the totalitarian claims of having established a true democracy.

On the other hand, the democratic ideology in the free countries is too often betrayed by the social injustices that are still perpetrated in its name, despite the elaborate guarantees of freedom and equality, contained in their constitutions and institutions. This divergence between ideal and concrete reality is the root cause of the continuous dissatisfaction, both economic, social and political, that prevails outside the Soviet territories.

The Missing Element

Besides the bare political ideology therefore there is need of a metaphysical ideology, a kind of sub-structure to uphold and justify in the minds of rational men the new social organisation that we term Democracy. The failure of Democracy is due to the absence of a correct metaphysical outlook on the meaning of life and man's existence on this earth. While liberty and freedom are being exalted and glorified against the repression of the human spirit in Communist countries, their rightful place in the entire context of a man's physical and spiritual life is neglected. Liberty for the modern mind means the right to do whatever one pleases, just as one pleases, without a thought of one's obligation to a supreme moral law. This is a false notion of liberty, and a dangerous one too, since it upsets the delicate relationship between man and his Maker, to whom he is bound by innate, intrinsic obligations.

Unless and until man's nature is properly understood and evaluated in all its extent and depth, both ideology and the institutions it produces will collapse and fail to realise the ends they were meant to achieve. The metaphysical implication of our social institutions is an important element in the general set-up of society, much more so in a democratic framework where every individual is carefully valued and considered. What is the origin of human dig-

nity, why do we evaluate the human person so highly, how can these values enter into the formation of a political ideology, are some of the more pressing questions that puzzle the minds of our generation. We propose to suggest some kind of an answer to this problem in a further article on the same topic.

(To be continued)

A Fonseca.

BY THEIR FRUITS

(The Soviet Peace Offensive)

Is the Kremlin, at last, really in earnest in its desire for peace? Has Malenkov, Stalin's own chosen successor, repudiated the works of his master? Can Communist dictatorship and parliamentary democracy live in peace? Are the gestures and expressions of peace of the new Soviet rulers really indicative of their good and peaceful intentions? Such are some of the questions discussed and debated by men and women who have experienced six years of a shooting war, and succeeding years of a cold war. Yet, even while these questions await a clear and definite answer, there is emerging, slowly and surely, the all too familiar pattern of Communist dialectics which belies the hopes of all who still believe in the peaceful designs of Communist policy!

Not without some reason, soon after the death of the Red Dictator, the peace loving peoples of the world began to hope that the era of war and international tension would give place to world peace and security. On March 9th while burying his master, Stalin, the new Soviet leader, Malenkov, pledged his own regime to a policy of "living in peace with all countries"; a few days later, while stressing the fact that the world's problems could be settled

peacefully, Malenkov added: "This is our attitude towards all States, among them the United States of America". Four days later still more soft words came from the Russians. In Eastern Germany, the Russian General Vassily Chuikov in an unexpectedly polite note, apologised for the killing of a British airman by his Russian M.I.Gs, and then went on to invite Britain, and later France and the U.S.A. for a conference so as to prevent, in the future, "such regrettable incidents". On March 31st, the Russian Commander said that his country was eager to conclude a Germany peace treaty and help in the unification of all Germany.

The Soviet peace offensive then spread Eastward. On March 28th, Kim Il Sung, the North Korean Prime Minister, took up an old proposal made by the former U.N. Commander, in Korea, General Mark Clark, and wrote: "Our side . . . fully agrees to your side's proposal to exchange sick and seriously injured prisoners of war . . ." He went on to suggest "the smooth settlement of the entire question of prisoners of war, thereby achieving an armistice in Korea". A few days later, Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of Red China, advanced the possibilities of an armistice in Korea, by a proposal not unlike that which was passed in the U.N. Assembly in December 1952, whereby prisoners unwilling to return to Communist countries should be sent to some neutral State. The following month, the Korean truce talks received support in Moscow, and Viacheslav Molotov, the U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister, said, "This proposal allows . . . for an armistice in Korea". Soviet good-will reached even the U.N. Assembly. After using the veto to dispose of two of the West's candidates to succeed Mr. Trygve Lie, as General Secretary, the Soviet delegate to the U.N., Mr. Andrei Vishinsky, accepted another candidate put up by the Western Powers, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden.

This new Soviet peace offensive can be correctly gauged only when placed in the context of Communist dialectics. In fact, Soviet policy, based as it is on Marxian dialectics, finds it impossible to move out of a fixed and permanent

pattern, and hence, it follows, that the permanent psychology and unchanged inner working of the Soviet mind, which transcends time and place, reveal themselves with continuity and uniformity in all issues, both great and small. The blue-print of this Communist strategy, with its final and unchanging goal was worked out by Lenin, and his successors have only added detail and body to that outline. It is not surprising, therefore, that the history of Soviet policy, both home and foreign, is the history of a strange, fantastic, twisting, zigzagging Party Line which tends to confuse and muddle the view of the ordinary individual.

Numerous illustrations enforce this view. Every student of Communist dialectics will remember the Trojan Horse tactics, and the United Front which, a few years before the second world war, surprised not only those outside the Communist fold, but even many of its own devotees. The success of these tactics is past history. On the plea of combating Fascism, the Communist vanguard put aside its long jealously guarded exclusiveness and joined forces with every social class, only to secure its own fixed and unchanging objective. But yet another twist, yet another zigzag in Communist Policy was to follow. While the U.S.S.R. was apparently negotiating a mutual alliance pact with the Western Powers against Hitler's Germany, there came a shock to those still unaccustomed to Soviet acrobatics, when in 1939 the Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact was signed! As a natural sequel to this, and by yet another twist in Communist dialectics, the leaders of the Western Powers were branded as war-mongers, the Communist antipathy towards Fascism and Nazism was toned down, and Hitler and Stalin became comrades-in-arms soon to share the spoils of an annihilated Poland. But this comradeship was short-lived, when the thieves fell apart! In fact, Nazi world domination and Soviet imperialism were destined to clash. When in June 1941, Hitler turned his military might upon his erstwhile comrade, then, Stalin was forced to seek shelter in the camp of the democratic war-mongers! This Soviet

somersault was followed by many others of a minor nature, but no less important: the Communist Internationale was played on a lower key, the central administration of the Third International went into temporary retreat, and the Communist war on religion, one of the main tenets of Marxist Faith, was apparently discarded. But how far all this was merely a twist in Communist dialectics, rather than a fundamental change in Soviet policy, time has revealed. Hardly had the shooting war come to an end, when Soviet imperialism took up again its aggressive foreign policy working along its old and familiar dialectical pattern in Eastern Europe, China and South East Asia in particular.

In this context, therefore, there is nothing to show that the "new" Soviet peace offensive, is not just one more twist, one more somersault, in the dialectical progress of World Communism. In fact, it would appear that the stage is set for just this move, thanks to the growing defences of the Western Powers, and growing awareness all over the world of Communist aggression. And so, the new Soviet leaders have thought it fit to give their policy one more zigzag in keeping with their dialectics, while the fundamental aim and purpose of Soviet imperialism remains unchanged.

Commenting on the inability of the Western mind, and in particular, of many British parliamentarians, to understand the working of the Soviet mind, Salvador de Madriaga (*Thought*, 11th April, 1953) writes: "After years of experience there are still British Members of Parliament who cannot see that Soviet words are just war weapons; and that the true sense of Soviet policy is to be found not in what Soviet leaders say, but in what they are doing when they say it, i.e., what their words mean in terms of action. What is Malenkov doing and saying when he says and repeats that he wishes to live in peace with all nations? He is soothing his adversaries to sleep while he takes charge of the State, and carries on propaganda at home. But the true sense of his policy is war (cold or hot) as shown by

the shooting down of two military planes and the terrorizing of two civilian planes by M.I.G. antics". While speaking of peace, Communist imperialism prepares for war. Thus, the Korean truce talks gave the Red Forces time to build up their strength till today the U.N. forces are outnumbered two to one in the Korean War. "A truce as a trick of the hard-pressed side to stave off immediate defeat and to strengthen its power for a fresh encounter is as old as the hills", but apparently the United Nations sincerely believed that the Communist wanted a truce and not a breathing-space in which to rebuild their Korean armed forces. As Salvador de Madriaga aptly remarks, "with the appearance of Communist dialectics, the whole mechanics of international relations underwent a change. In former times, international tension was definitely lessened when one party to the strife eased the tension, but now with the kind of adversary the West has to deal with, any lowering of the tension in the West heightens the tension in the East; and any stiffening of the West softens the East. This was shown in the case of the Berlin blockade. A vigorous retort from the West brought about the collapse of the Eastern attack".

The successive jolts administered to the hopes of the free world by Communist dialectics have built up an attitude of caution in the minds of the thinking individual outside the Iron Curtain. In fact, the philosophy of Marxian dialectics admits of no such "peace move" as the Soviet Government pretends to have launched. If any importance is to be attached to Lenin's lessons to his disciples who are told to "be prepared to employ trickery, deception, lawlessness, withholding the truth and concealing the truth.", to the unswerving loyalty demanded of every Communist member to the Party Line, and to the past history of Soviet Foreign Policy, then, it is not surprising that peoples of non-Communist States have refused to be tricked by Malenkov's peaceful words, and his so-called "gestures of peace". Indeed, there is a growing conviction today, des-

pite the strong endeavour to remain attached to the hope of peace, among the non-Communist countries, to test the good faith of Soviet leaders by their deeds. Something more than fair words and attractive promises are wanted.

If, therefore, the Soviet rulers are really earnest and sincere in their desire for peace, they must show this, and prove it by their deeds. To begin with, it lies within the power of the Kremlin to advance the internal peace of every country in the world by openly declaring the dissolution of the Cominform, which is the Communist powerhouse fostering and feeding internal strife in every country by taking advantage of the freedom allowed Communist Parties in non-Communist lands, and by masquerading as true political parties when, in reality, these parties owe their allegiance to Moscow. Such Soviet action would ease the tension and conclude the cold war in every part of the world. In Europe, Soviet good-will may be demonstrated by the unification of Germany based upon free elections which, so far, the Red Government has consistently denied, by the release of thousands of German prisoners of war still held in Soviet prison camps, and by the conclusion of the Austrian Peace treaty which would rid this country of the burden of troops of occupation. In the Far East, and in Korea and Indo-China, in particular, the U.S.S.R. can serve the cause of peace by denying all military aid to aggressors. Lastly, if the Soviet will to peace is really sincere let its leaders call off the Soviet anti-God campaign, and guarantee freedom of worship to its own citizens and to those in Communist dominated countries.

C. C. Clump.

SEX AND VOCATION

Possibly the greatest problem for a youth is to make out in which walk of life he will achieve his best self, and the greatest difficulty in life is to see through, and even get over, the attractive delusions of the world of senses and work out his spiritual salvation. In solving this problem a definite attitude to sex life is demanded since sex is constitutional with man. For a Catholic youth, two main alternatives are open: consecrated sex life or consecrated sex-sublimation, sacramental marriage or vowed celibacy. Both states of life are sanctioned and blessed by Christ and His Church; both imply a blossoming, at two levels, of the sexual instinct. Our present purpose is limited to the humble point that here again revelation and nature are in harmony.¹

Sexual instinct is the basic dynamism which moves individuals to love and to procreation. Those individuals are persons, beings on their own, with definite value and destiny, always worthy of esteem and respect, beings therefore that may never be taken as mere means or objects of appropriation. Sexual instinct implies not only a preferential erotic attraction but a complex of emotion and affection between persons. This affective complex, this love which in the case of fully mature sexuality is a "tender emotion" rather than an overwhelming sentiment, should precede and direct erotic sensation. True sex love means surrender between persons. Were the sense of acquiring to exclude the sense of giving, it would not be true love; love is genuine when it is self-giving, and it remains selfishness when it does not go beyond acquiring-another. Too often when a man tells his life-partner, "I will always love you", he only means, "I am sure I will always love myself and so I want you always at hand for my satisfaction". This saying betrays retarded sexuality. A life-partner should be an "alter ego"

¹ Notions and data are compiled mostly from M. Oraison's *Vie Chrétienne et Problèmes de Sexualité*, L. Beirnaert's *La Sanctification Depend-elle du Psychisme* (Etude 1950) etc.

and in the mutual relations "alterity" should be more consciously attended to than the "egotic" interest. True conjugal love is oblation rather than acquisitive. From these elementary notions, it follows that psychologically speaking, married love is one and final. Since the self is one and unique, self-surrender can only be made to one person, the oblation is fixed for ever and without reserve. It essentially consists in mutual self-giving, gratuitous and spontaneous. A man who would give himself to several wives would not be giving himself at all, he would only requisition several instruments of bodily or psychological gratification, without any regard for the personality of others. The same should be said if the so-called gift is for a limited time, as happens in those modern devices, called companionate marriages. Even psychoanalysis denounces them as immature ventures and retarded sexuality.

For a mutual and exclusive self-surrender between two persons, there should be both a positive work of reflection and wilful choice and a polarisation of sexual instinct in the chosen direction. Then only shall the mutual oblation be exclusive, the mutual loyalty secure, and the sexual dynamism reaching its goal and climax.

This maturation of the sexual instinct is rarely reached at the time of marriage; it is a process involving both conscious and unconscious psychism which has but too often been retarded or deviated and which must go on normally during married life. Yet it may be sufficiently advanced to allow a stable and happy marriage; the reality of this sufficient advance is tested by the attitude of the couple towards life, the will for joint-procreation. On the other hand it is undeniable that the lack of sexual maturity may reappear and cause trouble, even infidelity, in a large number of cases. With the man, the auto-erotism of puberty is likely to reassert itself. It will give rise to solitary indulgence in periods of temporary separation. It will lead to visits in brothels which, according to the records of the police and of Vigilance Committees, are mostly patronised by unsatisfied husbands

First Steps in C. S. A.

17. CO-OPERATIVE ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS

(Continued)

Section V.—Co-operative Organisation and Social Reconstruction

From the viewpoint of the middle class wage-earner, who is both a producer (worker) and a consumer, the co-operative organisation of society is best suited to give him that economic stability which neither the economics of Capitalism nor of Socialism has been able to furnish. Precisely because private property (i.e., capital) in the co-operative organisation is democratically controlled and put at the service of the community, the misuse of private property, which is the root cause of our modern social ills, is thus removed. Co-operative organisation restores to private property its social function, and though built upon private property, such an organisation goes a long way towards establishing a better distribution of private property without the dangers of State control or nationalisation.

Co-operative organisation tends to eliminate the one of the greatest evils of industrial and commercial society, the struggle between workers and employers. The reasons for this are easy to understand. Firstly, as we have seen, both Trade Unionism and the co-operative movement are reactions to the ills of Capitalism. Just as the Trade Unions were founded to obtain for the workers better wages and conditions of life, so the Co-operative Movement was founded to give him more purchasing power with his money wages. Secondly, workers in a co-operative society understand that they are members of the organisation that employs them. No one has more votes, nor more control in the enterprise than the worker has. Moreover, the worker in a co-operative business soon realises that the more efficient his business, the more effectively are prices kept down in profit-business and thus the whole body of middle

First Steps in C. S. A.

17. CO-OPERATIVE ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS

(Continued)

Section V.—Co-operative Organisation and Social Reconstruction

From the viewpoint of the middle class wage-earner, who is both a producer (worker) and a consumer, the co-operative organisation of society is best suited to give him that economic stability which neither the economics of Capitalism nor of Socialism has been able to furnish. Precisely because private property (i.e., capital) in the co-operative organisation is democratically controlled and put at the service of the community, the misuse of private property, which is the root cause of our modern social ills, is thus removed. Co-operative organisation restores to private property its social function, and though built upon private property, such an organisation goes a long way towards establishing a better distribution of private property without the dangers of State control or nationalisation.

Co-operative organisation tends to eliminate the one of the greatest evils of industrial and commercial society, the struggle between workers and employers. The reasons for this are easy to understand. *Firstly*, as we have seen, both Trade Unionism and the co-operative movement are reactions to the ills of Capitalism. Just as the Trade Unions were founded to obtain for the workers better wages and conditions of life, so the Co-operative Movement was founded to give him more purchasing power with his money wages. *Secondly*, workers in a co-operative society understand that they are members of the organisation that employs them. No one has more votes, nor more control in the enterprise than the worker has. Moreover, the worker in a co-operative business soon realises that the more efficient his business, the more effectively are prices kept down in profit-business and thus the whole body of middle

class consumers are benefited. Lastly, workers as members of co-operative societies, like all other members, enjoy every facility to have a voice in the administration and control of co-operative business.

When honestly tried, co-operative Organisation has proved the most effective means to free the man in the street from the domination of economic dictatorship, whether of Capitalists or of the State; it makes for economic harmony, order and peace not by rigid planning or regimentation but by the people's consent. It implies self-discipline to ensure co-ordination, but it is sufficiently free to release creative powers; it secures welfare not to a few by competition but to the many by free and concerted economic action directed towards service and not profits, and lastly, within its own realm it trains directors of business to be true public servants. "The goal, then, of co-operation", says, Dr. Fauquet, "is to develop men — men imbued with the spirit of self-help and mutual aid, in order that individually they may rise to a full personal life and collectively, to a full social life." (*Le Secteur Co-opératif*, p. 44.)

Section VI.—The Co-operative Movement in India

In India, unfortunately, the Co-operative Movement got off to a wrong start. It grew from no popular demand on the part of the people as an attempt to free themselves from the evils of capitalistic industrialism. It was, in fact, and still is, in large measure, an attempt of the Government to teach the people self-help and thrift; and it was used to free the peasantry from large scale indebtedness. It is not surprising, therefore, that the earliest attempts at establishing co-operative societies in India were made by Law, which by means of successive Acts have set up the framework of the Co-operative Movement in India, mainly along Co-operative Credit lines. Thus, the Reserve Bank of India has its Agricultural Department which is also concerned with the financial side of the Co-operative Credit Banks in the country. In each State (Province), there exists a Provincial Bank, below which function the Central Banks of each Province; the smallest unit in the whole structure is the Primary Credit Society, which is guaranteed and supervised by the Union Banks.

Non-credit co-operative societies have made but little progress in the country. The following are, perhaps, the most representative

of such societies: Co-operative Marketing; Better Farming; Consolidation of Holdings; Joint Farming and Co-operative Milk Supply.

The weakness of the Co-operative Movement in India derives from the following main causes:—

1. A lack of interest in and desire for social betterment among many people. It is a common experience of all social workers, that when the people themselves do not show any interest in their own social betterment, it is very difficult to help them. The Co-operative Movement, being a voluntary and free enterprise, can only succeed if the people are willing and ready to use it.

2. A lack of trust and mutual confidence. The fundamental idea of co-operation rests on the assumption that there exists a working measure of trust and confidence among those who wish to co-operate. Unfortunately, in India for reasons which we cannot discuss here, but whose effects are in daily evidence, the spirit of mutual trust and confidence among people is not sufficient to make for successful co-operation.

3. The lack of Co-operative Education. The success of the Co-operative Movement depends on the support it receives from the people, and not any law or edict of Government. Hence, unless the people are educated and taught the advantages of co-operation, its necessity, its rules and regulations, the Movement will remain sterile.

Section VII.—Co-operative Education

This education must begin in schools. The history of Co-operative Education in many countries shows that children from the Middle School Standards are quite capable of understanding the first principles of co-operative education.

The course followed must be realistic and practical, and therefore, must include both theory and practice. In the classes on the theory of co-operation, discussions may be introduced concerning those needs or commodities which the local community may secure through the medium of co-operatives. A very useful exercise is one which sets pupils working on possible plans for the establishment of co-operative societies.

In some countries, the practical instruction on co-operation takes the form of starting small co-operative societies in schools to cater for the simply ordinary needs of pupils, such as, pencils, pen-holders,

nibs and so on. Visits to well managed co-operative societies in the neighbourhood, and reports and criticisms written by pupils during such visits are of great educational value.

In Parishes whether Urban or Rural, co-operative education may be given through the medium of the local study circle.

READING :—

Co-operative Democracy, by J. P. Warbasse (Harper & Co., London).

Progressive Course of Catholic Social Action, pp. 23, 24.

The Economic and Political Life of Man, pp. 121-132.

EXERCISES AND FIELD WORK :—

1. Explain how co-operative societies restore the social function of private property.
2. Mention the advantages Co-operative Organisation has over both Capitalism and Socialism.
3. How would you remedy the defects of the Co-operative Movement in India?
4. Write a report on any co-operative society in your town or district.
5. What Laws in India control co-operative activity?

C. C. C.

De Nobili Press, K. Pudur, Madurai

who show love neither for their wife nor for the prostitutes but betray a fall back upon selfish satisfaction. Evidence of immaturity also appears in the very conjugal act in which a partner seeks to get rather than to give; this self-seeking betrays a lack of regard for the other person and of "alterity", which lack betrays an adolescent dissociation in the psychic dynamism. Whether it appears in husband or in wife, it endangers individual equilibrium and common felicity.

The causes often belong to the distant past. Solitary masturbation, homosexuality are clear cases of sexual retardation. Association with prostitutes looks technically closer to normal love but psychologically is little better than masturbation. Egocentrism is equally evident in Don Juan adventures. It is also to be found in flirtation which could well be described as "psycho-affective masturbation" and is a preparation for the glaring auto-erotism of free unions.

The conclusions of bio-psychic analysis, as sketched above, are in perfect harmony with the Christian system of ethics and with its demand of virginity at the time of marriage. They also show that the marriage law and the doctrine of the Catholic Church are true to the nature of man and of love; we refer more especially to the pre-marriage enquiry which ensures that bride and bridegroom are clear in their minds about the unity and indissolubility of marriage, the procreative purpose in marriage, and the education of the children.

Law and pre-nuptial enquiry do not prevent occasional wreckage or solve all the problems of married life. The sacrament performs no miracle and does not dispense from a certain asceticism or what might be called sexual "adult education". Preparation to marriage is often insufficient; salaries, housing, entertainments are discussed but the family ideal is not envisaged. On the other hand, erotism and higher affectivity are not equally developed; their adjustment should be pursued after and through marriage; otherwise the partners are liable to return to some stage or

other of adolescence or infantilism. But what is the most frequent source of trouble is a confusion of values which is spread by much of modern literature and public opinion. Sexual instinct which is a noble impulse seeking its climax in conjugal love and tending to the greatest achievement of nature, the creation of life, is brought down to the level of a mere physiological need; marriage is considered as giving the line clear to an individual wild impulse. This is a great moral and scientific error. Sexuality is not a physiological function of the individual, it is not meant for the preservation of the subject, like the need of food, etc.; it is intended for the perpetuation of life, it is a social function. Instead of bringing it down to the level of some sort of hygienic practice, as the disorderly craving of our fallen nature fools us into believing, it is necessary by dint of prayer, idealism and will power to keep it at its God-intended level. That is what we call conjugal asceticism and sublimation of natural instinct.

Greater asceticism and sublimation are possible and needed in religious chastity. That religious chastity is real and psychologically sound cannot be doubted. As competent a sex specialist as Dr. Hesnard who shows little interest in religious motivation, acknowledges it in his work on sexology.¹

¹ *Traité de Sexologie*, Pp. 503 sqq. "Cultivate chastity, if you are strong and capable moreover of shunting or sublimating sexual energy in work, sport, ennobling and useful social tasks, religious vocation, art". When dealing with sex preoccupations, he says: "Others are freed from them when, a rare case, they have come to absorb their minds in great non-sexual activities (vocation, art, religious aspirations)".

In the words of G. Thibon, real sublimation is "a sort of ascensional reflux of instinct towards the immaterial sources of being, as a qualitative integration of sensitive rhythms in the pure melody of interior life. Subjectively it is accompanied by a feeling of equilibrium, of peace and of intimate plenitude, by an impression of liberation from the slavery and discordance of inferior appetites, and by a sort of transparency of all the depths of nature to the rays
tion Depend-elle du Psychisme. (Etude 1950, etc.)

We may therefore dismiss the sceptics who make sex their only preoccupation in life or who are swamped in a public opinion or mood centred on sophisticated erotism. Nor do we intend justifying the celibacy of Catholic priests, monks and nuns; there are quite a number of books which do so very well. We will not even stress the difference between sacerdotal celibacy and religious celibacy, religious chastity being vowed for a supernatural and mystical motive, sacerdotal celibacy being motivated by the same spiritual reasons and also because of the necessities of the pastoral function (v.g. time, impartiality, concentration, etc., which the priest's ministry demands). It will be enough for our purpose to tell of the harmony between natural and spiritual forces in religious chastity and of its normal conditions, all being considered from the Christian point of view. At this point it is well to recall that sexual instinct is quite different from other instincts like hunger, thirst, etc. Its exercise is not at all necessary for the survival or well-being of the individual, it is essentially made for love union and procreation. However much it be part and parcel of each individual, its purpose does not terminate in the individual; at its full blossoming it is stamped with an evident direct "other-ness", "alterity" which brings out its finality. Hence it is not against nature to dispense with its exercise in seeking to achieve one's best self. As psychoanalysts say, its forces can be sublimated, utilised for superior tendencies and its social tendencies marshalled towards higher types of activity; science, art, culture, etc., are fields in which such a process of sublimation is assisting and assisted.

Let us now take the Christian background: supernatural destiny from creation, fall, redemption, resurrection and mystical solidarity, divine union as ultimate goal. On this background, the problem for man is to rise above the life of senses in which he is immersed and in which he feels dragged from his higher pursuit down into lower devious paths. No more sensible policy could be devised than making sure against this downward pull and self-centred shrink-

ing by mobilising all the forces at hand, including sexuality in its broad sense, so as to reach with God's grace to the higher levels of life and solidarity that prepare him more explicitly and more easily for that eminent type of social life, which is life with God and in God.

As is apparent from the above sketchy notions, the elevation and "socialisation" envisaged in a vocation which includes definite chastity are not against the nature of sexual instinct but they call for a sublimation of its forces. Whether this sublimation is likely to succeed depends on the concrete data to be found in the concrete individual; in no case could such data be neglected when discussing if a given subject is fit for a dedicated life.

In general a religious vocation supposes an equilibrated sexuality, a balance between the conscious or unconscious impulses and the psychic forces. This balance does not imply ignorance or exclude temptations; it can well exist even after deviations and sins provided no havoc beyond repair has been made. (Psychastenia, neurosis calling for psychoanalysis, and the like would debar access to religious and sacerdotal life). Ordinary deviations can be corrected; such consequences of the original fall aggravated by errors in education or personal failings do not rule out a fair chance of reestablishing the desired equilibrium. What must be ascertained by all means is integrity of judgment which can resist the inroads of instinctive affectivity, integrity of the psychic complex which supposes native aggressivity to be sufficiently socialised (a good character is possibly more important than a rarely attained sexual equilibrium), an awareness in the candidate of his deviation and its dangers, intellectual powers which, besides other tasks, make sublimation as easy and as full as possible.

On the other hand, the last word on a religious vocation does not rest with psychologists, analysts or otherwise, since the final verdict is beyond the realm of natural psychology. The last word should be left to a spiritual guide well versed in authentic theology and in sound psychology; he should

not fancy he can frame mathematical rules of discernment; such rules would exclude many efficient apostles and quite a few saints. His crucial task is to make out if the decision of the candidate has been taken in the light of faith and for motives of faith, and not out of deluded transfers of a deviated complex to the level of pious looking fancies. Once this point is made clear, he may rely on God's grace and on the virtue of Christian asceticism to achieve psychic equilibrium and perseverance.

Both religious celibacy and sacramental marriage are in some way complementary, religious celibacy explicitly recalling man's higher destiny, marriage reminding all of the concrete realities of life on earth. Each at its own level promotes mankind's ascension to its God-given goal. Both make for the social life of Christendom, and call for the attention of social science though social science can in no way pretend to fathom and analyse their full meaning.

A. Lallemand.

THE EVIL OF FRAGMENTATION IN INDIAN AGRICULTURE

(Consolidation of Holdings)

For many years now agriculture in India has been suffering from an anaemia that had only worsened with time. Specialists have been busy for the past fifty years finding out the root of this astounding weakness. [Why is it that the average yield per acre of many agricultural products is so low as compared with those of other countries? Is it because our soil is so infertile? Or, is it rather due to the antiquated methods of production of our farmers?

But why then should China, Japan and Java, all eastern countries, produce from one acre of land twice, thrice and even five times more of rice, tea and sugar ?

This seems to be a grave and complicated sickness indeed ; and there is no one who does not see how much the future of India depends on a quick and complete recovery from it. This illness is of such a nature, that it cannot be cured by one remedy alone. It is no use saying, that by proper irrigation the annual production could be raised to three times the present output, and that therefore the development of a proper system of irrigation is the best means to do away with the evil from which our agriculture suffers. For at present the conditions for economic use of such irrigation do not exist for the majority of the farmers ; the same holds true for the use of modern machinery and artificial fertilisers, etc. Realizing that co-operative societies among farmers had changed the bad situation of the farmers in the West for the better, the same remedy was proposed for farmers in India. But after forty years of its use here in India we have to accept the truth that it has failed in its main purpose. Indian agriculture needs a new kind of medicine and it must be devised by men who have realized and studied all the different evils and ills that beset agriculture and Indian village life as a whole. It may be said beforehand that mere economists and technicians will not be the right kind of "physicians" required. This problem has to be solved on a larger basis than the purely economic or technical.

This does not however dispense us from considering separately the different factors which together create this unhealthy state of agriculture. Among them subdivision and extreme fragmentation of the holdings is of special importance on account of the consequences, which follow from it.—A constant process has been going on during the last hundred years by which the holdings of the farmers have become smaller and smaller and the plots he now owns are scattered over a wide area. This process was caused partly

by the rapid increase of population, partly by the existing law of equal inheritance. This law provides that the property of the father will be divided equally among the children which means, that the size of the holdings will diminish more and more from generation to generation. At present the average agricultural holding in India is only 3-5 acres. In West Bengal 42% of the families own less than two acres. In Madras 75% of the farmers have holdings of about 2-4 acres only. These already small holdings very often consist of several tiny scattered plots instead of forming one compact field. In some places 60% of the plots are smaller than one acre and 30% of the farmers have their holding dispersed in over 25 fragments. From the figures, which give the average size of farms in other countries, it will become evident that even the relative high average size of holdings in Madhya Pradesh and Bombay (8-10 acres) remains very small.

U.S.A.	..	145 acres
Denmark	..	40 acres
Sweden	..	25 acres
Germany	..	21 acres
England	..	20 acres
India	..	5 acres

One does not need to be a farmer to be able to grasp the implications which such a state of affairs has for the cultivation of the land. As long as the size of the fields remains so small no reform will bring about economic farming, and the expenditure for scientific farming will always be out of proportion to the return realized. A lot of time is wasted because men, bullocks and implements have to be shifted repeatedly from one field to the other. Often the farmer is induced to stop his work early in the day because the work on one particular field is done, but he doesn't find it worthwhile to move on to the next field, which may be two or three miles away. Worse still is the waste of labour. A dozen plots require to be irrigated the same day, several bhazeri

fields demand several persons to watch over them. The introduction of modern machinery is from the start made impossible since, on account of the small size of the field, even the use of the ordinary plough is difficult. The protection of the crops would require that these bits of land were fenced, but then ploughing would be impossible. Past experience shows clearly that manure and artificial fertilizers, which must be used here in India to a far greater extent, are much more economically used on large fields. Under such conditions most of the facilities co-operatives would provide cannot be made use of and this is certainly one of the important reasons why the co-operative movement did not succeed so well here in India as in the West. So the farmers' basic problem, to buy cheap and sell dear, remains unsolved. The poor farmer is left to his weak bargaining power so that he has to purchase at a high price seeds, implements and other requirements. And in the sale of his produce he is at the mercy of the middleman. Thus the farmer's income remains low and he is condemned to a fatalistic resignation in the helplessness of his plight.

During the same period during which subdivision and fragmentation grew constantly in India, in the U.S.A. a movement in the opposite direction occurred. There the size of the farm increased continuously. The giant farms of 1,000 acres, the large farms of over 500 acres and the farms of over 200 acres have increased considerably in number. On the contrary, farms of 20-200 acres have decreased at a rapid rate. This process could only take place in a country where millions of acres of waste land was made available and where the percentage of population occupied in agriculture has come down from 75% to 17% in the course of hundred years.

Fragmentation is however not an evil peculiar to India only. In many places of European countries something similar happened. It is true, that in general, the inheritance law of primogeniture prevailed and even Landlordism could flourish. There the present land reform takes oppo-

site measures. In Grosseto, an Italian province, 75,000 acres of land were last year distributed among 2,800 farmers under the Minister of Agriculture, Signor Fanfani. In the same Province 130,000 acres more will be given to the landless proletariat. In many Provinces of Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, etc., fragmentation had become a menacing evil to agricultural progress. As the agricultural co-operatives made rapid progress the need for consolidation of these fragmented holdings was soon realized. The Co-operatives pushed matters ahead and the Government too was ready to give substantial financial support and technical help. The aim of this consolidation work was, as far as possible, to create compact farms with the farmhouse and the stables on them. On flat stretches of land this was realized with greater ease because the soil was of more or less equal quality. In hilly and mountainous places the work could not always be carried out with such thoroughness. But even there the number of plots was reduced considerably. In the worst cases a farmer owned after consolidation 4-5 fields. The consolidation achieved in a small village of Canton Valais in Switzerland (*Anzère*) will serve to illustrate this point.

farmers	.. 350
number of plots before consolidation	.. 2768
number of plots after consolidation	.. 438
consolidated land	.. 440
number of plots per farmer before (average)	7.9
number of plots per farmer after	.. 1.2

One farmer had to cultivate 45 bits before the consolidation, now he possesses two large fields. Another had 40 before, now only one. This example may interest us especially because the conditions there were very similar to ours here in India as can be seen from the small average size.

Another larger scheme has been executed in the plains of the Rhein (Switzerland) very recently. It comprised 8

villages. The total of the land newly redistributed measured about 15,000 acres. Nearly half of it was wasteland before and had first to be drained. A drainage system of 40 miles length had to be constructed.

Besides, 80 miles of road were built and many new farm-houses were put up. Each farm got water and electricity and was made accessible from the main road. Thousands of trees were planted. The total cost of this grand enterprise, which was carried on for nearly 10 years, came to 35 million Swiss francs, out of which 60% was paid by the Central Government, 25% by the Canton and the rest by the farmers. These are only two examples out of many and that this work is steadily increasing the figures below will show. (Studying the figures we must keep in mind that Switzerland is a very small country, about a third smaller than Ceylon.)

Year	Consolidated area (in acres)	Government's financial aid
1945	5,675	2.5 million Swiss frs.
1946	10,042	3.5 "
1947	20,600	9.0 "
1948	33,380	13.8 "
1949	37,370	18.8 "

As a rule the farmers accepted quite willingly the idea of consolidation. The major difficulties arose at the final valuation of the old holdings, which has to precede the new distribution. It is characteristic of the psychology of the farmer, that he thinks his piece of land to be the best of all. However it was interesting to note, that very soon after consolidation they were again convinced that their present farms were the best. This contentment of the farmers seems to be an evident proof of the success of Consolidation.

Let us return to India. The greatest leaders in the country amply realize that the attempts made in other countries have a lesson for India too, however different the con-

ditions here may be. It is with good reasons that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan demanded in his 14 point programme, addressed to the Prime Minister, for "suitable legislation to prevent fragmentation and to bring about consolidation of holdings." (P.S.P. Draft Programme). Although the Five Year Plan gives much importance to agricultural improvement it looks as if Consolidation were a "step-child" of the Central Government. On the grounds of the Centenary Railway Exhibition in Delhi the Planning Commission had a stall where the different projects of the Five Year Plan were skilfully mapped out. From there one could see that so far as agriculture was concerned emphasis was laid upon works of irrigation, increase of cultivated land, etc. In fact the States are expected to execute for themselves the work of Consolidation and Delhi gave them to understand that for the moment no financial help could be given for that purpose. The farmers are not in a position to share this financial burden either and so it rests entirely on the shoulders of the States (Provinces). Lack of personnel possessing sufficient technical and practical training is another difficulty which the States have to face. The complaints of the farmers that the schemes worked out by the officials are unpractical and bookish are not always groundless. In order that these schemes may not end up in smoke the co-operation of the farmer is essential. Illiteracy and the individualistic, conservative outlook of the farmers are by no means contributing towards this co-operation.

In spite of all these difficulties we guess wrong if we think that nothing is being done to remedy all the evils of fragmentation. The Bombay State is spending yearly Rs. 7 lakhs for this purpose. An Act of Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings was passed in 1947. The first years were mainly needed to train a proper staff. Actual work on a larger scale is carried out only in the last two or three years. By the Act compulsory consolidation has been introduced. The first part of the Act deals with the prevention of further fragmentation. All the-

plots which are smaller than the fixed standard area for that particular kind of land are declared as fragments; and the Law provides that these fragments can only be sold or leased if they are merged with an adjacent field. So further fragmentation is made impossible and the present fragments will by and by disappear. The second part of the Act deals with actual consolidation. Since this process is actually being carried out we need but consider how this is done. In the districts there are the Consolidation Officers with staff and some trained assistants. The Consolidation Officers give notice to the villages that consolidation will be carried out. At present there are about 2,000 villages which have received this notice. At first the Record of Rights is brought in order. In 21 days all the claims for possession have to be handed in by the farmers. Then, with the help of the village Committee, the Consolidation Officer proceeds to the valuation of all land. The result is put up at the village Kutcheri and eventual objections of the farmers are considered. After the final valuation a scheme of consolidation and new distribution is worked out by the Consolidation Officer, his staff and the village authorities. Again these schemes are published for the benefit of the owners and objections are accepted during 30 days. Finally this scheme has to be approved by the Settlement Commissioner and the Director of Land Record, after all the difficulties have been settled. The last step : the scheme is enforced on the village and the farmers take possession of the new farm which in future cannot be "cut into pieces". In about one-tenth of the "notified" villages the work has been accomplished. The others follow and new villages are "notified" again. The original plan was to complete this work for the whole Bombay Presidency in 14 years. However, for this, more trained staff will be needed or else this will remain slow work and then these men will also have to be paid. Admiring the work, which in spite of so many difficulties is being carried out, we must not lose sight of the fact that the number of the villages which hitherto have under-

gone consolidation may be about 1% of the villages suffering from the evil of fragmentation. Let us hope that this number will rapidly increase in the future and that Delhi will soon be in a position to give more than mere moral support to this important land reform.

H. Volken.

SOCIAL CHRONICLE

Communism at work

Alleppey witnessed a strike of about 7,000 workers in the coir industry and the oil factories. The strike was called out because some of the workers had been dismissed. The usual Communist tactics in fomenting the strike however were much in evidence. The men were prevented from going to work by Communist pickets. An anti-Communist demonstration gave the Communists the opportunity of organising a procession and intensifying their propaganda.

Indulal Yagnik, the kisan leader from Gujerat, advocated strong measures for the establishment of the Peoples' Democracy. He spoke of reviving cottage industries, changing the bureaucratic methods of government, forming linguistic states, distributing the land equitably, with no compensation for the Zemindars.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave however is a thorn in the side of Communistic agrarian activity. Although the donations of land are small, they continue to swell in number. He maintained at Gaya that when he accepted the land offered by the poor it was less for its commercial value than for the social aspect of the gift. The gifts were an outcome of a sense of solidarity among the peasants and the idea that all land belongs to the Creator and that everybody has a right to it was slowly being inculcated in the minds of

people. He also said that government being the servant of the people should obey them. Hence he was busy rousing the people to their responsibility and dignity. Once the people express their will, government will have to bow to it.

Some of the resolutions passed at the Kisan Conference held recently at Kayyoor Nagar, Cannanore, and dominated by the Communists, makes interesting reading. The Conference recommended the absolute severance of India from Britain, the confiscation of British capital in India, and the withdrawal of all foreign armies from India.

Social Welfare

India is wide awake to the need of the hour, a betterment of the social and economic conditions of industrial workmen. In cities like Bombay, Management generally profess to have done what they could but when one actually surveys things on the spot, one sees that there is plenty more to be done.

Rotarian Jagdish C. Kapur speaking at Bombay on the theme of securing human comfort for industrial labour pointed out that industrial working conditions are nowhere so woefully neglected as in the textile industry, and this had reduced productivity to a large extent.

The capacity and efficiency of workmen progressively decreased as the affective temperature, viz., the index of warmth felt by the normal human being increased under the cumulative effect of electric lighting, the relative humidity and the movement of air inside the factory. He felt that the conditions in the majority of textile mills in India were positively injurious to human health. More rational methods of factory humidification and ventilation should be applied to mills in India.

Speaking at Bombay, Sri V. V. Giri, Labour Minister, Government of India, asked his hearers, the Welfare Officers, to work more and more in order to give workers the legitimate satisfaction of having a voice in shaping the industrial system. Workers should be taught to appreciate

the value of the rule of law. On the other hand employers should recognize and appreciate the value of the human element in the worker, and should realise their own responsibilities to their employees. There should also be adequate machinery for the settlement of threatening or existing trade disputes.

The work of welfare officers is to co-ordinate the two parties—the employers and employees—and to foster mutual trust with a view to achieving maximum production with the minimum of effort, without undue friction, and with a proper regard for the genuine well-being of the workmen.

India had been obliged to start training centres and institutions in a hurry and therefore some of the officers found themselves somewhat unprepared for the task ahead of them. Henceforth uniformity of standards and the securing of a high degree of efficiency in the course of training will be aimed at.

Mr. Shantilal Shah, Labour Minister of Bombay, who was presiding, pointed out that the State could only obtain the minimum of working conditions, the rest being left to the conscience of the employer and the employees. He insisted on a uniform pattern of training for Welfare Officers.

This idea was taken up and evolved later on by Mrs Durgabai Deshmukh, member of the Planning Commission, who said that Government would shortly appoint a Central Social Welfare Board to aid welfare schemes for women and children, make a survey of social welfare organisations in the country and carry out research in social welfare work. The Social Service Division of the Planning Commission was already doing work in this sphere by collecting information on welfare institutions.

Family Planning

From New Delhi comes news that a special committee will shortly be appointed by the Union Health Ministry to examine the recommendation of the Planning Commission to make the dissemination of knowledge about birth control

and family planning an integral part of the service of government hospitals and public health agencies in India. The committee will prepare a definite programme for family planning in the country following the suggestions of the first Five Year Plan.

The Planning Commission has stated that the spacing of children and limitation of the growth of the family were necessary and desirable for securing better health for the mother and better care for the children.

The programme will be first restricted to giving advice and making available the services already existing in hospitals, and voluntary organisations working for the dissemination of birth control ideas among the masses will be encouraged. These organisations will receive assistance from government, and many of them have already applied for it.

The whole scheme is so vicious that comment is superfluous.

Teachers

Democracy without an educated electorate is a farce, and we are therefore not surprised to see the keen interest evinced by the Government of India in the intellectual uplift of the masses. But there are two aspects to the subject of education. These concern the teachers and the taught. Sometimes too much attention is concentrated on the taught to the neglect of the teachers. Both primary and secondary teachers are in a ferment at the moment. The details of salaries and incomes we give below pertain to the State of Madras.

The Primary Grade teachers start on a salary of Rs. 27 a month in aided Elementary Schools. The yearly increment is As. 8 a year till they reach the maximum of Rs. 35 a month, plus a dearness allowance of Rs. 19. The management sometimes adds Rs. 3 to this salary, but there is no fixed rule on the point. A Provident Fund, partly sub-

scribed to by the teachers and partly by management, is also provided by statute.

In Government Schools the situation is somewhat better. The teachers are generally paid Rs. 5 more than what they earn in Aided Schools. And when their salary reaches Rs. 40, they get an ampler Dearness Allowance of Rs. 22.

On this meagre salary the teacher is supposed to teach six hours a day in ill-ventilated village schools. Formerly the six hours had to be spent entirely in the school building, but with the innovation of Basic Education, nearly half the time had to be spent out of doors teaching the children a trade. But the scheme did not meet with much success. The manual of instruction is now to be entrusted to the parents of the children. And the teacher will go back to his former routine of six hours of class a day.

Besides his salary, the teacher receives little assistance of any kind, such as our industrial workers are accustomed to receive. The situation of the Secondary Grade Teachers is slightly better. Their initial salary is Rs. 45 a month with an increment of Rs. 3 a year, till they reach Rs. 60. Then the increment is Rs. 2 a month till they reach Rs. 90. The D.A. is Rs. 22 per mensem.

For the rest the Secondary Grade Teacher is in exactly the same position as the Primary Grade Teacher. Except for the Provident Fund, allowances of any other kind are unknown.

In the circumstances, it is best for both types of teachers to marry a girl who is a teacher herself and will continue teaching even after marriage. That is the only way to support their family, unless of course the obvious duty of paying teachers a Family Living Wage is adopted on a large scale.

Compare the above salaries with those of other avocations. A peon in a high school gets Rs. 20 plus an increment of Rs. 2 a year till he arrives at Rs. 45 a month. This is the same scale as that of the Secondary Grade teacher in an

Aided School. In the cities, a Municipal sweeper gets Rs. 40 a month, while a driver earns Rs. 50 to 70 per mensem, exclusive of D.A.

How can the masses be taught quickly and efficiently if the social status and economic position of teachers is not improved? The situation of High School Teachers is certainly better than that of the elementary school teachers. The basic start is about Rs. 80 and the maximum is Rs. 175 a month for a B.A., L.T. There are slight variations in the scales of pay according to the importance of the subjects taught.

Strikes

Retrenchment in the Defence Services establishments was the cause of one of the largest strikes in recent months. Although the strike was only a token strike, large numbers of workmen absented themselves from work, despite the warning of Mr. Tyagi, the Defence Minister, that government would not change its attitude.

The Naval Dockyard Workers struck out of sympathy with the Defence Workers on the same day. They too abstained from work for one day.

12,000 miners in the coal mines of Hyderabad went on strike, joining their co-workers in other parts of the coal district who had gone on strike 15 days before. The reason for the strike was poor scales of pay, the demand for a higher D.A., and more leave. The strike brought coal production in Hyderabad to a standstill.

E. Gathier.

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3. To serve as a centre of information about Catholic social works.

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HERE AND THERE

Plenty and Planning

Planning for plenty implies plenty of planning. We have already reached a fair level of that plenty ; and whatever cynics may say, it is so much to the good ; the Planning Commission has lost its monopoly ; state governments, district boards, municipalities, villages and voluntary organisations are all busy planning ; the mood has caught on, and the public is heartily responding to government's expectations and taking in earnest to the task of economic reconstruction.

Impenitent Reds, short-sighted Jharkhandists and a few other improvident folks stand aloof but the general public show an alertness which is most comforting. It is one more case in which to apply Paul Bourget's saying : "Optimists rule the world ; pessimists watch it going round."

So far towns, villages and voluntary organisations have had 5,000 schemes of local work approved. The leading principle for schemes of local works is that the people must make a very substantial contribution to the finances. The schemes are small but well distributed over the country. A typical case is Hyderabad which submitted 1200 schemes costing Rs 37 lakhs and offered Rs. 17 lakhs as the contribution of District Boards and individuals against a contribution of Rs. 6.5 lakhs from the State Government and of

Rs. 13 lakhs from Delhi. The schemes include 391 wells, 64 tanks, 225 schools, 83 Harijan houses and 133 miles of road. Volunteer organisations, at least eight of them, took their share in the plans and the finances.

Volunteers, Forward

The Hyderabad case should be an example to other states and to volunteer associations. The trouble with volunteers is often that they give free rein to their imagination and plan castles in the air. Social workers should bear in mind that it is not any type of work that will be sanctioned. The projects suitable for local initiative are limited in scale: drinking water supply, permanent works for agricultural improvement, rural sanitation, village roads with bridges and culverts, extension of school and dispensary buildings, godowns for storage, and the like. Were volunteer organisations keep to such schemes, they would have their applications readily examined and they would not rouse vain hopes leading to disappointment.

The preliminary task of social workers is to create public interest, convene meetings, and more meetings to explain the schemes, raise money, submit draft and petition. The Planning Commission is willing to espouse all fair proposals, and the governments are ready to help. But only those will be helped who help themselves.

All Together

A few of our fellow-citizens are sick with nationalist fever. They are tresssing guarlands or halter ropes for a farewell party to all foreigners and forging the iron bars which will close the gates of India. Their type is found in all nations; luckily, barring odd countries like Russia and China, the prevailing sense in the world welcomes outside assistance. Even the powerful U. S. A. receives with open arms not only philosophers and mathematicians, but also any scientist than can make a contribution to progress.

That international assistance is desirable can be instanced from the good work silently done by the I. L. O. mission to India.

Since December last, an I. L. O. team is studying productivity in our textile and engineering industries; the mission has been extended by six months. In selected factories of Calcutta, Bombay and Ahmedabad, they demonstrate how higher productivity could be achieved through the application of modern technique in study work without retrenchment of labour and without additional equipment. Keeping labour and machinery as was available, they reached increases ranging from 20 to 50 per cent; many of the increases were due to Indian technicians trained and guided by the mission. Improvement was shown by a drop in production costs and prevention of wastage; by more floor space being made available, unused machines being mobilised, working conditions and especially relations between workers and managers being improved.

The I. L. O. mission stressed the need for better maintenance of equipment and better training of supervisors; they also emphasized the connection between good working conditions and productivity.

Workers at village level

The programmes for training Gram Sevaks are getting into shape. New Basic schools, extension training centres, agricultural schools, etc. are being accommodated to train some five thousand workers at village level; the target is 13,000 workers in three years. The training lasts eighteen months, six months in extension centres, six months in agriculture, six months for general social sciences. A great scheme indeed that should attract youths, particularly the young men who have a degree and no job. But possibly modern youth prefers to starve in towns than live in the countryside.

A. L.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Independence Day, this year as in past years, has been the occasion for national stocktaking. Journals, reviews, and politicians in their public speeches, have been busy appraising the nation's achievements. Naturally those associated with the ruling Party in the country, as well as those in general sympathy with Congress policy, have formed an optimistic judgment on the achievements of Congress rule. But there is no doubt that there is a large part of the Indian Press, a part that apparently grows stronger each year, which is extremely critical of the conduct of affairs and pessimistic about the future.

We believe that their criticism and the projection of this pessimism into the minds of the public sometimes reaches a degree which is harmful to the interests of the country. It is discouraging in its effects on the impressionable minds of many of those who are engaged in various types of national work. There are many hundreds of people for instance who read and admire the brilliant journalism of a well known Madras weekly. Its very gifted editor is a master of language, a penetrating analyst of events and situations, and a man of integrity and courage. There are contributors to the journal whose style and acumen and wide range of interests delight a reader as few things in contemporary Indian journalism. Yet, the continuous reading of this weekly is a distressing experience. Out of its mass of caustic criticism of the politics and political leaders of the State and Central Governments, no outline of a consistent and constructive policy emerges. It is impossible not to feel that much of its writing is calculated to lower the vitality of the national effort in the circles where it is read with admiration.

Different in style but similar in its depressing effect is a sombre article on Democracy in India by Mr. M. N. Roy, in the Independence issue of the Delhi Weekly, *THOUGHT*. It is of course impossible for a man of Mr. M. N. Roy's abilities and wide experience to write anything on the Indian situation without saying much that most people would willingly agree with. Thus, this particular article contains acute observations on the need for changing the mentality of our people by a movement of education, of the role of the middle class in such a movement, on the insufficiency of economic progress to suppress the desire for dictatorial or totalitarian methods of government, and of the threat of political instability in India, and so forth. But his general view of the condition of democracy in India and its immediate prospects are extremely pessimistic and cannot be accepted without serious questioning.

Mr. Roy's contention is that, in spite of the nominal establishment of democracy in India, we have governments which are "neither good nor efficient nor stable." The Congress party is not ruling democratically, because it is not controlled by the people. It is "controlled by a caucus of party politicians. Its voice is the voice of one man. No other voice than the voice of Nehru is heard in its councils." There is little chance of any other truly democratic party coming to power because the people do not understand democracy or appreciate it. Their mentality is "authoritarian and medieval." Unless this mentality is changed and the masses accept the humanist view of life, the atmosphere in the country will not be congenial to the growth of democracy. To change the mentality we need a vast movement of education, but institutions actually imparting education are unsuited to do this because they serve the cause of "intellectual regimentation." Private schools devoted to this work might do better. It will be enough to change the mentality of the middle class, because they are the spearhead of any political movement. Mr. Roy concludes

with the hope that American help may be available for the private agencies which might undertake this task of democratic education.

The basic error in Mr. Roy's evaluation is, it seems to us, to underestimate the democratic element in Indian nationalism and the degree of its penetration among the masses. Mr. Roy thinks that the middle class which lead the movement of nationalism did so mainly by appealing to the reactionary traditional culture of India. This element of a return to Indian culture was certainly there and played an important part in stirring up Indian sentiment against western rule. But new and farreaching ideas of the rights and dignity of the common man, of his claims to be represented in the government of his country, of opposition to caste and untouchability, of respect for women and the recognition of their position in society, were all parts of the national movement. The educational institutions which Mr. Roy thinks are promoting intellectual regimentation, imparted these democratic ideas to the middle classes. Under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership they reached the masses and gave them a new sense of their dignity and capacity to influence the direction of affairs in the country. Christian Evangelism had certainly much to do with the opposition to untouchability, to the rigours of caste, and, the segregation of women. Mr. Roy surely realises that the British would not have consented to quit India if they had not seen that the masses did not want them any longer.

There is also another and a deeper reason why Mr. Roy's reading of the present situation in regard to the mentality of the masses is not correct. Caste has undoubtedly been the greatest source of political weakness in India. But fairness to the system demands that we should recognise not only its capital role in preserving the culture, and ensuring the racial survival of India, but also its remarkably democratic character within the limits of a given caste. There, all members are equal without reference to their

riches or their poverty. The village panchayat or the caste panchayat could not ignore the opinion of poor people simply because they were poor. The plutocracy which has corrupted many genuinely democratic societies in Europe, had not penetrated to such an extent within the castes. The member of a lower caste, with all his respect, not to say obsequiousness to the men of the higher caste, was firm and uncompromising in claiming the rights which the system gave to him, be they more, be they less. He submitted to the system not by force but because he accepted it as part of an unquestioned moral order. This gave to the poorest peasant and labourer in India a personal independence which no one acquainted with the agricultural population of India will deny. This is true even of many of the so-called untouchable classes.

This basic independence of the Indian of the country side was demonstrated by the last general elections. Can any one deny that the manner they were conducted and their results showed the decisive role of the masses in them? The returns correspond to what all impartial observers had noted regarding the nature and areas of influence of the different political parties in the country. Notwithstanding the power of the Congress "party caucus," and the immense prestige of Pandit Nehru. Congress candidates including Ministers were defeated in no uncertain manner where their record was not satisfactory. An average of 60 per cent and in some cases as many as 70 and 80 per cent went to the polls. Not many countries in Europe can show results like these in spite of what Mr. Roy calls the "cultural and intellectual ferment of the 16th and 17th centuries which brought about a revolutionary change in the outlook of life" there. All this has been achieved in spite of the "authoritarianism" of the Indian masses.

The truth is that there are degrees and forms of authoritarianism which are perfectly consistent with a strong adhesion to political democracy. Willingness for instance to

accept the role of authority in religion does not interfere with loyalty to democracy. There are millions of Catholics in France, Belgium, Holland, Ireland, the United States and other countries of Europe and America who accept the principle of authority in religion and morals, and who are at the same time staunch democrats. If authoritarianism means a conservative approach to social and cultural matters, if it means deep respect for the rule of law and for authority in Government, if it means unwillingness to change lightly institutions and traditions which have been evolved by the experience and common consent of many generations, then authoritarianism is not opposed to democracy, but is a safeguard against its excesses. For the system of party Government by elected majorities contains precisely those germs of political instability which Mr. Roy himself fears.

But it is fairly obvious that these are not the types of authoritarianism which Mr. Roy has in mind. Mr. Roy has obviously not outgrown the materialism of his communist days. For him "authoritarianism" means the acceptance of any system of life and belief which implies the existence of spirit and the primacy of absolute spiritual values. In the final analysis this resolves itself into an appeal to the authority of God. And Mr. Roy evidently does not accept this. Nevertheless we must affirm without any hesitation that democracy is impossible without these spiritual foundations. Judged from the material point of view men are not equal, they are manifestly unequal, in their physical and moral qualities and their capacity for work and achievement. Nations and races are not equal. If the materialist philosophy were accepted integrally, then man too would be subject to the biological law of "struggle for life" and the "survival of the fittest." There would be no ground for ethical condemnation of the domination of one race by another. But before God men are truly equal. They are equal in their spiritual substance, and equal in their final destiny. The rule of law which is an essential element in

the democratic concept of Government would lose its basis if it were not linked up with the moral law, in other words, with the authority of God. This is what Jayaprakash Narayan, a genuine democrat nevertheless, has realised. "Man must go beyond the material to find the incentives to goodness," he says. "The task of social reconstruction cannot succeed under the inspiration of a materialist philosophy."* That is why he appeals to the spiritual traditions of the Indian people and uses the phraseology which to Mr. Roy would smack of authoritarianism in promoting the Bhoodan movement, a democratic movement assuredly.

Nevertheless we must agree with Mr. Roy in thinking that there is need to intensify the democratic formation of the middle classes; that there is danger in unrestrained glorification of the past: that the genuinely progressive and democratic elements of our nationalism need to be explained and worked out into their social implications as fully as possible and communicated to the middle class. The full civic formation of the Indian citizen, that is the task before us. It is being carried out to a large extent but the effort is neither adequate nor coordinated. For this vast educational movement, the existing educational system and the institutions which have already done a revolutionary work in promoting the national movement, can and should be utilised. It should be pursued in school and college, by press, platform, and radio. It is not a few private agencies, assisted however generously by foreign benefactors, which can carry it out. The efforts of all national agencies should converge towards that end. Thus alone shall we ensure the permanence of democracy in India: not by total revolution, but by a wise building up on old as well as new foundations.

J. D'Souza

* *Freedom First*, Sept. 1952.

ITALIAN COMMUNISM

Taking into consideration the peculiar relation of Italy to Catholicism, the Communists have proceeded with caution in the application of their atheistic principles. Said Togliatti on 9 July 1944: "I repeat today in Rome, the capital of the Catholic world, the declaration that we respect the Catholic faith, the traditional faith of the majority of the Italian people." There was then wide propaganda that real Communists could remain devout Catholics at the same time. Don Angelo Spadoni, a priest who has since been excommunicated, went on repeating that the Catholic Church and Marxism were two complementary forces that could easily get reconciled and throw themselves together in the politico-religious plane. 'The Movement of Catholic-Communists' was started, and its organizer, Franco Rodano soon changed its name to 'Christian Leftist.' The *Osservatore Romano* on 2 Jan. 1945 condemned it for its erroneous doctrines and denied it any right to act as the mouth-piece of Christians. The paradoxical party melted away even before the summer and all its members passed on to Communism. But as a hydra it rose again in 1949 under the name 'The Unitary Movement of Christian Progressivists' — a collection of all leftist ideas hanging on to a presumably Christian peg. The Socialists praised it for its Catholic orthodoxy! (*AVANTI* 26 Jan. 1949). The *Osservatore Romano* on 30 Jan. 1949 had to affirm that only the Ecclesiastical authorities have the right to judge of the Catholic orthodoxy of any Movement, and went on condemning the alliance of the Unitary Movement with Communism. But ignorance as regards the incompatibility of Communism with Catholicism persists even today in several regions. Last May 16, in Gubbio in Umbria the Communist Mayor ordered a 4 days' political truce so that the local Patron Sant' Ubaldo's feast might be celebrated — over which feast he himself presided!

Communist Publications — From vague accusations in the beginning they have passed on to the most vulgar language against sacred things and persons. They also divulge periodically their very entertaining researches in matters religious. We choose a few examples:

Il Calendario Del Popolo — a monthly review of culture

Nov. 1949: The origin of Christianity is traced to totemism... IESUS means fish; so Christians have passed on from animal-totem to animal-god and thence to the Son-God.

Nov. 1950: "The fable of Adam and Eve got into the Old Testament through the process of assimilation of the Babylonian myths and rites by the Jewish people."

Vie Nuove — a political weekly

No. 10 of 1952: "The worship of Mary is but a survival of the cults of pagan goddesses introduced by the Catholic hierarchy to satisfy the exigencies of the new converts."

No. 8 of 1953: Under the title 'The Silent Church Speaks' the correspondent narrates a conversation with a parish-priest of Warsaw who praised the liberty of the Polish Church under the new Communist regime and spoke in glowing terms of the generosity of the State which rebuilt churches and contributes goodly sums for the Seminary. The Vatican would not know these things and so would be obliged to proclaim crusades of prayer for the Silent Church — through ignorance and a false sense of precaution! (It is enough to note that the priest in question, Don Henrik Wasilwski, is one who joined the National Church).

Rinascita — a monthly of politics and culture edited by the chiefs of the Communist party.

Jan. 1953: Speaking of the Christmas Radio-Message of the Holy Father accuses him of want of reflection in pro-

posing solutions for the actual problems: "These are all questions which only with an examination a little more profound than that which one could muster while adoring the Baby Jesus, could be elucidated..."

In the same issue: "Notwithstanding excommunications, ever growing is the number of women who have the courage to commit 'the mortal sin' of voting left."

Unita — a daily begun in 1924 and disseminated secretly under the Fascists; it appears now in 4 editions — Rome, Milan, Turin and Genoa; it has, according to the Communists' claim, a circulation of more than 500,000 during the week and nearly a million on Sundays.

6 April 1948: "The Pope furnishes spiritual motives for the imperialist war of the Americans."

17 April 1948 (eve of the elections): "If de Gasperi won the whole of Italy would be in a Seminary. The Grand Hotel would be suppressed. From today there would be no dances; you would die of boredom. If you wish to read books which interest you without depending on the Index and sermons, vote for the Democratic Popular Front."

5 March 1953: Attacks the Vatican for the fact that during the mortal illness of Stalin it declared that the Church prays daily for the Russian people: "The Vatican has ranked itself in the front-line of this dirty trench (of speculation on Stalin's illness). It seeks to exploit and mislead... the sincere wave of sorrow which submerges the whole world."

"The secret Documents of Vatican Diplomacy"

One of the aims of the Party had been to collect 'with the most rigorous documentation' the darkest secrets of the Vatican with all its imbroglio and unmentionable scandals — a work that would have undermined the faith

of the believing world. And in fact the work appeared in April 1948. But very soon in *L'ITALIA* (13 April) there appeared the following disclosure: "I, the undersigned, Scattolini Virgilio declare, that after examining the volume 'The Secret Documents of Vatican Diplomacy' edited at Lugana by SCOE, have ascertained that it is the collection of pieces of information which for some years past I had been supplying to Filippo Setaccioli of Rome. The above mentioned bits of information had been invented by me from the start. I do not know precisely to whom Setaccioli was passing them on."

Communist Organizations

A. P. I. (Association of the Pioneers of Italy — open to children 7 to 15 years old): Its aim is "to give the child an atheistic conception of the world. Such an education must begin as early as possible... We all know how difficult, it is to reeducate the child at school when it arrives there with habits of religious thought" (Bivort de la Saudée: *Communism against Religion* p. 20). The Headquarters of A. P. I. is in Rome; it has its own journal *PIONIERE*, its own song and uniform. Its activity consists in providing for children recreational facilities in the course of which Communist ideas may be unconsciously imbibed. The Pioneer who wins his friends or school-mates to membership in the Association is given the title 'Pioniere d'Assalto'; these distinguished Pioneers have the right of admission to 'The Children's Republic' organized from July to September. The ideological orientation of the Pioneers is committed to organizations like U. D. I. (Union of Italian Women), A. G. E. (Association of Young Explorers). The recruitment is done chiefly by women who go from door to door to attract children with presents and promises. In 1951 the Pioneers numbered 171,000.

These children are taught the most absurd and vilifying calumnies against the Holy Father, their parish-priests, the local Mother Superioress etc. They are excited

to sexual vices in various ways, one being the switching off of lights when they dance with grown-ups. Knocking down religious symbols becomes their pastime. At times a devilish hatred is implanted in their hearts: in Bologna a Pioneer once said: "Rather than look at the Pope I prefer to knock out my eyes with my own hands and remain blind the whole life." (Toschi: *La Maschera ed il volto*, ABES, Bologna, 1952-p. 41)

F. G. C. I. (Federation of Italian Communist Youth — for the élite between 15 and 21) :

The first step is to neutralize the vestiges of moral education by provoking promiscuity; for from sexual exaltation to the giving up of religion it is not a long way. Beauty contests are held to select 'reginette,' Miss Unità, Miss Vie Nuove etc. Announcing a beauty contest the organizer "turns to our girls and tells them: Away with shyness, away with meaningless shame, away with prejudices" (*Vie Nuove* 29 June 1952). During the festival of the Federation of Piacenza in July 1950, four days of symbolic marriage and divorce took place, which, according to those authorities, were for the boys and girls 'four days of joint felicity' (Toschi o. c. p. 48). Then the formation is completed by a good dose of Communist indoctrination.

It is not surprising that youth so formed passes on to aggressive anti-religious action. Here are a few examples :

In May 1946 in the Church of Montesignano, (Genoa), the Tabernacle was found broken, and there was left on the altar a card which read: "You have taken him out in procession; defend him now if you can! A communist woman!" (Toschi o. c. - p. 50).

On 27 March 1948 (Holy Saturday) marched into the church of the Capuchin Fathers in Modena a group of young Communists, who distributed themselves in the Confessionals. When the faithful and the Fathers remonstrated,

they replied with blasphemies: "Oh! we shall see on April 18!" (Day of elections when Communists had high hopes... Toschi o. c. - p. 51.)

In a village near Siena during the civil funeral of a Communist, a girl parodied the religious rites intoning alternatively 'De Profundis' and 'Bandiera Rossa' (*Osservatore Romano* — 5 March 1950).

During and after the war, in the Red Province of Emilia Communists accounted for the lives of 53 priests (Bedeschi: *L'Emilia ammazza i preti!* ABES, Bologna, 1952).

The Red Splash on Italy

"It is a point of particular pride for me to have given up Italian citizenship for that of the Soviet." So declared Palmiro Togliatti during his voluntary exile in Moscow in 1940, and he continued: "I do not feel myself bound to Italy as to my Fatherland, but I consider myself a citizen of the world, of that world which we yearn to see united to Moscow under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. It is a point of particular pride for me to have renounced Italian citizenship, because as an Italian I feel myself a miserable 'mandolinista' and nothing more. As a Soviet citizen I am worth ten thousand times more than the best Italian citizen."

The heart of the Mother Bear (if it was there) must have warmed to this specimen of a genuine offspring capable of such touching sentiments of 'humanity.' And the Party's National Council celebrating recently its leader's 'sashtyaburthi', indulged in adulation unheard of since the disappearance of the Duce. Togliatti was called 'Master of New Men' — 'Emancipator of Women' — 'Guide of the Disinherited' — 'Glory of the Italian People' etc. etc. and of course, to finish the litany, 'Defender of Peace.'

The Italian Communist Party is 32 years old. Its infancy and adolescence lasted 22 years — a clandestine existence

under the Fascist regime. The history of its birth is easily traced: In the elections of 1919 the Socialists figured as the chief party, securing nearly 2 million votes. But soon the party began to show signs of disintegration; in its bosom were to be found 'Reformists' who were for collaboration with the bourgeois and 'Massimalists' who leaned towards the extreme left; within this latter division, and as a reaction to its ineffective policy, rose a third group calling for a definite rupture with the Socialists. And at the end of the XVII Congress of the Socialist Party, this revolutionary group broke away and got baptized as the Italian Communist Party — on 21 Jan. 1921. In the first elections under the Fascists in 1924 the new party secured 19 seats in the Camera with 268, 191 votes. But in October 1926 Mussolini declared all the parties (except his own) illegal and prohibited their journals. The Partito Popolare founded by Don Luigi Sturzo and the Liberal Party retired into faithful submission. The Communists, however, began to work underground and to form devout leaders for the future; the delegates of the Party slipped across the frontier to attend International Communist Congresses abroad. Togliatti escaped from the land, while Antonio Gramsci, the Party's real leader and founder, was arrested in Nov. 1926 and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment; he died in prison on 27 April 1937. Many Communists were arrested for their subversive activities, a Special Tribunal having been constituted to judge anti-Fascists; and according to their claim the Communists incurred 22,690 years of imprisonment out of a total of 28,694 years inflicted on anti-Fascists. After the fall of Fascism in 1943 Togliatti returned to Italy from Moscow to guide his party.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Fascism had paved the way for Communism in Italy. Under Mussolini semi-anarchists, easy to excite but difficult to organize, had for the most part been eliminated. The masses had learnt to believe and to obey; they had also learnt that if they did

not want to die of hunger, they should have in their pocket the Party-ticket, which therefore came to be known as the Bread-ticket (*Tessera del pane*). So after the war when the Communists seemed to become (in a few provinces of the North they did become) masters, the masses were eager to procure the new Bread-ticket.

It is the supremacy of the organizing element over that of the ideal or programme that has its say in Italian Politics. This is so true of the Communist Party that even a slackening of the class-struggle has in no way lessened the number of inscriptions and votes for the Party. Intellectually Italian Communists are not superior to their comrades in other countries; but historically, conditions analogous to those that obtained in Russia has made of Italian Communism a model Bolshevik block. The Leninian strategy of coupling the struggle of the proletariat with that of the peasants in search of land finds easy application in Italy; for here, unlike in France, the peasant groups had not profited by the liberal revolution. The Communists recruited easily beyond 50 % in the agricultural provinces of Emilia, Tuscany and Umbria; in Central Italy the Communists have found the 'bourgeois-idea of private property' come in handy: for according to the 'Metayer' system prevalent there farm-workers, even if they have the money necessary, cannot buy the land from their proprietors, and Communists exploit the discontent of these well-to-do workers. In Central Italy Communists are nowhere less than 40 %; around Siena they shoot up to 60% and in the Bologna area upto 70 %. Emilia has fallen such an easy prey for another reason also: having formed part of the Papal States for centuries it has a store of anti-clerical feelings enough to go the round: now Communists boast that they are the only party able to save them from the clerical government of Democristians. Surely the peasants of Central Italy remain Communist not because they have read the 'Opera Omnia' of Lenin, Marx, and Engels.

The strength of Communism among the industrial workers, especially of the North, rests on the C. G. I. L. (General Confederation of Italian Labour). It was formed in 1944 as a joint federation of Catholics, Socialists and Communists; the Catholic element being ejected, it is now an exclusive and effective weapon of the Left. With 5 million workers under him, its leader Di Vittorio is a power in the land; utilising the undue liberty of strikes granted by the de Gasperi Government he has been paralysing the country whenever he felt like it. The non-Leftist Trade Unions, on the other hand, have only 2 million members, and until they can show themselves as effective as the C. G. I. L. they are not likely to wean even the Catholics away from the C. G. I. L.

Communists are ardent advocates of democratic methods when they are not yet in power. Patria - Peace - Liberty - Democracy: these are defined by Communists differently according as they are in power or bidding for power. They find the conception of democracy a good ladder to rise to the top and when they are there they kick down the ladder and call it 'bourgeois.' In Italy the Government has allowed them not only liberty of the press but licence of the press, which has cost the Government its fair name. True, the ruling party in a democracy has no right to impede the freedom of the press; but it should not forget that it has at the same time the duty to safeguard the right of the citizen not to be deceived.

As elsewhere in the world, in Italy too, the Communists declare themselves 'at the head of all honest workers, sincere patriots and all free men.' In their vocabulary the word 'peace' is seldom found dissociated from 'struggle.' And in their glorious 'struggle for peace' the end seems to be struggle rather than peace. These are some of the convictions of the humbler party-members whose exclusive diet is the daily, 'Unità.' Its editors shunt the trains of their thought at will. An event which for a thinking person

is an argument against Russia is for the Communist an argument in favour of Communism: if Beria is arrested, the Italian Communist says that de Gasperi would never have had the courage to expel a traitor from his cabinet. That he may not see the monstrous executions in East Germany or in Albania, the spotlight is turned on two persons on electric chairs in the New York State prison. If six million persons visit Italy in 1952 and among them not one from Russia, the Italian comrade quite understands it: there is no reason why one should leave the Earthly - Paradise — even for tourism.

A glance at the percentages of the four elections will help us to picture the situation correctly:

	1946	1948	1951-52	1953
	Political	Political	Administrative	Political
DC Democristians	— 35.3	48.6	35.9	40.1
PSDI Social-Democrats	— 6.0	7.1	7.6	4.5
PLI Liberals	— 6.8	3.8	3.5	3.0
PRI Republicans	— 4.4	2.5	2.4	1.6
PCI Communists	— 19.0	19.0	20.1	22.6
PSI Socialists	— 14.8	12.0	12.7	12.7
PNM Monarchists	— 2.8	2.8	4.0	6.8
MSI (Social Movement) — Neo - Fascists	—	2.0	6.9	5.9

Perhaps in no other country is there such heavy polling as in Italy. In 1948 nearly 90 % voted, and the fear of Communism brought Democristians 48.6% of the votes and more than 51 % of the seats in the Camera. In 1953, nearly 94 % voted and that in spite of bad weather conditions prevailing in several places; of the voters 52 % were women.

Votes polled : 28,386,610

Votes valid : 27,089,184 of which Democristians : 10,859,554
Communists : 6,122,638
Socialists : 3,440,222

In the Camera as well as in the Senate the Centre Alliance has secured an absolute majority of seats (though

not of votes). For want of 57,000 votes the Alliance loses the bonus of 50 extra-seats in the Camera as intended by the Electoral Law. Without a working majority, therefore, the Alliance is at the mercy of the Right or the Left; this is what the Communists wanted. The oscillating position of the Centre owing to the division among the anti-Communists is a lesson to other countries. The Rightists in Italy owe their strength, if not their very existence, to their false propaganda. On May 3, de Marsanich, leader of the Neo-Fascists, declared in Rome: "Communism is held in its position; today the real enemy to fight is the Democrazia Cristiana." The Monarchists too, under their multi-millionaire Commandante Lauro, have helped to underrate the strength of Italian Communism. To help splitting the vote there are parties to the tune of 22, some of the exotic growths with resounding universal names like 'World Federalists' — 'Western Progressivists' etc.; to complete the glorious series there was the "Party of the Beefsteak," the only point on its programme apparently being to supply each man, woman and child with a beefsteak every day. Simple people have not merely simple ideas but confused ideas as to the political and social ideologies of parties. To capture the floating vote of such a category the Monarchists and the Neo-Fascists seem to have competed in a Neopolitan way, excelling each other in the quality of the pasta they supplied to the poor there. It is surmised that the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth might have diverted a part of the floating vote away from the Centre Alliance; people of Southern Italy love display and when just 3 or 4 days before the elections they saw photographs of the glory that London was on those days, God knows what vague yearning for King Umberto carried them on by a too simple logical conclusion to the Monarchist Party. The events of East Berlin, it is said, have impressed the Communist workers of the north deeply; but then the Democristians could not time them to their advantage.

When all is said, the Left is very much alive in Italy; and it is well to remember that the Communists are nearly

the whole of the Left in Italy. For as 'The Manchester Guardian' put it, Nenni's Socialist Party "is a sort of purgatory into which unripe Italian Communists enter, spend a few months or years, and then go into the Marxist Limbo." The theory of misery alone offers no explanation for the strength of Communism in Italy; the Communists themselves acknowledge that the so-called under-proletariat show that the relatively rich workers of the North continue to remain Communists, while their Southern brethren have remained anti-Communist up to now in spite of their poverty. Hence it is clear that social reform alone cannot sound the death-knell of Communism; rather, social uplift, especially when it follows the pattern set by Communists, is used by them as an argument for the truth of their position; the Agrarian Reform has not had any political effect up to now. The malady has gone much deeper: there is the important aspect of spiritual recovery which should not be lost sight of. As the famous Jesuit preacher Fr. Lombardi remarked, speaking of the deluded Communists in some regions, "one who has faith can only weep for them." The indoctrination may take a generation or more to evaporate. That is why the Cardinal of Bologna focuses his attention on winning the children to love and truth.

The Cardinal (Giacomo Lercaro, 61) has no pronouncement against Communism to his credit. He insists on social justice and in addition, he has his methods of charity. He invited gifts for the Cardinal's Party for Bologna's tramway-men and he got a tram-load of Easter-eggs, wine, toys and bicycles. He appealed to the Christian parties to moderate their expenses for the election-campaign and give the money saved to the poor — and the Communist leaders followed suit with a similar appeal, though, according to the disclosure of an awed Party-member they had spent on the poster-war in the city Rs. 165,000. The Cardinal has a Movement known as FAC (Fraternal Aiuto Cristiano=Christian Brotherly Help). His parish-priests sign letters in the

name of the FAC and hand them over to families ; the flap of the envelope reads : " Brother, before giving this envelope back to the FAC, think seriously of what you are doing. Don't give an alms, but a help in proportion to your possibilities : a help that you would want to receive if you were in need yourself. If on the other hand you are in need, state clearly the help you require." In short the Cardinal has no intention of 'fighting' Communism ; he wants to give the Communists the divine love of Christ the worker, the fountain of all human justice and human love.

J. M. Varaprasadam

THE UBIQUITOUS BEGGAR

" Sahib ! One anna, sahib. No food for three days, sahib. One anna, sahib."

In the city street, on the railway platform, in the village bazaar, one faces the same question : to give or not to give. For the most part, however, we probably find ourselves completely ignoring the beggar or telling him to get out and be quick about it. One becomes hardened to their importuning and seldom weighs the possibility that this might be a deserving case.

It isn't difficult to come this state of mind either. After all, there are so many of them. It was estimated that there were approximately 1,500,000 beggars in India in 1951. This number is more or less restricted to those who are totally dependent on what others give them for their daily bread. The fact that there are some able-bodied men who beg by preference, finding it easier, and in many cases more profitable, than work complicates the problem but need not enter into our study. The same is true of those who

practise a religious mendicancy. They are an element which need not concern us now. What, then, are the causes of this high total of genuine beggars ? A growing rural population and a static rural economy has forced many to become agricultural day labourers or hunt for jobs in the city. Industry has been able to absorb only a small percentage of the influx and the rest have had to beg for a living. In addition, the growing number of refugees made the situation even more acute. In the Province of Delhi, for example, the number of beggars rose from 2,400 in 1945 to 7,000 in 1949. But, disregarding for the moment their numbers and causes, let us examine some typical beggars. They should provide some interesting facts which will help us appreciate the breadth and poignancy of the problem.

Kodaikanal is a typical hill station. During the season people from all over India throng its bazaar and there is a steady stream of pedestrians around its scenic lake. And, as you might guess, when the season comes so do the beggars. By mid-May there may be as many as twenty asking for alms. Once the visitors depart through the vast majority of beggars disappear. Back they go to their old haunts in Madurai or Trichy or some other town at the foot of the hills. Only three or four hold on the year round, despite bad weather and a scarcity of donations. And it is these few whom we will investigate.

First on the list is a youngster of 8 or 9, to judge from his build, whom you will meet as soon as you enter the bazaar. It is customary to find him carrying a younger brother or sister, both dressed with a bare minimum regardless of the season of the year and both needing a haircut. Although neither the boy nor his burden look the picture of health, on the other hand they would not be taken for famine victims by a long sight. But his face tells a story of misfortune which is longer than his years warrant. Upon questioning him some interesting facts came to light.

He is one of a family of ten. Four children remain at home while the others have either married and moved away or gone elsewhere in search of work. The family owns its own house, or hut if you prefer, and the father has steady employment as a coolie. Now a tragic twist of the story. The mother is sick and unable to manage the household. Added to this is the fact that the father contributes little or nothing of his earnings to the upkeep of the family. Consequently, the young beggar becomes the breadwinner for his younger brother and sister. Schooling is out of the question and there is no opportunity for him to learn a trade. His only prospect is eventually to enter the labour market as a coolie and spend the rest of his life on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. Beggar children are numerous enough wherever you go and perhaps a larger number than we suspect have a similar tale of woe.

Leaving our young friend still carrying his precious burden, a short walk through the bazaar soon brings us to its edge. This is the 'business site' of two more dependents on the public charity. The first is a cripple. As you approach he rises from his mat and, drawing himself up to his full height (about 4 ft.), he solemnly salaams you. There is no need for him to do more than this. He never asks for help vocally but few can look at his deformed body and not give him something. And yet, his condition is not quite so bad as most are tempted to think. Crippled from birth, he has managed pretty well for himself these last thirty-five years. He attended a Catholic mission school up to the fourth standard, so is able to read and write. Denied the opportunity of learning a manual trade, he began begging as soon as he left school. In this pursuit he was able to support himself and occasionally contribute, along with his two brothers, to the support of his mother. A lifelong resident of a small town at the foot of the hills, six or seven years ago, he decided

to try his luck in Kodai for half the year at least. He hasn't regretted that decision. During the season he makes two or three rupees a day, which is good deal more than he collected in the plains. Sleeping on verandahs in the bazaar and buying a minimum of food, he has kept his expenses down and managed to save a fair amount of his 'earnings.' This has been greatly facilitated by the fact that he has remained a bachelor, more out of necessity than choice, and that his brothers have supported his mother. But the real surprise came at the end of the interview when the calmly stated that next year he intends to open a small shop in his home town. This is certainly a case where begging did not demoralize his initiative or destroy his self-confidence. Certainly it would be most desirable if all would be as thrifty and enterprising as this man, but one wonders how many could practise such economy. (When you are trying to support a wife and family on what you beg, you cannot put much aside as a nest egg.

In strong contrast with our future shopkeeper is the old man some thirty paces down the road. Over forty years ago he and his wife came to Kodai in search of work. Being unskilled, he had no difficulty in securing employment as a coolie. During the succeeding years he managed to raise a family and acquire a tiny house. Then misfortune caught up with him. His wife was carried off by sickness. His children married and moved away. Through some underhanded means, relatives sold his house and gave him only a small share of the money. Three years ago, his sight failing, he had to stop breaking stone and take up his place by the roadside. For his meals he goes to the nearby convent where he is fed free of charge — along with nearly three hundred other poor people. Like his crippled companion, he sleeps on a verandah in the bazaar, not an ideal bed for one over seventy. When the weather is very bad, he manages to squeeze into a hut owned by friends. Daily earnings during the 'off season' are as

low as an anna and half a day. When the season comes around, he makes two or three rupees like his neighbour. To date, no relief organization, either public or private, has offered assistance of any kind. Neither have the municipal authorities made any investigation nor forbidden him to pursue this occupation. Nearly blind, the future holds no hope for the old man. Day in and day out he will continue to sit by the side of the road. With no prospect of care from his children and ignored by the government he will continue to beg until death catches up with him. I suppose that under the joint family system old people are seldom deserted in this way. But today, with the changing social and economic conditions, this aspect of the problem will come increasingly to the force. Children will marry and move away and care of the aged, widowed and orphaned will become more and more a public responsibility.

The last case, if we may use so impersonal a term to describe a human being, is a boy of nineteen. Strictly speaking, he should never have become a beggar. Nor should he continue as one now. His family is financially able to feed, clothe and shelter him. But they do not. Nor do they intend to. The trouble all began five years ago. At the time he was working as gardener for a family in town and doing quite well. He was a reasonably bright boy with a primary education to his credit and it was expected that he would at least be able to provide for himself and a wife at some future date. Then one day, he irritated his father and the latter struck him behind the ear. Within a very short time the boy had lost his sense of co-ordination and drolled stupidly. He could still hear and speak with a reasonable amount of coherence but that was about all. In his present condition, he is slow to grasp what you say and moves about like a drunkard. Certainly the saddest part of the story is the family reaction to his condition. That is just it — no reaction. Neither of the

parents apparently cares about the boy. He is allowed to roam the streets in his enfeebled condition, to beg his food and sleep wherever he wants. His clothing is in tatters and, like the younger sister who often accompanies him in his wanderings, is constantly in need of a bath and haircut. When a passerby gives him something it is received with shouts of glee and he rushes off to the nearest store to spend it. And what has been done for him? From time to time responsible people have talked of putting him in some sort of asylum. This would mean taking him to the plains for there is no suitable institution in the hills. But up to the present, it has only been talked about. Nothing has been done. Despite his condition, one is tempted to wonder whether he is beyond medical help. Often he will astonish you with the seriousness and lucidity of his conversation and his knowledge of English is a surprise to all who hear him. If something could be done to correct the disastrous effects of the parental blow, he could easily return to normal life and carry on as before.

And then there are the itinerants. The two boys we meet in the street who have been sent up from the plains to beg by their parents. Miserably dressed and apparently hungry, they have been deputed by labouring parents to supplement the family earnings. However, we are not interested in these now. Our tour has ended and we have seen the regulars, the people who have been forced to live off the community. The child of the neglected family — the cripple who is unable to work — the aged who, forsaken and handicapped, is driven to begging as a last resort — the mentally unsound — all these are components of the vast problem. The solution? But after all, we are not interested in the solution here. It is up to you. This is meant to be a lesson in the direct method, an attempt to find out the why and the wherefore behind the people we see each day. Such a glimpse of the sorrow and suffering that touches so many cannot leave us unchanged.

And if it does fail to move us to action? The psychologist, Henry C. Link, has succinctly described those who are thus hardened:

"Many of us have a limited circle of friends who mean something to us, but we lose touch with man as man. We pay taxes to support the needy, but harden our hearts towards individuals in need. In our own communities we are perfectly willing to let the politicians who fatten on human misery dole out our money so that we may be spared the sight of suffering. We may go to church, believing in the commandment, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, but there is no love of man in our hearts."

E. de V. Lockwood

BOOK NOTES & REVIEWS

The *International Labour Review* (June 1953) carries a valuable contribution by Mr. A. Vermeulen, secretary of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, on collective profit-sharing. Under this scheme the national labour force as a whole would receive a share in the profits of all industries taken together, and as a result, a practical approach would be made to answering two leading questions in free democracies: How to remedy the highly unequal distribution of private property? How to fix a wage policy in an economy with a system of collective bargaining and a policy of full employment, economic stability and rising productivity?

The distribution of private property is demanded by a sense of equity, the need of developing the worker's personality and the benefit accruing from expanding productive capacity in the private sector of the national eco-

nomy. The novelty of his idea lies in this that the share a worker would be given would not be handed over for consumption but for investment in productive undertakings, it would be proportional to the actual wages and handed over to a "workers' profit bank"; this bank would by "profit-share certificates" from a "central investment corporation" and distribute them to the workmen. The annual coupons of the certificates (made in the worker's name) would be paid in cash or in new certificates or both. On application to the bank the worker could withdraw his amount on concerns of his own: housing project, education assurance, etc., all guarantees being taken that the monies so withdrawn are applied to the productive undertaking. On the other hand, the corporation would invest the money at its disposal so as to keep up the par value of the certificates, a fixed rate of interest and also with a view to maintain the level of employment in the country.

The claim for a system of collective profit-sharing for the expansion of investment is made on the basis that, since wages are determined collectively, the labour force as a whole contributes to the profits by limiting their income and their consumption. This is therefore a factor of profits which is external to industry, and is quite distinct from internal factors (entrepreneurs's ability, business talent, organisation, workers' special efforts, etc.); it arises out of labour's policy of self-restraint.

The author does not favour the system of profit-sharing in single concerns; it does not appeal to workmen who will always prefer steady high wages, nor does it equalize benefits throughout the labour force. Moreover it rarely brings in social peace and progress. This view singularly contrasts with the conclusions of a meeting held last November in Philadelphia which lavished workmen's praise on the Council of Profit-sharing Industries which has members in the U. S. A., Canada, Australia and Denmark.

On the other hand, the system advocated by Mr. Vermeulen would suppose an enormous amount of work to prepare and run. But if one hesitates to accept his proposals, they deserve the utmost attention. Profit-sharing is attracting the best minds of all earnest social reformers and his study is a valuable contribution to the study of this important problem.

A. Lallemand

Geneva Publications

The International Labour Office which was the most successful undertaking of the League of Nations goes on doing its meritorious work, under the patronage of the United Nations (minus of course totalitarian U.S.S.R.). Its Seventh Report to the U. N. O., modestly claims "that an encouraging start has been made in promoting more effective co-ordination and greater concentration of effort in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and of the agreements between the United Nations and the specialised agencies."

The Report lists the various fields of emphasis in I.L.O. work: higher living standards, freedom of association, manpower, wages, social security, industrial relations, welfare services, occupational safety and health, co-operation and handicrafts, land reform. The second chapter surveys the various regions of the world; the third, the various occupations and types of workers; the fourth discusses the effectiveness of international labour standards, and the fifth studies the role of the I. L. O. of the general international effort. There follow a few appendices supplying staff lists, texts of conventions and recommendations, reports on freedom of association, programmes of meetings for the following years, and other documents of international importance. This weighty volume of 444 pages is a regular mine of information given in the clear

and sober style and presented in the pleasant get up traditional with the I. L. O.

It is gratifying to note the share of attention given to India in the I.L.O. survey missions and to read of the fair hearing given to a complaint of the E. I. Railroad Workers' Union against the government of India, however specious it was. As appendix of special interest to our country, the tenth is the most timely; it contains the conclusions of the meeting of experts on productivity in manufacturing industries. They should be welcome to the planners and engineers of our industrialisation.

The Record of Proceedings of the thirty-fifth session of the International Labour Conference is a ponderous volume (677 PP.). It is a verbatim report of the twenty-seven meetings held in June 1952 followed with sixteen appendices mainly reproducing the texts of conventions adopted in the course of proceedings. It does one good to follow the efforts of all types of delegates (government, employers, workers) doing their best to arrive at unanimous conclusions; it is in a way amusing to read the oratorical propaganda of totalitarians in contrast with the sober realism of the others; it is comforting to see India's delegates holding their own in representative international meetings.

A. Lahuri

"Racial arrogance is particularly harmful in a community where members of different races or tribes live side by side, and where everyone therefore should enjoy an honoured place in society. . . . Nothing but evil can be the fruit of racial discrimination, a doctrine so contrary to justice and charity."

—(Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Hierarchy of
Tanganyika)

SOCIAL CHRONICLE

Dravidian Movements

When the Dravidian Movement was started some twenty years ago by Sri E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, it was noted for its anti-Brahmin and anti-religious tones. The anti-religious note was dropped when the members rallied round the Justice party. But it was revived by some leaders in course of time with the result that at present there are two distinct Dravidian Movements.

The first, the *Dravida Kazhagam* is under the leadership of Sri E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker of Erode, who cannot boast of much formal schooling, particularly in English, but whose mastery of Tamil is remarkable. He runs a daily edited by his wife, the "Viduthalai" and is connected with another daily, the "Nalaimaru." He has also to his credit a number of booklets and pamphlets which explain his views and ideals.

Of late he gave his anti-religious campaign a new realistic touch: idol-breaking. Some of his followers make a sport of cutting off the head of Ganesh and the tail of snakes. This was bound to offend pujaris and faithful. So another practice was adopted: idols are made by the followers, speeches are delivered with prophetic solemnity, and the idols are broken, and as no harm happens to the iconoclasts, the thesis is supposed to be proved. Pious folks were horrified and some approached the courts for putting a stop to such malpractices; the case was dismissed on technical grounds; but an appeal was lodged which is still to be settled. Orthodox opinion is deeply stirred and anxious to know what limits will be put to public demonstrations which are offensive to religious feelings; non-Hindu people are also interested in the legal process, particularly Catholics all over India who are liable to see their creed and practices attacked in public in the most

offensive manner. Democratic freedom should not come to mean licence.

The Second Dravidian Movement is the *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*. The movement is said to have some 20,000 followers; the executive committee consists of Sri E. V. Sampath, R. Nedunchazian and N. V. Natarajan. The programme is nothing less than a Dravidian state free from the undue interference of the Delhi central government, and eliminate Brahmin influence and Northern dominance over the South which is altogether different in language, history and culture. They gathered ample funds and started several periodicals: *Pravali*, a weekly; *Dravida Nadu*, a weekly; *Dravidan*, a daily, and many other publications. The occasion for initiating this movement and breaking away from the leadership of Sri E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker was the leader's marriage with a very young person who was his secretary. The exact reasons are irrelevant; in any case the marriage with the young person led to the divorce of many followers and the *Dravida Munnetram* was started: the title is translated as Dravidian Democratic party or as the Progressive Party.

In their cultural programme, they campaign for the purity of Tamil vocabulary and style, and the banishing of any Sanskrit words. Quite a few College professors and many more high school masters are taken up with the idea. Logically enough the *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* opine that the study of Hindi would overtax the mind of tender Tamil minds; but, this point is possibly less debatable, a youth who has studied Hindi as a secondary language is bound to feel and to be at a disadvantage when competing with a Northerner whose mother-tongue is Hindi and such serious handicap ranges over all posts of the Central Government. The new scheme of primary education which was introduced recently under the irresistible initiative of the Chief Minister came to add fuel and energy to the movement; the scheme is widely criticised on several

counts: diminishing the number of school hours, discrimination going against village boys and in favour of town lads, etc. There are few specialists in education among the members but it does not take a specialist to criticise a scheme of Primary education.

New facilities for criticism of government was offered with the creation of the New Andhra State and its boundaries.

The movement was not satisfied with verbal munitions and weapons; groups, gangs, squads were mobilised for realistic action: trains were stopped, bridges damaged, policemen attacked. Seven people were killed many wounded, and many more arrested. Here the question arises spontaneously: Are those people communists? At the last elections they merged their propaganda and their electorate, but now they are a separate movement and an independent organisation. They have their following in towns but also in villages; the success of their speakers vary with the purity of their Tamil, but even their ordinary themes appeal to the Tamil soul: self-defence of Tamildom against Hindidom, self defence of the lower castes against the Brahmin, and of the South against the North. True or false, partially true or partially false, the accusation goes home. If the speaker knows English, he fondly quotes the ancient phrase "the benighted presidency," and he easily shows he is as valuable and forceful a citizen as any Hindi-speaking fellow.

One cannot fail to trace communist influence in the Movement, though the traditional tactics of letting others do the dirty spadework allows the Dravida Kazhagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam to enjoy footlight publicity. The attacks against the Congress government are possibly not very significant of red influence, but the attacks against religion in general betray the red virus. Recently they published the attacks of Ingersoll against Christianity and

they challenge Christians, illiterate for the most part, to answer; this awakened the Christians to the danger and, a happy result, forced the Christian missionaries to ransack their books and notes and to organise study circles. In order to camouflage their anti-religious ideal, members of the movements have replaced Brahmin pujas with ceremonies of a popular ritual they concocted in haste.

In all this they do the spadework for communism; in any case their plan of breaking up the unity of India and creating an atmosphere of perpetual agitation can only invite the blessings of the Red Czar.

Industrial Relations

At Allahabad, in the All-India Employers' Association the industrial situation was reviewed by the President, Sri Mohantal R. Shah of Calcutta. Stagnation everywhere, in spite of the Five Year Plan: few are the new undertakings, and scanty the investments; plethora of applicants for jobs, especially from educated youths, and unemployment all over the industrial world. Industry should absorb the increase in population, particularly small scale concerns and cottage industries; these should be reinvigorated. To revive small industries, imports of goods and commodities which they can well produce, should be stopped; official policy must aim not only at balancing international payments but also at protecting small concerns and humble artisans; the policy should be social as well as financial. Another point deserving attention and treatment is the lack of uniformity in dealing with disputes between employers and employees; several points of the law should be amended and a bold return should be made to the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. On the other hand, retrenchment is at time a regrettable necessity and should be left to those who bear the responsibility of management. As to the practice of enforcing compensation in case of involuntary stoppage for want of raw materials, power, etc., it is unfair on the

BY N. SRI RAM, *President of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, 24 February 1953*

I DEEPLY appreciate all the affection and the trust which have been displayed towards me in messages from members in so many countries of the world. I treasure their good-will and sympathy. But I remember, and I think it is well for every one to remember, that it is always more blessed to give than to receive. One can receive many presents, much affection, praise, support, all kinds of things which we consider good in the worldly view. But to receive all this is as nothing compared to the giving of something from one's own heart, and what one possesses, to another who is in need.

The President is he who should serve best. Whether such service will be rendered by me is another matter. I want on this occasion to greet you all, each one, with brotherly affection, and from this place, all members everywhere throughout the world.

I have said on other occasions but would like to say again that if such an organization as the Theosophical Society, engirdling the globe and composed of men and women of every race, religion and nationality, all devoted to the very highest aims in life, were not in

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HERE AND THERE

What Bengal Thinks Today

Calcutta's present malaise is typical of public opinion in many of our cities: refugee problem, low-trade-level, growing unemployment, and, what is worse, frustration, uncertainty, anxiety, which recent events deepened. Communists find it a suitable climate for their nefarious work. They profit by any incident to make the situation a little worse and the authorities appear to be hesitating as to how to deal with them and keep them in check. A deplorable factor is that apparently the State Government does not meet with a clear and firm lead from the Centre where most unhappily some influential heads are said to be resigned to take Communism as unavoidable in the near future.

This defeatist attitude should be checked in time and these defeatist counsellors put aside. As Marshal Foch was wont to say, a general is defeated only from the very moment he admits he is. This is no time for escapist despondency. Conditions in India are much better than could have been anticipated some years

ago, in spite of industrial troubles, linguistic problems and all the growing pains of democracy. Why play the game of the enemy? The people's spirit remains sound and willing. India is not yet prepared to become a nation of well-fed coolies, and that is the very best that Communism can promise.

A Motley Movement

The Bhoodan Movement was born of Gandhian idealism and it is activated by hunger for land and for equality. Whether it has uniformly remained faithful to Gandhiji's views may be questioned. Gandhiji stood by the right of private ownership as well as by the divine intention of having world wealth to serve the whole of mankind.

What exactly Acharya Vinoba Bhave means by claiming that the land belongs to "Gopal" (in secular terms, the State?) is not clear, but as to means he keeps to the principle of "peaceful persuasion". His success in arresting Communism in Telengana drew the attention of officials and politicians, and with them politics entered the movement. All such newcomers do not share Gandhian ideals and methods. Some deny the right of private property and dream of State capitalism which they call socialism. Others are not averse to violence, to compulsory labour, to expropriation without compensation even when compensation is possible, etc. Capitalists get alarmed at the movement, economists reject the plans of the Sarvodaya school which would limit national economy to "villagism", and, of course, Communists ridicule this palliative that hampers a red revolution (a useful pointer indeed).

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An Opportunity

Vinobaji recently announced he would give up the lead in field-work and restrict himself to teaching "Sarvodaya"; trained workers would carry on the campaign. The idea of distributing land and wealth on a basis of peaceful persuasion is most attractive. But what the movement will turn into in course of time, is hard to foresee.

In any case, the occasion is a fine opportunity for all to search their social outlook and social possibilities. What of the facilities some Christians have to help servants to acquire a modicum of reserve? What of the few who may have some surplus land? Nobody is a full Catholic unless he plays his part in the social reconstruction of the country.

Electoral Fever

All eyes are on Travancore-Cochin. The dominant issue is clear: Communism vs. anti-Communism. Electors should be realistic; in many cases they get confused about parties and programmes, and, in our sorry world, they have to choose the least unsatisfactory candidate. But one axiom is definite: no vote should go to anybody who shows sympathy or support for Communism. At times wool-headed goody-goodies go so far as to work with the Reds, and hope that after the elections they will tame the Reds. The history of the Soviet satellites shows this to be a perverse delusion. Co-operation with Communism is stupidity in a most lucid form. Awake, Malabar, and unite!

A. L.

A SOCIAL REALIZATION

With his social work at Harvey Patti (Tiruparankundram), Mr. Craig Harvey, a shrewd Scotchman has given the cotton industry in South India an impetus which has certainly benefited the shareholders of the Madura Mills, and also to a lesser extent the 25,000 workers employed in Madurai, Ambasamudram, etc.

During the stormy years which preceded Independence he has been able to keep his mills working and to supply weavers with cotton thread, the boycott of foreign products and of Japanese cotton having been lifted in his favour by the Congress.

He did more. He set up an example for the other industrialists of Southern India. He had the good sense of caring "for the human tools", for the workers.

His colony of Harvey Patti, at Tiruparankundram, begun in 1939 is his best realization, not the only one. A plot of 70 acres of land had been selected south of Madurai.

This colony is for manual workers only, to the exclusion of the clerical staff, except those applied to the management of the estate.

Up to now 604 houses have been built, in blocks of ten cents containing two joined houses. Each one has a staircase leading to a verandah, a big room, partitioned into two, a kitchen, a w.c. (with flush system and bathing room) and a tap for both houses.

The planning has done away with the ugliness of the cooly lines. Each block of two houses stands in

the middle of a small garden; streets and avenues lined with trees give a pleasant aspect to the colony. Each one can do what he likes in the small space allotted to him: rearing of poultry, tending of cows or goats, but they are not allowed to build any superstructure which would change the aspect of the place into a caravanserai, as is done generally in other places.

A system of pipes brings clean water to the inhabitants of the houses.

Few houses have electricity because Re. 1 was asked for the installation and use of electricity. Most tenants are not sufficiently intelligent to see where their real profit lies. They prefer to remain in semi-darkness with their kerosene oil lamps.

Teachers have more spacious houses, with two or three rooms, and high officials of the colony are even better off. All of them have taken the electric current.

Conditions.—To have the right to a house one must be a simple worker in the Mills and have put in five years' work, be twenty-one years old and married with children.

The house can shelter the worker and his family: wife and children, father, mother, brothers and sisters; nobody else. This in order to avoid the overcrowding by relatives coming from every corner of the State. One working member is sufficient to get a house.

There is no question of caste and creed; all are mixed up. Those who are not pleased with this regulation may stay where they were.

The elders who have no heirs have to leave the compound.

A block costs about Rs. 3,600, each house Rs. 1,800, but it is let at Rs. 4 a month. When a man in twelve years and a half has paid Rs. 600, the house is his, and he has not to pay anything more.

If he wants to go elsewhere after paying Rs. 600, repairs are done in order to put the house in order for a successor, the balance between the Rs. 600 and the cost of the repairs are given back to him. If he wants to go, or for some special reason is asked to go before the payment of Rs. 600, repairs in the house are made, and Rs. 2 are kept for each month of occupation; the remainder is given back to him.

It is of course forbidden to sublet or to have a perpetual guest in the house.

Regulations are made to prevent frictions, which among illiterates as the majority of the workers are, could take unheard of proportions, *v.g.*, hour for each family to draw water, etc.

1,500 workers have availed themselves of the scheme. They form a colony of more than 4,000 persons. Though the place is hot in summer on account of the glare from the huge rock dominating it, the inmates are in pleasant and clean surroundings, with trees everywhere; they are free from the squalor and dirt of Madurai slums. Even with the Rs. 3-12 a month they pay to the Railway for transport, they are far better off than those who would pay Rs. 12 to be very badly lodged in the town.

Social Works.—Social works of every kind are available: a maternity home, a creche, a kindergarten, a school with 26 teachers; compulsory education is the

rule. Children attending the high school pay no fees. A reading room is opened twice a day; so also a lending library. But few are those who could avail themselves of the books and papers put at their disposal, and fewer are those who actually do it.

A night-school grouping at most 20 pupils, generally 10, is in running order.

Recreations are provided: music, a field for sports, a cinema in the neighbourhood, a theatre. Too few appreciate what is put at their disposal in that line and most prefer endless conversations in which ideas are sadly lacking. A dispensary is open to all but only those with ten years' service receive free treatment.

To help them to find the necessary food, a market, with even a butchery, and a co-operative store are opened. Special days are marked out for buying at the Co-operative for special classes of workers, this, to avoid a rush at the beginning of the month. The entry is controlled; but people can buy what they like and to avoid unnecessary use of money, chits are given showing what amount they can dispose of. Not only can they find food, but also dresses, saris from Rs. 5-8 to 20, not above in order not to tempt the cupidity of women. Many useful articles are offered for sale at prices cheaper than those of the general market. Cigarettes and beedies are excluded from the shops of the colony though nobody is prevented from smoking.

Of course alcoholic drinks are tabooed, and on the whole the prohibition is well accepted and benefit the workers; stopping all the brawls which come from drink and drunkenness.

Administration.—The scheme was started with a loan of Rs. 2 lakhs from the Madura Mills, Rs. 40,000 as capital and Rs. 1,60,000 as a fund, both being without interest. The Co-operative of Buildings is controlled by a board comprising one representative of the Madura Mills, one of the Trade Union, one from the other ranks of the labourers, the District Collector or his representative and the President of the District Board.

A special panchayat of six members elected by the inhabitants of the Colony meet to dispatch the current business of the workers; the chair is taken by a special officer whose duties, not too light, is to see that the ordinances and regulations of the Colony and the Panchayat are observed. He and the Panchayatis settle quarrels in and between different families. They have no soft words for the quarrelsome; else the Colony would turn quickly into a pandemonium.

The salary is generally of Rs. 26 plus Rs. 42 of D.A. with a bonus of three months work. When both husband and wife work, or if children are also employed the situation of the family can be said to be good. A fact struck the visitor. It is not always those getting the best salary who keep their house clean and in good order. Teachers and officials give the example, but it is not always followed.

For the teachers they cannot like the others acquire a house for themselves by paying their Rs. 600. They pay rent for the time they serve the colony.

Last Impressions.—I have to be thankful to the Executive Officer for the above information, I am now

voicing my own feelings, not his, in the lines that follow. A real effort has been made by the Madura Mill to help their workers, the pity is that circumstances did not permit to do more. Government has earmarked Rs. 5 crores for building workmen's houses; let us hope that before embarking on schemes of doubtful results colonies like the one of Harvey Patti which has stood the test of time will be built. Scarcely a tenth of the personnel finds shelter in the Colony. If we grant that the other similar works undertaken at Madurai are helping another five per cent, the rest is obliged to try to find what they can round the Mills in deplorable conditions of hygiene and prices.

The effort already done has certainly a philanthropic aspect. The industrial side looms, and it is normal, very large too. This is why I called the whole scheme the "caring for the human tools", better housed, more healthy, and better health means better work. The business aspect is over-emphasized in the ostracism of old workers who are no more productive units. Some homes for them could be built.

The want of education of the average worker makes him oftener than not unappreciative of what is done for him, and the spirit in which it is done. Their gratefulness is of the type of expecting always more and more as their due.

Very few are working for the common good. Perhaps a reason is that when they come back from work exhausted by the long hours in an over-heated atmosphere, they have no strength left except to reach, like somnambulists, their homes and try to forget in sleep

the misery of the life which is theirs. However for many non-employment would mean starvation in the villages. Their slumbers is not deep enough to prevent them from taking part in the eternal quarrels of the place. The causes are first of all the Trade Unions with their different ideals; the one of the Communist carefully nursed each day during the recess hour for taking food, is of course keen on working up public discontent. They too often succeed. Moreover one finds an echo of the struggles going on in the villages. People bring with them the quarrels of their birth-place, and they divide themselves even in the Colony. Next you have the caste spirit. If the castes are no longer officially accepted by the Government, they continue to exist in daily practice. This want of team-spirit finds its expression in the absence of recreation-clubs catering for the totality of the workers. No sportive teammaking a name for itself has ever been presented in a field. When everything has been done to unite the workers, they have not answered the call. Education alone can bridge the gap.

If the lure of the city attracts them, and it is often the case, they cannot complain of their isolation. Nine trains daily in either direction link Harvey Patti to Madurai, and special trains bring them and take them back to the Mills. Besides bus services are frequent. What could they find of real use in the City?

Some would wish that Harvey Patti be situated in the centre of Madurai. It could not be. Perhaps if war breaks out one day, will they bless their lot to be

far from the railway station and from the Mills which would be target first aimed at by the enemy.

Let Harvey Patti prosper, and other colonies be built all over India to save the workmen from slum misery.

E. Gathier.

A LABOUR COURSE FOR WORKMEN

A course for training workmen and those especially among them who are active Trade Unionists was inaugurated on October 11th, by Mr. Shantilal Shah, Minister for Labour, Government of Bombay, at St. Xavier's College Hall. The course is organized by the authorities of St. Xavier's College with a view to preparing workmen for the fulfilment of the very important tasks that have fallen to their lot in a modern democratic society.

Rev. Fr. Balaguer, the Principal, welcoming those present said that a college should not be an ivory tower, and though a college catered to an 'elite', there was not an elite to be thought of from among the labouring classes. He welcomed the workers to the course and put everything in the College — the Library, the Canteen, the Lecture rooms, and everything else — at their disposal.

Inaugurating the course, Mr. Shantilal Shah spoke from personal experience of the difficulties of the La-

bour Unions in India and the consequent desirability of the Labour Course that St. Xavier's College was starting. Mr. Shah said that many Trade Unions spent a large amount of their funds on salaries and stationery, with the result that very little was left over for any other activity. The Trade Union Reports published by Government showed that the proportion of such expenditure was as high as 85%. A careful look at the annual returns of Unions revealed that their funds were being depleted by unpaid subscriptions. Every year many Trade Unions were registered, but their registration was cancelled because they failed to submit the annual returns to the Registrar. This was indeed a sorry state of affairs.

In India, he said, we have a system of compulsory adjudication for resolving the differences between employers and employees. It was the view of many people, especially of Trade Unionists of the West, that collective bargaining should be preferred to compulsory adjudication. In India we have still not reached the stage where we could have collective bargaining because Labour is weak and badly organised and cannot hold its own against the employers. Workmen must develop their united strength in order to bargain successfully with the employers. Mr. Shah stressed the fact that when either the employers or the employees became the stronger party, they were tempted to use it in their own interests and not in the interests of justice. But if justice was to be combined with strength, then it becomes necessary that if the two parties fail to agree, a third independent party should be invited

to do justice. It is a fundamental dictum of law that no person shall be a judge in his own cause. Therefore if the two parties cannot come to a settlement, justice can only be secured by the intervention of a third party.

Persons like himself, said the Minister, were prompted by humanitarian motive to join the Trade Union Movement. It is true that the leadership of the Unions ought to come from the workers themselves but that was not possible at the present stage of development of Trade Unions. Even if the Trade Unions were led by workers, outsiders would still have a place in them. Legal aid for conducting cases in courts, medical help for assisting in workmen's compensation cases, would still continue to be required by the unions.

The Minister counselled those present to remember that India is largely an agricultural country. The conditions in the industrially advanced countries of the West, where industrial workers were in the majority, could not be obtained by workers in this country immediately. Indian industrial labour was still a small minority and when the industrial worker clamoured for higher wages, he should take the entire national economy into consideration. His first duty was therefore to increase the size of the cake, if he expected to get a larger piece of it for himself.

He was happy to note that the course which he was inaugurating, was a very comprehensive one, and covered subjects like Labour Economics, Political Theory, Industrial Psychology. A knowledge of Labour Law for instance was necessary since it would train work-

men to collect the materials and present their case effectively in court. It was not enough that justice was on their side. If the facts were not marshalled properly, then in spite of justice being on their side, they might lose their case. It was therefore important to learn how to run Trade Unions properly and get the best out of them.

Prof. W. A. Robson, Professor of Public Administration in the University of London, delivered the inaugural address on 'Industrial Democracy', which he said was the ultimate aim of industrial relations. The modern Trade Union has a double role to play: (1) in the field of industry, and (2) in the political field. Referring to the industrial role of the Unions, he observed that Trade Unions had come into being in the 19th Century in England with a dual objective. The first was to defend the standard of life of their members, and the second was to improve those standards. The chief methods developed by the Trade Unions for attaining those objects had been discussed by Sydney and Beatrice Webb in their classical work 'Industrial Democracy'. These methods were:—

1. Constitutional enactment, *i.e.*, bringing pressure on Parliament to pass legislation in regard to the health, safety and welfare of workmen.
2. The assumed function whereby agreements in regard to conditions of work were negotiated with the employers, and
3. The maintenance of the minimum standard of life below which no worker should be allowed to fall.

These three aims continued to dominate the outlook of Trade Unions till the twenties but these aims are no longer found adequate. As Trade Unionism de-

veloped, their purposes grew apace. In 1945, the Labour Government was for the first time returned to power by a large majority. The Labour Government passed a large amount of important legislation that affected the industrial worker closely. It also brought under public control industries like the Transport Industry, Coal and Electricity. The Trade Unions were now faced with a new situation because they had to decide how the workers should participate in the management of these nationalized industries. Syndicalism and Guild Socialism, which hold that industry should be owned and run by the producers themselves were overwhelmingly rejected in favour of the Board method. Respected leaders of Trade Unions in each respective industry are appointed to the Board to represent and safeguard the interest of the workers within that industry. However on being nominated to the Board, they cease to belong to their former Union.

Further Joint Consultation has given the workers a large share in regulating the policies of the business that ultimately affect their lives. The net-work of joint consultation has spread right down from the national level right down to the factory and then to the pit level. The terms of reference of these joint consultation councils are not narrowly defined. The subjects of discussion are not merely limited to conditions of work, pensions, grievances, etc., but cover the entire operation of industry. The scope for discussion is therefore unlimited. New devices for associating workmen with the national policy are being developed. The Council of Productivity, of which the Chancellor

of the Exchequer is the Chairman, is a case in point. The council on which both employers and employees are equally represented confers on general matters that affect the entire industry. In this context, the role of the Trade Union is concerned with increasing the size of the cake. There is a willingness and eagerness to discuss matters concerning productivity, efficiency in industry, improved service to consumers, and the betterment of business. It is being gradually recognized by Unions that if they wish to improve conditions of work and benefit the workman, they must develop an interest in the industry and in the national economy. This consciousness of a new responsibility is a characteristic of the British Trade Unions, and it is bound to spread to other countries. Prof. Robson complimented St. Xavier's College on organizing a course in adult education which was also a step in the direction of spreading this new attitude among workmen.

Since the functions of Trade Unions have been transformed, continued Prof. Robson, the structure of Unions must also undergo a change to enable them to discharge their new responsibilities. The Trade Unions must be equipped with personnel who can make some constructive contribution to industry. It is futile to demand the right to participate in the policies of business; and then not even be able to follow the discussion about such policies. Trade Union Personnel must be well informed on matters economic, both theoretical and applied; on political theory; on industrial psychology; on methods of wage payments, etc. Today the strike is regarded as an outmoded weapon of defence

or attack. Trade Unions have acquired a status that makes its use obsolete. If the national interest is to be placed above the particular interest of any individual industry, then a Union cannot indiscriminately resort to a strike, because it injures the consumer, and not only the businessman. Union personnel must be educated and trained to hold their own against employers, government officials and the consumers. They must become organs of constructive and creative thought. From this angle, their horizon extends indefinitely.

Professor Robson then adverted to the political role of the Unions and said that it was his profound conviction that there must be a liaison between a political party and an organised trade union movement. In Britain, the Trade Unions have a predominant voice in the election of the national executive of the labour party. It was the works of middle-class intellectuals like Sydney and Beatrice Webb that have contributed to the production of this new trend of thought in the trade union movement. It is no use having a vague affiliation to some political party as in America. There must be a deliberate participation in politics. What happens in America is that in one State, Labour supports a particular candidate of a party because he happens to agree with their objectives, while in another state, the Unions may support a member of the opposing party for similar reasons. This method undermines the strength of the workmen. In France a similar situation may be noticed. The political strength of the Unions is thus dispersed and rendered innocuous.

Prof. Robson referred to the confusion prevailing in France during the recent strike which almost brought on a national crisis, though the Unions had no clear objectives in going on strike.

Prof. Robson further observed that the Trade Unions must co-operate with whichever Government is in power. This was another great paradox in the modern state. It has to be recognised that if the Unions did not co-operate with the prevailing Government, they would lose much of their influence in shaping labour legislation and benefiting the worker. They should always bear in mind that the expansion of the national economy is more important than any sectarian interest.

Consequent upon these new responsibilities, the internal organization of Trade Unions needs modification. The Trade Union is a miniature state which has to face similar problems, like the bureaucracy of Union officials, the maintenance of democratic procedure, the continuance of interest in its activities by its members, etc. All these points have to be attended to, if the Trade Union is to preserve government by consent within its frontiers.

A. Fonseca,
Director of the Course.

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WHITE LIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA

What is most vexing about Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister of the South African Union, is that he pretends to justify his racial policy on the ground of safeguarding "Western Christian civilisation". His pretence is as muddle-headed as his policy is clear. It received the most authoritative rebuttal at the hands of the Catholic hierarchy in South Africa. The agitation initiated by Rev. Scott of the Church of England is well known in India. But the attitude of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of South Africa was little publicised. It is however more authoritative and straightforward. In a common statement made on June 29, 1952, which the Catholic hierarchy directed to be read in all the churches of the Union, we have the Catholic view expounded in quite lucid terms :

"The racial problem admits of no easy solution, and for that reason it can only be regretted that it is so frequently made the plaything of party politics without regard for the real welfare of citizens"

No true endeavour can be made to solve the problem unless we keep constantly before our minds the fundamental Christian truths : that man is created by God in His own image, with a spiritual soul, the power of reason and a free will ; that his last end is to achieve everlasting happiness in the vision of God in heaven ; that he is fallen in Adam but redeemed by the sacrifice of Calvary and restored in Christ to supernatural grace and the heritage of Heaven ; that Christ died for all men and all have the same right to eternal salvation. 'For there is one God ; and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus.' (1 Tim. 2 ; 5-6).

In the light of these doctrines the full dignity of man stands out, as well as the great truth that all men being bound together in one household of God should love their Father in Heaven above all things and one another for His sake."

Once this principle is realistically admitted, the survey of South African conditions can be made in all serenity. The Europeans who make up about one-fifth of the population possess most of the land, wealth and political power. The non-Europeans (Africans, Asians and Coloured) have practically no share in the government of the country and are by law or custom debarred from enjoying equal opportunities for gainful employment; they are not entitled to full citizenship and equality; they are economically and socially reduced to a status of inferiority whilst the Europeans nurse a sense of effortless superiority. Were this the only factor of the social problem, it would be simple enough to denounce it as unjust and un-Christian, and rely on education to modify society.

In fact the problem is complicated because the vast majority of the non-Europeans, particularly the Africans, have not reached a stage that would suggest abruptly raising them all to a full partnership with the European group. Such a step would be unwise; it would prove disastrous for all concerned and moreover it would be most questionable to force all into a European pattern of life. On the other hand among the non-Europeans a great diversity is found; most of them are illiterate and follow primitive standards; others on the contrary are highly educated and have a long tradition of civilisation behind them. In

consequence the problem implies various complex factors. First the deep-rooted prejudice on the part of most Europeans against the others, prejudice fostered by tradition, education and social as well as economic superiority. As a reaction, on the part of most non-Europeans a feeling of distrust and resentment which is innate among the illiterates and which has been aggravated among the educated by experience or by reading; it is roused to such a point that it is hardly possible for them to fancy that a European might be willing to assist them. Then there is the complexity in the population of African, Asian and mixed descent at various stages of education and culture and at different levels of political development; nor should one lose sight of the divisions and animosity between the various groups or sub-groups which make up the non-European population.

The solution of the problem must necessarily take two classes of rights into account. There are first the fundamental rights which flow from man's nature and should be guaranteed in their exercise, whatever be the inequalities of economic, educational or social conditions. Such rights include the right to life, dignity, sustenance, worship, to the integrity, use and normal development of faculties, to work and the fruit of work, to private ownership of property, to sojourn and movement, to marriage and the procreation and education of children, to association with one's fellow-men.

Besides these fundamental rights, one should realise there are secondary rights which are derived from

the type of society achieved by the citizens and measure each one's sharing in society's welfare ; right to vote, right to state-aided education, to unemployment relief, old age pensions, etc. These derivative rights are more elastic in application than fundamental rights ; their exercise should be adapted to the standards of development in society, and to the peculiar needs of individuals. If the franchise might be refused to illiterates, state-aid to education should be provided for them ; talented people might be allotted special functions, whilst the needy would have special protection ; in general derivative rights call for supple adaptation to the contribution each can make to the common good. It is the duty of the state to enact legislation, administration and public services that will maintain the proper exercise of the civic rights and, if need be, to devise suitable measures for the full development of groups which need temporary assistance. Undoubtedly a government cannot expect that legislation can ever bring about a genuine democracy, and it should rely on the co-operation of the public to promote the sense of equality and brotherhood. But one cannot help being amazed at the South African Nationalist party's policy and its undemocratic, inhuman and un-Christian measures. Nothing will be changed in South Africa unless and until the heart of Dr. Malan and of his fellow-legislators be changed, and heart-conversion is rare enough among people who fancy they are predestined to fashion the world. The latest measures taken to implement the infamous Group Areas Act bring out its cruel provisions. In Durban, 146,000

Indians are to be uprooted, and their property, worth eighty-four million pounds, to be surrendered ; in Johannesburg, 17,000 out of the 21,576 Indians will be evicted ; the 5,000 strong Indian community is to be ousted out of Pretoria, etc. In short nearly half of the 360,000 Indo-Pakistani population of South Africa will be forced to abandon homes and properties without any statutory compensation or adequate alternative accommodation. Entry of wives and children of the Indians in South Africa will be prohibited, even though Indians be settled in Africa for the last two or three generations. Other grievances are well known. The Indian population has the immense advantage of having their case represented at the U.N.O. by the Indian government. But what about the Bantus, Zulus and people of mixed descent ? Their fate is still much worse, and their voice powerless. Time after time the question has been brought before the U.N. Assembly, but its resolutions have had no influence on the obdurate hearts of the South African Nationalist Party.

No wonder that public opinion in India is angered and indignant. Yet no denunciation in our newspapers is more forcible than the statement of the Catholic hierarchy of South Africa which is a most scathing criticism in its deliberately moderate terms.

" If South African conditions are considered, one arrives at the following conclusions :

1. Discrimination based exclusively on grounds of colour is an offence against the right of non-Europeans to their natural dignity as human persons.

2. Though most of the basic rights of non-Europeans are in theory respected, conditions arising out of discriminatory legislation (such as laws restricting employment), social conventions and inefficient administration seriously impair the exercise of these fundamental rights. The disruption of family life is a case in point.

3. Justice demands that non-Europeans be permitted to evolve gradually towards full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

4. This evolution cannot come about without earnest endeavours on the part of non-Europeans to prepare themselves for the duties connected with the rights they hope to enjoy.

These are the principles that must govern any Christian solution to the racial problem. Charity and justice must supply the driving force, prudence will be the guide. What has been said remains in the realm of principle; it is for men versed and specialised in different branches of study and technique to apply these principles to the difficult and complicated situations that exist."

But in South Africa are there well versed and specialised men that admit the principles?

A. Lahuri.

BOOK NOTES & REVIEWS

Dawn and Achievement of Indian Freedom: Life of Vijayaraghavachariar. By R. T. Parthasarathy, M.A., B.L. (From the Author, "Arama", Salem, Rs. 7-8-0).

Although it is the custom to refer to the Indian fight for freedom as "a period of long struggle", it is surprising how brief it really was judged by the nature of the task before Indian nationalism, and the obstacles which confronted it. The earlier phases were undoubtedly slow and were mainly a wearisome repetition of the same pleas, couched in grandiloquent language. But the drama moved with amazing rapidity in the last stages and when the denouement of final independence came, some of the actors scarcely believed that it was in their hands. This rapidity of the entire movement comes home to us with special force when we consider that the span between the founding of the Congress and the Cripps mission is covered by the public life of a single man, one of the leading protagonists in the struggle, C. Vijayaraghavachariar. He shot into prominence as a nationalist in 1882, three years before the Congress was founded, when he fought with success against the unjust sentences imposed in connection with the "Salem Riots". He died in 1944 at the age of 93, retaining his vigour of body and mind till almost the very end.

The life of this remarkable man is presented to us in a very readable biography by his grandson, R. T. Parthasarathy. The long and eventful life of Vijaya-

raghavachariar and the abundance of material available, chiefly by way of letters which he wrote and received, would have justified a much longer and more detailed biography. The author makes frequent references to these letters and gives tantalising hints of their interest as documents on the history of our times. But he has preferred to shorten the account by recounting the events and describing the evolution of Vijayaraghavachariar's mind by summarising them in his own words instead of reproducing letters and diaries. He has thus succeeded in presenting the long story in a narrative of only 250 pages. The abundance of the matter and the sense of quick movement which the rapid succession of events gives to the narrative, make the book most attractive and interesting. I think the author has been wise in following this method. He will ensure for his book a wider diffusion and greater usefulness than a longer and heavier biography might have secured. The volume is well got up, but there are minor typographical errors which should be corrected in the next edition.

The remarkable thing about this unusual man, of brilliant gifts, and of enormous intellectual appetite, but with a hard core of strong and stubborn character, is that he lived through and assimilated all the three phases of Indian political evolution: the first phase of correct and decorous constitutional agitation, the second phase of direct action with Mahatma Gandhi leading the Congress in Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience; and the final phase which is fully emerging now, of political action exploring and applying the social im-

plications of democracy. Vijayaraghavachariar was among the founders of the Congress, in close touch with the English friends who were associated with it from the beginning. His education had made him a warm admirer of English constitutional procedure and he could talk the languages of Victorian liberalism with a perfection of phraseology which must have astonished English people themselves. Then it fell to him to preside over the Nagpur session of the Congress which accepted the Gandhian plan of non-violent Satyagraha for securing Swaraj. And he lived long enough to study the affirmations of the "new humanism" and to follow with sympathy the emergence of Socialism, and the movement for social and economic reform in India. One who was close to him said of him: "He absorbed a succession of ideas and ideals, from those of mid-Victorian Spencer, Huxley, and Mill to those of Shaw, Wells, Laski, Hitler, Stalin and Lenin of our times". (P. 209)

One is led to wonder whether this width of interest and imaginative sympathy for varying schools of thought and ways of life did not imply a risk to logical consistency and cohesion of thought. Does not this very facility of "absorption" of a diversity of interests make for the dispersal of intellectual force? It is a weakness peculiar to Indian intellectuals with their powerful, some times too powerful, memory, and their capacity for strong imaginative "realisation" of all ideas and pictures of life which are presented in forceful language. Certainly Vijayaraghavachariar does not seem to have escaped the dangers of this excessive

versatility. He who was a strong individualist, from the first, and always liberal, who fought for the inclusion of fundamental rights in the Constitution, accepted at the end the promises of socialism all too easily. His biographer states: "State Socialism appealed to him as the best guarantor of a fair deal to all".

Again it might surprise some readers to learn that this stalwart Congressman was one of the founders, along with Pandit Malaviya, Lajput Rai, and others, of the Hindu Mahasabha. But here the inconsistency is more apparent than real. Vijayaraghavachariar was an uncompromising nationalist and a firm believer in the secular state. He was ever consistently and vehemently opposed to the idea of a federal constitution, and advanced every type of argument, historical and constitutional, in favour of the unitary state. His warnings against the fissiparous tendencies of federalism in Indian conditions were based on a profound insight, and have been to a large extent justified by subsequent events. He regarded the Mahasabha rather as a means of cultural safeguard, of economic and social improvement, for the Hindu community. He looked upon it as one of the agencies for ensuring peace and understanding with the Muslim Minority in a united India. He was in favour of social reform and the suppression of untouchability. He would not have tolerated the idea of a Hindu State, and would not have approved the emergence of the Mahasabha as a political party in opposition to the Congress.

The measure of Vijayaraghavachariar's greatness can be gauged by the extent to which his ideals have

been realised and his warnings justified. His championship of the unitary idea will probably find more sympathetic consideration as the move to strengthen the Centre grows, in reaction against the separatist tendencies which are so much in evidence today. With all his opposition to British imperialism he was a great lover and admirer of the English nation and did not desire a complete break from England. In his presidential address to the Nagpur Congress he described England as "the greater Athens of the modern world". India has preserved the Commonwealth link — an astonishing sequel to our declaration of independence. He had a great faith in the ideal of the League of Nations and wanted India to appeal to the League for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim quarrel; and after independence to take her full part in international activity. India did appeal to the United Nations for a settlement of one at least of her problems, that of Kashmir. He would have rejoiced to see India's role in the United Nations today. A very unusual, a very outstanding man, of whom India, and South India in particular, may well be proud. His great intelligence and his tremendous force of character have not received the full measure of recognition due to them.

J. D'Souza.

Bharat Sevak, Organ of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Lytton Road, New Delhi. Annual Subscription Rs. 5, Single Copy As. 4.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj was founded by a directive of the Planning Commission to mobilise voluntary social workers in order to secure public co-operation in

carrying out the Five Year Plan. The success of the Plan could not be ensured without the full understanding of its objectives by the masses, and by their co-operation in some of its essential features. While the great irrigation and industrial schemes are mainly the responsibility of experts and Government agencies, there are many important items of national regeneration like the anti-corruption drive, the organization of community centres, of student and youth camps, of participation in rural extension service, and in the campaign for small savings, and so forth, in which the public must take the leading part. The *Bharat Sevak Samaj* by bringing together the actual and prospective workers and directing their energies, was intended to ensure the success of the Plan in these important matters.

It must however be admitted that the idea has not "caught" to the extent required. This is chiefly due to organizational weakness, the absence of full time workers, and of clear directives regarding recruitment, objectives, and methods. There is energy, initiative, and the desire to serve. But they are scattered. They need to be unified and galvanized into activity. We believe that the publication of a monthly Organ of the Samaj is one of the means of achieving this end. Hence we welcome the first number of the *Bharat Sevak*, and draw the attention of our readers to it.

It is an illustrated journal offering a fair variety in subject matter. There are valuable articles on the role of the Samaj and the tasks before the Sevaks from Shri G. L. Nanda and Mrs. Deshmukh. There is a par-

ticularly inspiring article on the "Volunteer" as one of the makers of Modern India, by Mr. J. N. Sahni, which brings out, with concrete examples worth reams of precepts, what the volunteer has already done, and can do, for the rebuilding of India.

The journal will serve a useful purpose provided it maintains due balance between the different types of material which it should give to its readers—popular expositions of the items in the Five Year Plan, practical instructions regarding organizational matters like recruitment, meetings, finances, etc., and reports of the activities of different centres. Publicity of this kind will help to end the uncertainty of method and procedure which prevent the movement from growing up in many parts of the country.

We take this opportunity to draw the attention of our readers to another publication of similar import: *Kurukshetra*, Organ of the Community Projects, Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi 8. Annual Subscription Rs. 4. Single Copy, As. 6.

This is an illustrated and exceedingly well got up journal covering all the activities of Community Projects,—agronomics, sanitation, transport, education, recreation, etc. It consecrates considerable space to reports of work done in different Project Centres. It is true that the desire to supply solid matter makes the contents of the journal somewhat heavy. They do not fulfil the promise of its charming cover design to give its readers some hint of what may be called the "poetry" of rural life! But all in all it is a fine publication, and an indispensable document on the far-reaching rural movement in New India.

J. D'Souza.

History of Koh-I-Noor. By N. B. Sen. Delhi, New Book Society, 1953. Pp. 159. Price : Rs. 3-12-0.

It may look strange to mention the story of the most famous diamond in a review which month after month stresses the need of a more even distribution of wealth and the urgent problem of producing food, clothing and shelter for the millions. The "King of Diamonds and the Diamond of Kings" is more indivisible than peace and prosperity, and it is a typical piece of luxury, a thing of beauty and joy for ever which is enjoyed by the people only on very few solemn occasions.

Mr. N. B. Sen has pieced together the documents and legends about it in a easily read narrative. He is led to the crucial question : "What to do about it ?" He proposes his solution with detachment and world outlook. "Koh-I-Noor is meant for kings and queens. India is a republic and a republic has nothing to do with diamonds. Our President needs no crown. He is content with his Gandhi cap". Yet for the Indian people, it is "a symbol of our continuity as a nation, an emblem of our past glory, etc." Why should not the Queen of England offer it to India whilst at the same time the Government of India should ask her to keep it and wear it as a symbol of India's friendship ? A goodwill mission to India and a Durbar at Delhi would gracefully solve the problem. Unhappily in this sorry world of ours international problems are not always solved gracefully and politicians do not always nurse graceful feelings.

A. Lahuri.

SOCIAL CHRONICLE

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Panel of the Social Welfare Board appointed by the Planning Commission of the Central Government of India is actually touring the Bombay State. The Bombay State possesses 26 Remand Homes. In one of them the Ymarkhade Home, the average of inmates is about 500, and last year 2140 children from five to sixteen passed through it.

Mrs. Krishna Hitheensing, Chairman of the Child Welfare Panel of the Social Welfare Board, spoke of the moral degradation of boys and girls, some of them smelling of liquor, others arrested as smugglers or distillers. One of them said he was obliged to take "daru" since he could not get milk or sugar for his tea. She added that drastic measures in dealing with prohibition cases had led to more and more crimes being committed. Her advice was "eradicate poverty".

In a very interesting article Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Director of the Avvai Home, writes to praise the move taken by the Minister of the Religious Endowments for the steps taken in utilizing part of the Devasthanana funds to create an orphanage for boys and girls. She does not see in marriage a remedy for the ills of the women. Many of them become widows or are deserted by their husbands, even when burdened with a number of children. Girls should be educated to be self-reliant and independent ; they may be trained as teachers, doctors, nurses, clerks, midwives, typists, etc. Marriage would naturally follow. It would

thus give them a profession should marriage-life prove impossible. The fact that the Hindu goddess is on a par in the temples with the god (and often she is above him, as becomes in matriarchal groups) should impel people to care for destitute girls as well as for boys.

She renders a homage to Christian missionaries, who inspired by a religious motive, have been the pioneers in women's education in India, and opened orphanages for boys and girls. While there are over 300 Christian orphanages (in the State of Madras) Hindu orphanages could be numbered on one's fingers. She appealed for volunteers to man these orphanages, and to the State to direct some money from the Devasathanas to girls' orphanages.

We agree with her that the girls should be cared for as well as boys to arrest juvenile delinquency.

In Part C States provisions have been made to deal with certain cases of juvenile delinquency :

1. No child and adult can be tried together for a crime.
2. The parents are held responsible for the misdeeds of a child under 14 and they will have to pay when he is fined.
3. In case of a crime, if the child is above 14, a judgment and a sentence can be given, and the child can be sent to a certified school till the age of 16 or 18.
4. In some special difficult cases it will be in the interest of the child or of the inmates of a certified school that the child should not be sent to such a school. In that case the Government shall be notified.

5. The report about a child shall be confidential, except in the case in which to divulge them will in no way harm the reputation of the child.

6. The convictions under this special Act will not be regarded as "legal convictions".

Under the direction of Principal, the students of the Hislop College, Nagpur, started a scientific social enquiry about the beggar problem. The field of the investigation was the Railway Station where 300 beggar children find their livelihood.

In the Station itself there is generally a contingent of 136 boys and 12 girls from 8 to 15. The rest beg in other stations or in the trains. Sixty of those children are without parents. Twenty-two are diseased.

Some of them return to town at night and sleep with their relatives. Most belong to the low-class, Mahars in particular. Some came from the South. The older ones get about Re. 1 a day for their food, their refreshments, their games. They are spending relatively much on gambling. A sadhu in the station directs them and lends them a tin in order that they may get a better earning. Ninety per cent of them make both ends meet.

A Boy's town would be the solution of the problem.

At the Chingleput Certified School a Minimum Security Act is applied to deserving senior children for Delinquent. They can go freely in and out of the school at certain periods of the day. They are given some responsibility in the management of the institu-

tion. The other day 12 of them accompanied 61 pupils from Chingleput to the Tanjore certified school. They succeeded in bringing their charges without incident. Among the 12 wardens, were two boys sent to the school for murder.

Meanwhile when according to old regulations 75 boys had to be transferred from Chingleput to Bellary 16 reserve Police Constables were mobilised and 4 members of the staff accompanied the children.

In some cities, children not wanted are abandoned or given over to creches and orphanages. They come already handicapped for life, diseased, underfed or suffering from malpractices by the mother to get rid of them. Under the best conditions, with injections, ultra-violet treatment, and medical attention one comes to an average of 50% survival. If less attention were given, the mortality would reach much higher proportions.

E. Gathier.



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2. To provide theoretical and practical training for social workers.
3. To serve as a centre of information about social works.

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HERE AND THERE

Factotum?

In democracies, a minister is the servant of the people. Usually his service is distinctly selective but India's Prime Minister is being turned into a factotum. He is called upon to do everything, and without him nothing is done of what is done. He is requested to open scientific research institute and village school, inaugurate thermo-plant and solar cooker, launch ship and toy-plane, bless new states, dairy-farms, and what not. He is asked to repair everything that goes wrong and settle everything that is difficult: state differences, party disputes, family quarrels, famines, scarcities, shortages, etc. In a country of India's size and complexity, it would overtax the competence and staying power of a superman.

Recently matters grew worse and he was requested to play the magician. Hardly had he admonished some people who touched his feet to correct their etiquette and to walk with an erect backbone, that a deputation of hunchbacks decided to approach him for suitable redress.

Everything is referred to him, anything is expected from him. Which goes against his deepest wish. For as a good democrat, Mr. Nehru has no desire to be idol, dictator or magician. He wants each and everyone to stand on his

own, to be as independent as possible, to strive after self-realisation through self-determination and self-help. But democracy is a style of life that is hard to acquire.

Cricket in Politics

It was a novel idea to organise a cricket game among our parliamentarians. It would be a superb plan to have another among the parliamentarians of India and Pakistan. Who knows, one day, the idea might be taken up at the U.N.O., were it only to swell the betting-taxes of undeveloped countries or to soothe the savage breasts among nations.

Cricket brings out a man's characteristics, not only his conviviality during the interval, but his reliability as a partner. In the Delhi game, an incident was symbolical. The Prime Minister had taken as batting partner Mr. Gopalan, the Communist leader, but at the crucial moment Gopalan failed to complete the run Mr. Nehru had easily completed. Our Prime Minister should take the leisure of reminiscing over his Harrow days; he would avoid the harrowing experience of unreliable partners.

Is It Cricket?

After a meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Mr. Nehru, in his private capacity, wrote a letter to one hundred and two princes, advising them to "accept" a "voluntary" cut in their privy purses. The yearly payment (some five crores) was the price agreed upon with the princes for their surrender of powers. In view of the economic and political benefits secured by the integration of the country it was a price low enough; the more so that it was to be limited to their own lifetime. Sardar Patel, the great engineer of national integration, had given his word that the commitments would be honoured as faithfully as the commitments to Britain.

As Mr. V. P. Menon wrote recently, "Viewed from the point of view of contractual obligations or of the Indian

nation's code of honour or from the fundamental rights included in the Constitution, the guarantees extended whether by way of privy purses or exemptions from income-tax have to be honoured." We do not fancy our princes to "accept" "voluntary" cuts. Then what? Is government not going to play the game? And if so, what of the other guarantees in the Constitution?

Secular Impartiality

The Madhya Bharat Assembly was at its liveliest when discussing missionaries among the Bhils. The Hindu Sabha urged that a committee be formed to examine missionary illegal allurements, improper influences and unfair proselytizing. The government benches retorted that Hindu contractors were ill-treating Harijans and Adibasis and driving them to the mission stations.

The motion was talked out. A secular solution, however, was indicated: a committee of non-Hindus and non-Christians investigating the improper pressure for or against conversion. In a secular state, economic, social or political pressure in matters of religion should be either ignored or tested both ways.

In Madhya Pradesh, things are no better. The famous Enquiry Commission has not yet started work, and the ancient Conversion Acts of the Ruling Chiefs are still in force. The motives of conversion must be assessed and judged by the police, and the psychoanalytical methods in mofussil thanas are well known. When will our legislators admit that the State is incompetent in the matter of conversion, most particularly a State deliberately secular?

A. L.

THE STORY OF A MEDICAL VAN

Mangalore is the hub of the social movement in South Canara. Most of the social service available in this well-shaded city is due to private initiative, and the Medical Van which makes the regular round of factories and slums is an original creation of civic minded volunteers. Its story might not have been written had not the Health Ministry of Delhi called for a report, from which the following notes were taken.

The Medical Van is one of the effective weapons of the Employer-Labour Liaison Committee to combat disease and unrest. It has had a run of only ten months, but its story is worth telling, for what was done in Mangalore can be easily repeated in many towns. The Employer-Labour Liaison Committee came into existence when prominent social workers met to discuss suitable measures to stop a paralysing strike of the dock-workers. The modicum of success it had on that occasion and the light which discussions had thrown on labour problems and their solution decided the social workers to set up a permanent organisation to look after the welfare of the city labour.

Labour we considered was under bad leadership; labour, had its own grievances many of which could not be satisfactorily solved by Labour and Employers but needed state intervention and public opinion and co-operation. The labour class moreover is identified with the class of the poor and the solution of the labour problem is tantamount to a large extent to the solution of poverty. On the solution of the labour problem in these disturbed times, depends the stability of society and the welfare of the State. Goodwill of the employers, state legislation, co-operation of the public are all needed for the furtherance of the object detailed above.

Hence the nature of the composition of our organisation appropriately called the Employer-Labour Liaison Committee. It consists of seasoned social workers, junior members that desire to be trained and to work as volunteers, members of the state and central legislatures. Hence the desire to get governmental and public bodies interested in our work, e.g., the Community Project department, Health Ministry, Government of India, the Municipality and the District Board, the Social Service Organisations of schools and colleges. Hence the large effort made to get the public interested in our work and render help.

The objects and ideals are many, but the obstacles though few are hard to surmount. Labour has built round itself an iron curtain of suspicion and hatred towards all those who do not belong to their class. How to get access to them, how to soften them and win them? That was the problem that confronted us from the very start and racked our brains. On analysis we found out that Labour could be made accessible by the solution of two outstanding problems — that of housing and medical relief. Medical relief according to us was the one which was more urgent and less difficult to be achieved. From the statistics furnished by the Inquiry Committee, which were placed before you at a former meeting, you found that 40% of organized labour, totalling 20,000 come from the adjacent villages, where there is no satisfactory provision for medical aid. Again, cashew and coffee curing works employing as they do women workers create a further obstacle in the matter of governmental medical relief already in existence. Mothers of families, in practice, have no leisure to seek aid from dispensaries, whether for themselves or for their children. In general factory workers cannot afford to lose their day or part of the day in queuing at dispensaries especially if the treatment is a prolonged one. Putting all these aspects of the problem together we were persuaded that the running of a Mobile Medical Unit, while meeting a need of the workers, would bring us into friendly touch with them and win their sympathy and confidence. This

was the background of the starting of our Mobile Medical Service.

The next step was the turning our objective to reality. We approached M. V. S. Kudva, Managing Director of the C. P. C. Company. Could he not donate a vehicle not too useful for his service, but which we could recondition, adapt and equip for our purpose? He was most responsive; he gave us a small sized bus, in tolerably good order which we tugged to a benevolent workshop; the social-minded Manager did the rest.

It remained for us to work out details the most important being the gathering of funds. In this connection we called at least three meetings, one of the General Body and two of the Executive Committee. The burden of collection fell mostly on the President and Secretary, both of whom agreed to live on a hand-to-mouth basis—that is to say to collect enough funds for immediate expenses for the purchase of medicine, cost of petrol, pay for the driver, etc. In practice they have succeeded to get enough money for the month ahead and thus several months have passed. The Total has been Rs. 2,942-15-2. But this will not give a correct estimate of the aid gathered. Much of it has been in kind: from whole-sale and retail dealers, from rice merchants, from Chemist firms, from Religious Congregations, from private individuals, etc. By way of illustration it is refreshing to note that one sick lady parted with some of her limited stock of drugs, because, she said, the poorer are in greater need. Of her it may be said, "Of her little she gave much". We boldly, at the very inception of our service, appealed to the Headquarters of the Red Cross Organization in Delhi and we met with a ready response and they have sent us a plentiful supply of most useful medicines of which we are already making a very good use. The widow of a diseased doctor also handed us the stock of medicines that was left over. The Canara Medical Supplies too gave us a large measure of reduction with the result that the payments made to them, came to Rs. 525-10-8. We would be

wanting in gratitude if we do not put on record the silent generosity of the Honorary Doctors who have brought from their own dispensaries such medicines as were not stocked in our Medical Van.

We thought that the task of securing the services of honorary doctors would be a difficult one. We were mistaken. We underestimated the social sense of those practising the healing art. We have five honorary doctors on our staff of whom one is a lady doctor, and of the total number, three have been most regular and have gone all out to maintain the Service at its highest. They are Doctors Giridhara Rao, U.P., Mallya and Nagappa Alva. We also secured the services of three qualified nurses with valuable experience. To help them there is yet another nurse who when the Van returns late in the evening and before it starts early morning, washes the bottles, compounds the mixtures and keeps everything ready for the Good Samaritan work. To help the doctors and nurses in their rounds of visits to slum and factory areas, there are two lady workers who maintain the registers, gather the workers and do other useful work. There are also young men of the Social Service Leagues of our local colleges who by turn take their place in the medical Van and do work which would otherwise be called menial, as fetching water, cleaning basins and bowls, and carrying patients when necessary to the Van for treatment.

The Mobile Medical Service Unit was opened by Mr. C. A. Ramakrishnan, I.C.S., Collector of South Canara, on March the 5th. The members of the servicing staff along with the Executive of the Liaison Committee and some well-wishers accompanied him to some fifteen factories. At every factory the workers were gathered and the purpose of the New Service was explained to them in a few minutes. It was encouraging that with hardly any exception the workers gave us a patient hearing and they seemed pleased with this gesture of sympathy towards them. We are most grateful to Mr. Ramakrishnan for his hearty support of our undertaking. Physically, the three hours we spent in visiting

the factories and repeating the programme must have been exhausting. But he said it was heartening. He was pleased with the tempo of public interest in social problems.

The regular service was commenced on March the 7th and it has been carried on without a break every day of the week except Sunday. We are operating in the Hoige Bazaar and Bolar areas where tile factories are located and round which are the slum areas given the dignified name of Labour Colonies. We have therefore the opportunity of attending both to the workmen and their families. For the first few days we visited individual factories in order to accustom the workers to our Service. The response encouraging at first, slackened at a later stage owing to Communist opposition. But we patiently persisted and were rewarded for it. Workmen, their wives and children are now coming in large numbers. The Doctors examine them, prescribe medicines for them, the nurses dress their wounds and give the mixtures and drugs for the next three days — all free. In addition soap, rice or some other nutrition is given according to the nature of the complaint and the need of the person. We have now divided the factories and slum areas into three zones and we visit each zone twice a week. Patients that need prolonged treatment or are in need of surgical aid are removed to the Government Hospital.

The Medical Van has become fairly wide known now. We may cite two instances :—One early morning a request came to convey a destitute cripple in a dying condition to the hospital. Without delay the van proceeded to the place and in a stretcher removed the patient to the Van and thence to the hospital. Again on the 14th of May, late at night word came to the Secretary that a poor man was seriously down with pneumonia in the Omzoor village about 18 miles from Mangalore. His son was in the Bondel village and his presence too was urgently prayed for. Without delay again the van with volunteers was sent to the Bondel village to fetch the son and thence it proceeded to Omzoor and halted on the road side. The volunteers with the stretcher crossed fields and hills to a distance of three miles,

brought the patient in the stretcher, put him in the Van and got him admitted by 5 o'clock the next morning. He has recovered as also that destitute cripple. These are indeed landmarks in the journey we have just begun. If a rich man can regain health with the help of money, a poor man ought to do so if we realize our social responsibility.

During the three months we have been operating we have treated in all 3,641 patients, including men, women and children. But we are not satisfied. We have as yet attended to but a small section of factory workers. We have still the Booloor, Kudroli, Konchadi and Kulshekar areas to attend to. We have the adjacent villages from which labour is drawn. We have yet to treat satisfactorily T.B. and Filariasis cases. But this far from frightening or deterring us is a source of encouragement. The small amount of balance will dwindle away in the month of June after we have paid the many bills which we have kept pending. But with God's Providence we have been able to carry on month by month. Though the extension of the programme implies multiplying the cost three or four-fold, there are encouraging signs in the horizon. From far away Delhi the Hon'ble Minister for Health has proffered help. The Red Cross Society which has already helped us will continue to extend to us a helping hand. The local public have been responsive. What is needed is to approach them individually and patiently explain the usefulness of the scheme. We are looking forward to the day when not only the town and the adjacent villages but the whole district of South Canara will have a Medical service for the poor. It may be an ideal but it is worth attempting. If the educated public could give even a part of their leisure for social service, if the rich could reserve only a fraction of their money they spend on luxuries, this would be a different world. We started our struggle for national independence with high ideals and now that we have achieved it, it would be fatal on our part to bury those ideals. It is certainly necessary that we resuscitate those ideals for the Social Rehabilitation of India.

W. F. Sequeira.

THE QUEST FOR AN IDEOLOGY

(Continued)

Personalism

The word person is not a new word, but the expression 'personalism' is certainly of recent origin.¹ It is meant to indicate a philosophy that draws its inspiration from the notion of person, and tends to build up its whole system on the basis of this underlying idea. It attempts to supply the missing metaphysical ideology on which our democratic institutions should be erected, if they are to escape destruction. The concept of the human person is certainly not new, since even the Greeks spoke of the high virtues to be cultivated by the individual person in accordance with the dignity of his nature. Of course the idea was worked out fully in Christianity, when the Christian philosophers dealt with the nature of God, Christ and Man. But in the past three centuries the notion of the person has either been completely relegated to the background in socio-economic systems like Marxism and Nazism where the State assumes complete control of the individual, or else slurred over in democratic systems where the individual is respected only on the day on which he casts his vote.

Personalism strives to bring out the value of the individual in the full light of day, so that all our social institutions may be orientated the right way in order to safeguard as far as possible personal dignity, freedom and way of life. Personalism holds that we are living in a universe of persons, of free and creative beings. But wherever there is freedom and choice, there enters an element of unpredictability into all our conclusions in regard to personal behaviour. Nor can we define the person in the way we define things exterior to us. The person is of our substance and we are fashioning it all the time from within. But there are

¹ *Personalism*, by Emmanuel Mounier. Routledge, London.

certain broad lines of development in the notion of personality which will serve to clarify the issue.

What am I?

I am a person. Every person is a centre of a multiplicity of relations. The strange thing about me is that I come to know myself only through my knowledge of others. It is only in the act of knowing something that I find myself thinking about an object and so I know myself as a thinking subject. But as I gradually get to know more and more about the world around me and consequently more and more about myself, I find that I am a being doomed to suffering and contradiction. I can find satisfaction neither in myself nor in the things around me. I find myself essentially a limited being, a dependent being. I long for happiness, but in vain. This desire is an active desire, an energetic desire. The Augustinian reflection comes back vividly to my mind when I ponder over the tragedy of my existence. "O Lord, Thou hast made our hearts for Thee, and they will never find rest, until they rest in Thee."

As a related being, I am linked with three spheres; the exterior world, the world of men, and God. I can distinguish myself from the exterior world quite easily. I know that I exist in time; my study of history and the daily events of life teach me so. More important than the exterior world of things in relation to me is the world of men. I am born and bred in a family, and spend my life in society, which is made up of a variety of associations catering for all my various needs. But in society while there is co-operation, there is also conflict, due to the fact that all men live in a state of tension. Men are torn by opposing forces of good and evil; tempted to evil, a man must persevere in good. While he realises he is imperfect, he must strive to be perfect. Impelled to disunity, a man must strive to unify himself. The great difficulties in the path of man lie in the twin forces of sex and pride that torture him unceasingly.

To yield to one's egoism, to satisfy one's sex or pride, despoils personality. On the contrary by voluntary consent

and adherence to the law of God and its corresponding controls in social life, a man can expand his personality. As the Gospel says, one saves one's life by losing it. The true existence of the person is founded on renunciation. Man is invited to a make an effort to build up his personality, to expand his personality, to grow mature. He must pass from anarchy to organised living, from disequilibrium to equilibrium, from slavery to real liberty.

Christianity and the person

The teaching of Christ stresses the value and the dignity of the person because the person draws its existence from the love of an omnipotent God, who created it out of nothing, and from a pure motive of benevolence. The person is meant for a very high destiny, the enjoyment of the eternal companionship of its Creator. The Creator Himself is not a blind fate, but a person. The purpose of human existence during this life is to achieve the end for which it was created. This the person will only be able to do by a profound change of heart so as to permit the divinity to take possession of his soul. With the divine grace he will be able to overcome his natural difficulties, and expand his personality and fit it for its eternal destiny.

Man is freely called to achieve this transformation of himself, this preparation for eternal bliss. He is essentially a free being. In a sense he is an absolute, since together with his Creator, he is the maker of his own destiny, the captain of his own soul. And he achieves his destiny through his social life here on earth with other men.

The Modern Conception

According to the modern conception, freedom is the essential mark of personality, the freedom to choose, the freedom to do what you ought to do. Even in respect of obeying a command, there can be freedom. The command can be freely obeyed only by a person. But unfortunately the liberty of the individual has often been misconstrued. The term has been torn out of its context. Thus the liberty

of man, his sense of freedom, his distinctive individuality, and his rights as an individual, have all received close attention in the 'Laissez Faire' system. The idea of the individual's right was stressed at the expense of his social duties. The result was that the sense of the community and of human solidarity was lost completely. Men became selfish and egoistic in the extreme. A violent reaction in the shape of Marxism ensued. But the great error of the Marxists has been to subordinate the individual almost completely to the collectivity. The liberty of the individual was lost sight of in the desire to achieve the common good. His freedom was curtailed to such an extent that he now became the prisoner of the omni-competent state. He lost his own identity in the life of the collectivity. Personalism strives to re-capture the notion of human liberty and to give it full recognition. But at the same time it does not deny the obligations to society that every person is apt to forget so easily.

Personalist Universe

The Personalist accepts a universe in which both matter and spirit are to be found. He further accepts that in man alone, matter and spirit are closely conjoined in a single unity. Therefore when prescribing for man both realities must be taken into consideration. To concentrate on one at the expense of the other will lead to disastrous consequences. Nor is matter to be considered as intrinsically evil, though it often becomes the occasion of a man's moral undoing. Even poverty, like riches, can ruin men. However man does transcend matter. He is free, he is not tied up to a rigid determinism which binds his spirit. At the same time, he is an embodied spirit, and matter for him is real. It is this sense of realism that characterizes Personalism.

Individualism

The person is not merely an individual. The individual is one of a species. But the person is a whole by himself, a

distinct unity with a distinct finality. He can never be subordinated completely to the good of the entire species. He belongs to the species, yet he transcends the species. In reality man always seems to be at war with man. Modern existentialists like Heidegger and Sartre focus much attention in their philosophies on this factor of hate and enmity among men, but men are naturally social animals, meant to communicate with each other. Men need society and are deeply influenced by the behaviour and the mentality of their fellow-men. Men are so made that together with others they form society, sustain its organisation, create its traditions. The more a person goes out of himself, the more does he realise himself. Sympathy, generosity, the giving of oneself, expand and build up the person. There is nothing so invincible as love; nothing so fulfilling.

There is thus a world of persons, each independent and absolute, but this does not deny the unity of mankind; all the individuals of the race share in some mysterious manner the successes and the failures of mankind. Indeed this notion of a single humanity is at the basis of every discussion on the equality of man.

Inner Life

Personalism cannot forget the riches of the inner life of man, riches that are only experienced when a man withdraws himself from the bustle of life into the inner sanctuary of his soul. To keep oneself too absorbed in exterior things is to depersonalize oneself. All the same, social existence has its limits. Beyond its frontiers lie the private individual existence of every man, that is his sole preserve and that of his Maker.

The Outer Circle

Unlike the individual, the person cannot be merged into the collectivity. It is ringed by an outer circle of defence against the cruel advance of those who could encroach on its privacy and absorb it. One area of personality is taken

up with the defence of its rights as a person. It is not necessary for the person to be an outstanding superman of the Nietzschean type. Every single person, whatever its capabilities forms a centre of opposition, of force against the inroads of surrounding ambitions. There is nothing wrong in this since life is a struggle; and all struggle signifies violence. Fortitude is the great moral virtue that should be the prized possession of every person. The rights of the person, such as his liberty to speak, write and act, to lead a private life of his own, to receive just treatment from the state, to obtain education and the opportunity of earning his living in a human manner; all these rights make the person a conspicuous entity out of the common run, and raise it to a very high level of importance.

Freedom

We have already spoken of freedom as the specific characteristic of the person. It pertains to the very essence of the person to be free. All personal action and therefore responsible action implies freedom. This is a fundamental postulate of personalist philosophy. It rejects determinism entirely. Men are the captains of their souls, the makers of their own destiny. Men must act, and in order to act must be free. All existence is active in one way or another. Freedom to act is thus a cornerstone of personalism.

Social Order

Finally it is on the basis of the right notion of the person that the new social structure must be built. Both the family and the state are by their very nature meant to serve the needs of the person. The state in particular is for the person, not the person for the state. At the same time, since the person is an embodied spirit, the total reality, both body and spirit, should be taken into consideration when prescribing for improvement in social conditions. To neglect the material at the expense of the spiritual will only result in frustration and ultimately in revolution. Economics is as important in this matter as religion. Neither can be neglected.

ted. It is only by catering for both aspects of a single reality that we can hope for the satisfaction of human desire and the possibility of human progress and personal advancement in a very imperfect world.

Conclusion

From all that has been said, the important bearing of the personalist outlook on practical life, should be immediately evident. On a variety of issues, an adequate concept of the person is necessary to determine the angle of approach and the kind of solution one could give to every human problem. Take the case of the employer-employee relationship, which is so often marred by human passion and human hate. Or that of the relation between the citizen and the state. The personalist metaphysics provides the right balance required to prevent conflict and ensure co-operation between the two sides. Indeed all communication between men should be imbued with the same fundamental outlook on the human person. This should form the accepted complex data in any attempt to build up the right kind of political ideology and its corresponding social institutions.

Are men's minds groping towards such a desirable goal? Two world wars, the horrors of the totalitarian regimes, and the failures of agnostic democracy, have made men realise that they must pivot all their schemes of decent human living on a correct evaluation of the human person. The International Committee set up by the U.N. for the Declaration of Human Rights is a bold, if belated, attempt to understand man and the deep necessities of his nature. Once these rights have been admitted by all nations, the moulding of political and social institutions to give them embodiment will gradually be achieved. As a matter of fact the various declarations of rights contained in the constitutions of several states are really meant to ensure and safeguard the privileges of every citizen in his capacity of being a human person. But the term 'person' is still only a vague concept. It needs to be given its full connotation in our

modern world of growing state power. Even the mention of the term however and the importance attached to it in recent years are welcome indications of how gradually, yet steadily men are advancing towards the goal of a Personalist Society.

A. Fonseca.

THE PRODUCER'S REHABILITATION

Social sciences which have to face many ugly facts do not feel shy of ugly words. Possibly the ugliest is one which has become usual: de-personalisation. It indicates the debasing of man, his being shorn of rights and liberty, enslaved, treated like chattels, profitable goods, marketable commodities. This vicious phenomenon happens in totalitarian dictatorships, it happens in economic liberalism, and what is more unexpected and more ominous, common parlance takes the fact for granted. Not only capitalists but well-meaning democrats unblushingly talk about labour market, factory hands, labour turnover, etc. It all looks as if a manual worker had lost his soul, and as if everybody was resigned to take him as a machine, a machine attached to other machines, made as neatly automatic as possible, with gestures commanded by mechanical gadgets, with a rhythm of movements in unison with fellow-cogwheels and with a productivity regulated to a nicety. No individuality, no initiative, no dignity in his task.

Results: no interest in the work, no satisfaction in production, industrial fatigue, unrelieved boredom, atrophy, moral shrinking, disgust, despair; a robot, a cogwheel, a degraded, mutilated animal. Socially speaking, as Auguste Comte already noted, the proletarian is cut off from the en-

terprise; he is camping in a factory as a nomad in the desert. It is no home to him, it is a hell.

As Mr. Cabault wrote,¹ "the evil of the labour world is not only a matter of money; it is above all else the question of a human vocation that has been wrecked, a call to creative work, a call to greatness through progressive development." Undoubtedly material conditions are vital for a workman as for anybody else; but this, when it is attended to, is regarded as a requisite for quantitative production. Salaries are given by employer to keep his human tools in good condition. Salaries are claimed by the worker and urged by social reformers to provide for his needs as a consumer, and they are supposed to give him a choice over a range of commodities and so to provide him with the whole amount of liberty and dignity he needs and wants. But liberty and dignity should be claimed and given him not only as a consumer but also as a producer. They are not less involved in the process of production.

It is amazing that in our highly technical age capitalists, managers, engineers are keen on knowing everything possible about materials, machines and tools; they know or try to know all they can about coal, water, ore, about hammer, chisel, gadgets, machines and machinery; they know or seek to adapt themselves and their inventions to the characteristics of each and every material and tool, to submit to all the peculiarities of elements, to treat iron as iron, wood as wood, steel as steel, etc., but they never, except lately, guessed that they should treat man as man. They even attempted to make him as little human as possible, to reduce the share of his mind and will to a minimum and to turn him into a subservient automaton. Mr. David E. Lilienthal might advance that Big Business is a "social institution that promotes human freedom and individuals," but he limited the range of liberty to the economic choices of a consumer and had nothing to mention about the dignity and liberty of the

¹ *Revue de l'Action Populaire*, April 1931.

First Steps in C. S. A.

20. THE GUILD SOCIAL ORDER

(CHRISTIAN SOLIDARITY—II)

SECTION I. THE GUILD SOCIAL ORDER & STATE CORPORATISM

The Guild Social Order, made up of Vocational Groups, "is essentially a system which sets up a professional authority with the duty to promote the common welfare and general interest of the profession, and with the consequent right to enact laws binding on all who follow the profession and to represent them before higher authority." (Guild Social Order, p. 21. C. S. G. Oxford.)

The "higher authority refers to the State, which recognises the authority of each Vocational Group elected from within each Group and in control of the Group's internal affairs. This authority of the Vocational Group binds all who, though free to join any industrial profession, may not evade it once they are in any profession.

The Catholic Social Worker must make a clear distinction between the Guild Social Order advocated by Pius XI, and the systems of State Corporatism established by some National Governments after the first world war.

State Corporatism denotes an economic organisation or union in which, "The State," writes Pius XI, "grants juridical personality to the union, and thereby confers on it some of the features of a monopoly." Moreover, in such corporations, "strikes and lock-out are forbidden," and they tend to have "an excessively bureaucratic and political character" which "ends in serving particular political aims rather than in contributing to the initiation and promotion of better social order." (Q. A. sec. 93-95.)

SECTION II. THE GUILD SOCIAL ORDER & TRADE UNIONS

"A Free Trade Union within an Organised Profession" is the belief of all who support the Guild Social Order. In a former lesson we examined the association of workers and employers and we

found that they are the natural outcome of the principle of association and the right of association, as taught by Pope Leo XIII in his *Rerum Novarum*.

In the history of industrialism, the trade unions have been fighting machines for the rights of the workers, and as such have tended to become "class organisations," because they group together only wage-earners. Modern trade unionists recognise more and more that the interest of the working-class is bound up with the prosperity of the whole industry, and therefore, the interests of the workers demand also the good of the whole industry. In other words, a closer collaboration between workers, management and others in industry is necessary for the welfare of the working class. Pope Leo XIII pointed this out when he wrote "Capital cannot do without Labour, nor Labour without Capital." (R. N. sec. 15.)

Now the Guild Social Order, without doing away with Trade Union, aims at safeguarding the interests and welfare of the workers within the framework of the Guild, while allowing the Trade Unions to function in their own sector of a trade or industry, for the important purpose of furthering the welfare of the whole industry. In fact, within the Guild Social Order, the Trade Unions have a wide and important duty to perform. Perhaps, the most important duty is educational, that is to say, these modern unions should insist on the fact that the workers' prosperity is bound up with the prosperity of the whole trade or industry; that the workers cultivate an alert sense of their rights and of their responsibility for their own welfare and for the common good. It is through the Trade Unions, chiefly, that the industrial workers must learn that the pride of profession becomes a furnace as much as it does the most skilled lawyer or surgeon.

Hence, the modern development of Trade Unions and the growth of industrial organisation make it clear that there is not only a place, but a positive need of our Free Trade Unions within the Guild-Social Order.

SECTION III. TOWARDS A GUILD SOCIAL ORDER.

While explaining the Social Guild Order, Pope Pius XI, in *Quadragesimo Anno*, has a word of praise for the ancient guilds of the medieval age. These ancient guilds, he says, "though by no means perfect in every respect, corresponded nevertheless in a certain measure to right reason according to the needs and conditions of the times." (sec. 97.)

The Guild Social Order which the Holy Father advocates does not, in any way, mean a return to the ancient Craft and Merchant Guilds of former times. These Guilds served a very useful purpose in a more simple economic system, and helped to build a social and economic life free from most of the dangers of insecurity which afflict the modern workers.

Today with the failure of both Capitalism, and Economic Statism, there is need of some kind of an organisation which will help build up a secure social order, just as the ancient guilds helped to build in a former period of history. That organisation is the Guild Social Order. There are, in fact, both social and industrial tendencies which indicate that the idea of the Guild Social Order is gaining ground in modern society. Of these tendencies the most important are: the view that business and industry are not the concern of employers and workers alone, but of the whole community and the common good: that commercial and industrial people have a public duty to perform.

In advanced industrial countries, the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils, and committees composed of representatives of employers and workers to deal with industrial disputes indicate a tendency to organise the industry on the lines of the Guild idea. On the economic side the tendency to develop industry on the Guild idea is slow, but not entirely wanting. The era of the large scale industry and industrial unit, except in some heavy industries, is giving place to the smaller industrial unit, in which Labour-Management relationships can be more cordial, and which allow a better opportunity for the spread of the Guild idea.

SECTION IV. THE GUILD SOCIAL ORDER & CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION.

In the first lesson of this series we said that the aim of Catholic Social Action is to remove the cause of social disorder, and to rebuild society on Christian principles of life. This implies a two-fold activity: a reform of moral conduct and a reorganisation of social institutions.

In working for the establishment of the Guild Social Order, all Catholic social workers will find ample scope and opportunity for the exercise of this twofold activity. In the first place, the Guild idea of the common good of the whole of society must be spread around: next, the need of collaboration between all who work in the same industry, must be a subject of study and example: espe-

cially in our Trade Unions, the workers must be able to realise that theirs is a place of pride in society, and theirs also is a job of responsibility towards the whole human family; Catholic social workers in Employers' Federations must study ways and means so that employers tend more and more to share the responsibility of industrial affairs with the workers.

Catholic social action has its specialised sections for workers, employers, farmers, mechanics, and so on, to "educate the members to an understanding and practise of the duties of their status of life which includes their vocational duties." (Cardinal Pacelli to the President of the Semaines Sociales de France.)

READINGS—

Same as in Lesson 19.

Guild Social Order, Catholic Social Guild, Oxford.

Von Nell-Breuning: Reorganisation of Social Economy.

EXERCISES—

1. Define Guild Social Order.
2. Mention the difference between the Guild Social Order and State Corporatism.
3. What countries established State Corporative Organisations?
4. Does the Guild Social Order do away with Trade Unions? Give reasons for your answer.
5. Explain how Catholic Social Action may advance the development of the Guild Social Order.

C. C. C.

producer. And so the process goes on merrily; matter enters the factory and comes out ennobled; man enters and comes out stunted. The stunting could not go on indefinitely; the inner spring of the worker's soul could not be compressed beyond all limits, and social reformers, workers themselves, have at last come to realise the sub-human or inhuman character of their daily task. The growth of self-consciousness has brought about the revolt against conditions of work. Workmen claim not only better wages for their consumption needs; they claim a new style and tone of work for the sake of their dignity as producers. It is not a Marxist rebellion, it is a humanist revolt.

The labour problem will not be solved with better wages, not even with living family wages. It demands a heightening of the human aspect in the productive processes. It is high time it should receive attention in India. In Europe and America it took time to mature and to be faced on a wide scale. India need not take the same time; as she is profiting by foreign discoveries and inventions, she should benefit by foreign experience and reform on the very threshold of her industrialisation. Centuries of oppression failed to kill the human soul, even in the lowliest of the classes among which unskilled and semi-skilled labour is recruited; but the damage is deep enough and it would be criminal to delay the remedy. The remedy lies in discovering and tapping all the sources of interest labourers can have in their work, to kindle in them a human interest parallel to the employer's interest and to integrate labour into the economic concern. Both employer and worker are authentic children of Adam and Eve and all seek three kinds of satisfactions in their life. They must meet their material requirements, their mental ambitions (technical labour), their spiritual aspirations which go with their own standard and which may be most keenly felt by the poor and lowly. The style, manner and tone of production have as much humanist value as the level of consumption. Humanizing pro-

duction can transform the worker's life since two-thirds of his waking hours are absorbed in factory interests.

Employer and employee are made of the same clay and have similar reactions when placed in similar conditions. As a young French employer remarked, "we must try and find a rational and healthy equilibrium between all the forces and tendencies which are at play in a business and integrate them into a united hierarchy."²

This search for a desirable integration is a well marked effort since World War II; it has been embodied in plans like co-partnership, co-management, etc., which are mooted in Europe. But even short of such revolutionary changes and large-scale reforms, much can be done. Possibly the most inviting, because the most realistic, approach to the problem was made by the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.); it was an approach which involved the least disturbance in the present economic set up and forestalled all school discussions so that it could easily be adopted and followed. The O.E.E.C. took the responsibility to initiate, finance and organise what are called "productivity centres"; such centres are meant to increase not only production and consumption, but also better material, mental and moral conditions in production and especially a closer harmony between the various factors of production.

The idea and the word had an origin which makes them suspect in the eye of social reformers. As Mr. J. Fourastié noted in the *International Labour Review* (April 1953), productivity is a term we owe to engineers whose aim was "to promote steadily increasing quantities at steadily decreasing cost, i.e., with a constantly diminishing expenditure of the energy and labour. It is a technical check upon the manufacture designed and calculated by engineers for engineers and based on technological concepts of technical progress and scientific management." Economists were quick to adopt it; sociologists followed suit because they saw its

² M. Dubréuil in "Jeunes Patrons", May 1951.

importance in social development, but they made its human connotations explicit.³

In the words of Mr. Fourastié, "technique is never regarded as the end of the action undertaken. Technique is no more than a means of stimulating economic progress and economics are not an end in themselves but merely a means of achieving social progress. The sole purpose of the European effort towards higher productivity is thus the achievement of social progress."

Under present conditions, a beginning of social progress can and should be made through a rise of the purchasing power of wage earners and consequent living standards. But rehabilitation involves not only the command of necessities and comforts but also the feeling of liberation from penury, as well as a provision for leisure, recreation and cultural pursuit. Higher productivity in electricity does not only allow a workman to devote less labour-hours to purchase his lighting facilities but permits of educational aids, radio audition, road security, etc., and helps him to shed the feeling of oppression from destitution.

On the other hand the spirit of this after-war effort was revealed in the method which was followed to promote productivity all over the European continent. Much was due to American initiative which acted as a stimulant or as a catalyst of the after-war effort. It was also largely due to the presence of the U.S.A. that communist-dominated countries kept away from the movement and that the left-wing trade-unions of France and Italy oppose it. In the seventeen countries which joined the movement deliberately, a strong spirit of co-operation was evident; engineers and technicians, economists and social workers, employers and employees, all showed the same purposive interest in the theory and practice of productivity and a like earnest desire

³ However enthusiastic, Mr. P. Drucker may be about productivity as a new concept of capitalism, (*The Saturday Evening Post*, 19-1-53) his main approach seems to be based on the idea that the philosophy of business is still a good piece of business.

to come to harmonious decisions. Hundreds of productivity teams went over to North America.

They were all tri-partite (workers, engineers, employers) ; tripartite also their studies, researches and decisions. The productivity centres which were subsequently started are frequently non-profit organisations of private individuals and trade-unions (Austria, Belgium, Switzerland) ; elsewhere they are mixed, a public policy-making body and a private executive agency (France) or they are official bodies (Italy, Denmark). All centres are guided by committees varying in composition (government, workers, employers, experts) ; in all of them trade-unions are represented, (when they do not boycott the whole idea as leftist unions of France and Italy do).

The productivity centres analyse the reports of the visiting teams ; they check and adopt the relevant conclusions by using their own research facilities or by subsidising research firms or associations ; the work includes technical studies, pilot plants, pilot trade, statistical measurements and publicity. The research bears on the calculation of productivity, the human relations within the concern, the wage system, work simplification, restrictive practices of employers, distribution, etc. Seminars, lectures, pamphlets, all available means of publicity are used for study and propaganda ; also travelling exhibitions, study circles, congresses, university courses, scholarships, etc. Lecturers, films, information, etc., are supplied from the centres.

Mutual help is freely given ; and if the centres in the different countries have their local features, they owe their existence to the Council of the O.E.E.C. (May 1950) and are in touch with parallel organisations in the U.S.A. and Canada. As Mr. J. Fourastié notes, "Europe wishes to retain the poetry and stability of her traditional civilisation and also to acquire the high living standards of the most advanced nations . . . The drive for higher productivity does not entail compelling men to adopt certain measures but

rather showing them the social and economic consequences of doing so."

The information, organisation and results of the productivity campaign in Europe were given the widest publicity ; some nations hurried to follow the lead, others showed and still show a lack of appreciation and prefer to retain their old tenor of life rather than taking the trouble that goes with progress. It is a matter of concern not only for governments but also for employers and workmen. It is only through the co-operation of all classes* that the standards of the masses can be raised. Mr. Fourastié terminates his study with ponderous oratory : "The important fact is that all those who have studied and examined the question closely have realised that productivity is a willing horse ; it knows neither country nor frontiers ; like science it is universal and has the future stretching before it. It may stumble over an obstacle but it will rise again with renewed determination ; and long after we, the pioneers, are gone, our children will find it still pulling vigorously and spiritedly at the ponderous chariot of human progress."

The Indian chariot which was reconditioned with independence should do very well with the spirited colt, which is given a thorough grooming by the I.L.O. team our Planning Ministry invited a few months ago.

A. Lallemand.

* Mr. P. Badin in *Revue de l'Action Populaire*, underlines the necessity of close co-operation between industry and experts in the psycho-physiology of labour.

VILLAGE UPLIFT

(A SANTAL EXPERIMENT)

It was early in the month of August, and the welcome monsoon rains refreshed the country-side of the Santal Parganas, in Bihar. In the village of N—— the rain fell steadily all day till every lane and road was turned into a small torrent which cut deep into the foundations of huts, demolished fences and swept refuse-dumps into the wells of drinking-water and the outlying fields of the village. Protecting herself, as best she could, from the gusts of strong wind which almost forced the umbrella out of her hands and which blew the ends of her sari in a mad tangle, Martha, a young Santal social worker, followed the main road from the centre of the village till it was lost as a cattle track between the now flooded fields. This "adventure in the rain" was undertaken so as to obtain first hand knowledge of the damage done by the heavy rain in the village, and to study the possibility of preventing the pollution of the community's water-supply; for it was a well known fact, that this village, especially after the monsoon season was over, was subject to illness and disease caused, for the most part, by the contamination of the sources of the village water-supply.

Martha is no road engineer, nor yet a sanitation expert; and indeed, her academic qualifications would drive to despair all those social-welfare pundits who tend to equate practical efficiency with "scientific training" and high academic qualifications! It is doubtful whether she has ever left the boundaries of the Santal Parganas, and is even acquainted with those made-to-order blue prints of social welfare and rural rehabilitation, so often found in our textbooks and programmes of village uplift. In fact, though the method of this social worker may be termed "primitive" by those who follow "scientific standards", it is a working method which gives successful results, and perhaps, it would be no exaggeration to say, that the secret of her success lies

in the employment of a method of work which is compounded of much zeal, devotion to duty, unselfishness, an excellent knowledge of local conditions and the people, practical observation and little public money!

Occasionally Martha would stop, and protecting herself as best she could against the wind and rain put down a peg or make a mark on a wall or hut. She usually employed three such symbols or marks: one to indicate the place where the eroding force of the water threatened the foundations of some dwelling-place; another to mark the place where the rushing waters swept away a manure heap, and a third to fix the locality where the overflow of water tended to contaminate the water-supply of the village. As the survey of each village lane and road was completed, Martha would seek the friendly shelter of some hut, and there, from within the folds of her sari, she would produce a simple map of the village and transfer on to it these symbols so as to have a more permanent record of the various localities which demanded care and attention. Often, to a mystified band of village people who gathered around a very wet and damp Martha, to witness her map recordings, she would patiently explain, as only a child of the village could do, what was the end and purpose of her "adventure in the rain", and how, unless these danger spots in the village were attended to, the whole village would be endangered and be a disgrace to every inmate of the community. With that sure practical knowledge which knows how to arouse the interest and co-operation of the village folk, Martha would choose to make her map recordings in a hut the foundations of which were threatened by the rushing waters. Nothing, indeed, is more conducive to arouse people's zeal for social uplift, as when the benefit comes to their own homes and property! Thus, by the time Martha had completed her survey and made her recordings, she had also achieved the task of gathering around her a fairly large group of willing voluntary workers, all anxious to help in the work of reconstruction, and who, perhaps, for the first time, dimly guessed the value of co-operative work and mutual aid.

Obviously, the "adventure in the rain" did not end there, for only half the work was done. In these parts of the country, there is usually a lull in the rains towards the latter half of August when the young rice plant is transplanted. Making use of this spell of dry weather, and using the recordings on her simple map of the village, Martha, with a group of young voluntary workers from the village, would dig temporary drains, throw up earthwork to protect endangered sites of houses, allocate new sites for manure-heaps and protect the water-supply of the village by safeguarding the wells against the inflow of rain water from off the village lanes. Later in the year, and when the monsoon had become a thing of the past, Martha's construction squad would check their work, and consolidate and finish their temporary drains and earthworks. While these operations were in progress, like the experienced social worker, Martha did not lose this opportunity for training the young people in the appreciation of the social value of team work. She would explain to the young workers, the meaning and implications of "living in community"; and from numerous examples drawn from the village life she would illustrate the fact, the welfare of one is really the welfare of all in their community. It is interesting to note that this construction work was done by boys and girls during their off periods from school and on holidays; while the division of labour devised by Martha was according to the most urgent common needs of the village community; thus, the whole squad was put on to safeguarding the purity of the village water-supply, and when this was completed, they were made to help recondition or rebuild the foundations of houses which were endangered by the rain; then followed the digging or widening of the drains in the village. Usually, Martha gave the young people the general outline of the work to be done, and then, carefully encouraged discussions and debates as to ways and means for implementing the plan. Perhaps, the most noteworthy point in Martha's plan is that no outside help was solicited, and all the work was

done by means of the material and resources found in the village!

Martha's social effort is not directed only towards the betterment of village lanes and rural sanitation. The social needs of every community are numerous, and the alert social worker soon discovers innumerable social problems wherever community life is established. Gifted with a sense of social alertness and responsibility, far above the average, Martha has grasped and understood the all important fact, that in our villages, there can be no secure social progress unless there is, among our people a process of mental rehabilitation. That is to say, the correct attitude towards social betterment must be built up in the minds of our people, and then, the effective desire for improved social conditions must be present and operate by the exercise of those civic and social virtues without which no free society can exist. It is common knowledge that these virtues must be learnt and put into practice early in life, if they are to help the individual to live up to the standards of decent citizenship. Martha has used the primary school of the village, as the training ground in civics for the young. In order to inculcate a sense of responsibility among the children, she divided the boys into groups of ten, and to each group was entrusted the responsibility of looking after a fruit tree in the orchard of the village. A spirit of team work and healthy rivalry was further introduced into the experiment by offering a token reward to the most efficient group. The result of the season's work was particularly gratifying; the harvest of guavas was comparatively more abundant than that yielded during those years when the trees were ravaged by marauding bands of village urchins. But, perhaps, more valuable than this material gain was the lesson which the young had learnt, in a simple and pleasant manner, of the utility of co-operative effort and mutual aid. Nor were the girls in the primary school of the village neglected. Like the boys, these children were divided into groups, according to the sector of the village in which they lived, and the field of operation of each group was limited to its own sector.

The advantage of this method of grouping was seen in that it helped the children to work near their own homes, and in surroundings familiar to them, so that within a short time friendly relations were established between these little social workers and the households in each sector. Once a month each group was responsible for a house to house survey, the principal object of which was determined by Martha. Each survey usually concentrates on one special point of social welfare and the children are asked to suggest ways and means of dealing with the problem: thus on one occasion the little workers would be asked to note the need of cleanliness in the houses; on another occasion their attention would be directed towards the lack of ventilation in the huts. Moreover, simple activities to train the children in the appreciation of co-operative effort and mutual aid are often organized: cleaning squads operate for both the home and village lanes; sewing classes help recondition their own personal garments, and among the elder girls a simple knitting class adds further interest to this useful form of activity; and basket-making to produce containers for many a house-hold article proves both instructive and useful. Such are but a few examples of the practical social effort of this ardent Santal social worker.

While it cannot be denied that much of Martha's social effort, perhaps, falls below "scientific standards"—the village drains are still of the open type and may be silted, and the water off the roads may still break down many an "earth and clay defence" and so ruin homes and spoil the water supply of the village—yet, it is no exaggeration to say that till such time as our country is able to afford modern equipment for rural reconstruction in every village and, what is more important, till it is able to train and produce the zealous, devoted and unselfish social worker, who can inspire others to an appreciation of social welfare and co-operative effort, the country is in urgent need of many other Marthas! It is not surprising, therefore, that a clever Project Officer has secured the services of this useful and tireless social

worker, who without any specialized training and, indeed, without any experience outside the boundaries of her own Santal Parganas, is helping to build the new India on the principles of social responsibility.

C. C. Clump.

WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

Under the auspices of the Unesco and of the Belgian Government, the Second World Congress of Sociology was held at Liege from the 24th August to the 1st September, 1953. The Congress was organised by the International Sociological Association and was attended by nearly 300 sociologists from some forty countries from all parts of the world.

Liege, the town chosen by the Congress, ranks third in population among the cities of Belgium. Primarily based on coal mining and steel production, the city of Liege is the centre of an industrial region of more than 500,000 inhabitants. The sessions of the Congress took place in the academic hall of the University of Liege.

The majority of participants were members of the Universities or of Institutes for social study and research. Public organisations and some of the United Nations social agencies like Unesco and I.L.O. were represented. To these we must add a good number of students of social and political science, and of people engaged in direct social work who also attended the Congress. Among the congressists one could see eminent sociologists like G. Friedmann, of the Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques of Paris, Prof. Ginsberg and Glass, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, Prof. Davy, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Paris, etc. The Universities of the U.S.A. were

largely represented. From India we could see Prof. Saksena, Principal of D.A.V. College, Prof. Maiti from Patna University, and Prof. V. Jagannadham from Andhra University. We regretted the absence of Prof. Ghurye, member of the executive committee of the International Sociological Association, and Prof. R. Mukerjee, who, though they had announced their participation, were not able to come. Prof. Mukerjee, nevertheless, sent two valuable papers on the "Social Structure and Stratification of the Indian Nation", and on "Intergroup Conflicts in India".

The Congress lasted a full week and was divided into four sections :

1. Social Stratification and Social Mobility.
2. Intergroup Conflicts and their Mediation.
3. Recent Developments in Sociological Research.
4. The Training, Professional Activities and Responsibilities of Sociologists.

The first section, the most important of the week, was concerned with the study of problems bearing relation with the concepts of 'social class' and 'social stratum', and with the study of social mobility, i.e., the passage of individuals through the different classes or strata. The papers submitted for this section, very numerous indeed, were classed into three different groups. The first group comprised a series of national and local empirical enquiries on social stratification and mobility, which showed the method to be followed in this kind of sociological analysis. The second group dealt with the social origins of professions. It was asked from what classes or social groups professions are recruited. Professional structure and mobility were analysed, and the relations between education and social mobility were defined. The third group of papers studied the possibility of cross-national comparative enquiries on the subject of social stratification and mobility.

The second section was devoted to the study of Intergroup Conflicts and their Mediation. After having considered the general theoretical and methodological problems, the

Congress passed to the analysis of four species of conflicts : international, industrial, racial, and cultural. In the session which analysed industrial conflicts an interesting discussion arose between the followers of the American approach or the "Human Relations" approach, and some of their European opponents. Prof. Knowles from Oxford University, and Prof. Sheppard from Wayne University presented a very interesting study on "Strike-Proneness and its Determinants". Prof. Saksena summarised his communication on "An Analysis of Labour Tensions in India".

The third section of the Congress analysed some of the recent developments in sociological research in different parts of the world. It also tackled the more difficult and theoretical problem concerning the object and method of sociology as such, i.e., what some would call the formal object of sociology. In this field opinions were abundant and varied. Someone even affirmed in an original paper entitled "The Future of Philosophy and the Sociological Methods", that sociology has taken the place of philosophy.

The fourth section though relatively brief was extremely interesting. It will suffice to quote the title of a few communication papers to show the importance of the subjects treated : "Standards and Ethics in Sociological Research", "A propos de la formation des sociologues en France", "Professional Activities and Responsibilities of the Sociologists in the United States", "Problems of Social Policy and Social Planning in India", etc. It was in this section that the necessity for the sociologist of an ethical code and of a Philosophy was admitted. Dealing of the responsibilities of the sociologists it was sad that, in general, the findings of social research were of no use to the ordinary social worker, and this because they were formulated in a way only accessible to a privileged few.

Fr. Ivern.

SOCIAL CHRONICLE

UNEMPLOYMENT

The crisis of unemployment arrests the attention of everybody ; first of the Government which has to find remedies, a difficult task ; of the Communists who paint the situation in dark colours in order to sow distrust and despair in the masses. One fact is certain. We have not got data reliable enough to gauge the situation.

The Planning Commission has adopted 11 devices to remedy it. They are :

1. Assistance to all small industries.
2. Expansion of training facilities where there is shortage of men in any industry. It would open new opportunities for semi-skilled labour.
3. Active encouragement to cottage and small industry by purchase of goods by the State.
4. Municipalities, private educational institutions should help in opening educational centres in urban areas. In rural ones to encourage the opening of one teacher schools.
5. To work for the national extension services : help education, etc.
6. To develop road transport, specially through private agencies.
7. To continue implementing the slum clearance projects, and to encourage the construction of houses for low income people.
8. To encourage building activities.
9. Planned assistance in favour of refugees and victims of periodic unemployment should be undertaken.
10. Encouraging of schemes for the development of power by private capital. The States are invited to review the question of power.

11. To establish worker training camps ; specially where opportunities for employment exists, when road construction could be undertaken easily.

SOCIAL WELFARE BOARD

This organization of social work is an autonomous body under the over-all direction of the Education Minister. Its aim is to help and give financial aid to other bodies in their social work and to integrate them in the Five Year Plan.

Mrs. Durgabai-Deshmukh is the Chairman of the Committee which comprises : 2 members of the Lower House, 2 members of the Higher House, 4 members representing respectively the Ministries of Health, Education, Labour and Finance, and five ladies, prominent social workers among whom is Mrs. John Mathai.

For its official meeting on the 12th of August Maulana Azad sent his best wishes and hoped that help will be given only according to merit.

The rules for the administration of the fund at the disposal of the Social Welfare Board are the following :

(a) Assistance will be mainly for developing welfare programmes. Grants for purposes such as acquisition of land and construction of buildings will be restricted to the minimum.

(b) Grants will be made on condition that the expenditure on an approved programme will normally be met on equal basis, i.e., the Board will meet 50% of the cost and the other 50% will be met by local contributions, which will include contribution by the organisation, by local bodies and by the State.

(c) The nature and extent of the participants and beneficiaries in the programme, the existing income of the organisations and the development potential will be taken into account in sanctioning grants.

(d) The assistance under this programme is meant not so much for maintaining the existing services as for reorganising

ing and developing them further and for starting new organisations in places where there is urgent need for social welfare work, but no organisation for it exists.

(e) The institutions will be open to inspection by the representatives of the Board.

(f) Grants sanctioned for an organisation for a year will be paid in quarterly instalments.

BACKWARD CLASSES

The number of scheduled caste people is officially 51,300,000; the scheduled tribes count 19,100,000 (and the Anglo-Indian Community 111,000). So that for every 1000 persons there 144 belong to the scheduled castes people and 54 to the scheduled tribes.

The Backward Classes Commission which was set up according to Article 340 of the Constitution, under the Chairmanship of Kakasaheb Kalelkar, has finished its investigations. The Commission was to decide about the criteria to be adopted in order to classify any group under the Backward Classes. It had the right to do so even for any section not belonging to the Scheduled Castes or Tribes.

In their Questionnaire the Commission asked whether a group was "poor"; or "too poor" or "primitive" or "far removed from centres of civilisation" or whether they were living in remote parts of the country without "means of communication".

The Commission takes for granted that the causes of backwardness are not economic but religious and it tries to look for them in the less savoury aspects of the caste system. Besides, the Commission does not care for individuals, whatever their number, but only groups. "It is not intended to dub or recognise mere individuals, whatever be their number, as backward. It is only when a known or distinguishable class or section is found to conform to these criteria, that it could be recognised as backward". (Explanatory note about Question II)

Mr. Nehru had given assurance in November 1950 that "the enumeration of Scheduled Castes among the Hindus is mainly for purposes of reserving seats for their representatives in Parliament..." Art. 16 (4), 46 and 340 of the Constitution make it very clear that "all State aid and facilities" are to be given not only to the Hindu Scheduled Castes but also equally to all other educationally and socially backward classes, whether they profess Hinduism, Christianity, or any other religion". Even if we accept the name of the Commission as "Commission for backward Classes" we know that there are "classes" other than "castes". In Europe there are classes of proletarians, sub-proletarians, etc. and the caste system as it stands in India does not exist. If there is in a particular group the same level of poverty, an absence of education there is no reason why such a group should not be looked upon as a class.

In Chapter XIX of the Questionnaire "Agencies serving Backward Classes" we find the following remark: "As a matter of national policy, how far is it advisable to leave the work of serving the Backward Classes to Foreign Agencies, especially those that are working with proselytisation as one of their motives? Is there any truth in the statement commonly heard that foreign or proselytizing agencies sometimes consciously or unconsciously foster anti-national feelings? What is the position in your State since the attainment of Independence?" (Question 153, 154 A & B).

This question betrays a religious bias, and the inquiry is beyond the terms of reference of the Commission. Since we are living in a secular State, religion should in no way be the criterion to judge the backwardness of a group of people, but only their economic needs. To give relief on the basis of caste, of birth, is to perpetuate the system which stands condemned by the very Constitution.

A project of Law will be presented to Parliament in order to make "Untouchability" a cognizable offence? We may doubt the efficacy of such a Law, but it is clear that

those who will propose it want to do away directly with untouchability, indirectly with the caste system as such. In practice "Untouchability" is one of the tests to give a group the right to receive bounties from Government.

Some schools had their grants taken away because they did not admit children of any creed or caste, generally on account of a trusteeship deed of the founder who wanted his foundation to be opened only to a particular community. The trustees, if they want to get grants, will be obliged to appeal to the Court for a mutation in the trust deed. This is a clear proof that Government does not want to recognise castes.

As an example of injustice done to Backward people we can point out to the eviction of 200 Christian families, which came to the Wynaad to foster the Government project of the colonisation of the hills. They paid a nominal rent and cleared the jungle, and built houses. Now, when the land is productive they are asked to vacate it. Already a few years ago a similar attempt was made but the anti-Christian bias was so apparent that the eviction was suspended. Today it is as encroachers that the Government wants to throw them out. Since a rent, even nominal, has been paid to Government and accepted by it, one does not see how there has been encroachment.

In Ahmednagar District, some Backward Christian families who have cleared some land were asked to vacate them if they were "Christians", since the lands were meant for Scheduled Caste. No answer within a week would be taken as an acknowledgment of their being Christians, and they would be evicted accordingly.

E. Gathier.

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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 social works.

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HERE AND THERE

Going Ahead

The ten-day camp held at Mysore by the Catholic University Students marked a decided progress on their Madras National Rally last December. It was the Federation in overalls; thirty-six lads from seventeen colleges, discussions on practical topics, visits to social institutions, social surveys, social endeavour, games and variety entertainments, even a camp journal. Students did the talking this time, all of them; an advance on Madras indeed, where they were made to listen. All took part in the surveys and reports, all did their bit in putting up a neat little school-building and in washing slum kids clean of age-long incrustations of dirt; certainly a noticeably big advance this. The camp journal was out each morning and read like the best racy journalism of the U. S. A. Really something is 'being changed in the student-world! Heartiest congrats to the Federation and its dynamic chaplains.

At the Turning Point

The Bangalore Catholic Summer School was a more ponderous affair, placed solid in the academic tradition. Learned lectures on the Mass and on Social Action, four public forums, one debate only, and plenty of desultory conversations; audience somewhat mixed, ranging from Ph.

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D's to pre-matriculates and undergrads. It all rather looked like a regular school running smoothly. A suggestion occurs to our mind spontaneously. Why not have such schools in many other cities, in Summer and in Winter? It would be one way of reaching a much larger public and spreading Catholic doctrine in all its depth and fullness throughout the land. Then possibly, Bangalore might be reserved for an elite that would discuss technical problems of the day, adumbrate a common policy for all-India concerns as well as trained experts for the different regions.

Such undertakings for organised study in common are necessary, whatever impatient apostles may fancy about immediate action; we must know whither we want to go before starting on a journey. The suggestion is worth taking up in the various provinces; Bangalore never dreamed of preserving the monopoly of a very meritorious enterprise.

On the Alert

The last session of the Central Parliament has awakened Catholic anxieties. The ministerial declaration on missionary apostolate is only a single straw showing which way the wind is blowing. At the centre and in the states, questions crop up and situations arise which demand the immediate attention of Catholics: for instance, prohibition of sacrifices in temples, diversion of temple moneys to charitable institutions, trust laws on charities and church properties, educational grants, etc. All such problems, even if they directly concern only the Hindu majority, are nonetheless of immediate interest to Catholics; green wood and dry wood will be treated alike. Many politicians in our country are secularists of a very peculiar brand, and it is high time they should be taught what the citizens expect of a secular State and of its Government.

Science to the Rescue

The Union Deputy Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research recently spoke of setting up laboratories

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in the neighbourhood of India's villages in order to bring the technical inventions of modern science to the rural population. A fine idea indeed! We would then be expected to watch solar cookers in every field, merrily cooking the ryot's simple midday meal, tractors by the score bumping into each other over the narrow bunds of fragmented holdings, harvesters performing all the ryot's heavy tasks, and bulldozers churning up his fields for the winter crop, and the poor villager sitting forlorn and forsaken in the midst of the noisy din of whirling and churning wheels. Is this a vision prophetic, or has it come to pass already? Strange as it may appear, despite the crores of expenditure on the Five Year Plan, unemployment is stalking the land with giant strides. Isn't this the problem that Government Ministers should tackle first?

Is it Decline

The Prime-Minister of Madras, who styles himself 'Anti-Communist No 1' recently maintained that the communists had reached their peak and were declining in power and strength. Was Rajaji indulging in wishful thinking? Not likely! He is too shrewd a politician to be so easily beguiled. Perhaps in the South, the Communists may be losing some ground, but as the Delhi weekly "Thought" points out, the Communists are concentrating more on the North, which is closer to the Soviet homeland, and where the chances of infiltration are easier. On the border regions there are not a few fellow-travellers. So let us beware of facile generalisations. We are only paying for the sins of our forefathers and our own, for the root cause of communism is social injustice.

A. F.

THE WELFARE STATE AGAIN

Two years ago, in July 1951, *SOCIAL ACTION* published an article by Fr. Nevett on the Welfare State. While it gave due attention to the theoretical implications of the concept of the Welfare State, it dwelt at greater length on the plans of the Government of India to promote general welfare, and discussed the practical difficulties of some of these schemes. The subject of the Welfare State is immense and complex, and so we think that no apology is needed for coming back to it, and to emphasise the doctrinal aspect at somewhat greater length. Our excuse is the insistence of all our political leaders, from the President downwards, on the occasion of the promulgation of the Five Year Plan, of the national goal of making India a Welfare State.

Catholics in particular need to study this idea of the Welfare State with care and a fair consideration of all aspects, because the more general reaction among Catholic social thinkers is to condemn it as being opposed to fundamental Catholic principles. They see in it a form of Totalitarianism, an effort to nationalise rather than to distribute property among the masses. They see in it dangers to the family, in its schemes of work for men and women, and in its provisions for health and social security. A typical instance of this Catholic opposition may be found, for instance, in the article "I do not like the Welfare State" in the *CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT*, December 1951, by Rob Lyle.

Concurrently with the Catholic opposition comes the attack on the Welfare State by the protagonists of economic individualism, the supporters of free enterprise and competitive industry, the strongest advocates of which are to

be found today in America. They are however not the advocates of extreme individualism so severely castigated by the Popes in their social Encyclicals. They admit such State intervention, direct and indirect, as would constitute an "Umpire State" rather than a Welfare State.

I think it is necessary to say at once that Catholics are not obliged to accept the extreme view indicated above. And further, in India, it would be positively wrong to oppose a reasonable concept of the Welfare State and to withhold the fullest cooperation with Government in measures intended to realise its welfare programme. There is certainly a danger in the Welfare State if welfare is understood in the widest and most comprehensive sense, if it is made to cover all sources of human happiness — material, aesthetic and spiritual. But that is not the sense in which it is ordinarily taken. The Welfare State means for us a State which provides a very large number of social services — education, health, care of the aged and the unfortunate. It may meet the expenses of these by taxes and by insurance collections. It does not therefore imply nationalization or radical redistribution of economic power. England for instance has become an advanced Welfare State without becoming totalitarian.

The fundamental reason why the State has to take upon itself the duty of providing social services, is that, in the last analysis, such intervention is necessary for the preservation of individual life, the maintenance of human dignity, and the creation of conditions favourable for the individual to attain his natural and supernatural end. Viewed from this angle, the Welfare State appears as the adversary rather than the ally of totalitarianism or dictatorship. The protection of the individual could be carried out in former ages when authority was less centralized, by subsidiary corporations like the caste or social class, or the City, or the Church, and by other independent corporations which had

effective means at their disposal to protect isolated or needy individuals. This organisation of society has been broken by the industrial revolution which has replaced the humane relationships of earlier society by the hardness and cruelty of ruthless competition. The desire to create the Welfare State is inspired by the consciousness of social responsibility in the face of this egoism.*

The Church too has recognized this expanding role of the State in promoting welfare. The Popes in defining the functions of the State have been emphatic in rejecting the tenets of liberalism and total "noninterference," and have freely admitted that the state has not only the negative role of ensuring protection and order but also the duty of supplying those elements of the "good life" which are beyond the capacity and the resources of subsidiary agencies to ensure. Pius XI, quoting Leo XIII, says emphatically. "With regard to the civil authority, Leo XIII boldly passed beyond the restrictions imposed by liberalism, and fearlessly proclaimed the doctrine that the civil power is more than the mere guardian of law and order, and that it must strive with all zeal to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, should be such as of themselves to realise public wellbeing and private prosperity. . . . The richer classes have many ways of shielding themselves and stand less in need of help from the State, whereas the poor classes have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State." (*Quadragesimo Anno*, para, 25.)

* See on this point a remarkable article by Canon V. A. Demant, "Christian Ethics and the Welfare State, in *THE FRONTIER*, July '52, reproduced in *CROSS CURRENTS*, Autumn number, '52. This basic reason was however already forcibly indicated by Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* para 78.

To this general evolution which has created the welfare function of the State and which holds good for all countries, we must add some forcible consideration peculiar to India. There is first the existence of vast numbers belonging to very backward classes — Harijans, Scheduled Tribes, and many others — whose emancipation was one of the foremost objectives of the national movement and whose complete rehabilitation and integration in Indian society cannot be achieved without constitutional safeguards and special legislation. The fact that these classes, already victims of social injustice, now tend to become the urban proletariat of our growing industries makes state protection for them all the more imperative.

Secondly there is a psychological reason of great importance which makes it quite necessary that the positively benevolent role of Government should be brought home to the masses of India. Social loyalty in India has been directed to the Caste and Community rather than to the State and the Nation. The national movement if anything weakened loyalty to the State because it was thus administered by a foreign Government. But our democratic method of government demands, if it is to succeed, a high degree of civic virtue and loyalty to the State. We are in the process of evolving a new social ideal. The beneficent role which the Caste and the Joint Family can no longer effectively fulfil, must be assumed without hesitation and without delay by the democratic State. Our democracy is already in danger because of corruption and inefficiency. Early and efficient implementation of welfare plans is an urgent need in India.

Thirdly the vastness of the country, the complexity of the social problem, the poverty of the people, and the consequent insufficiency of private assistance make it necessary that the State in India should undertake burdens which elsewhere private charity or subsidiary organisations might be able to shoulder. And if for this end the State undertakes

the exploitation of resources which private capital and technical skill are unable to utilise, some degree of State ownership of various means of production will become inevitable. Here again, there is nothing contrary to Catholic principles. "It is rightly contended" says Pope Pius XI, "that certain forms of property must be reserved to the State, since they carry with them a power too great to be left to private individuals without injury to the community at large." (*Quadragesimo Anno* para 114.)

The welfare role of the State being thus justified, it remains to note carefully the dangers inherent in it, and the limits which we must impose on it. There is an unavoidable dynamism in the very nature of government which tends to widen its sphere of authority, and usurp more and more power. Already, even in the interests of law and order, the State has to exercise powers that restrain civil liberty more and more, directly and indirectly. This will be accentuated with the increase in welfare schemes. Thus the very end of social welfare will be defeated — opportunities for the individual to develop himself fully, to safeguard "the dignity and worth of the human person."

As long as this regimentation confines itself to things material and pertaining to the temporal order, there is no need to fear genuine totalitarianism. But welfare programmes impinge on the moral sphere. As Canon Demant remarks, the Welfare State tends to become the moral State; to decide what is best for the general improvement of the people. Their decisions may involve ethical and moral judgments unacceptable to many citizens. We have only to think in our own country of legislation, actual or proposed, on religious endowments, on drink, on racing, on population control, on cow slaughter, to show the danger of real totalitarianism. Under this system the fundamental rights of individuals belonging to minority groups are in grave danger.

To limit an activity which tends to an encroachment on individual freedom, and to promote the elements necessary for the formation of national character, namely initiative, responsibility, practical ability and so forth, it is absolutely essential to maintain the great principle of gradation, the principle that the higher and wider organization should never undertake what subsidiary organizations can carry out. This is all the more necessary in India for two reasons. First, it is a form of national training necessary for the success of democracy. Secondly, because under the excuse of secularism and opposition to communalism, even healthy and useful group activities are being stigmatised and curbed. Certainly we want unity, we must become a politically homogeneous nation. But for this classes and communities need not, indeed should not, be suppressed. There is after all, as C. Rajagopalachariar wisely said, a good type of communalism. Social improvement, beneficent movements affecting the lower units beginning from the family, will not grow and prosper except through the vitality and inner cohesion of each of the communities or groups, — racial, cultural, or economic — which make up the country. It is the duty of all subsidiary organizations to keep up a vigorous life and make State intervention as far as possible unnecessary.

Here again, the luminous teaching of the Popes is there to guide us. "The State should leave to smaller groups the settlement of business of minor importance which otherwise would greatly distract it; it will thus carry out with greater freedom, power and success, the tasks belonging to it alone, because it alone can effectively accomplish these: directing, watching, stimulating, restraining, as circumstances suggest and necessity demands. Let those in power therefore be convinced that the more faithfully this principle of subsidiary function be followed, and a graded hierarchical order exist between various associations, the greater will be both social authority and social efficiency, and the happier and more

prosperous the condition of the commonwealth." (*Quadragesimo Anno*, para 80.)

But whether we deal with assistance by Government or by subsidiary agencies, there is one aspect of social service which should never be forgotten. Over and above the material help, the objects of our service need, and look for, human sympathy and understanding. Social justice should go hand in hand with true charity in the sense of brotherly love. It is this which makes the permanence of individual and private effort in social service indispensable. It is this which makes it necessary that the social services of the State too should be recruited from among men and women who have a sense of vocation and who will bring to their tasks a great love, a great understanding of the heart and soul of the sufferer. Catholics in particular should not forget that they are dealing with those who are the objects of Our Lord's tenderest compassion. "As long as you did it to the least of these my brethren, you did it unto me." Let me therefore conclude with the eloquent words of Pope Pius XII in his Christmas Allocution last year. "The great temptation in an age which calls itself social, — when besides the Church, the State, the municipality and other public bodies devote themselves so much to social problems — is that when the poor man knocks at the door, people, even believers, will just send him away to the agency or social centre or the organization, thinking that their personal obligation has been sufficiently fulfilled in their contribution in taxes or voluntary gifts to these institutions. Undoubtedly the poor man will receive your help in that way. But often he counts also on yourselves, at least on your words of kindness and comfort. Your charity ought to resemble God's. Who came in person to bring His help. This is the meaning of the message of Bethlehem." (*Tablet* Jan. 10th, 1953.)

J. D'Souza.

HOW THE MONNET PLAN WORKED

The results of the Monnet Plan have been fairly satisfactory, and in cases in which the targets have not been reached, the deficit is not serious. One of the most important and chief purposes of the Plan was to develop and increase domestic sources of power, and especially Coal, with a view to reducing, as much as possible, all imported supplies the purchase of which caused a heavy drain on foreign exchange. Since 1946 the extraction of coal has been operated on highly economical lines and by modernized machinery. So successful has this been and so steady the rise in coal production, that by 1950 France had raised its coal output proportionately more than that of any other country, including Great Britain, in Western Europe. This increased productivity led to other benefits; it made possible a 50 per cent rise in the wages of coal-miners, even though the selling price, in 1950, rose by only 13 per cent. By the end of the following year, nearly two-thirds of the total expansion programme, and 85 per cent of the work laid down for the 1946-1952 period had been accomplished. The programme for the expansion of *Electric Power* production presented many complicated features. It was not merely a question of pulling the industry out of the low productivity standards of the past, war damage had to be made good, more buildings, hydraulic dams, power stations and transmission lines had to be constructed. The execution of the programme was concentrated in the hands of the *Electricité de France* — the nationalised electricity industry — the Coal Industry and the National Company of the Rhone. To a smaller extent the railways are also helping to carry out the programme. By 1950 supply and demand had been approximately balanced and by October of the same year,

thermal electricity production had risen from about 11 milliard kw. hours in 1938 to 17 milliard kw. hours, and hydraulic energy production from about 11 milliard kw hours in 1938 to nearly 16 milliard kw hours. In pre-war days France was the only country in Europe with an important *Oil Refining industry*, and it supplied nearly 80 per cent of the country's needs. During the war four-fifths of the refining plant was destroyed and storage tanks, pipe lines and transport were involved in great loss. The modernisation programme, therefore, had to make provision for enlarged stocking facilities and increase and improve transport so as to meet the needs of an expanded home and foreign market. Together with this expansion, intense prospecting for possible sources of oil on French territory was undertaken, and so while in 1946 there was but one prospecting team, there were ten in 1950. In the same year, refining capacity was raised by three million tons, and the target for 1953-54 is about 19 million tons. Stocking capacity rose to nearly two and a half million tons at the end of 1950, while it was only one and a half million tons at the Liberation, and 3,300,000 tons during the pre-war period. Transport facilities have kept pace with the general improvement; and petrol barges, railway waggons and petrol lorries have been built so rapidly that not only have war times losses been replaced but figures for 1938 have been passed. 1953 brings brighter prospects for the oil industry, and with new investments in the Near East and the building of new pipe lines, it is expected that a total of 7 million tons will be received as against 1,700,000 tons in 1950. The installations and equipment of an *Iron and Steel Industry* may take any thing like three to four year to construct. And so the Monnet Plan for the production of steel did not begin till late in 1947. On the whole, the steel plants of France did not suffer much from the war, but they were generally old, and the whole industry was out of date. Yet despite the time taken to install new machinery and remedy the unhealthy condition of the industry, by the end of 1950

the French steel industry had reached a higher level of production than it had ever known—9,800,000 tons. It is interesting to note with seven per cent less labour, that is, 130,000 workers as against 140,000, production in 1950 was 58 per cent above the 1938 level. "The French steel industry will have caught up with a time-lag of 30 years" says the Monnet Report, "and will constitute a factor for first importance inside the European community." France is rich in iron ore, coming third, after the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. among the nations of the world, but the ore had to be worked in order to be useful to the nation. The steel target of 12,500,000 tons requires 30 million tons of iron ore, and moreover, the export market needs another 10 million tons. The real problem of raising the iron ore output, is one of labour, and being short of man-power, the French modernisation programme has concentrated on mechanisation. Progress made is quite satisfactory, and by the end of 1950, production rose to within six per cent of the 1938 level; underground workers were reduced by 20 per cent, and the total of employers by about 12 per cent. Mechanical loading has also made good progress. Whereas in 1935 only five per cent of the Lorraine iron ore was loaded by 32 machines, in 1950 more than 300 machines loaded 60 per cent of the production; estimates for 1953 show that about 470 machines will be loading 80 per cent of the total production. During normal periods, Thomas steel makes up more than 60 per cent of the total production, while the Martin Openhearth steel accounts for an average of 30 per cent. The difficulty in supplying plants with scrap now, is much more than it was before the war, especially with the development of the Openhearth steel production and that of electric steel, which made up 7.79 per cent of total production in 1951, as against 1.59 per cent in 1929. The following table illustrates the recovery made by the industry, according to production by process.

FRENCH STEEL PRODUCTION BY PROCESS

(in 1,000 tons)

	1929	1938	1950	1951
Thomas converters	6,679	3,735	5,450	5,845
Open-hearth furnaces	2,762	2,074	2,586	3,147
Electric furnaces	154	359	537	765
Bessemer converters and crucible furnaces	116	53	77	75
Total production	9,711	6,221	8,652	9,832

The first stage of the Monnet Plan covered the period from 1947 to 1951, and the following table gives a picture of the progress of the key-factors in the Plan over the last twenty years :—

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMIC KEY-RESOURCES

	Units.	1929	1936	1946	1951
Coal production	million tons	55.0	47.6	49.3	55.2
Electric power	million kwh.	15.6	20.8	23.0	37.7
Oil refining	million tons	—	7.0	2.8	18.0
Steel production	million tons	9.7	6.2	4.4	9.8
Concrete production	million tons	6.2	3.6	3.4	8.3
Tractors available	thousands	20	30	50	160

An interesting aspect of the Monnet Plan is economic planning and development which continues to be carried throughout the French Union, in such territories as French North Africa — Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. In these territories the population has increased from about 16,100,000 in 1936 to over 20 million in 1947. Each year the French National Budget sets aside important sums for the economic development of these areas. These credits, in 1949, amounted to nearly 63 milliard francs, in the following year it reached the 77 milliard franc mark and in 1951 it was well over 86 milliard francs. In addition to all this, important sums have been advanced by the funds which are at the disposal of the Plan. The result of these investments in the areas of North

Africa, has been the rapid growth of barrages, irrigation works, mining operations, various kinds of factories and housing schemes, all helping the economic progress of these territories. Another year or two, according to the Monnet Report, is expected to pass before the full effects of these investments in North Africa are seen ; and the Report is of opinion that for a long time to come, the economic development of these areas will have to depend on the State Budget for the necessary funds. In passing it may be mentioned that several building societies in Morocco are constructing better dwelling sites for the urban and rural population. Thus, the Interprofessional Moroccan Housing Committee, begun late in 1950 and patterned after French departmental committees, has studied and examined various ways and means of promoting construction. One of the first operations of the committee consisted in acquiring important areas for building by using bank loans guaranteed by the State, with the object of developing and arranging them and, then reselling them for cash, under the supervision of a government commissary, to companies or individuals desirous of building. In this way, at Casablanca, a first lot of 1,500 houses is to be finished by early 1953. The Interprofessional Moroccan Housing Committee aims at generalizing the rent-sale arrangement, so that Moroccans are given both the desire and the possibility of becoming owners. Another building society is the Franco-Moroccan Building Society which was created in April, 1951 and is concerned primarily with building houses for the middle and working class people. The company disposes of a research bureau, including engineers and specialized technicians, and devotes its activity progressively thanks to the funds put at its disposal by the State and various banking concerns responsible for its creation. In addition, important sums are advanced to the company by the French Fund for Modernization and Equipment. In 1952 it received from the Fund, the sum of 1,500 hundred million francs, and taking into account its other

resources, the company was able, in 1951, to set aside more than three million francs for its building programme. Within a year of its operation, the Franco-Moroccan Building Society planned to give more than 10,000 Moroccans living at Casablanca (central quarries) a dwelling conceived according to the principles laid down by the City-Planning Service. Two other groups will be provided for later on; and in other cities, especially at Rabat, the Society is working out plans for better and cheaper houses for the working population.

M. Jean Monnet, the General Commissioner of the French Modernisation and Equipment Plan, writing to the President of the Council, in May 1951, could say, "As at this date, the French economy has at its disposal more modern means of production than it has ever had in the past." And this could be said without taking into consideration most of the work which had been done in 1951; in fact, mid 1953 was the dead-line date for modernizing the basic industries, but already towards the early part of 1952, about three-quarters of the investments planned for this purpose had been made. The next few years are to be devoted to an all out drive for greater productivity. But this is not all, and the brains behind the Monnet Plan hope to make their effort the basis and foundation of prosperity for, not only France, but also for the European community of nations.

On December 12th, 1951 a Government decree ordained that by the end of June 1952 a second plan "for the modernisation and economic and social equipment of the metropolis and the overseas territories" should be made ready. This plan aims at covering the period from July 1952 to June 1956, and its special aims mentioned in the Government decree are, "the increasing of production and productivity in agriculture and industry conceived in view of the establishment of a European community." The last few words

of the Government decree are of special interest, and outline, at the same time, the long term policy of the economic policy of the country. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say, that behind frequent political crisis, cabinet changes and even party strife, France is steadily working towards the creation of a united barrier-free Western European Community, in which the pooling of material resources and free but friendly competition will furnish a mighty force for building a richer and stronger community of nations than the European Continent has ever seen. This final objective is emphasised by the progress report of the Monnet Plan, which calls its first part: "From the modernisation of France to the building of Europe." M. Jean Monnet from whose fertile brain, the plan for a cooperative European economy sprang, and who has presided over the Commissariat of the Monnet Plan, is now chairman of the High Authority of the six-nation Coal and Steel Community of Europe. While it would be foolish to deny that M. Monnet has taken on a task of much greater dimensions and difficulty than the working of the Monnet Plan in his own country, this should not daunt a man whose inspiration and energy are so largely responsible for bringing about one of the greatest achievements of modern economic planning in any country in the world.

C. C. Clump

MORAL REHABILITATION

Sexuality which makes for joint-procreation is a most sacred power. Mme de Beauvoir, the prophetess of existentialism, who referred to Catholicism as a religion "in which flesh is cursed" should have remembered that it believed the body is called to a process of divinisation and that Christ

made of sexual union, deliberate and definitive, an effective sign of grace, a sacrament and an image of His union with the Church. As Abbé Oraison remarks, sex ethics must cover both this fundamental notion and the concrete realities of life. "There is no break between sexuality and marriage. Marriage is indeed a sacrament which consecrates sexuality in its exercise harmonised with God's plan on the world. It consecrates sexuality with all the positive aspects of the sexual instinct, anatomical, physiological, nervous, psychological. It does not eliminate or diminish the central and essential importance of the sexual instinct in the full behaviour of a person. It rather makes use of it to direct and organise it for supernatural life."

This full and authentic Christian view of life must be held as the background of any discussion on sex ethics and in the rehabilitation process of case-work, which calls for more and more attention from qualified social workers. It sheds a prudery made of ignorance and calls for a prudence made of awareness. It militates against the "sexual taboo" so dear to psychoanalysts. It also recalls that sexuality is a soil on which grow the most damaging, degrading and glaring disorders in fallen mankind. Sex in itself is a substantial good: it has been profaned and damaged, but it has also been redeemed, rehabilitated and made available for spiritual life. Sex ethics cannot ignore either of the data of the problem, the spiritual component and the bio-psychical component of man.

Traditional doctrine states in no uncertain terms that the least knowingly wilful direct disorder in sex life is grievously sinful, since it goes against the normal process of joint-procreation which involves the calling of a new person into existence. Quite a few people are shocked or irritated that Catholic teaching on sexual ethics should be so emphatic and inexorable. The more so that it is not given as a rule for Catholics only (as would be a regulation

on church services) but as a declaration of moral law valid for all men. The only thing particular to Catholic teachers is that they have clear ideas on moral law and that they brave unpopularity in proclaiming it. The law is not to be minimised or toned down to suit individuals, just as the description of sound health is not impaired to meet the fancy of the sick. But in rehabilitation work, in judging of actual cases, and in prescribing remedies, a social worker should keep in mind the other leading truth, namely, that man's nature is a fallen nature, that man is not in total possession of himself, that his basic instincts have been vitiated at their source. The social worker must take after the Master who was so radically opposed to sin and so understanding and merciful to sinners.

Pity is not sufficient in dealing with pathological cases; sympathy is demanded and should come spontaneously. Pathology, the science of suffering, is of universal application. Each and every one in mankind suffers in his body which carries the germs of its dissolution; each and every one is a case of somatic pathology, liable to ailments and death. Each and every one is also a case of psychic pathology, a bundle of ill-equilibrated psychic forces, a victim of psychological retardation and liable to psychic deviation, which lead to his spiritual death. Death and sin entered the world hand in hand. The normal man is unusual. It is humiliating but healthy to face that fact. Nor does this fact dispense from moral effort any more than bodily disorder dispenses from seeking good health.

Moreover the fact does not imply that each and every one needs the attention of a psychiatrist. The little ills of daily life do not call for medical or surgical intervention. A sound diet, an occasional aspro or one or other of the many home remedies are ample to maintain a comfortable standard of health. Popular literature has made psychoanalysis a fashionable mood, but Freud himself acknowledged that psychoanalytic treatment was only effective in

a few cases, like "chronic cases of psychoneuroses" and the like. "Psychoanalytic therapy was created through and for the treatment of patients permanently unfitted for life." Other authorities are even much more cautious in their opinion.⁽¹⁾ What is deplorable is that in the matter of psycho-sexual health, the principles of a sound diet and the ordinary cautions are neglected, despised or ridiculed. This modern mood increases the number and gravity of cases of sexual disequilibrium. (See enquiries on war neurosis).

Classifications of pathological cases are many and complex. Abbé Oraison has one of his own, easy enough to follow. Pathological conditions can be evident or hidden; they may be of a clearly sexual origin (obsessions, deviations, etc.) or they may be hidden and appear under another guise (*f.i.* inferiority complex due to a non-liquidated castration anxiety). On the other hand the degrees of pathology vary, they are hard to measure in individual cases and call for tact in diagnosis and cure. In most cases pathological conditions are due to various "arrests" in the evolution of the sexual instinct; even the deviations are connected with a "fixation" at a certain stage.

There are simple "retardments." An instance would be a lad who suffers from irrepressible sexuality; this is interpreted as unduly delayed self-centred sexuality which normally should have grown "other-centred." Such retardments can come back in later sexual life and tone down, damage or even reverse the surrender to another which characterises true sexual love. We also find cases of real neurosis, easily noticed and well established, which little spoil the rest of the psychic system. They vary in gravity: habitual masturbation, narcissism with tendencies to homo-sexual, sado-masochist or fetishist outlets.

(1) Cf. Henderson & Gillespie: *A Text-book of Psychiatry*, Pp. 217 sqq.

Generally these are not incurable but they are frequent and betray psychic damage. Further we have a type of neurosis which wrecks the very psychical system *v. g.* exhibitionist obsession. At the top we find folly of a sexual origin in which the judgment is off balance.

All these troubles may be due to various causes involving or excluding moral guilt: faulty nursing or infantile education, nervous shocks, improper guidance in childhood, wrong teaching, provoking surroundings, corrupting companions, etc. From this variety of causes there follow actions and habits which are objectively sinful; as to the subjective or real moral guilt, one is often forced to leave the judgment to the one who scrutinizes loins and hearts. The poor ailing sinner himself is unable to recall or describe the degree of attention and the measure of liberty he enjoyed at the time of his misdemeanours.

To be aware and to be consenting are poles apart. Many pleasant or unpleasant sensations come up to the horizon of awareness but remain outside the range of free will. Many a nervous or muscular reflex, many a physiological change, could be instanced. Even actions can appear to be voluntary yet not be wilful; the wilful is controlled by the superior soul, the apparently voluntary can be commanded by motorial centres which normally depend on superior centres, yet enjoy a certain autonomy (*v. g.* the erectile centre in the lumbar region.). Instinct-activated movements or actions and fully conscious decisions are very differently related to moral life. This vital distinction is often ignored by individuals who should be given clear explanations about awareness and wilfulness, instinctive and free behaviour. In many cases they should be treated as patients rather than as sinners; they enjoy liberty in theory rather than in practice; they are often free to will their habit or to renounce it, they are much less free in their individual actions; they should be judged on their attitude towards

their habit ; they should not be condemned off hand on their concrete doings.

Illustrations taken from less complex and delicate fields can be given. The respectable citizen who developed the habit of scratching his beard and suddenly decides on the greater respectability of shaving will go on moving his hand to scratch a beard that is not there any more. The object, the motive does not exist, the habit perseveres. — A bad tempered individual may allow his wrath to grow and reach the stage of insult before he has paid attention to the moral import of his emotion, words and deeds ; he is conscious of what he experiences, he knows the meaning of his words, but he has not brought his superior faculties into play ; he is much less responsible in the individual incident than he may be in resigning or even enjoying himself in his habit.

Instances of improperly geared psychic mechanism are rare, and absurd situations or actions follow from clogged connections between inferior and superior centres. Traffic life is full of them. One instance will do as an illustration. A most respectable and well qualified clergyman with a realistic preoccupation to remain sound in body and mind could never master the technique of cycling. If ever he was cautioned, "Mind that heap of bricks over there," he was sure to make straight for it. When the onlookers shouted their surprise, he was wont to retort, "Do you fancy I go where I like?". Pious souls would exclaim, "O Lord, why do they force him to take such risks?"; scamps laughed out, "Isn't he a queer guy?"; policemen suspected attempts at suicide, one does not know what complex psychoanalysts would have advanced ; ordinary doctors would have explained the phenomenon in easy terms. The given caution roused the fear of the brick heap, and the phantasm grew so engrossing as to command the unconscious play of nerves and muscles in the fatal direction. The best way to avoid

the brick-heap would have been to look at and pay attention to, any other spot.

Disorders in instinct, emotions thought-content, impulses and behaviour are without number, and are found in patients and in doctors, in sinners and in saints ; humble fellow-feeling should be spontaneous with all. The psychic mechanism works equally well or equally badly in sexual matters, judgment in case-work should be reserved and tactful, treatment appropriate. General indications of therapy work well with the most usual cases. One can recommend that clear notions be imparted on the essential points, the reality and meaning of sexuality, the difference between awareness and consent, the ideal moral standard, the ailing condition of the case in hand, etc. Once appealed in his mind, he should have his attention diverted to other interests with healthy reading, exercise and surroundings.

One point needs stressing. In most cases, self-abuse is a symptom of retarded psycho-sexual evolution, it is a case of auto-erotism, self-centred satisfaction of a sexuality which should normally evolve into other-centred interest. True love implies not so much possession or acquisition of another person but rather surrender to another, it is not "acquisitive" but rather "oblative." Self-abuse betrays a sexual instinct that has not yet been "socialised." Hence the development of a social sense is indicated for a cure of solitary sin. It is noted by psychoanalysts and educators that the habit diminishes or even ceases with the advent of true love, but also that it may reappear when true love comes to fail. As part of the treatment for a masturbating adolescent, his social sense should be brought out. He must not only be prescribed practices which aim at diversion and effort ; he must be advised to pay attention to others, render little services in daily life, or engage in social work. It is an excellent practice which normalises the sexual evolution and helps to "sublimate" the instinct. The cure is quite

possible in cases in which judgment and liberty are not radically impaired. Prayer and grace will go a long way in making the treatment effective.

Another point to be attended to when studying cases of retarded or deviated sexuality is the existence of different impulses and of higher aspirations in the child or adolescent. He is not only a "sex"; he has other interests, he seeks to build up his own self as best as he can, body and soul, low and high, health and talent, etc. As Fr J. C. De Menasce wrote in *Commonweal* (24-11-50), "the aspirations of life and the aspirations of the sexual instinct cannot be identified, for man is, before all, a being of intelligence and will made for knowledge, love, political and social accomplishments, scientific exploration and artistic creation. When these fundamental aspirations are not normally satisfied, when human vitality which aspires to a world of value and achievement, is killed, they run the risk of being taken over, absorbed and utilised by the sexual instinct. The desperate man, the solitary man, the man without the multiple satisfactions of the senses and the spirit, falls on sexual life. Sex, beyond its own specific pleasure, offers the possibility of vicarious satisfaction . . . These disguises of aspirations are the opposite of those which Freud indicated. It is not the sexual instinct which becomes satisfied by creative work and political and religious life — the aspirations that go with art, the political and economic life satisfy themselves through sensuality."¹

(1) Sexual infractions as "compensations" may be due to failure in an examination, a rebellious mood against the adult-world, etc. The diagnosis of such occasional causes are necessary for objective judgment and appropriate treatment. As Adler well remarked, Freud overstressed the sex drive and understressed the power drive in man. In general, too little study has been made of the interrelations of these basic drives.

It is needless to discuss the relative importance of the several causes or factors which in actual life lead to aberration, deviation, fixation or regression of the sexual instinct. It is enough to stress the fact that such symptoms so frequent in modern life point to a psychic deterioration which calls for therapeutic treatment. Limiting one's advice to prayer when treating a tuberculosis case would be turning religion into ridicule; it would be equally damaging to dismiss cases of sexual pathology with simply recommending a novena or pilgrimage. A pathological condition may well go with a moral life and even with holiness; a neurotic can become a saint as much as a cripple can turn into a hero. Yet it would be desirable from several points of view to cure him; psychic rehabilitation re-establishes inner equilibrium and opens new possibilities of influence. It is well within the purview of spiritual direction and social apostolate. But the task demands time, tact and qualification, which requirements are rarely found together in life.

A. Lallemand.

WOMEN'S CIVIC AND SOCIAL DUTY

A woman's social duty goes beyond the family circle. She has a right and duty to share in the multitudinous activities of civic and social life.

Not that each and every woman is in a position to do so effectively; talents are unequal, personal conditions different and opportunities various.

Yet each woman should pursue social interests according to natural bends and personal convictions. But at the

present time when civic and social life is so agitated, basic principles are questioned and conflicting trends gathering force, women, each woman, should not run away from their post and stay in the front line. What should they fight for? What line of advance should they plan? What should they aim at in the various planes of social action, civic and even political?

Do we mean a direct and effective participation in legislative work? Do we urge that in all countries a certain number of women should address themselves to political tasks or even that women should claim the right of voting which is a natural right? The question is so complex and the situations so complicated that we dare not give an unqualified and simple answer to so vast a question.

What matters before all else is that we get a sound government and a healthy administration. That is what we must claim and exact from all governments. Social circumstances should dictate to government a social policy so that in all justice and equity all who can, thanks to their electoral vote or parliamentary or extra-parliamentary work influence legislation, be placed in a position to do so effectively.

If it is necessary or useful for women to make a direct contribution to legislative work, they should secure rights and facilities to engage in all forms of civic life.

On this point, however, we must refrain from any exaggerated view. Social action, familial action, religious action, whether individually or collectively undertaken are also means of influence, as important or even more important, to make an effective contribution to public life; political activity is not the only one that counts or that can be decisive for society or for womankind.

Let us not neglect political action if opportunity offers; let us claim all political rights and openings if we consider

them necessary for our cause. But, if we may venture on a broad suggestion, let us before all else direct our activities along the lines of social action in its restricted or in its broadest sense.

Social action in its broad sense will mean for the greatest number home action, maternal education and influence on behalf of small and grown-up children. For quite a fair number, it may mean teaching or, in more adequate words, education animated with a new inspiration and with a social bias, a teaching less individualist in its tendencies, more realistically centred on preparing the adolescent for the social milieu that will be his and for the social responsibilities which are to be his from now on in private and public life. For others the call will take them to law, or medicine, professions they will enter with a desire of bringing relief to the suffering and the oppressed and of combating the evils which wreck so many lives and develop into festering sores in the body politic. They will engage in social medicine and fight the modern trends of birth-control, euthanasia, sterilisation, etc. They will aim at a juridical competence which will double the effectiveness of their social apostolate at the civic or political level, so as to maintain traditional values of Christian civilisation but also secure all the freedoms which do not offend moral law.

A few will ambition technical competence, artistic talent, literary distinction that will be consecrated to professional education, to the defence of noble causes, to the progress of art in all its many forms.

For others, even for many, the vocation will imply daily labour in offices, factories, workshops; in all such places an intelligent understanding of conditions and circumstances will be demanded, in all social advances should be attempted, in all opportunities will be plentiful to exert influence and pressure, to exercise a modest but realistic apostolate, a milieu to improve and to ennoble. In short everywhere

our women will exert themselves to create, maintain or restore a Christian social order.

What an immense field lies open to intelligent, fervent, apostolic activity for our Catholic fellow-women !

If we envisage this field of activity in all its dimensions and variety, we imply that woman should be given a ready access to all jobs and professions which do not go counter to the directives of nature ; we also imply that if women are to be individually and collectively efficient in their specific role, they must, each and every one, decide on professions that will enable them to give their best to society.

We must reserve for a future occasion the study of the problems connected with women's work and with the spiritual and material aspects of her role.

Maria Baers.

THE SASTRY BANK AWARD

After a prolonged period of expectation, the Sastry Bank Award has at last seen the light of day. It has received a very mixed reception ; a howl of protest from bank employees whose wage-scales have been lowered by the new Award, and quiet acquiescence by the management of the banks, who find they have nothing much to complain of, since the Award certainly favours them.

The Tribunal

The All-India Industrial Tribunal, set up especially to determine a common policy of wages and working conditions for banks throughout the country, consisted of three public men ; Mr. Sastry, an ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, Mr. Tannan, who has several books on banking to his credit, and Mr. V. L. D'Souza who has been teaching

economics for years in Mysore. A well chosen trio, one might imagine ; a lawyer, a banker and an economist. But were these eminent authorities suited for the delicate task imposed on them ? One might find it strange that no workman or at least a trade union leader in touch with labour was placed on the panel.

Mental Approach

In spite of Mr. Giri's championing a new approach to the problem of industrial relations in this country in the form of collective bargaining, government policy has not changed vitally in regard to arbitration. But there are certain underlying requirements that must be fulfilled to make arbitration a success. The mental attitude of the arbitrators towards the social problem in general and towards the labour problem in particular must be taken into consideration before they are nominated to the panel. Men brought up on the vanishing 'laissez faire' theories of free enterprise and capitalist competition will be much more concerned with ensuring a banking policy that yields a rich harvest of profits, even if this means that costs, especially labour costs, must be ruthlessly whittled down to the lowest possible notch. The concept of social justice, of the living wage, of a more equitable distribution of wealth, of respect for the human person, especially when it is hidden away under the grime and sweat of an ugly, ignorant, gawkish workman, will influence their decisions not at all. But unless these concepts are clearly perceived and convincingly held, unless they form the mental matrix out of which a fairer deal for both labour and management can result, arbitration is bound to fail.

Speaking of human relations in Industry, the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. says, "The approach (to the question of Industrial Relations) involves the application of the principle that labour should not be treated as a mere commodity, which, more simply, means that workers should

be regarded as complete human beings with economic, psychological and social needs for which they seek fulfilment in work. This principle appears to be universally accepted in theory, but the extent to which it can be applied in practice remains to be explored; further studies are necessary to determine how far the principle can be applied to the many varied and complex situations of industrial life. It may be expected however that further practical recognition of the worker's individual dignity and worth, may provide the employer-employee relationship with a deeper basis than that of a simple cash nexus."* The same report speaks of "a climate in which men and women at work can pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."

It is extremely important that the men who are called upon to adjudicate or conciliate issues between employers and employees should be imbued with the basic sentiments we have quoted above. Otherwise their decisions tend to be unduly prejudiced along outworn, traditional economic and social theories that have really given rise to the unhappy problems that face us today in the world of industry.

The Award

The Award, while covering a wide variety of issues, starts off on the wrong foot by lowering the present wage-scales in force in the banks. This is a psychological error of no small moment. It is like trying to put the clock back. The employees will never accept a wage-cut meekly, especially when they have gained the increase at the cost of much bitter suffering. Nor can the union leaders accept the arrangement and foist it on their men without a loss of face. But were the existing wage-scales so very high? It

* Report of the U. N. E. S. C. (Social Commission) 2nd March, 1953, pg. 159, para. 451.

must be remembered too that the people who will be affected by the decrease in wages will be mainly members of the middle class, whose condition these days is desperate. The middle class is accustomed to a certain standard of living which has fallen steeply due to a rise in the cost of living. The two world wars, rising prices, low incomes, larger debts, have produced in this particular class a spirit of frustration and a desire for revolt against the difficult situation in which it is compelled to exist. This is good neither for the country, nor for industry, nor for the middle class itself. It is generally accepted that the middle class holds a very important position in the continued prosperity of the nation and its stability. Why should these advantages be frittered away for the sake of increasing bank dividends or merely to lower banking costs?

The New Wage Scales

But let us see in actual practice how much income per month a clerk or a member of the subordinate staff like a chowkidar will receive under the new dispensation.

A clerk will get

Basic Pay	..	Rs.	85
Dearness Allowance	..	"	35
House Rent	..	"	8
Washing Allowance	..	"	2

Total Rs. 130

Minus contribution to
Provident Fund .. Rs. 7 14 8.

He will therefore receive
in-hand .. Rs. 122 1 4.

This will be his monthly income when he begins to work. But the above calculation has been made for the the Class I Area which comprises the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Ahmedabad. For Class II areas the clerk's monthly income will be Rs. 12 less, i.e. Rs. 110 per month, and in Class III Area, his monthly income will be Rs. 103.

Taking the case of big cities, Rs. 120 may not be too low for a start, especially when the clerk in question is a bachelor. But when he thinks of getting married, then the trouble will begin. He will find his income much too low, though he should in justice be paid enough to enable him to rear a family. Marriage is but a natural right that society must respect by making its exercise possible. The idea of a family allowance might have been broached by the Tribunal, for among middle class families it is only the head of the family that works. The increments however that add up to the basic wage will enable him to be drawing a basic wage of Rs. 140 per month in 7 years' time, and Rs. 164 in 10 years' time. In other words, within ten years of service, he will be making over Rs. 200 a month, when his other allowances are tacked on. It might be admitted that "for a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner" such a wage would not be insufficient to bring up a small family, though it would mean a hard and constant struggle making both ends meet.

Even though in Areas II and III, the increments are lower and the scale of salaries we have discussed above will take longer to reach, they cannot be described as thoroughly insufficient. But why the Tribunal should have lowered the scales by even ten to twenty rupees for some enigmatic reasons of their own surpasses understanding. Don't they believe in the wider distribution of property? Isn't it necessary that the lowest income levels in our lop-sided society should be pushed upwards to make way for a better equality of income?

Subordinate Staff

If the situation of the white-collar worker is none too enviable, we leave it to the reader to imagine how the subordinate staff of the banks are expected to live on wages that rank far below that of the clerks. Take the case of the watchman or chowkidar.

His basic wage is	..	Rs.	40
Dearness Allowance	..	"	35
Special allowance as watchman	..	"	5
House Rent	..	"	8
Washing Allowances	..	"	2
Total			Rs. 90
Minus Provident Fund contribution	Rs.	4	4
Total in hand	..	"	85 12 0

The scale of salary we have described above is for Area I. The corresponding wages in Areas II and III are lower. The same questions we posed for the wage-scales of the clerical staff might be repeated here. As a matter of fact, most of these men have their families in the villages where their wives and children live on the produce of their own land. The men send a part of their salary home while the rest they keep for their simple needs in the towns. But if they alone are the earning members of the family and have their families with them to support, then indeed their situation is rendered critical, because it is simply impossible to rear a family on such a small wage. Leaving aside higher needs like the education of children and a comfortable home, even the barest needs of food and shelter will be hard to satisfy. In most cases, the wife and the children will have to work to augment the family income. But why should they be forced to do so, if society can provide them with the means of living the good life

obtainable through sufficiency of food, shelter and education? It is true that India is a poor country, but wherever the standards of living of the people can be improved without incapacitating the employer, justice requires that this should be done.

Dearness Allowance

The D.A. has been fixed at 33 and 1/3 of basic salary plus allowances; but it may never fall below Rs. 35. For all the employees, it will therefore range between Rs. 35 and any higher figure. A fixed D.A. has its advantages. So long as Standard of Living Index does not show a rise, the workmen stand to gain by a fixed D. A.; if it rises, they stand to lose. A sliding scale D.A. could have been arranged without much difficulty. Thus in certain textile mills in Ahmedabad, the D.A. varies with the rise and fall of the Standard of Living Index. In France the sliding scale is being used for an amazing variety of purposes. In America, General Motors among other firms makes use of the sliding scale for certain payments to workmen.

Overtime

According to the Award, the first half-hour after the day's work of the statutory 6½ hours is not to be regarded as overtime and will therefore not be charged to the banks. Payment for overtime begins only after the completion of the next 15 minutes. The reason for this peculiar arrangement stems from management's complaint of the men wasting time in order to be enabled to earn overtime payment. The extra half-hour is meant to act as a 'cushioning' period to induce the men to finish their work in time, and at the same moment, to prevent management from exploiting their workmen by making them work overtime, for which the men must be paid at 1½ times their normal wage rates.

'Cushioning' is a very ingenious process of trying to kill two birds with one stone. Unfortunately it is more likely to prolong the normal working day to 7 hours as formerly.

But without any bias either way, the experiment needs to be tried out to see how it will succeed. In the previous interim decisions of the same tribunal there was much talk of 'cushioning' as a method of giving both management and labour a square deal. In theory the solution may appear highly satisfactory, but in practice it will probably work more in favour of management, in as much as it introduces the 7 hour-day by the back-door, as it were.

Bonus

Though generally looked upon as an 'ex gratia' payment, bonus is coming to be recognised as a claim for a share in the profits of the industry. So far it has rarely been included in the contract of employment. But when the industrial courts order the employer to pay his employees a bonus, they base themselves on grounds of justice and equity. The bonus is expected to make up for the lack of a living wage. It is considered to be a share in the profits of the industry, to which the employee has contributed his share to some extent. So besides his wage, he is also entitled to a bonus.

In the case under review, the Tribunal has decreed that 50% of the surplus profits should be given to the employees after certain necessary reductions have been made in fairness to the shareholders and towards the stability of the bank like reserves, depreciation, etc. This is legislation in the right direction. The Tribunal would like only 6% to be paid in dividends, and of the surplus profits, 30% should be set aside for reserves, debt fund, and depreciation. If the banks follow these rules, they should be able to give their workmen a bonus. Take the case of the Indian Bank for instance. Its net profits were over Rs. 15 lakhs. Two dividends were declared: an interim and a final dividend, which together amounted to 12% on Paid-up Capital. Provision for taxes amounted to Rs. 3 lakhs. Rs. 2½ lakhs were transferred to the reserve fund, while 1 lakh was trans-

ferred to the Sinking fund. No mention was made of any bonus being paid to the employees, though there was an ample surplus for the purpose.

The Award has been bitterly criticised because it makes the bonus payable only after specified reductions which in its estimation are necessary for the stability and the economic security of the bank. It may be admitted that though the guiding rules are not unwise, they are liable to wide interpretations. Moreover according to the Award, the Bonus is to be paid not in cash but in the form of National certificates. A cash bonus is welcome to the staff because it enables them to satisfy their outstanding debts or make important purchases. It is difficult to see why the Tribunal should have descended to such details. They might have left this minor point to be decided by the employees themselves.

Conclusion

All that one can gauge from the gathering momentum of disappointment and bitter criticism of the Award, is that its clauses will not probably be endorsed by the Government. Experience has once more proved that arbitration rarely succeeds. It is very difficult to please employers and employees when they are at logger-heads among themselves, each side trying to get as much as it can. In such cases, compromise becomes exceedingly difficult. The only way out of the impasse is to get the representatives of both sides together at a common table and let them settle their disagreements among themselves. But even here, the two sides must meet with the understanding that they are partners in a common enterprise and that they need each other's help. This mentality has to be slowly created and it can be done if both sides are made to realise that such conduct will benefit both themselves and the country. At present however, neither Management nor Labour is willing to accept the arrangement. In practice, it is management which finds it

harder to sacrifice its age-long privileges of being able to dictate terms to Labour. In India the feudal and caste mentality still exist, and are very difficult to put aside. To accept the idea of an equality of partnership in enterprise will take the present generation of management a long time. But the quicker they adopt the new mentality the better for industrial peace and prosperity within the country. The big bank lords must learn the lesson quick before the situation further deteriorates.

On the other hand, Labour too must live up to its promises. The desire to shirk work and to take things easy seems to plague our present generation of workmen. Their attitude to work shows a complete lack of interest and often of responsibility. But this precisely is in its turn the fruit of the short-sighted policy of management which only regards the workman as a commodity and not as a human person. The spirit of taking a pride in one's work, of a desire to live up to one's obligations, of giving an honest day's work for an honest day's pay however should be cultivated. And this can be done only through the right kind of union leadership.

Perhaps our readers may imagine that we are merely revelling in idealistic fancies, but the point is that these standards have been worked out in other countries, so why can't they be worked out in our own? *A. Fonseca.*

SOCIAL CHRONICLE

Inland

The National Employment Service live register of unemployed is reported to have touched the record figure of 455,417 at the end of last April. This was 30,239 higher than the figure for March. Naturally the Employment Services

keep track more of the educated unemployed than of illiterate persons out of jobs.

One of the biggest pockets of unemployment was formed recently when according to Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, General Secretary of the Bihar Pradesh Trade Union Congress, an alarming situation had arisen because of the phenomenal increase in unemployment in the coal, mica, shellac and bidi industries. In the last two years, the number of unemployed workers in Bihar had increased by 90,000, many of whom had been reduced to utter destitution.

The President of the INTUC, Mr. Michael John, castigated employers for needlessly retrenching their labour force under the plea of rationalisation. He maintained that in many instances, no new machines had been bought and yet the men had been sacked. It is generally understood that while rationalisation takes place, the extra workmen who are no longer needed should be given alternate employment.

A Gandhian economist has drawn the attention of the public to the fact that the reason for the increasing unemployment is because too much stress has been laid on capital and little, if any, on men. The real problem is to provide men with employment and not rely on grandiose schemes to save the country.

Government views the deteriorating situation with concern but seems powerless to do anything. It has its hands full with other pressing problems. Reports of the debates in the Central Parliament contain very few references to the urgency of the problem.

Famine still stalks the land. And before the monsoon breaks out, the conditions can worsen in the lands where the rainfall is sparse. Thus the Maharatta country around Ahmednagar is suffering from a serious shortage of water.

Rajasthan too is in the grip of a severe drought. On the other hand torrential rains in Assam and the consequent rise in the Dibong river has practically wiped out the town of Sadiya.

The Community Projects have been visited by thousands of young students belonging to the National Cadet Corps. They have built roads, dug wells, erected buildings for the people in the villages. This is certainly a healthy sign of a national awakening to the tasks that face the country. Nor have the students shirked manual labour. The old prejudice against working with one's hands is dying quickly. The students also helped to conduct literacy classes all over the country.

The recent Sastry Bank Award has been received with strong protests all over the country by the Bank employees. Recently the Labour Appellate Tribunal sitting in Calcutta called upon all banks in India to show cause why implementation of the Sastry Award should not be stayed till the application of Mr. Chari on behalf of the All-India Bank Employees' Association be heard by the Court.

A. F.

Foreign

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The seventh session of this Commission was held in New York from March 16th to April 3rd, 1953, and continued its effort to secure equality of rights for women in political life; in the economic and social fields, and educational opportunities. Members attending this session of the Commission came from Burma, Byelorussia SSR, Chile, China, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, France, Haiti, Lebanon, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, the USSR, the UK, the USA and Venezuela. The ILO,

UNESCO and WHO sent representatives, and several non-governmental organisations of the United Nations were also represented.

One of the first objectives gained by the Commission on the Status of Women was the *Convention on Political Rights of Women* adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, and signed up to date by eighteen member-States of the U.N. This Convention has obtained for women the right to vote, to be elected to public office and to hold official functions on equal terms with men without any discrimination.

The next objective to be secured by the Commission was framed in the form of four resolutions. Two of these resolutions deal with issues raised by the Convention, and the two others concern the rights of women in dependent territories. The first resolution proposes that all countries which are not members of the United Nations which belong to any specialized agency or are parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice be invited to sign the Convention. The second resolution suggests that the U.N. Secretary-General be asked to submit plans on ways in which equal political rights for women could be made effective in practice. In this connection the U.N. Secretary-General was asked to report on United Nations' aid available for training persons "interested in improving the status of women", and also to report on legislative measures subsequent to restricted suffrage grants.

The two other resolutions concerning women's rights in dependent territories were based on proposals sponsored jointly by Cuba and the Dominican Republic. One resolution asks the Secretary General to send the Commission all data contained in the annual report sent to the United Nations by administering authorities of Trust Territories. The other proposes that the United Nations Assembly, the Trusteeship Council and the various authorities be asked "to take all necessary measures leading to political rights of women in non-self-governing and Trust Territories."

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HERE AND THERE

The Three R's Made Easier

The new scheme primary education in the Madras State is being enforced. It aims at nothing less than a revolution in village education. The kids will study less and learn more; the teacher will teach more and earn less. The village teacher will handle two three-hour shifts and his rate of pay per hour is bound to come down. The kids will be only three hours in the class room (four periods of forty minutes each, plus two breaks, for six days in the week). But they will spend the rest of their academic time in a peripatetic search for culture. All children, between five and ten, are supposed to go round the village craftsmen, when and if any, and seek initiation. The shopkeeper will explain the tactics of bargaining, and the money-lender, the strategy of finance. The confectioner will attract the average crowd, and the blacksmith, appeal to the intellectuals "for e'en though vanquished, he could argue still." Parents of course are expected to supply practical classes in home-craft. Boys and girls did all that in their leisure hours; now they will do it during so-called school-time; and that makes the educative difference.

Much of the above curriculum is a surmise, for, though the scheme is being enforced, the guide-book is not yet

distributed. Kids are happy over the change, teachers grumble, and parents ask themselves if Sri Rajagopal-achariar is an educator, an educationist or an educationalist. He gives himself as an intuitionist (as he did about food-de-control). He feels that with his system he will get each and every village child to school; preliminary reports tend to show that he will succeed, but the State Assembly insists on expert opinion.

Basic Education

The Madras scheme is not the Gandhian scheme (educating through a craft), nor is it what is called basic education, as is occasionally said. Basic education is that minimum of education which can be considered a foundation for a full human life; its purpose covers the purpose of life, hence it aims at supplying a correct and full view of life, physical, mental, moral and spiritual, at imparting a tone of life which commands daily conduct thanks to suitable equipment and habits of person, home and society, a purposive dynamism adapted to rights and duties and to life in general.

That is what basic education means. It is intended for each and everyone who has had no education, or none but a deficient, one-sided or lop-sided education. It is planned to reach all, young and old, men and women. It is a universal plan to supply the minimum of theoretical and practical knowledge necessary for a truly human life and a training suitable to so noble a task.

Socialist Trends

The Praja Socialist Party of India is still seeking a final programme. A similar trend can be observed in Europe. Though most French, Belgian and Italian socialists continue to wallow in their stale anti-clericalism, the socialists of Holland and Germany showed a decided progress in the international conference on "Socialism and Religion"

recently held at Benveld (Holland). As Prof. Banning remarked, European socialists have moved away from Marxism; they have abandoned "the dogma of socialization" and they have come to appreciate the need of defending "spiritual freedom." To onlookers it had always appeared strange that a movement which desired to lighten human suffering and defended human dignity had made no room for morality.

Catholics can only welcome such happenings in the old continental socialism as "a rapprochement" to their own ideals of brotherhood, justice and human dignity. Indian socialists will note the same trend with satisfaction in their repeated efforts at clarifying their views and suiting their programme to the innermost expectations of Indian labour.

Uneasy July

July in India brought a good amount of grist to the Red mills. The comrades of the C. P. I. had a good time; they avoided awkward questions and decisions about the drastic purges going on in the U. S. S. R. and its satellites by escaping into non-deviationist agitation and violence. They manoeuvred so well that other leftist parties joined in the fray and competed with them for unwholesome popularity. The vandalism against trains and trams in Calcutta and the Madras State may have been camouflaged with educational or social pretexts; at bottom they had a distinct political inspiration. They were patently in the 1942-style which the Congress adopted in a moment of rebellious mood against foreign domination.

Even the daily papers appeared to have lost the sense of proportions in dealing with the various incidents. Mild and academic enough were they when condemning initial mob violence; wrathful and vindictive when dealing with subsequent police excesses.

They ceased publication for one day in Calcutta by way of protest against the government; this decision was awkward. They wanted to hit the Cabinet and the police. They only dispensed ministers and police officials from swallowing their daily quota of criticism; but they remorselessly punished readers, vendors and advertisers. Would it not have been more appropriate to have an issue with a big broad black border to show they were mourning the loss of freedom and of temper? But possibly editors and reporters were badly in need of a holiday to become again their old sweet selves.

A. L.

THE DIRECT METHOD

"As far as sociology goes, you're probably learning the direct method."

That phrase in a recent letter caught my eye. "The direct method." I suppose the writer meant that we were able to skip the theory and take the cases right off the street. But the more you think about it, the truer the statement is. Without under-estimating the necessity of theoretical training, shouldn't we all be sociologists learning by the "direct method?"

Sociology for the Catholic, be he priest or layman, means something more than the study of social structures, their origins and growth. It means a vivid awareness of the individuals who make up those structures. And who is that individual? None other than the man we meet on the street, ride with on the tram, share a seat with on the janta; he is the beggar in the bazaar, the schoolboy or cook or dhobi or shopkeeper or farmer. And this is just the person we meet in the direct method.

A few years ago there was a catch phrase popular in America which ran something like this: "Your perception of the obvious is astounding." It was meant as a dig at the recipient but today couldn't it be turned into a real compliment? How many nowadays are taught to see the obvious? In practice modern education has but one objective: how to earn a living. The "obvious" is lost in the shadow of this overtowering Goliath. Man sees days and weeks in terms of rupees and jobs finished; co-workers are competitors for a higher post; a neighbour's death recalls the premium due on the family insurance policy. Now if one intends to practice the direct method of sociology, it is absolutely necessary to develop the ability to see the obvious, the individual as a creature of God.

It is a lot easier to say this than to put it into action. The tempo of life today is such that efficiency is the keynote. The echo of the factory whistle and the chilling touch of depersonalized production schedules gradually impregnate the character of modern man. Division of labour means that he need worry only about the job that faces him. Others will take care of the rest. And after working hours this spirit persists. For the beggar on the corner there ought to be, even if there isn't yet, a welfare agency. The general hospital should care for the sick poor. Pensions for the aged, public homes for the orphans, asylums for the insane. His only obligation is to fend for himself, for his family. And what does this narrowness lead to? A very real social blindness.

But let's go back to the main topic of conversation — the direct method and the Catholic. In the first place, the Catholic realizes from faith that he is his brother's keeper, be that realization more or less clear. He knows that he has a direct relationship and responsibility towards each person he meets. But this sense has been dulled by that fungus-like growth we called social blindness. In such a state the direct method is powerless to affect him. He

passes by the sick, the poor or the homeless not out of malice but simply because he does not see them. And that is the problem facing us today. How to remove the scales from those unseeing eyes and restore social sight to them?

It is beyond the scope of this article to explain or commend any specific existing type of parish organization as being the sole possessor of the solution. St. Vincent de Paul Societies, Sodalities, Catholic Action groups all have a part to play. They must all contribute to the creation of a fundamental attitude, the building up of a new outlook which perceives the obvious, sees the individual and acts to help him. In sermonesque patter, it means the development of the much talked about "social spirituality." Standing by itself, the term "social spirituality" looks very edifying but means nothing. We could just as well use the words "nutmeg grater" if the phrase carried no specific and determined meaning. But it does have just that. Social spirituality is something very definite. "It means that the individual who possesses it acknowledges his relationship of rights and duties to his fellowmen and by observing that relationship works out his salvation. For man stands before God not only as an individual, but as a social being, a member of societies." With the growth of such interior dispositions, with the realization of his social way to heaven, the scales of blindness fall from man's eyes and he is able to practice the direct method. Yes, social spirituality is the inspiration of social mindedness, social consciousness and social action.

The problem and solution are there. It is up to the individual to carry on from here. However, in succeeding issues of SOCIAL ACTION, a series of articles will appear which will be practical demonstrations of the direct method. The object of these articles will not be so much a sociological analysis of certain problems but rather an attempt to sharpen our social sense, to test how far our social spirituality has developed. The subject matter will be common,

everyday topics but they will embody an attempt to look behind the façade our unseeing eyes seldom pierce.

Lastly, a word of warning. Let us not grow impatient if social sight does not come overnight. We would do well to remember the words of our Holy Father to Catholic Employers in 1949: "Assuredly reducing to practice and applying Catholic social doctrine cannot be the work of a day . . . it calls for unselfishness of a sort which can only be instilled by an authentic Christian virtue, sustained and aided by the grace of God."

E. de V. Lockwood.

A CASE HISTORY OF VILLPATTI

Villpatti is an average size village nestling in the Palni Hills about an hour's walk from the hill station of Kodai-kanal. Looking to the northwest from the hilltops that ring Kodai, you gaze down on a cluster of huts planted haphazardly in a sea of green. The trees and hills and nearby streamlet give the village a beautiful setting, one that is marred by but a single factor — the village itself.

One day in June of last year, a group of Jesuit scholastics chanced to visit the village. The sights that met their eyes surprised and shocked them. There was idolatry and superstition beyond belief; the streets were damp and mucky and dirtied with refuse; living conditions were awful and in some houses the cattle and their owners shared the same room; the nearly naked children who followed the scholastics on their tour of inspection were lean and anaemic looking; the women carrying water from the village well eyed the visitors with suspicion as if to say: "Well, what do you want here?" The conditions were

still worse in that part of the village occupied by the Harijans. Here again was the pitiful sight of emaciated, forlorn faces peeping out at the strangers, faces that showed clearly the traces of oppression, hard work and under-nourishment. By the time the tour ended one thought was uppermost in the minds of all. Something must be done for the people of Villpatti.

The Government records of 1951 give the population of Villpatti as 1,300 with 246 cottages of mud and wattle and only two stone bungalows. The total land cultivated is 2,300 acres of which a bare 300 acres is wet land where rice is grown, while the rest is set aside for vegetables and a little wheat. This land, however, is not evenly divided among the population. 20 % of the people have no land at all and work as coolies or hired labourers in the Kodaikanal estates. 50 % have some land but not at all sufficient for their livelihood, so these too work as coolies besides tilling their own plot of ground. The remaining 30 % are landlords who employ the landless to work on their fields. There are four main castes in Villpatti. First there are the Mannadiars who are the real inhabitants of the land, a mountain people descended from hill tribes who began with cattle raising and ended up as farmers. These make up 40% of the population. Then come the Reddiars making up 30 % of the population, while Pillais number a bare 15 %. These are all caste people. But occupying a tiny, outlying section of the village are some 50 Harijan families, the so-called outcastes. It is on these that attention will be focussed, for their uplift is a problem that deserves immediate consideration.

These Harijans came originally from Palni, driven to Villpatti some three generations ago by hunger and unemployment. The conditions in which they live are unbelievably poor. In all they have 45 houses, which should really be called hovels, varying in size from a tiny 3 by 5 by 13 feet doll house to a palatial 6 by 5 by 15 feet mansion.

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The walls are of mud with thatched roofs and cow-dung floors. It is not at all surprising to find as many as eight or ten people staying in each of these miserable huts, one single room serving as kitchen, dining room and store room for fuel. Rice forms the staple food of these people and a frugal meal for a family of six means at least Rs. 1/4 a day. In times of employment just one meal a day may be secured with difficulty, but for the jobless it is a grim tale of starvation and woe. How then can anything be put by for a rainy day? The sad plight of the Harijans brought home to the visitors the need of offering immediate relief. The great problem was how to start and in what manner to break down the coldness and suspicion of these poor people.

The first step, it was at length decided, must be to make friends with the people. Groups of Tamil-speaking scholastics came to the village for a month or so and talked to the people about their families, their children, their cattle and fields. In order to make no distinction, some went to the caste people and others to the Harijans. On enquiry and from these talks with the people, it was found that quite a few of the men belonging to the upper castes knew how to read, while this could be said of only two among the Harijans. Furthermore, just one Harijan child attended the Municipal Lower Elementary School of Villpatti, while the remaining 60 pupils came from the other castes. About ten caste children went to the Municipal school in Kodaikanal.

Children are often the best to start with since through them much prejudice can be removed from among the grown-ups. Accordingly, one Thursday morning was spent giving the lads a much needed hair-cut followed by a good bath, the best perhaps they had ever had. This procedure was repeated on another occasion with the result that the mothers, who had been idle spectators till now, became interested and went to work on the little girls. Medicines also formed part of the experiment, and as usual, the children

were the first to come forward. Soon older folk brought their complaints to the "doctors" who treated them with homeopathic pills and Dr. DeChane's powders. Gradually the hostile looks of the grown-ups gave way to broad smiles and requests to come oftener. By now the boys had received an old football which they put to good use on a make-shift field. Here all the young folk, both caste and non-caste, played and shrieked and enjoyed themselves. As prejudice died out, the Harijan parents were coaxed with extreme tact into sending their little ones to school. Within three months eleven new Harijan students had been added to the school rolls. At present two more have come out of a total of 60 of school age. It is encouraging to see how particular the parents are that their children go to school as neat and clean as possible. Now with suspicion overcome, the next big problem was Harijan family-uplift.

A few years ago, the Government, in connection with the "Grow More Food" campaign, had given some land to about 20 landless families. These plots, from $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to 3 acres in size, were situated a few miles from the village along the Attwampatti stream. Several of these families were Harijans but due to a lack of capital they had let the land lie fallow. Then six years ago the president of the Government Credit Co-operative Society gave the people small loans and seeds for the fields. But misfortune dogged the steps of the poor people. For some reason or other, perhaps because the loans could not be repaid, the crops were confiscated and the tillers left destitute. After this sad experience they abandoned the idea of farming altogether. Consequently, when it was suggested that they go back to the land as a means of improving their condition, the plan received a cold reception. Only one among them, a Harijan named Subban, thought the idea was worth giving a try.

Subban is a middle aged man with plenty of "go" and enthusiasm. Convinced of the plan himself, he persuaded another villager to agree to the proposal. In outline, the

plan went something like this: the scholastics would help every family that had a field given to it by the Government to build a small house on the plot. They would also assist in its cultivation for some time until the members of the family could manage things for themselves. Subban was taken up with the idea and spent many valuable hours working for its realization. Last December, members of the Young Men's Social League from Kodaikanal and some of the Jesuit scholastics began to quarry stone for the first of the houses. The nuns of a nearby convent sent timber and Sri Nadar provided transport facilities. By February, three small houses 13 by 16 by 8 feet with stone walls and thatched roofs were finished. Each stood on a plot of land belonging to a Harijan. The poor and ignorant are hard to convince and much of the work had to be done by the originators of the plan, while the people for whom the work was being done stood by and "watched the fun" as they said. But they had to be taught some way or other and example was the best way. Each of these houses cost about Rs. 150, but with stone and wood free and much of the labour too, the expenses boiled down to Rs. 40 for each house. Most of this sum came from the sale of used Christmas cards and a kind donation here and there. In addition to this, one of the nearby farmers loaned his bullocks for the first ploughing of the new farmland.

It is important to note that there was little or no opposition to the uplift scheme on the part of the caste people. Only at the beginning, when the Tahsildar came to see the spot and approve the plan, some complaints were voiced that the Harijans would pollute the stream which supplied the village water. But in the face of the Government policy urging the uplift of the backward classes, the caste people found that they could do little or nothing.

Work is now proceeding apace with the shifting of some 20 Harijan families to their own plots and the building of a model house for them. The rest will stay where they are

now but in better houses and cleaner surroundings. The Government Credit Society has been asked for a loan of Rs. 50 for each of the new farmers, in order to get their land cultivated. This amount could be repaid within the next six months. Last February a petition was sent both to the Central and Provincial Governments asking for land for the landless. No reply has yet been forthcoming from either quarter. Sri V. K. John, a barrister of Madras and a social worker himself, has plans for social reform in Kodaikanal and has promised to help in this "model village scheme."

What has been thus far described makes the future look bright, but it must not be forgotten that the people of Villpatti are very poor and that sanitary and living conditions are still far from satisfactory. It is to be hoped that in the not too distant future the people will be able to take over the work entirely but at the moment this is out of the question. If left to themselves at this early stage they will return immediately to their age-old ways and what little good has been achieved will soon disappear. Much progress has been made but there still remains much to be done. Do the Harijans appreciate what has been done for them? The election of one of the Jesuit Scholastics by the Harijan elders as president of their Harijan Sevak Sangh in place of a "caste" congressman gives the answer. For, as they said, the Swami "has a real heart for us and an unselfish motive."

Herman Da Costa.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

If we are to succeed in our endeavour of understanding what is required of democracy in order that it be socially integrated, we must first make sure that we have a clear conception of the various sociological parts, so to speak, that are involved in such an arrangement. Not that a mere knowledge of these component elements by themselves will afford us even so much as a suggestion of the solution we are seeking. For they are simply the relevant factors out of which our desired social equation must be formed. And they will have to be modified suitably and properly related to one another before the final balance can be struck between them. But, just as we cannot really expect to understand adequately the dynamics of human relations with an accurate perception of the fundamentals of human nature, to a like extent we are dependent upon a true insight into the nature of society if we are to achieve an effective familiarity with the workings of social relations. The nature of a thing is the best source to turn to for an explanation of its operations. Let us give some consideration, then, before proceeding any further towards our main objective, to the essential features of society.

Viewed in its simplest aspects, we see that society is a more or less permanent union of individuals, and groups of individuals in some instances, in which a common end is pursued through the exercise of co-operation effort.¹ What happens in such situations as this is that a number of people, finding themselves imbued with the urge for certain gains which have a basic uniformity about them, and realizing that it is impossible for each to procure the satisfaction thereof individually, agree to join forces and work together in a common enterprise. This unifying process does not always come about in a directly formal manner of course. As

¹ MacIver, R. M., *Society*, p. 6.

often as not, perhaps, the act of joining is performed in an automatic, rather unconscious fashion. The social connections and positions of many people are undoubtedly accepted by them as inevitable facts of life. Admitting, however, the actuality of this inner non-committance to the implications of their social status on the part of numerous persons, it is nevertheless true that at least some external measure of this combination movement is unmistakably present.

The constituent parts of society that have been mentioned thus far, namely, people, and the set of primary relations consisting of organization, co-operation, and co-ordination which bind them together, are characteristic of every single social unit. They are not of themselves, therefore, able to account for the many different societies encountered in real life. Obviously, then, there are additional points of which we must take cognizance. Touching upon these very lightly, since it will not be within the limits of practicability for us to involve ourselves in a clutter of variables, this much can be said concerning them. To the preceding permanent and essential elements in every society there are joined several changeable, accidental modifications. These may be classified as circumstances of time, place, and intention. Depending upon the manner in which these marginal factors are present and integrated with the underlying standard components, our innumerable, separately existing social bodies are established. By way of vaguely intimating the process through which all this comes about, it should be said that the injection of specific intentional details into the original substratum of society produces one species of sociological distinctions whereby we differentiate between such social categories as the domestic society, the cultural society, the economic society, the political society, and the religious society.² Each of the social entities which fit into any of these several divisions pursues a separate common goal

² Messner, J., *Social Ethics*, pp. 138-140.

through separately devised and directed methods of co-operation. Similarly, and this serves to carry the individuation trend one step further, the intervention of spatial conditions results in a sub-dividing of the foregoing distinct types of society according to the limits of their geographical extension. Many families, clubs, businesses, states and churches are scattered across the face of the earth. Still another refinement is worked into the vital centre of society by the mechanism of time. Each kind of social unit, wherever it happens to be located, is made just a bit more unique by the fact of its particular limited duration in existence. For our immediate purposes, though, it will be sufficient if we retain only that much of this social vision which includes the hard core thereof, along with those intentional qualifications that institute its cultural, economic, and political variants. The main items to be remembered are, that society is a functional union of persons, and that this union will assume distinct though closely related existential forms in order to meet the distinct but clearly related needs of its members. It is this quality of relatedness running through society's various manifestations which requires a positive capacity for integration in any system aiming at its general regulation.³

To assure an effective continuity to the unity principle in society it is necessary that there be established a central source of authority properly equipped for the maintenance of order. The chief responsibility of such an agency is the guidance and the control of organization and co-operation so as to secure the highest level of co-ordination. This is the sector of society commonly known as government. It is the principal directing force in any kind of association.⁴ The external instrumentality through which this governing organ operates consists of a great many social directives, called laws. These latter are the products of a threefold

³ Messner, op. cit., pp. 114-116.

⁴ Gettell, R. G., *Political Science*, pp. 22-23.

internal mechanism. One part covers the making of law, a second includes the interpretation and application of law, and the third pertains to the enforcement of law. They are generally referred to as the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government.⁵ No one of these powers by itself carries with it a full expression of social authority. Only the three in unison are adequate for this purpose. In the fulfilment of this triadic directive function, a government really holds the position of trustee to the entire body of society's members, and hence is both expected and obligated to subserve the best interests of these members. It is, therefore, in the very nature of every good government that it should be of the people and for the people whom it controls.⁶ Whenever this principal and agent or master and servant relationship is either evaded or inverted, the bearers of power are no longer a true government but a perverted tyrannical one.

There are indeed a wide variety of procedural methods available to the govt. institution. For the most part, these can be gathered under three broad headings. One is monarchy, or rule by a single individual. A second is aristocracy, or rule by a small group. The third is democracy, which is rule by a majority of the social membership.⁷ When it is stated that these are broad, general classifications, the meaning intended to be conveyed thereby is simply that each of the three terms represents a basic category of social action capable of diverse, concrete manifestations. Thus, monarchy may be limited or absolute, hereditary or elected; and the same conditions hold true for aristocracy. Democracy, while it is practically always found limited, may be either direct or indirect. If the regulative authority of a society is couched in the members themselves, there is direct democracy. Should this power be entrusted to repre-

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Messner, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-528.

⁷ Gettell, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-202.

sentatives of the people instead, then democracy is the indirect or representative type. Recalling here, for purposes of emphasis, what was previously noted regarding all the different valid systems of government, we should bear in mind the critically important fact that every single one of them must be engendered of their people and engrossed in the advancement of their best interests. What marks off democracy, however, from its companion governmental forms, is its singular capacity for inserting a third popular prerogative into the pattern of social authority, which is, that government shall be by the people as well. The formula for governing advanced in this method is founded upon the premise that the common organization and common effort can be most successfully maintained, and hence the common good most satisfactorily promoted, when the primary responsibility for accomplishing all this is made the common burden of all who are involved. Since the welfare of the whole is very closely connected with the welfare of each part, the task of enhancing the general welfare will be more likely to succeed if it is made a function of individual welfare. Every qualified adult in a society is given both the right and the duty to participate in its directive processes.

To support a democratic social order a certain psychological and sociological stage of development must be achieved by a society's people. In proportion to the degree that these requirements are met will be the actual effectiveness of democracy in that society. And what are some of these personal ingredients?

Mentally, the individual members must be intelligent, meaning by this that they should have a native ability for rational thinking; informed, that is, possess a good knowledge of the democratic principles, and enjoy easy access to information concerning the more important social events of the day; and interested, to the extent of being positively inclined to the habit of seeking and forming opinions on

leading social issues. In brief, an exponent of democracy must be socially conscious.

Morally, our subjects ought to be well-versed in the art of the simple human virtues. Honesty, humility, responsibility, and earnestness may truly be (said to constitute) the backbone of the democratic personality. A spirit of dedicated activeness should characterize the individual's attitude toward life as a whole, but more especially to the social aspects thereof. The religious injunction that "It is more blessed to give than to receive" could very well serve as the cornerstone of the moral foundation upon which democracy needs to be builded.

Socially, probably the dominant quality demanded of democratic constituents is the sense of brotherhood. A constant awareness, which is given external expression, of those personal features held in common, like origin, nature, and destination, prompts a healthy notion of equality, and provides a living bond of unity to draw the members together. The teachings of supernatural religion fulfil a valuable temporal function here also. For a faith in the brotherhood of man is inestimably strengthened by a belief in the Fatherhood of God.⁸

Having said this much, all by way of preparation for the principal inquiries that are yet to come, it is time now to commence the first phase of the scheduled investigation. Such a venture will carry us into the realm of political democracy.

In a political society, regardless of its exact size, whether village, city, province, or nation—one finds a collection of people organized and co-operating together for the sake of what is usually described as their general temporal welfare. Elaborating on this idea just a bit, we can say that the body of people in this instance have subjected them-

⁸ Stewart, W. D., *Dictatorship or Democracy*, pp. 71-75.

First Steps in C. S. A.

18. POLITICS

1. THE MEANING OF POLITICS

Omitting Text-book definitions of "Politics", we may say that Politics is the science and art of securing and advancing the temporal welfare of a community organised as a State. The business of politics, therefore involves both the laying down of general principles and their application to concrete problems. Of course, the principles on which States are built today differ widely. For example, one of the principles on which the Communist State is built, is the complete abolition of private property, and therefore, Communist-politics will lay down this principle and then, apply it in practice by the denial of private property to all citizens.

The scope of politics is the temporal well-being of the community as a whole. To say this, means that politics is concerned with the relations of the members of the community between themselves and between them and the things of the world. Again, it is concerned with the rights and duties of citizens to each other and to the State; with the rights and duties of individual States towards other States in the great family of nations; with commerce, industry, social institutions, public morality and the social order in general. Remember that the extent to which politics deals with the economic and social life of the country depends on the "brand" of politics in action. Thus, a State built on the principles of Liberalism (See Discussion 12), will hardly interfere with the economic life of the country, and Liberal Politics will steer clear off the shoals of economics. On the other hand, a Socialist State will tend more and more to control and order the economic life of the country and hence, encroach more and more upon almost every aspect of human life.

2. POLITICS AND MORALITY

Since the State, including its Government and its citizens, is made up of human beings, it follows, that the members of a State, whether they be Statesmen, Politicians, Cabinet Members, members of an One-Party State, or humble citizens, they are all subject to just man-made laws and to the laws of God. The latter, known partly by reason and partly by revelation, makes up what is known as the Moral Law, and is more fundamental than, and superior to, man-made State Law.

The Moral Law forbids all men to indulge in certain actions and to engage in certain ways of conduct. Some such actions are for-

bidden because they are intrinsically evil, that is to say, these actions, always and everywhere come into conflict with reason and human nature; such are, lying, murder and impurity. Others are forbidden only when they are done in circumstances, or from motives, which conflict with right reason and human nature; thus, drinking beer is in itself not blame-worthy, but it becomes morally wrong when indulged in to excess.

The application of the Moral Law to politics becomes easy to understand, when we consider the parallel between a doctor and a statesman. The former is charged with the physical health of his patient, and the latter with the material welfare of the country. Both, as human beings, are subject to the same moral laws and principles which bind all men. Like any other man, the doctor is forbidden to indulge in any action outlawed by the principles of morality, such as the deliberate taking of human life. On the other hand, he owes it to the obligations of his office and profession to employ every legitimate means to save the life of his patient. But the Moral Law does not tell him the technical details of the medical treatment. Indeed, he is free to decide the appropriate medical technique and is limited only by those moral obligations which bind him as well as every other man.

Now the Statesman or Politician as a *human being* is bound by the moral principles which bind all men: again, as a *Statesman or Politician* he is under the special obligations of his office to promote the general welfare of his country. It follows, that in the discharge of his special obligations he must not violate the general principles of the Moral Law. It is not, however, the business of the Moral Law to pass judgement upon the technical methods employed to advance the temporal welfare of the State: that matter of technique must be left to the technical experts. Yet, in so far as these methods are the result of human actions, these actions must not be such as are prohibited by the Moral Law. Thus, if a politician attempts to establish a more just distribution of the national income, the methods and means he employs must be in keeping with the principles of the Moral Law. Again, the Moral Law will not attempt to tell him whether a "free trade" or "protectionist" economy will best further the welfare of the country, or whether a system of direct or indirect representation will result in the most efficient distribution of political power; but it will censure the means he adopts to establish a free trade or protectionist economy, or a system of direct or indirect representation. Once this close connection between the Moral Law and Politics is understood, we can readily understand the teaching of Pope Pius XI, who in *Quadragesimo Anno*, para 41, writes, that:

Holy church "can never relinquish her God-given task of interposing her authority, not indeed, in matters of technique, for which she has neither the equipment nor the mission but in all matters that fall under the Moral Law."

3. PARTY POLITICS

The politician, as we have seen, is bound by the Moral Law under which all men live; and moreover, by the special obligations of his office. These place on him the special responsibility of finding the best means (subject to the limitations imposed by the Moral Law) to further the advancement of the State. Hence, while keeping within the limits of the Moral Law, there is always plenty of room for a legitimate difference of opinion as to the "best methods and means" for securing the welfare of the State. In fact, as Pope Leo XIII tells us in his encyclical *On the Christian Constitution of States*:

"There is no doubt that in the sphere of politics ample matter may exist for legitimate difference of opinion, and that, always respecting the rights of justice and truth, all may strive to bring in effect the ideas likely to be more conducive than others to the general welfare."

Thus Pope Leo has outlined the fundamental reason for the existence of political parties, and at the same time, he gives all Catholics a useful directive. In every country which boasts freedom of speech, there will be found groups of citizens who, while agreeing on fundamentals, legitimately differ from the rest of people in the country as to the best *methods* of achieving progress. The formation of political parties is therefore, natural and Catholics may join such parties, provided such parties respect the rights of justice and truth. Unfortunately, two main factors render it almost impossible for Catholics to share in the political life of certain States. *Firstly*, the moral foundation of certain parties is such that they are led to reject the rights of justice and truth, thus, the Communist party. *Secondly*, the degenerate and sectional attitude of some parties, which place party interests above the welfare of the country. The modern instance on keeping to the "Party Line" has prevented many an able man from "mixing in politics" which has become a competitive struggle for power and not a means to further the common good. Writing after World War I, Pius XI, traces the evils caused by "degenerate political parties," when he says:—

"In the political domain the parties have almost made a law not to seek the common good through a healthy rivalry and by means of the truth of their opinions, but instead, to seek their own interests to the detriment of others. Hence what do we witness? Plots and attacks against citizens and against the Ministers of the State, terrorism and open rebellion". (*On the Troubles left by the European War. Dec. 23rd, 1922*)

4. CATHOLICS AND POLITICS

Must one, therefore, conclude that Catholics should refrain from sharing in political life? Pope Leo XIII has already answered:

Firstly, Catholics are free to join any political party provided it respects the "rights of justice and truth."

Secondly, it is the DUTY of Catholics to make the best use of politics. In fact, if they abstain from sharing in public life, "this would," writes Pope Leo XIII, "also tend to the injury of the Christian religion, for as much as they would come into power who are badly disposed towards the Church, and they who are willing to befriend her would be deprived of all influence. It follows therefore clearly that Catholics have just reasons for taking part in the conduct of public affairs." (*The Christian Constitution of States*). Pope Pius XI makes this conclusion of Leo XIII still more clear when he tells us: "Every good citizen is bound to make the best use of politics, and Catholics in particular, since the profession of the Catholic Faith requires that they be the best citizens." (*Peculiari Quaedam*). This is not the place to trace the history of countries which have fallen victims of Totalitarianism, but it is a significant fact, that in all such countries, the Church was declared Public Enemy No. 1 by the Dictators, and the voice of Catholics was stifled and suppressed in every public assembly.

Thirdly, the Holy See makes a clear distinction between mere "party politics", i.e., a political group working for its own sectional or class interests, and "politics" which aim at improving the common good. Catholics are warned against mere party politics.

We may conclude by examining a practical difficulty. Since politics today, in even the most democratic country is run on party lines, how can any Catholic enter politics without giving his allegiance to some political party? As we have noted above, certain parties are banned to Catholics, on account of the anti-moral foundations of such parties; other parties which are not anti-religious, leave ample room for Catholics to share in politics. In fact, a well trained Catholic may even infuse in the "Party Line" principles of Catholic thought and action, without accepting any weakness of the Party. As Pope Leo XIII writes:—

"In doing so they assume not the responsibility of approving what is blameworthy in the actual methods of Government, but seek to turn these very methods, so far as is possible, to the genuine and true public good, and to use their best endeavours, at the same time, to infuse as it were into all the veins of the State, the healthy sap and blood of Christian wisdom and virtue." (*The Christian Constitution of States*).

READING:—

C. C. Clump, S.J., *A Catholic Guide to Social and Political Action*, Pp. 55-67. (Oxford C. S. G., also at the Examiner Press, Bombay). C. C. Clump, S.J., *The Economic and Political Life of Man*, Pp. 245-47.

EXERCISES:—

1. Define Politics.
2. Explain the connection between the Moral Law and Politics.
3. Explain the attitude of the Church towards politics.
4. Mention the main political parties in India, and outline the policy of each.

C. C. C.

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selves to the control of a central authority holding jurisdiction over just about every aspect of their joint relations. The economic, cultural, and domestic societies are each comprehended within the regulative province of this all-inclusive organization. On that account, such an institution is frequently referred to as the complete society. Of course it is true that, in-so-far-as the operations of this superior society touch upon areas which are more specifically the concern of the smaller, specialized associations, they are subject to stringent limitations, or will be, surely, if the social order is an integrated one. Every level of the hierarchic structure must have its rightful claim to autonomy respected. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the service which the political organ renders to the social body is both very real and extremely vital. It provides an organic framework, like the skeletal and nervous systems of the human body, which supports and stimulates a multitude of separately functioning units."

As we observed earlier, a democratic social system places the immediate along with the ultimate responsibility for a society's government upon the shoulders of its entire adult population. If it is to survive, much less thrive, in any instance of its political existence, it will have to succeed in instilling a prominent political consciousness and a positive political concern within the characters of all its constituents. Every single section of the particular body politic must be interested in adding its contribution to the total governmental process. Similarly, besides the normal, healthy degree of participation which will be present in any well-run political community, the citizens of a political democracy will have to put forth still more effort. Since each one is actually, albeit indirectly in most cases, entitled to and expected to have a voice in the critically important work of making, applying, and enforcing the rules of social conduct, he cannot be satisfied with the performance of such

9 Rommen, op. cit., pp. 463-65.

elementary public actions as attending an occasional meeting, and casting a periodic vote. The social voids which intervene between such occurrences create a vacuum in society which eventually spells the demise of democracy. These dangerous gaps need to be permanently removed from the scene by continuing and concerted efforts on the part of the people along the lines of action aimed at making themselves ready, willing, and able to join civic enterprises, serve on public committees and agencies, search out and encourage capable candidates for public office, and even, where possible, submit personally to the public's methods of selecting their officials.

While engaging in this unselfish routine, however, the various participants should never forget the inevitable impossibility of assuring the same amount of recognition and prominence to the conflicting programmes and practices that are suggested. In the market-place of ideas, which a democratic deliberative process ever entails, some views will be accepted and others discarded. The winnowing or sifting technique in vogue, though, ought ordinarily to operate on a relative rather than an absolute principle. Situated as they are in the midst of a complex and contingent sphere of reality, truth and justice in political matters can be the subject of an honest dispute. The prevailing mode for determining what are to be selected and sanctioned as the official policy, therefore, must be based on the precept of rule by the majority, with due consideration to the rights of the minority. Under such a procedure, the final product will bear the label made by all.

From these observations as to the significance of democracy for political society, we may formulate the following conclusions. Political society is the highest, in the sense of being the most comprehensive and complete, form of man's temporal associations. Since its *raison d'être* is the effective ordering of the entire hierarchy of social organizations, within the marginal limits, to be sure, established by the

personal rights of the individual, the natural rights of religious societies, and what might be termed the subsidiarity rights of the lesser social bodies, it possesses an inherent regulatory jurisdiction over the remaining categories of human associations. The operational plan of society that is known as democracy receives its most extensive implementation, meaning, with respect to its quantitative potentialities, when it is given effect on this social level. Then the opportunity for the whole range of qualified members in either a village, a city, a province, or a nation, to enjoy the greatest privilege of social life, that is, sharing the responsibilities of promoting the common good, becomes an accomplished fact. Furthermore, as human experience amply demonstrates, the security of a people's rights is usually closely proportioned to their capacities for responsibilities. Consequently, a second very valuable political benefit follows in the democratic train. By their readiness, their willingness, and their ability to make the organ of authority in their political society a government by the people, they render much more certain the honouring of those primary social correlatives to which they have a natural right—that government be of the people and for the people as well. Qualitatively considered, however, that is to say, with respect to the intensity of the penetration made by this popular method of control into the social order, democracy in politics does not of itself accomplish much. It really only faintly and remotely touches the economic and cultural sectors, seeing as how they are largely distinct from though simultaneously and essentially related to the political edifice. To achieve a thoroughgoing social democracy, then, these two organs of group life must likewise be directly enriched with the democratic ingredients. Not only is this a fact, but unless the spirit of popular control is instilled in such additional areas, it cannot long maintain itself in the political setting. (We have already seen how democracy is dependent upon a definite degree of internal and external development on the part of its subjects. Without a modicum of these conditions, all

semblance of a democratic order will simply wither away, if indeed it is ever able to become installed. But the first of these personal factors is decidedly a function of cultural society, while the second is pre-eminently affected by relations in economics. Democracy, therefore, owes it to itself, and to the best interests of the social order in its entirety to see that strenuous efforts are made for projecting it into these divisions of society. In doing this, though, the actual position of the three separate categories must not be lost sight of. Since there is a line of real independence which sets each of them apart, a reciprocal measure of autonomy should characterize the democratic institutions within the borders of each. A truly integrated social democracy cannot be attained by merely turning over the government of economic and cultural enterprises to the same representatives who direct the political affairs of their people.

J. S. Connor.

COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND HUMAN RELATIONS

"We are only indicating how the job is to be done; it is others who will have to do the job. But somehow, as things are, the persons who do the job are rather diffident. How to give the initiative to the people in those things? How to bestow on them that sense of partnership, that sense of purpose, that eagerness to do things? . . . The primary matter is the human being involved, the man who is going to work, the man who is going to feel it and translate that feeling into action. Are you going to create that type of human being? The human being is there, of course, you have only to reach his mind and heart." Such are some of the pertinent questions which the Prime Minister put be-

fore the Conference of the Development Commissioners of the Community Projects, on May 7th, 1952. By stressing the fact that the human being is the centre of our Community Projects, the Prime Minister drew attention to a very simple truth, but one which like so many elementary truths of life, is often forgotten in the stress and strain of economic and social development and planning. How often our planners forget the very nature of the being for whom they plan! In fact, it has needed a long and painful experience to prove to the planners of our industrial society, that all useful economic activity must take into account the human person for whose benefit such activity is ultimately undertaken! In our industrial world, this explains, in part, the development of the modern science of Human Relations, which has demonstrated that efficient production depends more on a friendly human co-operation between workers and employers rather than on paper plans and elaborate machinery.

Our Community Projects involve a vast plan, an enormous administrative organisation and various types of technical aid and machinery. It follows, therefore, that unless the human element is kept in view, as the Prime Minister has insisted, the very aim and purpose of the Plan will be defeated. A few facts suffice to reveal the vastness of the Plan, its great administrative machinery and the other measures which are essential for its success. To begin with these Projects are scattered all over the Indian Union and are located in every Indian State. Development areas are divided into Projects and Development Blocks, and each Project is intended to cover a rural population of two hundred thousand people living in an area of about forty square miles and in three hundred villages. Moreover, each Project is divided into three Development Blocks each of which is made up of a hundred villages. The Village Unit is usually composed of a population of five hundred people distributed in about a hundred families. In the whole of India,

forty-six Projects and twenty-three Development Blocks are to be constructed, and hence, the whole development area in the country will cover, approximately, a little over two thousand square miles in which there lives about sixty million people! With the assistance of the American Ford Foundation thirty Extension Training Centres have been sanctioned in the different States by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture; and in most cases, these Training Centres have been established near a Community Development Project so that the trainees may have every opportunity of engaging in practical work.

This vast development plan operates at almost every level of Government Administration. The Central Committee, at the top, is composed of members of the Planning Commission, and it is assisted by an Advisory Board made up of the Union Government's Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, the Secretary of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the additional secretary to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research and a nominee of the Indo-U.S. Technical Fund. At State level, the Chief Minister heads the State Development Committee, and the other members include the Development Minister, the Ministers for Agriculture and Irrigation, Finance, Public Works and the Development Commissioner. Field operations in the State are under the District Development Committee which is composed of the Collector, as Chairman, and other officers representing Agriculture, Health, Education, Industries, Irrigation and the Public Works Department. In each State, a Project Advisory Committee assists the State Development Committee and it is made up of the local members of Parliament, local members of the State Assembly, local members of the District Board, members of the Village Panchayats in the area and other non-official members of the private organisations of social work operating in the area. Perhaps, the most important person in the whole administrative organisation is the Village Level Worker who is assigned to an average of five villages at the Development

Block Level. And for each hundred villages in an area, there is provided a technical staff of agriculturists, health workers, educationalists and others who assist the village level worker in his multiple activities. In order to man all Community Projects and Development Blocks in the country there will be need of about 805 supervisory staff and 4234 village level workers.

The key-position held by the village level worker may easily be understood when it is realized that the development programme aims not only at the economic reconstruction of the country, but also at the social rehabilitation of rural India. In other words, material betterment must be accompanied by a changed social outlook, so that all round progress in the country may be secured. The immensity of such a task will not escape any social worker who has had even a superficial experience of work in rural rehabilitation! And precisely because this task involves the building up of mental and moral attitudes, the human factor and human incentives to village uplift are of prime importance. "Poverty is not merely an economic concept," as the *Draft Handbook on Community Projects* notes, "but it is a social phenomenon implying a vicious circle of low income from agriculture, unemployment, malnutrition and chronic sub-health, ignorance and other factors," and it is this long continued and long endured condition of life which accounts for the fact, that "millions in India lack goods and commodities, but there is no positive desire to possess them either." Moreover, "amongst such people life is characterised by a lack of discontent, absence of conflict and, therefore, absence of aggressiveness." The result of this is a type of social stagnation and a contentment with sub-human conditions of life. This, indeed, is one of the most difficult and baffling problems of the social worker, and for the inexperienced social worker, there is, perhaps, none other which is more discouraging. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that social stagnation is met with only in our rural areas; it is fairly common in urban areas, and reveals itself among

the more wealthy classes by a supine unconcern or indifference towards helping the less unfortunate to enjoy better social conditions, and among the slum dwellers of our city, by a lack of all sustained effort to bring about conditions of life more in keeping with the human dignity.

It is common knowledge that the problem of social stagnation becomes still more difficult when it is met with among peoples who enjoy both a relatively high income and a comparatively high educational standard. In fact, it is not uncommon to find, especially in our villages which are situated near big cities and towns, that many an inhabitant of such villages though fairly well-off and educated still persists in living in conditions which show an absence of the most elementary rules of sanitation and healthy living! And, usually, such people show no concern for any kind of village rehabilitation. They spend most of their time in the factories and offices of the city, and thus, their house in the village is little more than merely a place to rest in during the night. Their fields and farms are only of secondary importance, and occupy their attention for only a few months in the year, and even then, the work done on the land is usually carried out by hired labour. In such cases, there is need, for women social workers, on the village level; such workers would find it necessary to approach the women of the village, and through them advance the uplift of the area. In fact, since the men are away for the most part of the day, at work in the city, the women folk in the village can better appreciate the benefits of improved water-supply, drainage, sanitation and other social amenities.

But whether the village level worker finds conditions as described above, or whether he operates among a thoroughly rural population, his success, by and large, will depend upon the type of contact he establishes with the people, and the manner in which he evaluates the human side of his work. According to the *Draft Handbook*, "it is his (the village level worker's) job to help the people to see their

needs and to want help in making changes", and moreover, "the village worker must *understand* what is going on in the minds of the people and in the social groups of the villages where he is working." This, indeed, implies more than a mere knowledge of the material and technical side of rural development, and one wonders if the training given our village level worker will fit him for such a task. The "human problems" in our villages, are not less important and difficult than the technical ones, and it is no exaggeration to say that the success of the village level worker will be measured by his ability to meet the stress, strain, petty rivalries and competition between members of a village community. The difficult problem of social stagnation among the low income village worker, may not unfrequently be due to a fear of change, and this in turn derives from the fear of insecurity. That is to say, the low income agricultural farmer lives on the border line of insecurity and if he changes his methods, he fear that even the very small yield he now receives will be further endangered. Hence, it is for the village level worker so to illustrate and demonstrate the benefits of change, that the peasant farmer and villager will willingly accept the new ideas of the village level worker. For the common man, security means a sufficient money income, or more correctly, a minimum amount of those things money can buy — food, clothing and shelter, in the first instance. After this comes security from unemployment and the loss of one's possessions. These are the *material incentives*, which the village level worker may employ to bring about rural reconstruction, in the way of better housing, sanitation and agricultural yields. To these material incentives must be added *psychological* and *social incentives*, in fact, material incentives are of little avail unless strengthened by these others. The small farmer and villager will not give of his best, unless he is assured that he himself, and his family, will enjoy the fruits of his labour, and this assurance must be given him by the village level worker.

C. C. Clump.

PROGRESS REPORT

South Canara

South Canara which had been long considered like a dormant region is awake with a new spirit since Independence Day, as any attentive visitor could testify. Under the Madras Estate Act, 1948, some 33 villages had the fixity of tenures well established. The fair rent of wet land was reduced from two-thirds to one-half of the net produce after making a larger allowance for the costs of cultivation; the fair rent of garden lands was also reduced and the system of renewals by which some customary tenants had to pay a renewal fee every twelve years was abolished.

Mangalore boasts of an Employer-Labour Liaison Committee which was started on private initiative and which did much to settle the dock-workers' strike and to improve the health of the labourers, and a Mahila Sabha which promotes social service among the womenfolk in a methodical manner. A community project is also in course of execution in the northern part of the district and is at present engaged on roads and bridges. But possibly the most progressive spirit is in evidence at Udipi where since Independence Day a new High School, a new University College and a Medical Institute have been built and meet the requirements of an eager youth.

The manner of financing the Medical Institution of which the Anatomy block was inaugurated on July 1st by the Health Minister deserves special mention. The Committee in charge publicized the project, after an enquiry which revealed that there were only some seven thousand seats in medical institutions against some thirty-five thousand applications. The Committee resolved that admission would be reserved, for the first ten years, to candidates whose parents would donate Rs. 3,000 per student. In the very first year, one hundred students were admitted and the first

block was erected. In the ten-year span foreseen, it is hoped that the college will be fully built and equipped. The Committee has also secured the co-operation of city and hospital authorities for the practical training of the students. The Udipi case is sufficient proof that medical services are in high demand and that the public do not rely on governmental *mabapism* to meet their own requirements.

Anti-Communist Movement

The All-Kerala Anti-Communist Front is a socio-moral organisation without any direct political programme which combats Communist influence by improving the economic and social conditions of the people. It has organised various associations and services: trade-unions, peasant movements, co-operative societies, employment league, health centres, adult night-schools, cottage industries, road-making gangs, savings banks.

The report of the first year mentions that one lakh of labourers have come under its trade-unions; more than 700 cells have been created in various villages and the movement has spread to nearly all the factories of Kerala. More than 1,500 meetings and 300 study-circles were conducted. Special training was given to 700 workers, among whom several have become full-time propagandists. Groups are also formed in schools and colleges; summer camps and training centres were set up.

An "All-Kerala People's Literary Front" has been formed. Its well-known weekly "Thozhilali" and lakhs of cheap pamphlets were distributed throughout the whole region. Bookstalls are being started in every town under the direction of the Central Committee and the Taluk Committees and the Front met with sincere appreciation from all prominent national dailies. The First annual convention was held at Alleppey in May 1953, which was attended by more than one hundred thousand people. The People's

Rally led by Dr. Sathya Narayana Sinha, M.P., was attended by over 30,000 enthusiastic opponents of Communism.

The Movement has received the precious encouragement from Mr. A. J. John, Mr. M. R. Masani, Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. Chengalvarayan, Prof. Ranga, Sri S. K. Patil and the Madras Law-Minister. It received even better encouragement from the recent municipal elections in Travancore-Cochin.

Report on the Five-Year Plan

The Report summarizes what has been done in the first two years. Up to now out of the 2069 crores of rupees foreseen for the five years, some Rs. 585 crores have been spent. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory and the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works which were already under way at the start of the Plan have been completed. No other major project was due for completion up to now. The first two years only saw the planning and execution of the investment programme gathering a satisfactory momentum, though not reaching its peak.

The increase in agricultural production cannot yet be ascertained to the full. It is estimated that during 1951-52 the increase reached 8.8 lakh tons in foodgrains, plus another 2.7 lakh tons due to major irrigation works. In 1952-53 there has been further progress in rice, jowar, bajra, and maize, though several States failed to supply information. Fertilisers are not yet popular nor are the schemes for distribution of improved seeds sufficiently well organised. Consolidation of holdings has been taken in hand, especially in the Punjab.

Community projects are still at a very early stage. Thirty extension training centres are at work, 1324 village level workers and 66 supervisory personnel are under training, whilst 946 village level workers and 180 supervisory personnel have completed their training. The number of community projects begun in 1952 is 55 (each to cover 300 villages distributed in three blocks).

The irrigation targets for 1952-53 have been substantially attained (1.42 million acres out of 1.89 million foreseen); Punjab and Uttar Pradesh are ahead of schedule, Bihar, Madras, Rajasthan, and Damodar Valley lagging behind.

Industrial improvement was not uniform; increase in cotton textiles, cement, iron and steel, paper, etc.; fall in aluminium, pumps, diesel engines, machine tools, looms; hurricane lanterns, etc.

Communications have been improved substantially. Rehabilitation of railway rolling stock was satisfactory; 192 miles of railroad added. Harbours, lighthouses, shipping showed moderate improvement. 240 (out of 640 as planned) miles have been added to national highways; as to State highways, no accurate data have been supplied. Telegraph offices increased from 3,600 to 4,000; telephones from 168,000 to 200,000.

Among the social services envisaged in the Five Year Plan, little has been done about the Central Government's health schemes, except in the anti-tuberculosis schemes which, thanks to the assistance of W.H.O. and U.N.I.C.E.F., witness mass scale B.C.G. vaccination. As expected, the Report looks forward to the concrete proposals which the Population Research and Programme Committee is to make about family planning and the conclusions arrived at in the three experimental centres established for pilot studies.

About education, reliable data on primary schools are not available; ditto about secondary schools; ditto about universities. It almost exclusively refers to plans, programmes, projects, and commissions; the only progress reported is about expenditure. The schemes for the Indian Institute of Technology, the Development of the Indian Institute of Sciences, the Research Training Scholarships, the Development of Scientific Training and Technical Education, and Research are all taken in hand.

Labour conditions proved satisfactory on the whole : reduced number of days lost, increase in the annual earnings, progressive legislation (Plantation Labour Act 1951, Mines Act 1952, and Employees' Provident Fund Act 1952). Surveys, training schemes, productivity studies, and further planning.

Nor was the welfare of backward classes forgotten, though no precise details of advance could be supplied. For the rehabilitation of refugees, Rs. 12.2 crores were spent in 1951-52 and some 16 crores in 1953 ; these sums cover rural settlement, housing, loans, technical training and education.

The Report ends with a survey of the public co-operation given to the scheme ; here again realia are scanty. The Bharat Sewak Samaj which came into being in August 1952 has completed much of its organisational frame-work, the Ministry of Education is in touch with their State colleagues to promote the training of students and plans for labour service are drafted. Here and there the savings scheme made a good start, the local works programme met with fair response from the public, panchayats are being formed. Some regions show a decidedly progressive spirit, but many others are dormant.

On the whole the Report makes satisfying reading. The Five Year Plan has made a fair beginning, and it is hoped that unforeseen obstructions will not mar its even development.

A. L.

For promoters of Social Work

"The task of formation which must always precede direct action will assuredly be served by study-circles, conferences, lecture-courses and the various activities undertaken to make known the Christian solution of the social problem." (*Divini Redemptoris*)

SOCIAL CHRONICLE

Land Reforms

According to Mr. J. P. Narain, the Bhoodan Movement will end in collective village ownership. Before co-operative farming can be introduced which is inevitable, peasants should pool their tools and implements and start co-operative societies. Poor farmers gave their land far more willingly than rich landlords. He himself had collected 2,459 acres from 1,085 donors during his tour in Gujarat.

It looks as if in the mind of the Praja Socialist leader, no compensation would be given in case of legal dispossession. On the other hand (Art. 31 of the Constitution), such policy would go against the right to private property. In contrast with this discrepancy, the leader agrees with the Government Five-Year Plan to have the village land managed by Panchayats.

Co-ordination between official services in Madras was an urgent need. According to Sri M. Rajeswara Rao, M.L.A., Harijans and others who wanted to cultivate public waste land were requested to have themselves registered as field-labour co-operative societies as a necessary pre-requisite ; when they applied to the Co-operative Department for registration, they were told to have the land granted to them by the Collector before being registered. It was agreed that registration of such co-operative societies would be given, as the first step, if members deposited the share capital, since the co-operatives could undertake other business besides farming.

By the end of July, the distribution of lands donated in the Bhoodan movement was being undertaken only in four States : Uttar Pradesh, Hyderabad, Kerala and Tamil Nad. The distribution deals with 5,50,000 acres out of the 14,62,000 acres secured till mid-July. So far Bihar has contributed 7,00,000 acres and Uttar Pradesh 5,00,000. In the four States mentioned above the government has recognized the legality

of the transfers for Bhoodan. The other State Governments have not yet moved in the matter, and the Sarvaseva Samaj had acknowledged the gifts and kept the land with them for cultivation. In the four States where the distribution has been legalised, village committees are formed which in consultation with all the villagers allocate the lands for five years in the first instance. By the end of July, Hyderabad had dealt with some 60,000 acres, Kerala and Tamil Nad with 6,000 each.

Harijan Uplift

The Madras State plans to start new hostels for Harijans, five for boys and two for girls. The hostels for boys would be built at Mayavaram, Coimbatore, Guntur, Eluru and Srivilliputtur; for girls, at Guntur and Eluru. This is a new proof that the political equality in the Constitution has not automatically given economic and social equality.

In Ahmedabad, Sri P. N. Rajbhoj, M.U.P. and General Secretary of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation, complained that the disabilities of Harijans had been removed on paper only. Little is done to promote the economic conditions of Harijans.

In South India, Sri S. D. Chaurasia, member of the Backward Inquiry Commission, urged Harijans to place all facts relating to their educational, economic and social conditions before higher authorities. Sri V. N. Ghatikachalam remarked that economic help should come first, improvement in social status being second; even educated members of the community often enough fail to get suitable appointments. In the same line, when wells are bored in the villages with government assistance, they are not allowed to the Harijans but are monopolised by influential people.

Schools

The new scheme of Elementary Education in Madras came in for sharp criticism at a meeting of the Executive

Board of the South India Teachers Union, held in early July with Sri S. N. Natarajan presiding.

The Board felt in duty bound to warn the public that the scheme would provide only an inferior standard of education. The hasty manner in which it had been introduced fills one with fears of possible drastic changes in the future. Teachers are conservative but progressive enough to understand and appreciate beneficial schemes as well as to evaluate the difficulties to be met in working it out. Therefore they are naturally averse to hasty measures. The scheme foresees a system of apprenticeship for the children between 6 and 11 in case parents cannot train them in their own occupations. Teachers question the very idea of this system; there are serious difficulties and dangers in entrusting small children to village craftsmen who do not always enjoy the parental trust. Such apprenticeship would be more suitable for children above ten and the question of apprenticeship calls for re-examination.

The arrangements which keep the small children in the class-room for three hours at a stretch may prove too strenuous for kids. More particularly can teachers put in two three-hour shifts every day with anything like efficiency?

Another innovation in the scheme is to limit itself to mere literacy and it throws the burden of anything above and beyond, social behaviour and manual skill, on the parents. It is doubtful if the schools will go on teaching civics which in past years looked so very important that school inspectors never failed to ask the smallest boy or girl: "What is an M.L.A.? Who is our beloved Governor? Who is our revered Prime Minister? Who is the honourable chairman of our District Board? What is a firka?" Those questions were so important yesterday that grants were often measured on the standard of 'civic education' imparted by the school; to-morrow it may be put aside.

The teaching of manual craft will be entrusted to the village craftsmen, blacksmith, carpenter, weaver, etc. in

case the parents themselves do not feel like initiating their children (between five and ten) into the mysteries of their own occupation. This teaching in craftsmanship which is an essential piece of primary education appears to be left to a type of educators which is uncertain and unreliable. Will the kids find such educators in sufficient numbers and with the necessary leisure and patience to deal with toddlers? What of the villages where such different craftsmen are not to be found? What of the schools with a boarding department? What of the girls attending school from distant hamlets?

Finally the pedagogues were not slow to denounce the tone and language that had been used to criticise the old scheme, though they themselves were not averse to adopting a similar tone and language to criticise the new one. Why depreciate the meritorious efforts of the past in working out the old system of education? Why so derogatory remarks on the efficiency and devotedness of the old school masters? Why depict the schools as if they were prisons? In short what was the reason and justification of such unfair and unjust criticisms? The Board could only regret such denunciations.

Each and every item of innovation was taken up in turn and duly, longishly, repetitiously studied, analysed in detail, criticised and rejected. In spite of such much pedagogical wrath and forensic eloquence, the Government of Madras seem resolved to proceed with the scheme. But at the fag end of the legislative session, an amendment was carried which recommended that the scheme be stayed and submitted to a committee of official and non-official experts.

E. Gathier.

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