

Social Action

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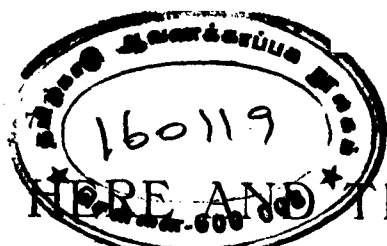
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Catholic Social Conference

Under instructions from the C.B.C.I. a conference of Catholic Social Workers will be held at Ernakulam from the 21st to the 25th April (Easter week). His Grace Dr. Attipetty will preside.

It is hoped that each diocese will send at least three delegates and that among them there will be a large number of lay people.

The sessions will be held in St. Albert's College. Accommodation for delegates will be provided at St. Albert's Hostel and at St. Teresa's College Hostel. Delegates appointed by the Ordinary should kindly send their name as early as possible to the Convener, Rev. Fr. J. D'Souza, s.j., Social Institute, 4 Boat Club Road, Poona 1.



SOCIAL ACTION

Missionary Approach

The very word "mission", we are told, stinks in nostrils deadened with the vague scents of humanitarianism. Yet they do not seem to dislike cultural missions, scientific missions, goodwill missions, friendship missions which follow the Red Star; but they get horrified at missions headed by the cross. Why is it that a cross is disturbing? Is it that the cross is a challenge to their uneasy conscience?

We do not intend discussing that challenge, but rather examining if a Christian missionary approach tones down, ruins or damages social work, and more generally if what is disdainfully called an "ulterior motive" incapacitates social workers. Quite a few people trained in schools of social work insist that the only worthy motive of social work is humanitarianism, which they call the "religion of humanity." One should work, they say, for a humanity well enclosed within humanity. Auguste Comte wanted it that way and that should be good enough for all!

Motives

On close examination, the Comtist dogma does not work or is irrelevant. Suppose Shri Gopal wants to rehabilitate his fellow-villagers who vegetate in mucky murky huts and streets, suppose that he does it merely out of a sheer dread of filth, microbe and contagion, who would argue from his self-centred motive and stop him when he does clean roads and drains? Provided he does his bit of social work efficiently and does not

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bully his beneficiaries, can one say his "ulterior motive" de-humanizes his fellow-humans?

Whoever among the Comtist devotees ever obstructed the zealots of a political party, or of a government, who undertook solid social work for the sake of electoral success? Whoever objected to graduates of a social school who take to social work for a living?

What government or what public body is qualified to judge motives? Suppose Shri Gopal does his job of spreading the Comtist faith or any other faith, where are the civil authorities in a secular state that are competent to assess inner purposes? The only requirements to be exacted from social workers is that they do not disturb public peace and that they relieve, rehabilitate and reform people in a manner consonant with human dignity. Inner motives are not within the realm of Caesar.

Forging Ahead

The Five Year Plan is doing fairly well in many places, though youths feel impatient at the slow pace of the first years. The latest reports tell of substantial progress: increase in food production (4.4 million tons over the 1950-51 produce), in jute, cotton and sugarcane; adequate advance in cotton yarn, mill cloth, cement and fertilisers; stepping up in power, irrigation, and reclamation schemes.

It is expected that further schemes (housing, road-making, etc.) will absorb unemployed or displaced persons; scarcity areas will receive special attention; small-scale industries which lack finance for short-term

among whom 598,540 Italians, 320,000 Poles, 234,030 Spaniards and 69,310 Germans. The Seine District, with Paris and her suburbs, counted in its five million inhabitants 330,740 foreigners, among whom were 70,290 Italians, 44,020 Poles, 31,175 Spaniards and 8,850 Germans. The department Bouches du Rhone with its capital Marseilles had 103,790 foreigners among whom 54,330 Italians, 7,925 Poles, 22,730 Spaniards and 1,290 Germans. The lowest quotas (770 and 730) respectively were found in the agricultural districts of Vendée and Mayenne.

From the ranks of foreigners students are singled out for favoured treatment, whatever be the grade or branch of their studies. Undoubtedly they need a visa but they are certain of obtaining it and they will find in the larger centres like Paris a government office to welcome, direct and assist them until they are accustomed to their new surroundings and can find their way in the many and somewhat new regulations of the university or special school they have chosen. Other organisations on a national, denominational or cultural basis are also available for any required assistance to students. Students can follow courses in Government establishments (Universities, Institutes, Special Schools) or independent institutions like the Catholic Institute where they can prepare for governmental examinations, doctorate in Christian theology, Philosophy, Canon Law or Church history. The student-card delivered to each allows him or her to take meals in students' restaurants where prices are low. Hostels with low room rents are available in the Paris University

City which harbours not less than five thousand students.

In some cases the French government allots scholarships and stipends. During holidays special courses are given at the Paris University, as is the custom in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Elsewhere similar courses are organised as well as by provincial universities or private organisations, with the help of specialists. Exchanges of student are not uncommon; moreover students from England and elsewhere profit by the holiday season to tour the country and are wont to defray their expenses by working in fields and factories. With a view to favour bilingualism, the major part of the population of some towns of France and England are exchanged for the holiday period. In addition one may mention the crowds of foreigners who come over to France for week-ends. A passport gives an easy entrance for all nations which agree to give a reciprocal treatment.

What of the workmen, particularly of those who desire to settle down in France? Before 1939 immigration was left to private initiative; the government maintained a certain control and the right to keep away undesirable elements. After the liberation, the Government has taken full charge of all immigration. The Interministerial Commission for Immigration fixes the condition for entry: age from 17 to 40 usually, up to 45 for agricultural labourers, up to 50 for qualified workmen in the building industry; conditions of health, etc. The National Office of Immigration details rules and regulations for entry and also for exit. Workmen

seeking a job are directed to a centre in their own country where they pass a medical examination to facilitate entry into France. Other questions are put to make sure no undesirable element will pass the frontier. On a declaration of fitness they are allowed in and directed to a reception centre which will give them shelter not only when they come in but also whenever they look for another job after their first contract has expired. Before entering France workmen must have a work contract delivered by the firms seeking labour; name, qualifications, terms of the contract, etc are entered on the paper. In case of a job for an industry which is declared to be in shortage, the immigrant is allowed in immediately. In any case the workman is bound to remain in the place and in the job marked out in his contract. If the industry for which a job is sought is not in short supply and is well provided with nationals, the visa is refused unless the employer comes and proves this particular workman with a special skill is needed. Special regulations cover the cases of temporary jobs or of seasonal requirements. Seasonal workmen are called "frontaliers"; they numbered as many as 25,000 in 1951 for the short beet-root season. Besides the "frontaliers" numbering some 45,000, there are thousands of Belgians and Germans commuting between France and their homes and enjoying special facilities. Probationers under thirty who seek further qualification are also admitted on easy terms.

A residence permit is given by the police and a job certificate by the official workers department. The

workman must give notice only when he changes his domicile, not when he goes on a holiday. Residence permits and job certificates are given for one year in the first instance; then the period is extended to three years, and this second certificate implies permission to work in all parts of France but on the same job. After a period of ten years, which is reduced by one year for each child living with the foreigner, this one is given a permanent permit which allows him to work anywhere in France and take up any profession; he is a "privileged resident."

Foreign workmen enjoy the same privileges as all French workers: compensation against accidents, free medical attendance and all other benefits provided for by labour legislation; even family allowances which are liberal in France are given to permanent or privileged residents whose children remain in France. These allowances are even given to Italian workmen who could not find lodgings in France for their people. Moreover allowances are given under certain conditions to temporary residents. The policy of extending the benefits of social legislation to foreigners is dictated by two principles; first foreigners are human persons and deserve the treatment going with man's dignity; secondly the firms which employ foreign labour must be made to pay them the same salaries and give them the same advantages as are given to French workmen so as to be prevented from giving preference to foreign workmen.

One more point must be mentioned. The policy of the Immigration Services is to encourage foreigners

to live a family life. If he cannot take his family with him, he is allowed, if Italian or German, to send sixty per cent of his wages to his wife and children at home, but only thirty per cent if he is unmarried. Before bringing in his family, the workman must have provided suitable lodgings; were he to smuggle them in, he would have to forego his permanent residence permit. The lodgings can be provided by relatives or by firms.

Once the workman is settled in France, he is not abandoned to himself. Religious assistance is supplied by priests of his own language under the direction of the Catholic bishops. Itinerant priests and social workers will keep him in touch with his former home, national newspapers printed at home or in France will keep him informed of the latest news and developments in his homeland. Non-Catholic organisations have also made ample provision for the care of foreigners; in Paris are to be found churches, temples and edifices of all the great Christian and non-Christian cults (chapels, mosques, pagodas etc.). Every one of these private organisations take care of their own nationals and adherents; they also are given full liberty to propagate their ideology and faith and to open their ranks to all. The Ramakrishna Mission has a missionary in Paris; the government gave him a chair as a lecturer in the University where he gives a course on Hinduism; on her part the Sorbonne holds fortnightly lectures on Hinduism. Buddhists have a centre of their own where they hold public meetings and special gatherings. As long as groups or missionaries are not

subversive of law and order, they are at full liberty to spread their ideas and recruit adherents.

In general it may be said that harmony between foreigners and natives is soon established. The great obstacle of course is the question of language. As soon as the foreigner has picked up a smattering of French, he has easy access to the circles pursuing the same studies and interests or engaged in the same profession. There is no taboo against intermarriages and no social ostracism of any kind. Often enough adults, and still more their children take the French nationality; the main point which makes them hesitate is the onerous duty of military conscription.

France rightly boasts of being most hospitable to foreigners, exiled politicians and refugees.

E. Gathier

COATS AND PANTS

In August 1942 coats and trousers, as well as neckties and pith-hats, were popular targets for patriotic brickbats. To-day they have got their naturalisation papers, though pith-hats and neckties have only residence permits. A recent circular from the Central Government recommended a special dress for central officialdom: buttoned up short coats and trousers. The dress was described as "useful, simple and smart,"

progress impeded ; officials, politicians and administrators should no more than mountaineers, allow their coat to trail loosely.

The bit of braid on cuff and collar will be welcome in our diplomatic services. Ambassadorial and consular agents have lost some of their past glamour. In the olden days a conference of ambassadors could conclude and sign a treaty and consuls were representative statesmen. Nowadays Premiers and Foreign Ministers do the work. Ambassadors and consuls have been turned into cultural messengers and message bearers. A little braid will restore some of their former dignity. Moreover in our complex international situation, diplomats are easily liable to be upbraided ; it is fitting they should be braided-up.

With all those changes, one should not conclude that the people bade farewell to the West when they sent off Lord Mountbatten at the Gate of India, and that now they welcome it by the backstairs. Even at the climax of the national movement there were not many youths that wanted to sever all connections with the West ; such fancy was found only among a few senile Mahasabdhites. What the young folks and the new administration want is to shed all domination and all symbol of domination by westerners, and yet to keep or adopt whatever is found good in the West.

This resolve and mood is deep and charged with emotion. In the circumstances it would be unwise for westerners, even the most sympathetic among them,

to venture on more than modest suggestions of assistance. The Indian people resent intrusion, domination, patronage, however well-meant and gratuitous. India wants to decide, and to appear to decide things by herself. Westerners should be cautious even when they feel like urging Indianisation. Why are Chinese delegations so readily welcome ? It is not only because of a feeling of pan-Asianism or of a mood for novelty or for exploring the whole big wide world ; it is largely due to their past reticence and aloofness ; their speeches give an impression of disinterestedness and aloofness which a blatant propaganda would ruin in no time.

Well-meaning Westerners are occasionally deluded by a fever for Indianization. They would easily fancy that berets, cornets or fifes are horribly unpleasant to patriotic youths : as a matter of fact these are quite popular with our brave jowans. Even in church art and architecture anything beyond suggestions would not be readily welcome ; as an artist said, church arts in India will have to be discovered by Indians.

An even more cautious approach is necessary when dealing with scheduled castes and tribes ; with them self-defence is still deeper. Were one to suggest they should discard dresses, habits or gadgets they have adopted, on the plea that these are not Indian, the spontaneous reaction of self-defence would be a suspicion that the well-wisher wants to keep them at a lower level. People want to have whatever suits them best wherever it comes from, and they feel they are the best judges. As sociologists say, the measure and

physical and mental welfare of the slum people" and to help them to keep their persons, their huts and the premises clean. Sometimes talks on personal hygiene are given to these people. Perhaps, it would be no exaggeration to say that social service in the form of adult education makes a natural appeal to college students; and thus, we find that every social section in the colleges has some plan or scheme which provides educational facilities to the menial staff of the college and to groups of people outside the college premises. Sometimes a well equipped night school is managed by the college social service section. Of special interest are the Medical Units sponsored by some college students, and these units render a very important and useful type of social service in rural areas near the city. Such units, of course, are obviously restricted to those colleges which command the necessary facilities for this type of social work.

The growth and expansion of such social activity is a far cry from the days when students contented themselves by acting merely as "cleaning squads" in a few villages near the city, and, indeed, these activities augur well for the progress of social welfare in the country. While it may be true that much of this social activity is restricted only to the period covered by the academic year, it is not uncommon to find many students spending their vacations in some type of social activity, and helping the various rural development projects now scattered all over the country. And precisely because student social service in the city has grown to such an extent, and has become so attractive

to the average student, it devolves upon the central organisation, the Madras Students' Social Service League, to coordinate better the various activities of the different social service sections, and to channel this energy and zeal towards true 'social rehabilitation.'

While no one doubts the excellence of relieving the wants of the needy and the victims of social ills, true social rehabilitation, which should be the aim of every social worker, is something more than merely distributing food to the hungry, or clothing to the poor, or visiting hospitals. In fact, social rehabilitation attempts to remove the *causes of social evils*. The history of social welfare has amply proved that social evils often spring from two main causes: an anti-social attitude in the rich and poor, and an anti-social environment. That is to say, in the rich a mental attitude which is devoid of any sense of social responsibility often leads to anti-social patterns of behaviour; while in the poor and destitute, a defeatist mentality usually renders the individual unfit to play a useful role in society, and contribute towards the common welfare. Hence, the task of mental rehabilitation is constantly stressed as an essential duty of the modern social worker, and to the experienced social worker, it is, perhaps, the most difficult task in the work of social reconstruction.

Whereas it is, comparatively speaking, easy to change the material environment of individuals, by means of social legislation and the improvement of the material conditions of life, it is much more difficult to

change anti-social patterns of conduct which tend to take root in the behaviour of individuals who have to endure long years of unhealthy social conditions. The psychological effect of long spells of unemployment upon the individual, perhaps, illustrates this fact best. Any social worker who has followed up the pattern of behaviour of a wage-earner who has been long unemployed, cannot fail to notice the anti-social effects unemployment brings about on the unemployed. The first enthusiasm for work, the early desire 'to do something' and earn a living, often expressed by an eagerness to register at the Employment Exchange, slowly, as the weeks and months of unemployment drag on, give place to a sense of despair and frustration, and perhaps, even a dislike for work. To stage a 'come back' for the ordinary wage-earner who has suffered a long spell of unemployment, is no more easy than it is for a prize fighter who has quit the boxing ring for a long period of time. That is a deeper tragedy than the fact of unemployment itself, and its remedy does not lie in the mere amelioration of material conditions. The same process of mental change often results from the long continued existence of the many other social ills in society : thus, the existence of slums is certainly a blot upon society, but the development of a slum mentality among so many children who know no other way of life, is a deeper evil and endangers the welfare of future generations of human beings ! Perhaps, much of our social work yields so little results, precisely because we tend, so often, to neglect the importance of the work of mental rehabilitation, because we fail

to build new mental attitudes in these unfortunates, so that they may help themselves to contribute towards the common welfare.

But this is not all. Social rehabilitation implies, besides mental rehabilitation, a reconstruction of the material environment of the individual. That is to say, the social worker must spend a large part of his time in the study and examination of those material conditions of life, generally termed economic, which condition the lives of the majority of our people, and often tend to establish unhealthy social conditions. The story of social and industrial legislation, in fact, is the story of the struggle for more humane conditions of life for the ordinary low-income worker. And, in most countries, beneficial social and industrial legislation have been the result of hard efforts made more by private and philanthropic social organisations than by governments. The social workers of these organisations, have spent long hours investigating, studying and examining social evils, then they have roused public opinion and through their elected representatives have demanded the passing of legislation for the protection of the working man, woman, and child.

While it may be true that for most students, social service is merely a part-time occupation, because their own academic work demands priority, there is no reason why some aspects of social rehabilitation should remain outside their social effort. And, when as in Madras, several social service sections of many colleges are already in action, a small measure of coordination

and division of labour may increase the social utility of the work done, and lead to excellent long term results.

C. C. Clump.

SPAIN'S MAID OF ALL WORK

The Auxilio Social or Voluntary Social Welfare Service by the Women of Spain is one of the most outstanding and successful demonstrations of how democracy can be applied in the social field on the local and national level. This movement began in 1936, in Valladolid, just after the Civil War broke out, through the efforts of several public spirited women, to alleviate the suffering which war always brings, and is especially accentuated by the ruthlessness and ravages of a Civil War. The impoverishment of the people was appalling. Everywhere in the fighting area, families needed relief and rehabilitation; food, clothes medical and nursing care, especially for expectant mothers and infants. The men often needed jobs; often the rent needed to be paid, or homes had to be found to shelter whole families. The movement began modestly by these more fortunate women serving meals to children and adults, and as the need grew greater as the war spread, more food distribution centres were opened, and homes were established for orphaned children.

In this way the Auxilio Social, or Social Help as it came to be called gradually spread to all the provinces and was organized in every city, village and hamlet. What sprang up spontaneously from the Christian spirit and consciousness that it is "the duty of the fortunate to alleviate the burdens of the unfortunate", now forms the foundation and basic principle of the Social Welfare Services of Spain, and is carried out by the women of Spain, for the most part as a voluntary and self-help effort. The Auxilio Social is now a well organized movement, with headquarters in Madrid and branches in all the provinces. It is still growing and expanding as a social organism should, wherever there is a need to be met.

In 1940 the Government of Spain backed the women by an annual grant of 200,000, 000 pesetas (about 7 million pounds, or 35 million dollars). Less than 2 per cent of this goes for administration services as most of the workers are unpaid and give their help gratis and voluntarily, so that over 98 per cent of the grant goes as a direct aid to the needy. There is always of necessity a permanent and paid staff as well. The government has also organized a special department for the Auxilio Social, but while now coming under the protection and encouragement of the Falange, it is left with its just and proper autonomy in all its local branches and endeavours. This is a combination of government assistance and private initiative which functions peculiarly well in Spain, and at the same time the Spanish women are fostering a true democratic spirit and approach. They are in fact demonstrating a

cooperative undertaking, which combines all elements in the social field in the body politic, each functioning in its proper place and proper extent, first starting with the local group but finding its expansion and continuity provincially and nationally, thus gaining orderliness, stability and unity in every department, while at the same time maintaining freedom of initiative in operation. The Spanish women have already proved themselves, while the ideal of Voluntary Service has taken root in the national consciousness. The Auxilio Social brings together a host of helpers from every section of society, giving of their free time and energy for the good of humanity and to raise the social standards of Spain.

From the early efforts of the Auxilio Social to give relief, to house families, and to put men into jobs, the women finally undertook to operate agencies to take care of the unemployed. They gave personal attention to each case. If for instance Juan is out of a job, or not working regularly, and with a family of 6 or 8, he goes to the Auxilio office and explains his position. They immediately look after his case and when they find that Juan is honest, they begin at once, without red tape, to get him steady work. In the meantime they visit his home, arrange for domestic supplies and see that the rent is paid until Juan is on his feet again. Very little money is given. If another child is expected, Juan's wife receives prenatal care, free, at the nearest Auxilio clinic. Doctor and nurse are provided for the confinement, while mother and child have special food, vitamins, a layette and other necessities.

In Spain it is usual in a community of working folk for the neighbours to raise their rent a trifle in order to pay the rent of their unfortunate brother, until he procures work again. This is looked on as the proper Christian way of showing love to your neighbour, and sharing with those who have not.

Probably the most outstanding work of the Auxilio Social is their Health Services, carried on under the Department for the Protection of Mother and Child. They have now over 56 Mother Craft Centres in all the provincial cities where the poorer women have care from the first to the last month of gestation. When they need it sufficient meals are provided in a pleasant dining-room. Alimentation is planned on scientific and rational lines to help them to become good nursing mothers, a very important thing, as even women of means do not sometimes eat the right or correct food, not knowing that the problem is not one of calories, but of supplying certain elements. In Madrid, 60 per cent of the poorer women go through the Mother Craft Centres and then go to the Mother House where 6,000 births a year take place. These Maternity Homes are small and have an atmosphere of welcome. They exist in all the provinces and more are being built. The nursing mother is also cared for in the same way as during pregnancy. Every effort is being made to promote the normal function, and to battle against abortion of the scientific or social type, and against sterility. The Auxilio Social is in fact the first organization in Spain which has systematized the study of sterility in Public Consulting Rooms. This

is unfortunately a growing problem in even richer countries.

Supplementing the Mother Craft Centres and Mother Houses, are 161 Infant Feeding Centres. They protect the infants from 0 to 3 years. They give the little ones the most suitable food to promote physical development as malnutrition and bad home conditions are the principle causes of infant mortality. These Centres employ 250 specialists in child culture, and 7000 nurses instructed in social medicine and infant hygiene. The mothers come during the nursing period and receive abundant and well chosen meals. The mothers put on weight and are able to nurse their babies perfectly. Only 6 per cent deaths occur among these beneficiaries. But among every five who die during the first year, it was found that only one was fed by the mother, while the other four were on the bottle. The first Infant Feeding Centre was opened at Salamanca at the end of 1939. The 161 Centres now in full working order have a total of 65, 352 children received. Due to these efforts of the Auxilio Social the high death rate in infant mortality has been reduced from 180 deaths for every thousand, to 85.

For abandoned children, or in cases where the mother has no home or no family to help her, Infant Homes continue the work of the Mother Craft Centres. The mother and child in all cases are kept together as long as possible. It is found that the average of mortality of the child during its first year stands at 30 per cent among babies received with mothers, and 70

per cent among babies with no mother. Every help is also given the mothers after leaving the home in solving their problems, in having them visit the child or in receiving news of their progress.

In the Home the children are installed in rooms large enough for six separate cots. A nurse and a watcher has the care of two rooms. The children spend as much time as possible out on the terrace, in the fresh air and sunshine. As these institutions are new, they are also up to date in planning and equipment as well as in every other way, with every care taken to provide a happy atmosphere.

The Auxilio Social now provides regular four month courses for girls leaving school, in cooking, laundry, sewing, in health and infant care, in order that they may be good wives and mothers, later on. The girls are then asked to give two more months voluntary service in the Auxilio Social institutions. This is now called their Social Service and all women between the age of 17 and 35 are asked to take it if possible. It is not compulsory and house-wives and mothers are exempted, but the social consciousness has been so awakened in Spain that most girls do their Service gladly. It is considered the thing to do. In fact one of the first questions asked on applying for a Civil Service job, is, "Have you done your Social Service?"

This training course provides the Auxilio Social with a host of Volunteers to carry on their social work, and develops besides a contagious spirit of generosity,

thoughtfulness and neighbourliness, while at the same time fostering a spirit of unity between all classes. Spain has not yet been over-industrialised, and so has been able to keep a sense of community solidarity which many more developed countries have largely lost, at least in large urban areas, through mechanisation, secularism and extreme individualism. At the same time the poor as well as the rich have a sense of dignity and personal pride, so peculiar to the Spaniard, while the relations between the rich family and their servants appear to be easy and even cordial.

Not only have the Spanish women tackled the Health Services but they have also taken a hand in the Education problem. For the first time in the country's history, the majority of the primary school-age children are actually in the class-room. The Minister of Education put the figure in 1950 at only a little under four and a half million for regular attendance. Less than half that number were in school under the Republic although primary education was compulsory and school facilities were supposedly provided for every one. The goal in sight in the not too distant future is for one school for every 250 inhabitants. There are in all over 57,000 primary school teachers in Spain, mostly graduates of a three year training course, equivalent to that supplied by the State Normal Schools in America. Many schools had been destroyed during the Civil War, but since 1940 to 1950 more than 7,800 school buildings have been constructed and more are being added to every year.

Spain had also suffered from a lack of trained and expert young workers in her industries and science laboratories. To meet these needs trade and technical schools have been established for young men, and trade and commercial schools for young women. The Education Department aim at as good a compulsory primary and high school education as is possible, and every facility for those who wish a higher education and can absorb it. The Auxilio Social runs a six month course for young women, and hopes in time to wipe out a large proportion of illiteracy. However it must be emphasized that in these older countries of Europe and even to a greater extent in Asia, illiteracy should not be confused with ignorance, for a long tradition and often a profound philosophy of religion and life has been handed down by word of mouth, and through ancient custom and usage.

Altogether the Spanish women can be justly proud of what they have accomplished in so short a time, and in the national spirit which they have engendered in young and old alike. The Voluntary Service is undoubtedly the salient feature of the Auxilio Social and has entered deeply into the national consciousness. Without the steady enrolment of Volunteer Workers, the burden of taxation would be unbearable for such a poor country, and in fact would have been prohibitive. It would have been impossible without it, for the Welfare Services of Spain to have been so adequate and wide-spread, and certainly no state effort would have been so personal and solicitous. It must be admitted that most Western Countries have now about

reached the peak of what they can afford for social services, either by way of Mutual Insurance Benefit Schemes, or by Nationalised Services paid for either by direct or hidden, i. e. indirect taxation. Even with our splendid effort and excellent standards the amount of hospital room, smaller nursing-home units, or even sufficient personnel, is not yet able to keep pace with the growing demand. If an adequate and universal Health and Welfare Service is the goal of any enlightened country, at a cost the people can afford, there seems only one way out of the dilemma, and that is, by increasing our Voluntary Service and placing it on an orderly basis, at the same time awakening the national consciousness. Six months training and service is surely a minimum which every girl leaving school can well afford, not only for the good of her country and community, but also for her own personal benefit, and her future usefulness in the home as a good wife and mother. Such a course could easily become a part of the school requirements for girls. In fact such courses are given, with practical application in the schools of Sweden and in the province of Quebec in Canada. They take as their centre of interest the home and the child, and develop that most powerful womanly instinct, the maternal instinct. This is more than a Domestic Science course which may be viewed too often as a simple technical training. It is in all its aspects a dedication to the progress of family life, and the development of a true culture in society. The individual is not only a person with inherent rights for as high a standard of development as possible, but

he is also a member of society, on which the preservation of the race depends. Unless he recognizes his responsibility to society as well as to himself and unless this is instilled into his consciousness at an early age, both the individual and his society may be lost in this present hazardous period in the world's history.

Thus the Women of Spain have captured a new outlook and found a new outlet and vital interest in the Welfare of the Home and in meeting the Community needs. In these endeavours they have found also their natural vocation and their proper emancipation as women. They have proved themselves as valuable co-partners with men, not as competitors in men's work, but as Home Builders and as Community and Nation Builders, in activities which form the fundamental basis of our civilization and culture. Incidentally they have gained a new status of respect and honour, without losing their innate nature and charm. They are moreover leading Spain peacefully and surely along the path of a True Democracy. **ALL HONOUR TO THE WOMEN OF SPAIN !** They are justly called, "SPAIN'S MAID OF ALL WORK."

S. Tanner.

the educated are merely absorbed in new schools specially built up for the specific purpose of relieving unemployment, it is most likely that the parrots may sing their master's voice and the creative urge for building up a new nation out of shambles may still be found lacking.

The Ministry of Education also plans to open some 3,000 Social Education Centres in this year and some 5,000 more in the next year. Seventeen State Governments have already responded to the call of the Union Ministry of Education. The Bombay Government alone plans to employ about 10,000 unemployed educated men and women in various educational schemes. Certainly all is to be said for the scheme in so far as it gives some job for the educated and some means to eke out their meagre existence. But, as a long term measure, the plan miserably falls short of any ideal of welfare state or full-employment.

Industry

Unemployment in the industrial sector is alarmingly increasing. As the economy of the country mainly depends upon her industry and agriculture, unemployment in this field means growing economic deterioration in the country. There is a vicious circle in the present-day unemployment in Indian industries, which, if not cut in time, can lead the industrial workers into a revolutionary path for the solution of the present-day Capital-Labour tension.

Mr. H. N. Shastri, the General Secretary of the INTUC, after warning the Government of the possible

consequences of growing industrial unemployment, has recently stated that the "unemployment has reached a stage of crisis." The three main reasons for the unemployment crisis in Indian industry, according to Mr. Shastri, are :

(1) Closing down of older industrial concerns (2) stagnation in further expansion of new industries and (3), introduction of labour-saving devices. As a result of these causes heavy retrenchment has taken place in Indian industry, notably in Jute and Cotton mills and privately-owned factories. If there is no steady flow of jute from East Pakistan to feed the jute mills in West Bengal, or if depression sets in in the markets, the victims to suffer are always the workers who are retrenched en masse. Recently the mere fact of increased stock of cloth without the immediate possibility of disposing of them in the U. P. meant retrenchment for thousands of mill workers. No immediate prospects for profit for the employers meant retrenchment of hundreds of employees at the "Times of India", office in Calcutta.

Deeper down lies the root-cause of these growing tides of industrial unemployment, which is nothing but utilization of Labour only or mainly for the increase of Capital, for the growing monopolization of the wealth of the nation, of all the means of production and distribution in the hands of fewer and fewer business magnates which breaks the back-bone of the Middle class, and the subsequent impoverishment, insecurity, unemployment and death to the main bulk of the producers. In the present economy, the mason

Full employment and state-guaranteed social security are both today considered to be the test of real democracy. In the modern world no responsible government can shake off its responsibility to provide full employment to its people by complete mobilization of the economic resources and man power in building up the welfare state. Any government that cannot do this is unfit and must hand over the reins to others who can do it. The future of our country depends on how our youth are employed not merely for their two square meals, but in energetically, imaginatively and creatively employing them in building up a welfare state in the Indian Republic.

A. Elenjimmittam

SOCIAL SURVEY

Political Pow-wows

If Goethe's saying is followed and words are fecundated with action, the many conferences held at the turn of the year will change the face of India. The Kalyani session of the National Congress repeated its annual oratorical joust and was duly publicised. The Communist Party of India was more secretive at Madurai, but enough leaked out to betray that plans and resolves are not changed: replace the Nehru government by a government of democratic unity, not an out and out Red Cabinet but a democratic coalition; work for peace; admit China into the U.N.O.; take the Kashmir imbroglio out of the U.N.O., sever connection with the Commonwealth, and confiscate British capital in India. For the initiates; let it be clear that there is no final solution except a revolution. The

meeting was enlivened with a speech of Comrade Haia Yen, deputy leader of the Chinese Goodwill mission, who sang the beauties of Marxism in China but omitted to add a para on the cruelties of the revolution and the Moscow dictatorship.

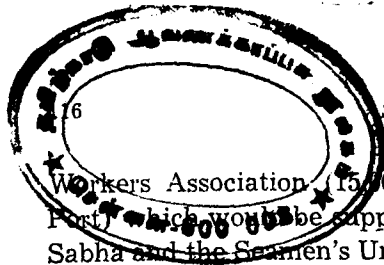
This leads one to reflect on the mental fog in certain political brains. Whilst the Prime Minister has clearly denounced the subservience of Indian Communists to foreign dictation, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, a Union Minister, dared to say that between Communism, Socialism and Congress doctrine there is only a difference in methods; the Congress standing for legality and order, Communism for hurry.

Mr. P. Tricumdas, the Bombay socialist leader, publicly announced that he had documentary proofs that the C. P. I. is preparing an armed insurrection. In the meantime, Soviet propaganda is given open licence; Red missionaries in their various disguises hold out the Sovietland, its medical services, its scientific organisation, etc. to the admiration of the gullible crowd.

As to the Socialist Party's Congress the same old uncertainties in doctrine and programme were revealed once more; they are far from having been swept away under the presidentship of Mr. Kripalani.

Union

Coalition, amalgamation, union, etc. are the talk of the day with Leftists. The latest move was the union of the All-India Peasants and Workers Party with the Marxist Party to form the United Marxist Party (Nagpur) and the fusion of five unions into the



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Workers Association 15,000 workmen in the Bombay Port which would be supported by the Hindu Mazdoor Sabha and the Seamen's Union in their present disputes. The All-India Mazdoor Sabha at Kanpur advocated the merger of all Trade-Unions.

An Embarrassed Intelligentsia

"To my mind, the first component of the malaise from which the Indian intellectual suffers is utter uncertainty and instability. Political independence has been achieved in an age when the forces of communism and democracy are drawn up against each other in preparation for a mighty war of extermination, and, in between the two, there are any number of warring groups owing allegiance to an infinite variety of shades of pink faith. India is destined to be one of the important battlegrounds of these ideologies and the men who profess them. His education and the bringing up of those who are the present leaders of society align the young Indian with the protagonists of democracy but the call of communism is no less insistent. He is treated every day to tales of the achievements of communist countries. India frequently sends out good will missions. These are composed generally either of colourless individuals or of persons whose mission in life is to decry India and praise her communist neighbours. Little wonder he feels increasingly drawn towards communism, but cannot, at the same time divest himself wholly of his weakness for democracy."

(Mr. Sampurnand, President of the Second Annual meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom).

E. Gathier

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

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HERE AND THERE

Democratic Thrill

Boys are thrilled when they see the school-bully go down in a fight, the top-lad founder in an elocution competition, or the headmaster slip on a banana skin. It is not sheer wickedness; it is rather an egalitarian exhilaration at having a proof that the best are well within the range of human frailty.

Genuine democrats experience a like pleasurable horror when a law is declared void, ultra vires, unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; they do not dislike proofs that our legislators are as clumsy bunglers as themselves. Recently we had a spate of such proofs, when laws on trusts and religious endowments passed in Madras, Bombay and Orissa were badly knocked about by the Supreme Court.

Our law-givers had set their heart on having law and order everywhere and they judged it was best to start at the top and bring mundane clarity in the sphere of religion. They were Hindus in the majority and they fancied they knew all about Hinduism. They were

resigned to leave the mystical peaks to priests, shebaites and mahants; they were content with controlling the economics of temples and maths. But they lost sight of the obvious. Men are body and soul; they need and want things temporal for their religious pursuits, temples, ceremonies, pilgrimages, etc.; religious practice is embodied in economic realia, and free religious practice demands the free disposal of such realia. By taking hold of them, our law-givers tended to hamper religious freedom. It was no wonder the Supreme Court declared several important clauses of the laws invalid and contrary to religious fundamental rights.

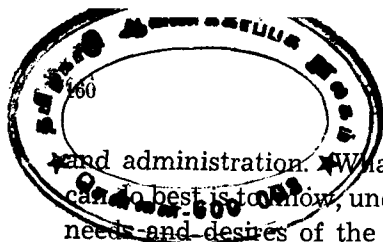
Who could have dreamed of having a state official controlling and directing the surplus funds of religious bodies to any purpose, or his being substituted for the religious head of a temple or monastery and over-ruling shebait and mathadhipatti? One even wonders the appellants did not submit several other clauses to the Supreme Court, *f.i.* the powers of inspection of Charity Commissioners. How could state officials, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Parsee, (the text is broad enough to fancy such nominations) go and inspect or check sanctuaries, statues, and books, sacred vessels and reliquaries, anything pertaining to a cult which is not theirs? Would not this offend the legitimate feelings of people? Evidently the state legislatures did not fancy they were doing wrong. But why did they not take time to think out what religious practice implies and what religious freedom involves. My masters, look before you leap!

Paying for Laws

The honorarium paid to the honourable members of the Legislative Assemblies is being revised. Should it be raised to the level of a living wage or kept at the standard of a part-compensation? In other words, which is better for a democracy: to have professional law-makers or to be satisfied with citizens who have a fair job and devote spare-time to discuss and pass laws? The answer is not easy.

Full time legislators tend to turn into yes-men since their living depends on the political committees which decide on candidates and constituencies. On the other hand, part-time men are prone to absenteeism and remissness. For a long period of democratic growth, tradition dreamed only of part-time men; but with popular representation and universal suffrage provision had to be made for representatives belonging to the lowest income-group. But even these should remain in touch with the realities of life and with their constituents. Representatives maintained within the currents of national life may be partial to particular interests, but the particular interests and grievances of one or other class or professions are mixed with the other particular interests and grievances, and in this way we get the dissonant harmony of the national parliament.

On the contrary full-time men would easily develop into a new class cut adrift from the people and the people's daily life. Nor should it be objected that full-time men are needed to prepare, discuss and vote legislation; much of the work is done by experts in law



and administration. What the people's representatives can do best is to know, understand and voice the general needs and desires of the people. This would take the whole of their free time and thinking power. Nor should they seek to remedy all situations and conditions by dint of legislation. With a little less law-making in Parliament, there might be more law-abiding in the land.

Ministerial Allergy

Representatives need time to make out what they represent ; ministers need more time to make out whom they minister to and what they administer. All need leisure, plenty of thoughtful leisure to cure prejudices and allergies. Prejudices and allergies readily come out when dealing with delicate matters like religious liberty. The officials of the Home Department can rattle off the texts relevant to fundamental rights, but in practice some of them betray un-secular allergies. A sadhu boasts he has converted 10,200 Christians to Hinduism ; officials have no comment. The Pakistan Government makes an official complaint about conversions of Mohammedans to Hinduism ; no reply is given. Noisy Communists convert pious Hindus to atheism ; silence. But let an animist asks for baptism ; at once the Home Minister delivers a little homily : Christian priests may propagate Christianity, they should not make Christians.

Why this un-secular discrimination ? Is not this a clear case of psychological allergy ?

A. L.

THE CASE OF THE GOLD & SILVERSMITHS

"Before the coming of Trade Unions and the Industrial Disputes Acts, there was never any trouble in my factory" contended management, and labour expressed its view saying, "Management began harassing us ever since we showed a desire to organise as a Union." These two views, which the author of this article heard during the investigation of a management-labour dispute of a large firm of jewellers in an Indian city, give a fairly good picture of the deeper causes of this trouble. In fact, it was found that within recent times all was not well in this small but interesting industrial group. In the past, and till about 1953, management had to deal with unorganized labour which, through force of economic circumstances, never questioned the action of employers. However, with the growing management-labour difficulties in the city, the precariously poised peace in the jewellery industrial began to show signs of strain. Viewing Trade Unionism as being merely a fighting-machine of the working-classes, as it is, unfortunately, still looked upon by large sections of both labour and management, the employers of this firm began a "stronger" policy towards their workers, when the latter began to organize. This policy was expressed by converting a monthly wage-system into one of a daily wage-system, and by introducing other changes in the working conditions of the factory. Labour, on its side, now sought protection by establishing a Union which was formally set up on January

10th, 1953. Incidentally, it is interesting to note as an example of the exploitation of labour, by so-called 'labour leaders', that these same workers a few months before this Union was founded were harangued by one of these labour leaders who demanded Rs. 200 from them in order to set up their Union. The money was paid, and once more labour was cheated! In actual fact, all expenses incidental to the establishment of a Trade Union amounts to a bare Rs. 8 as. 4!

Unfortunately, the establishment of this Union only tended to aggravate management-labour relations, due, by and large, to a complete misunderstanding of the proper aim and purpose of such Unions, by both management and labour. Indeed, it is a commonplace to any one experienced in *practical* problems in the labour world, that there are, today, many employers who look with suspicion on trade union activity and, often with good reason, because very often such unions are used not to advance the peace and harmony in industry, but for other ends outside labour welfare and industrial peace. An attempt to end this period of tension in the firm was made in October 1953, when an agreement was signed by the management and the workers regarding certain points, such as, sick leave, festival leave and gratuity. Apparently, this agreement did not allay suspicions on either side; and whatever harmony this agreement was intended to bring about was immediately destroyed when, on the very next day, the management sent the work done by some workers for a 'Test' on the grounds of misappropriation of gold by the workers concerned while making the jewel.

The nature of this Test, known to the employees of the firm as a "Purification Test" — since it is supposed to test the purity of the gold in the manufactured article — is both important and essential to an understanding of this dispute. The employees of the firm work with sovereign gold, but this is not the only metal used in the process of manufacture of jewels. In order to fuse joints in the jewel, the workers are also given a quantity of an alloy which is made up of 50% gold, and the other 50% is composed of 2/3 silver and 1/3 copper. Now, when the manufactured article is put through a "Purification Test", the acid destroys the alloy, and what remains is the gold originally given to the worker. If, therefore, this quantity of gold, is not equal to the quantity of sovereign-gold which is the value of the article and, which the management maintains is given to the worker with a fixed quantity of alloy, then the difference is charged to the worker on the ground of misappropriation of gold by the use of *extra* alloy. The workers refuse the validity of the Test. They contend that they never work with pure sovereign-gold, for the simple reason that the management buys old golden jewellery, and gold bars commonly known as "Patlock" or "Moosa" gold, and these articles are smelted by the management, no workers being present, and then mixed with American copper in the proportion of 1 : 11 to bring this gold upto the standard sovereign-coin quality. Hence, when an article has been made with this gold, and then put through a "Purification Test", the resultant quantity of metal cannot be gold of the standard sovereign-coin

quality. Therefore, the workers demand a pre-test of the gold given to them for manufacturing jewels. This, the management could not see its way to grant.

Meanwhile, the Purification Test, according to the management revealed that the gold in the manufactured article was not upto standard requirements, and the worker concerned was suspended from work. That this worker happened to be the Secretary of the newly founded Trade Union, was, to say the least, significant ! As the tension now increased between management and labour, the Union sent up their case for Conciliation on October 19th, and asked for a settlement of the following points : (i) The notice served on workers for the misappropriation of gold, of a go-slow policy, etc. (ii) The need of gold being pre-tested, and (iii) The demand for the workers' bonus. The first two points were taken up by the Govt. Labour Officer, but failing to make any headway in the matter of Conciliation, the Officer reported back to the Govt. the failure on November 30th.

With the failure of the Conciliation move, the next step provided by the Government for the settlement of such disputes was now taken, and the Industrial Tribunal was asked to adjudicate. On December 10th, however, the whole dispute took a more serious turn : on the grounds that the workers had begun a go-slow policy the management closed the factory. This action of the management was contested by the Union as being an unjustified "lock-out," while the management protested that their action amounted merely to a "closure" of the factory. On December 25th, the

Labour Commissioner served an Adjudication notice on both labour and management, and February 13th was fixed for the hearing. Meanwhile, as is the case, the Union filed its claims-statement, and the management its counter-statement.

Towards the middle of January, 1954, the writer who was kept informed about this dispute through a local labour organizer, was asked by the Union-workers, just over fifty men, to attempt a compromise-talk with the management. On four occasions the writer met the workers to hear their side of the dispute, and it was no easy task to convince them of the need of a 'give and take' policy if negotiations were to succeed. Without employment and with no strike-pay to back them up, the workers were, indeed, in great distress ! But this was only a first step. What would management say ? Would it be prepared to accept an outsider as a peace-maker ? True, the workers, though all non-Christians had entrusted their cause to a Catholic priest, but would management, also non-Christian, be prepared to do likewise ? The management, represented by the proprietor of the firm was approached and acquiesced, provided some concrete proposals were made as the basis of the talks. The minimum demands of the Union were : (i) The opening of the factory immediately. (ii) The reinstatement of all dismissed and suspended workers. (iii) Payment of wages during the lock-out period, and (iv) Payment of bonus and gratuity due to all workers.

On February 6th negotiations began at the residence of the proprietor. The local labour organizer, the Union

secretary, four workers and the writer met the management, and the opening talk was more in the nature of a friendly skirmish! The proprietor, the labour organizer and secretary talked of everything except of that which was uppermost in the minds of all! When this preparatory talk was over and which lasted an hour and a half, the proprietor came to the matter in hand by displaying the many and various articles of jewellery manufactured in his factory—heavy gold anklets, bracelets, bangles and finely wrought necklaces. He then pointed out how easy it was for the workers to defraud him: extra alloy imported by the workers into the factory could be mixed with the gold; the tiny hollows in the links of a gold chain could be filled with alloy, and by so much would the chain be less in gold content, again, alloy could be filled into the hollows of the bases of precious stones, and once more, the gold-value of the jewel could be reduced. Moreover, there was no way of detecting this fraud except by putting the jewel through a “Purification Test”, or by removing the setting of the precious stones, and either method meant a loss to the firm. It was pointed out to the management that, therefore, given the particular nature of this industry there was special need for mutual trust and confidence between management and labour, and something must be done to establish this trust among the workers.

The second and third sessions saw some hard bargaining. The management insisted that it dealt with nothing but pure sovereign-coin gold which it smelted and gave the workers for the manufacture of jewels;

while the workers were as sure that the gold they received for making jewellery was not of the quality of pure sovereign-coin. To an outsider this point seemed easy of solution, if management would only give the sovereigns directly to the workers, who then would do the smelting and use this gold in the manufacture of jewels, or even, allow some workers to be present when the sovereigns were smelted, there would be no cause for suspicion. But this method the management completely refused to accept! However, a compromise was reached whereby, the management granted the workers the right to test the gold they received before manufacturing jewels, while the workers, on their side, withdrew their objection to their work being put through a “Purification Test”.

A fourth session was held on February 12th. After a two hour verbal battle and hard bargaining, both parties were ready to draw up a draft agreement, but *Ragu Kalam* intervened! *Ragu Kalam* is the unpromising hour of the day! and according to this belief any business undertaken during this period is foredoomed to failure! So there was no choice but to adjourn the session. Time, however, was running out, as the next day was fixed by the Industrial Tribunal for the case, and the parties would either have to file their compromise agreement or appear before the Tribunal on February 13th. So an afternoon session which began at 2-30 p.m., and continued till 7 p.m. was held during which the compromise settlement was finally drafted. In brief, the settlement provided, on the side

of management, the reopening of the factory immediately ; the reinstatement of workers without any break in service, except those actually proved dishonest, otherwise than by the "Purification Test" ; the payment of bonus and gratuity and the right to pre-test gold given to workers for the manufacture of jewels. The workers, on their side, accepted the right of the management to have recourse to the Purification Test ; gave up their claim to pay during the period they did not work, and their demand for the reinstatement of three workers who were proved dishonest, otherwise than by the "Purification Test".

On February 13th, at 1-30 p.m., the settlement was filed at the Court of the Industrial Tribunal. That the settlement is not perfect no one doubts, and much depends on the spirit in which it is kept. The frequent meetings between labour and management during the course of the negotiations, certainly, did much to help each party understand the views and difficulties of the other, and an unwritten clause in the settlement provides for such meetings when management or labour judge it useful. In this way, through open and frank talks between management and labour, it is hoped that a spirit of mutual trust and confidence will be fostered, without which there can be little hope for industrial peace in this group, or in any other industrial group.

C. C. Clump

THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

With a blueprint of the basic pattern for a democratic order in the economic sector of society before us, the next thing to be done in our project involves the filling in of the many blank spaces found there with more specific and scientific details. Unless the manner in which the system functions is shown with fuller completeness, it will be rather difficult, to say the least, to secure any serious consideration of the contents by the great majority of those who view it, and to whom it may appear as something radically new. Logical coherence alone, assuming it is there, does not provide the plan with sufficient conviction to assure its favourable acceptance, even on experimental grounds. To entitle it to more than a passing curiosity, and perhaps win for it a closer study of its possibilities as a feasible working model, some more technical features must be added. Supplementary insertions of this sort, then, will constitute the aim of our efforts in the present discussion.

The program for a democratic economic order thus far advanced merely designates what is to be done. Thus it states that the governmental or managerial authority in an enterprise must be constructed along pluralistic lines. This was explained as meaning the establishment of a coalition control comprising the three essential economic parties. Capital, Labour, and Consumer, as jointly necessary and complementary

participants in a productive venture, have proportionately equal claims to exercise the social supervision demanded by the exigencies of the economic situation. Some preliminary distinctions between the respective rights of the several parties-at-interest have been indicated very roughly. These were said to derive from the special differences which characterize the actual investment positions of the three partners. Capital and Labour, as dual producer principals, are entitled to a predominant though not precluding status in the internal productive operations of the enterprise. The Consumer can be credited only with what is at best an advisory rôle in these respects. Going a bit further into the intricacies of the production processes, we noted how the capital interests enjoyed superior prerogatives as regards the regulation of material factors, while labour's primary power was associated with the handling of personnel problems. In the border areas, where the two jurisdictions really coalesce into one, as on questions of wages, hours, prices and profits, management authority is shared in common. Then, with respect to the explicitly external aspects of the enterprise's operations, its implications for consumption in other words, like the varieties, the usefulness, and the composition of the final products, the Consumer was acknowledged as holding the place of preeminence. In all such questions, the Producers inevitably bow before the traditional business principle that "the customer is always right." Given this set of general economic objectives, therefore, the pressing task that remains pertains to the selection of the methods that are to be followed in procuring their fulfilment.

We have likewise already observed how the managerial function in the enterprise partakes of three distinct but coordinated courses of action. There is the legislative or directive one, the judicial or interpretive step, and the executive or administrative procedure. In the first of these evolutions, the numerous principles and policies which guide the industry in its operations are agreed upon. The content of these company statutes, as they might well be called, include matters having implications for both the internal and the external sides of the enterprise's life. That is to say, they are concerned with conditions of consumption as well as production. And on the latter count, they cover complications of both a personal and a material nature. Subsequent and supplemental to these primary management duties will be the responsibilities of interpreting and adjusting more exactly the general tenor and scope of the foregoing broad policy statements. Such services are required whenever a particular practical situation arises involving uncertainty either as to the real intent and content of the policy pronouncements, or the actions of any individuals or groups with respect thereto, or both. Once again, it must be said, the points at issue here may spread over the consumer as well as the producer sector, and include the personnel and the material features of the latter. Finally, there is the vitally important managerial task of executing and administering the terms of the officially prescribed policies. On this level of the enterprise's government, all that has been said and done in the preceding stages is brought into direct contact with the galaxy of concrete

details which characterize the daily events in the organization's life. Policies and programs here receive the final adjustments required for their adaptation and application to the varying circumstances of time and place. This is undoubtedly the area of management which demands the finest technical skill and the keenest sense of judgment. It not only deals with the Consumer and the Producer, in their personal as well as material aspects, but must determine the respective conditions of these elements in their full and final extent.

Such, then, are the main operations that enter into and comprise the management function. They remain ever constant irrespective of how the office is organised from the standpoint of the persons holding it, that is to say, whether this be on an autocratic, oligarchic, or democratic basis. The marks distinguishing these latter features spring from sources outside the office itself, from the people who act as the bearers of the office. We have already seen who the people of management are in a democratic economic system. What awaits showing is how these people interact upon one another.

The first thing that should be said about the managerial relationship between the different groups of interests in the enterprise is that each of these factions must be thoroughly though freely organized. Unless there is a common agreement, directing concerted action, under common leaders, in every one of these party divisions, little if anything can be done toward accomplishing democratic objectives. So far as the

Capital investors are concerned however, adequate provisions on this score have long been in existence. The institutional devices for the benefit of this group are well established, both functionally and legally. In the camp of labour, much progress has recently been made in this direction. Some of it has been effective enough to have succeeded already in measuring up to the organizational stature of their producer opposite numbers. But generally speaking, many improvements are still needed, and much heavy structural work yet remains to be done. Both the talent and the will in these regards, so necessary for the ultimate success of the movement, are readily and widely available within Labour's own ranks. Given the kind of positive co-operation that its self-endeavours and its social significance entitle it to, by employers, government, and other private agencies in society, an adolescent trade unionism can soon reach maturity. And when this occurs, a permanent as well as a potent boost will have been given to the resources of democracy.

The Consumer, we know, lags far behind his economic compatriots in this matter of organization. Scarcely anything worth noticing has yet been done to give this group the means of articulate and effective self-expression. Of course there are in being certain loosely-knit and vaguely defined consumer associations (consumer cooperatives are in an entirely different category) which have been working for some time to promote various phases of Consumer welfare. Then too, as some who read this will no doubt declare, there are countless governmental offices which are intimately concerned

with protecting and promoting the interests of the buying public. Can it be that something else is demanded besides all these bodies for an adequate handling of the Consumer's position in a democratic order? To every such inquiry as this, the only accurate reply is a resounding affirmative one. Yes, by all means, more is most urgently needed. Neither type of consumer service just described is equipped to perform the functions which a real economic democracy entails. The first is almost exclusively an informational or advisory agency, while the second is at best a remote and largely negative restraining force. What the purchasers of each and every sizeable enterprise's products must have, however, is a direct and dynamic promotion unit which can clearly make known its principals' preferences, and then adopt a continuing, determined attitude for the advancement of the same.

Once the preliminary work of internally uniting the several sets of economic interests in the enterprise is accomplished, it thereafter becomes possible to put the democratic management machinery in motion. The chief instrument used in this operation is the process of representative cooperation known commonly as Collective Bargaining. To follow with any success the workings of this system for the government of an economic community, it is necessary that one have an appropriate understanding of the distinction between the procedural and the substantive aspects of the managerial function. Without such a mental state, an observer is likely to find the ensuing explanation haplessly if not hopelessly confusing. Now the first thing that might

helpfully be said in this connection, aims at a better elucidation of the terms substantive and procedural. In the light of our present needs, it will be sufficient if we take the former to mean those matters over which managing authority is exerted, like the men and the materials engaged in work. Similarly, the latter factor should be visualized as covering the steps or the acts by which the same authority is exercised. Hence we may say that, substantively speaking, management operates upon the people and the things which are associated with the productive and the consumptive ramifications of an enterprise. While procedurally considered, management involves the making, interpreting, and the administering of policies or plans which relate to the foregoing people and things. Both of these sets of characteristics will have to be remembered and distinguished as we move along through the remainder of our discussion.

Collective Bargaining, it is probably well to state at this point, is a method of rational, voluntary cooperation, by two or more groups of persons, carried on through appointed representatives of these groups, in connection with objects having a common value for the respective groups. The chief subjective characteristics that this procedure implies in its participants include, a fresh and forward exchange of views, in a spirit of mutual respect and restraint, with an underlying willingness to accept a friendly compromise, within the limits allowable by traditional standards of mental and moral honor. In its objective features, the relationship calls for meetings,

discussions, debates, proposals, revisions, and finally, agreement. The complete operation is a manifestation of dialectical idealism at work in a practical social context.

To explain the way in which Collective Bargaining operates so as to provide a system of management based upon the principle of democratic pluralism, it seems advisable to observe a plan of exposition somewhat like the following one. The three main procedural lines of managerial action, directive, interpretive, and administrative, ought to be made the central elements upon which the bargaining mechanism is fastened. With this as the core of our explanatory pattern, we can then proceed to delimit the substantive contours of our system more exactly by distinguishing the internal production issues from their external consumption counterparts within each of these three active management provinces. At the same time, of course, it will also be necessary to run our substantive refining measures at least one step further, by differentiating in some degree between the material and the personnel components of production. In this fashion we will provide ourselves with a general picture of just what each of the three economic partners are expected to do in each of the three phases of an enterprise's management. Special emphasis should be laid here, however, upon an important note of incompleteness that must inevitably mark our efforts to separate sharply the respective substantive areas of management. Just how much of an enterprise's total operational program is

properly assignable to the category of internal production, and hence is subject to the primary control of Capital and Labour interests, and how much is classifiable as pertaining to external consumption, thereby bringing it under the predominant power of the Consumer, cannot be decided now with precise and permanent exactness. What is more, a similar state of indeterminateness is found to accompany the joint but severable relationship that binds together the material and personal interests inside the production zone. How far Capital's control extends, and where it begins to be superseded by the prerogatives of Labour, is a problem not entirely solvable by means of a general relational formula. Like any other concrete phenomena, only the most rudimentary qualities of these connections are capable of expression in terms carrying a general and more or less permanent validity. The remaining features, being so contingent, variable, and unpredictable, are entirely products of their particular times and places. For this reason, they are subject to constant review and revision in the light of experience gained from trial and error experiments. Such being the case, the lines of limitation upon the respective functional jurisdictions of the three parties-at-interest in the enterprise can only be indicated faintly and tentatively in our present description.

Turning, then, to an analysis of the Collective Bargaining mechanism, we consider initially what we have tagged to the legislative or directive phase of management, that operation whereby matters of policy or principle are determined. It is possible to distinguish

a general and a special branch of activities there. In the first type of legislation, pronouncements having a very basic import for the enterprise are issued. In the second instance, directions of a more specific and hence restricted nature are developed. Since the contents of the former would normally apply to conditions that embrace both the material and the personnel components of production, the principals of both these factors, that is to say, Capital and Labour, must play an equally important role in their enactment. This they will do through the medium of the negotiation, by the joint efforts of their accredited agents, of a mutually acceptable working agreement. The practical ramifications of the terms agreed upon here, however, will usually carry over into the sector of consumption and make a noticeable impression there. On this account, the Consumer acting through an authorized representative, must also be granted a voice, purely advisory in the negotiation proceedings. As pointed out previously, this does not imply intervention by the political authorities in the collective bargaining relationship, at least not inevitably and in the first instance. For the participating member on behalf of the Consumer visualized here will be a spokesman appointed by the buyers in individual enterprises, not by the state or the buying public in general. When the policy-making prerogative is exercised according to its secondary, more specialized purposes, so that its results are made to pertain either to production materials alone, or production personnel alone, or to the consumption interest by itself, each of the three separate parties

— Capital, Labour, Consumer — will manipulate the power independently, so far as their particular preserves are concerned. The probable list of subjects that would be appropriate to the first and higher category of directives are essentially those dealing with wages and hours of work, prices and profits on products, and quantities and qualities of the latter. On the second and lower policy level, the designation of subjects will be more difficult, due to the fact, as mentioned above, that the boundaries of the several jurisdictions will have to be arrived at by experimental means. Perhaps the best, or certainly the most, that can be said in this regard at the moment, is that Capital's representatives for directive operations will control the physical or material features of an enterprise, while Labour's agents for the same purpose set the standards on personnel, and the Consumers' leaders officiate on dominantly customer issues.

Directing our attention next to the judicial or interpretive side of management responsibility, where decisions are made in order to clarify the contents of policy statements, we again find it necessary to divide the general from the special, the basic from the secondary consequences thereof. The interpretations and applications referred to on this score normally occur in connection with the settlement of particular claims and grievances which arise from time to time out of the potpourri of events associated with the implementation of policy in the circumstances of daily routine. As a matter of fact, the term most frequently used to classify the series of procedures devised for the joint

handling of the problems in this area of management is that of Grievance Machinery. On the plane of fundamental managerial actions in this respect, where, as in the preceding directional instance, the results of every decision are inevitably projected into that precinct of the enterprise proper to all the interested parties combined, each of the latter should have their own independent representation on the body taking cognizance of the dispute. Here too, of course, in further similarity with the foregoing legislative practice, the agent of the Consumer group will serve in a consultant capacity only, with the decisive power being reserved to the more inherent province of Capital and Labour. And as is true of the Collective Bargaining practice with respect to the first managerial function, the full utilisation of this joint judicial practice can be best achieved when seeking settlements of disagreements over wages and hours, prices and profits, quantities and qualities of goods. When the cause of action rests on grounds of less comprehensiveness, so that its ramifications relate merely to one or the other of the relevant economic partners, then that particular party alone regulates the required proceedings and determines their outcome. Thus subject to the qualifications made before regarding the unavoidable incompleteness and inaccuracy of all such abstract assumptions, formed as they are outside the context of the time and place in which they occur, capital will resolve such conflicts over material items, labour will do the same on personnel points, and the consumer will naturally settle disputes involving purchaser prerogatives.

As a sort of third dimension, we know, management possesses an executive or administrative side. And it is right here, we saw earlier, that the most intensive demands are placed upon the enterprise's leadership. Those officials who handle this portion of the controlling reins are the ones who have the most to do with starting and sustaining the motion of an economic unit. In this connection, they must arrange to have the many policy principles of the organization brought into living contact with the host of varying practical situations that constitute what is described as the "round" of daily events, and in such a way, be it understood, as will assure the effectual realization of the policy's content amidst the welter of changing circumstances. There is certainly ample reason for calling this the most creative stage in the managerial process. Once more, let it be emphasized, there is need for segregating a broad, all-inclusive form of administration from a rather narrow, singularly confined counterpart. The dualism which was seen to begin with the directive phase of management, and thence carry over into the interpretive or applicative branch thereof, is thus found to reach its culmination in the sphere of executive action. And, as was true in those earlier cases, so too here does the first or general administrative operation embrace all three of the essential concerns of the enterprise-material, personnel, and purchaser. Since that is so, it requires a joint effort by the representatives of the three partners involved — Capital, Labour, and Consumer — to give it adequate effectiveness. This somewhat complex arrangement can be readily ac-

complished through the instrumentality of plant Work's Committees. It goes without saying that consumer participation at this point will continue to be purely advisory. Where, however, these administrative responsibilities assume a more limited and local significance, their obligations will be performed in each substantive sector of the enterprise by the primary party-at-interest there. Accordingly, Capital officials will administer the strictly material or physical aspects of the endeavor, Labour leaders will conduct the business of personnel administration, and Consumer custodians will prepare and present the legitimate demands of the buyers. In summary fashion, therefore, it may be said that, so far as the internal administration of an enterprise's production is involved, on this secondary level anyway, all technical, engineering, and materials' acquisition and distribution problems are subject to Capital's administrators. Within the same category of management, matters of personnel hiring, placement, training, promotion, together with their immediate supervision on the job, are the province of the Labour administrators. Which means that the purchasing, engineering, and shipping departments are preeminently territory inside Capital's domain, while the personnel department is part and parcel of Labour's possessions. In a final analysis of executive operations, of course, both of these sectional authorities are seen as working under the proximate and prevailing control of the tripartite Work's Committees.

It cannot very well be denied that a serious potential weakness is detectable in this democratic reordering

of the management function. Any person with a mature economic experience can visualize how such a bifurcation of producer authority makes it possible for a serious difference of opinion among the reigning powers, especially in the executive sector, to disrupt concerted action at a time when it is really most needed. And yet, is it not a fact, albeit an uncomfortable one, that such a risk as this is unavoidable in any area of society patterned according to democratic institutional forms. It is simply a practical effect of acceding to the autonomy of human freedom, which must ever labour under the importunities of human nature. Even so, and allowing for the fullest accomplishment of this danger, there is still likely to be less social harm, in the sense of radical injustice at least, brought about by it than has been true of those managerial methods devised and applied thus far. Whereas under the management system of a bygone era, it was Labour that suffered the chief hardships, while according to contemporary practices, it is probably the Consumer who most frequently bears the burdens of economic battles, though Labour continues to receive a goodly share of the brunt in many cases; here, by reason of the multiple safeguards suggested all three participants are assured of a more or less proportionate penalty when the intended order is disrupted, just as they are guaranteed a similar type of reward when its stability is preserved. But the democratic process is not altogether devoid of either the will or the ways for protecting itself from such danger, anymore than is the case in similar situations growing out of its other social applications.

Certain internal mechanisms to resolve self-defeating and paralyzing conflicts within the economic organism are provided. What is probably the most outstanding example of this resourcefulness in the present instance is the managerial arrangement whereby the Consumer interests are admitted to the councils which control the various phases of economic institutional life. By bringing organized consumer opinion to bear upon such disagreements between Capital and Labour as may regularly arise from time to time, even though this be in an advisory form only, a prolonged stalemate in hostile attitudes and actions should ordinarily be averted. When the Purchaser is prepared to speak in an outright and compact fashion, then as a practical matter, the Producer will ordinarily find it advisable to attend and to act accordingly. Not that the former will always and everywhere be able to assume this peace-making role by themselves. Effective governmental or public agencies will continue in demand as emergency aids available upon the failure of private measures. An essential point of distinction, as well as improvement it may be added, between this democratic structural pattern and other more traditional modes of organization, lies in the unique ability of the newer managerial methodology to remove, probably even prevent, breakdowns in an enterprise's affairs without a more or less automatic and necessary intervention by government forces. For there is what amounts to a self-contained procedure of conciliation and mediation inherent in this system. And the same set of factors that serve in this capacity may very well be utilized as arbitration

machinery besides. Hence the occasions when an enterprise will have to turn to outside sources for support of its efforts in maintaining essential self-control will be greatly lessened. These independence-strengthening implications which democracy promotes in economic relations clearly and emphatically advance the general well-being of a society. They further the application of the subsidiarity principle, which is a primary pillar in a peaceful and truly progressive social order.

J. S. Connor

REPORT ON SOUTH KANARA

The following notes are not intended as a complete report on the Community Projects and Extension Blocks in South Kanara. A balance sheet might be a too bold attempt for a friendly visiting social worker, whose chief desire is only to create interest and collaboration in all sections of the public with Free India's giant effort for winning "The Battle of Food." Destructive criticisms at this movement would be the "Unkindest cut of all"; I shall limit myself to a few constructive suggestions. They are suggestions of a well-wisher.

I. The unsolved agrarian problem is the main cause of unrest and poverty on which communism thrives and feasts.

The numerous landless or semi-landless population of South Kanara is not much interested in the improvement of lands and villages which do not belong to them.

The agrarian problem should be settled side by side or even ahead of all other plans, projects and extensions, if we wish the whole village community to take part in the great movement.

Absentee landlords, especially the new comers, are playing havoc with the wealth of the country, with development and especially with the peasantry.

Lands should mostly be settled with the tillers of the soil on a permanent and really proprietary basis according to a fixed ceiling for maximum amount of landownership, exception to be made only for social, educational and religious purposes. All villages must be made into capitalists, not into communists as at present and they should be organised on a truly co-operation basis of free land-owning-farmers of a free and democratic country. Some compensation to the land owners must be paid, but may well be delayed.

In industry also the cartel system of South Kanara makes some capitalists heartless money grabbers and loan sharks, without any consideration for the workers except for what is strictly enjoined by the letter of the Law. Creches and medical arrangements of several factories are an abomination.

II. Harijans are still greatly ignored, neglected or segregated in "Labour Schools". They do not seem to figure among the proposed chief actors of the projects. No attempt seems to be made to integrate them into the national life. Labour Schools should be suppressed, except if they serve children of all castes.

III. A great effort is being made by the staff of the Community Projects and Extension blocks. I myself have been witness of a great work being set on foot. Village uplift work is necessarily less sensational than building brick structures in urban areas. However the following points should be noted. There seems to be a colossal *delay in sanctioning* plans and projects. Red Tapism is putting a brake on progress. More local officials should get the necessary powers and responsibility e.g. Villages which long ago finished their promised 50% share of the proposed road, well, or hospital are still wondering how it is that Government is so slow in doing its share in cash or in kind by completing culverts and bridges etc.

IV. Nowhere else in India have I found finer village communities than in Karnatika, more willing and more able to co-operate in the mighty village movement planned by the Community Projects and Development Blocks. The social potential in educated women is higher than anywhere else mainly due to that great educational leadership of Convents.

More tact is required in the approach to the village communities by some workers of urban areas and in rallying the maximum of co-operation.

More use should be made of existing local educational and social centres run under private initiative rather than build expensive new ones. New ones ought to be built in centres where there is none.

Funds allotted should be spent in time. A colossal amount of money allotted for S. Kanara lapses and remains unspent. Existing private social and educational institutions should be generally financed.

V. Communications in South Kanara should be placed or replaced on the priority list of all projects and blocks. Something has been done. Much more remains to be done.

VI. Mangalore is an ancient city with an area of 7.9 sq. miles and a population of 1,17,095 within the city and 25,000 in the suburbs.

India's defence, trade, employment, culture, all the vital national items require that Government should proceed vigorously in finalising plans.

Vast populations, their agrarian and commercial produce are bottled up for months for want of this port.

VII. A second Bridge over the Netravati River is urgently required for opening up a whole country and breaking the isolation of villages.

VIII. A Railway link between Hassan and Mangalore is urgently required for facilitating exports and imports of Mysore and Coorg.

IX. The Mangalore Tile factory Industry should be helped in expanding its trade and should be directed

to treat labour better for the welfare of both Labour and Capital. There are 32 tile factories in Mangalore with an investment of over 2 crores of Rupees, employing 10,000 workmen and capable of employing many more.

The aggregate productions on an average is 850 lakhs. Of them 350 lakhs are exported outside the India Union to countries like Ceylon, Australia, Africa and Malaya.

A severe depression threatens the life of the industry and threatens to throw out of work not only the worker of the factories but also the worker employed in allied trades of excavation, transport of clay, of tiles etc.

As remedies, the following are suggested :

(1) Australia and other foreign countries may be induced to reduce taxes with the help of our trade commissioners in these various countries.

(2) Facilities and reductions in freight may also be arranged for inland transport.

(3) Healthy Trade Unionism should be helped and not crushed.

E. De Meulder

AMERICAN SELF-CRITICISM

"For several hundred years the dominant emphasis in the economic life of the so-called Western world was placed, exaggeratedly, on personal rights and personal strength at the expense of human brotherhood. Similarly, in the larger field of political and economic action, the dominant emphasis was placed on national rights and national strength at the expense of international brotherhood. One might legitimately substitute here for personal strength and national strength the more theologically accurate words, personal pride and greed, and national pride and greed...

We are reaping the bitter fruits of the two great errors of our time. The one error magnifies and exaggerates the importance of the isolated individual without regard for the rights of others and without regard for the rights of the community. The other magnifies the group, — the race, the class, the nation — without regard for the God-given dignity and rights of the individual person.

If we in the United States have not yet fully repented and repented of the former error, we have done so in part. We have made a good beginning in our efforts to reconcile the rights of the individual in economic life with the corresponding rights of the community. Increasingly as time goes on, we are coming to recognize the importance of human brotherhood, and we are honestly striving to give it practical

expression in the economic institutions of our country. The tide has unmistakably turned in the right direction. A self-organised and self-governing partnership, by industries and professions, is definitely in the making. Let us hope and pray that labour, management, agriculture and the professions will do everything they possibly can to hasten its establishment, for the good of our own nation, and furthermore, as a shining example of Christian brotherhood to a world which is now being sorely tempted to sell itself into the slavery of totalitarianism for generations or centuries to come."

(From the 1953 Labour Day Statement, of the N. C. W. C.)

SOCIAL SURVEY

Tea and Tobacco

Andhra Desa has many problems to solve. One of the most urgent is the tobacco problem. Accumulated stocks are estimated at from 32 to 60 million pounds; prices have fallen between six annas and one and a half annas per lb; unfavourable weather destroyed or damaged this year's crop. The yield per acre is about one half of the European average, and the value of exports due to poor quality registered in 1953-54 a fall of Rs 1.32 crores. Many cultivators are forced to use tobacco as manure. On the other hand, Gujerati peasants grow one crop of fast-growing pulse and two tobacco crops for beedi-making. The dilemma is born :

should we smoke to help the poor tobacco-growers, or should they stop growing the weed to help our fight against lung-cancer in smokers ?

Tea is not doing better than tobacco. Exports went down last year by 15 million lbs, but prices went up. The Tea Plantation Labour Committee decided to do something for their workmen: drinking water, fitness certificates, holiday with wages, education facilities, etc. The labourers agreed to have rice rations replaced by a daily cash allowance up to As. 9 or As. 8 according to tea zones and rate of estate rice at Rs. 20 or 17/8 per maund.

Falling Prices

The food situation is improving. South of Tiruchirappalli the price went down from Rs. 1/6 to 14 or 12 annas per Madras measure ; but Madras city does not register any fall and the government decided on the usual remedy : an enquiry committee. Cynics surmise that philanthropic merchants do not lower prices for fear that the common people might overeat themselves.

People who have a sweet tooth are anxious about the strike of cane-growers in Uttar Pradesh. A year ago cane-prices were forced down by the government ; the official price is Rs. 27 a maund, the real one 30 or 33. The growers felt keen on sharing the profits started a strike of the usual type : satyagraha, jail, etc., which extended to Bihar.

Teachers on the Street

After the cane-growers, the cane-wielders.—Calcutta witnessed a very unusual scene: a strike of

23,000 teachers of Bengal responsible for 800,000 pupils of secondary schools. Their grievances were as follow : graduate but untrained teachers have a salary of Rs. 40, 50, or 50 a month though some may after ten years reach up to Rs 70 ; besides a dearness allowance of Rs. 10. Many were forced to resort to private tuition to the great damage of their classes. The teachers pleaded for a strict compliance with the recommendations of the Secondary Education Board which advised a D. A. of Rs. 35. Negotiations were conducted by the All Bengal Teachers Association, but the Bengal government agreed only to an addition of Rs. 7/8 as D. A. and of Rs. 10 to the salaries of untrained teachers. The A. B. T. A. was not satisfied and declared a strike. A procession was taken through the Calcutta streets ; when stopped by the police, it developed into a general squatting down in one of the main thoroughfares, stopping all vehicular traffic. This began on February 11th. In the early hours of February 16th, the police arrested 250 of the squatters and dispersed the crowd ; a procession marching on the Assembly House was also stopped in the afternoon ; then followed the usual story : resistance, brickbats, tear-gas shells, lathi charges, outbreak of violence all over the city, shop-windows smashed, trams and buses stopped and set on fire, police shooting, military patrols, etc. It was a regular pandemonium in several quarters for two days. Motions and questions in Calcutta and Delhi assemblies; negotiations, compromise, calling off the strike. Balance : six killed, many wounded on both sides, heavy damages to property ; release of the arrested

teachers, grant of Rs. 17/8 as D. A. and an additional salary of Rs. 10 to untrained teachers.

Popular sympathy was with the claim of teachers, and popular abhorrence against civic disorder and official wobbling. The whole incident was a second victory for the Red forces (after the tramfare disturbances of last July). The Communist tactics followed a well-known plan; sponsoring of a real grievance, union of most of the leftist forces, whipping up of popular indignation, street demonstrations carried to breaking point, resistance to the police, and then methodical riots in well-scattered quarters. After a compromise is secured, congratulations to the people, and, in spite of the leader taking an inglorious refuge in the assembly House during the troubles, monopolising of success. Sober minds are exercised by several questions on strike and disturbance. Why the delay in granting the concessions? Why allow traffic interference during several days? Why the delay in using sufficient force? Why the pathetic resignation of the public to hooliganism of youths and street urchins? Why tolerate a party wedded to violence and to foreign allegiance? The Madurai Communist Congress has left no doubt about the revolutionary purpose of the party. Nothing less than the overthrow of the present government will satisfy them, not even the garlands and parties showered on Soviet cultural, artistic, commercial missions and delegations.

Our Neighbours

Let us see what is happening beyond the frontiers of the Indian Republic. First an agreement between

India and Ceylon somewhat lessened the tension between the two countries. Henceforth collaboration on both sides will render illicit emigration more difficult if not impossible; next people of Indian origin resident in Ceylon who have their names registered, finally the people of Indian origin who are not already on the electoral roll will be written on a special register. Any person speaking an Indian language and whose name is not on the special register will be deemed an illicit emigrant. Those whose names are on the special register will have the right to elect a certain number of representatives. The others will have every opportunity to register themselves as citizens of India. During a period of 10 years people may continue to remain nationality-less. If there are still many dark spots the general atmosphere is clear and one may hope for a peaceful solution of the conflicts.

Those conflicts are born of narrow nationalism, it is hoped that with the time it will lessen and disappear. Meanwhile in Burma we see another instance of the same spirit in the law passed for the "Nationalization of all lands". Compensations are offered to the tune of 12 times the annual revenue up to the first 100 acres, 11 times for the next and so on till one reaches twice the land revenues for 1,100 acres, and above Rs. 3 per acre will be paid. The Chettiar community, the biggest landlords of Burma, holding about 3 million acres, or 20 to 25% of the best lands (representing a value of 90 crores) hoped that after the visit of the Indian Commission in December the compensation would be raised from 8 to 15 times the rental for the

first 1,000 acres of land. It would have cost from 9 to 10 crores to the Burma Government; actually the proposal will reach only 3 crores. Naturally Burmese having smaller holdings will be proportionally better paid. Before shedding a tear over the injustice done to the Indian Bankers perhaps would it be good to inquire objectively about the means they used to enrich themselves. We have no doubt they were legal ones. But legality is not everything.....

There are other conflicts, for instance, the water dispute with West-Pakistan. Doubtless the Commission about the water question has rendered a Solomon judgement, by giving three rivers to Pakistan and three to India but failed to work a joint agreement for the development of the hydraulic project. Pakistanis and Indians try in their own way to solve their grievances in passing from one country to the other without hampering the regulations. 7,000 were caught in one year, and 6,595 prosecuted. But how many more have passed?

Our Jails

The desire to change one's surroundings works also among the poor in India. Last year 7,119,797 ticketless travellers were detected and 251,847 were prosecuted, bringing only Rs. 469,800 to the treasury. In a Central Jail this kind of offender represents 65% of the inmates; of this number 60 to 90% are pushed to change their domicile on account of poverty, the rest out of ill will. Quite recently two Sadhus felt quite

indignant when, without any respect for their yellow robes they were manacled for ticketless travelling.

Next to ticketless-travel Prohibition gives a jail its greater number of offenders. About 12% in a Central Jail. 66% working against the law on account of poverty, 34% by desire of getting a drink. Since both categories of offenders have not really committed any heinous crime they will not be kept more than a few weeks. Not enough time to be drilled into a job so that their stay is altogether useless to the Government.

Robbery comes next to account for 7% of the prisoners, as many as faults against police regulation. Again here absence of resources or of social surroundings is one of the chief causes of the clashes with the law. Major crimes come then only for a small proportion of the cases. It is true that many of the offenders escape detection. The Defence Stores Department was obliged to write off Rs. 3 crores, out of which 1.25 crores were the result of theft and fraud and other irregularities. In all those cases the root of many crimes is want of moral upbringing. This is notably conspicuous among children offenders. The last census of the Madras Police counts 7,500 mendicants out of which 2,000 were children.

From Delhi came the disturbing news that yearly 150 children are kidnapped. It is very easy to veil one's face in horror but is it sufficient? To all the question should be put: "What are your reactions towards a prisoner? towards a youthful offender?"

When he comes out of jail or of reformatory many could do much to help in procuring work, in showing sympathy.

Our Labour

The want of sufficient means brings out the importance of the social question. Workers of the Hirjee Mills at Bombay protested because in March the wages for January and February had not been paid on March the 15th, despite the promise made by the Management. They and their families had to live, and to incur debt in order to buy the necessary commodities. Only the sawcars will help them to tide over the difficulty but in enslaving them a little more. For 8,000 silkworkers of Bombay the situation is even worse. To protest against the tax imposed by the Finance Minister, 126 art-silk mills closed down, and it is probable that 85 mills of Surat will licentiate their 6,000 workers and so also in Ahmedabad, etc. If the measure is taken on account of absolute impossibility to carry on trade with this extra burden of new taxation, nothing much can be said against it ; but if it is only a means of making pressure on the Government we are sorry to see that the pressure will be first brought on the stomach of the workers and their wives and children. This brings home the necessity for the workers to belong to a Trade Union. The recent statistics give : Indian National Trade Union Congress 587 Units with 918,258 members ; Hind Mazdoor Trade Union 220 Units with 373,459 members, All-India Trade Union 334 Units with 210,914 workers ; United Trade Union 154 groups for 129,242 members.

This multiplication of Trade Unions does not work for a united front. The Communist-led group though second in importance is certainly the most active to work for the labourers, but as V. B. Karnik, a non-Communist from Bombay remarked "the Communists try to widen the gulf between social classes and do not really care for the welfare of the workers." His conclusion was : "It is absolutely necessary to divorce Trade Union from politics, and to make them concentrate on social questions". But is it always possible? Some reforms can come to a head only through political parties. Up to now the Indian Trade Unions have not sufficient workers able to take the direction of their Unions. As long as Trade Unions will be obliged to rely for direction on non-working educated people, it will be difficult not to be tied by a political party.

V. B. Karnik found also that the actual procedure to appeal to Government has transformed Trade Unions into legal chambers. He is not alone to complain about the present legislation. The Federation of Chambers of Commerce in the Delhi meeting found that Labour disputes should not be settled by a third party. The labour tribunals instead of bringing people together leads them away. They remarked also that the number of cases has been on the increase. On that score we should not share the regrets or the indignation of the Chambers of Commerce. When one knows the real situation of the workers, and often the ill-will of the Managements one finds that there is room for many other actions. On a special point the Federation of the Chambers of Commerce emphasized its protest,

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namely the fact that according to law no dismissal may take place when a case is pending before the Labour Tribunal. They think that employers should be able to take disciplinary action in matters not connected with the suit. If this was conceded one could be certain that it would be easy to get rid of those who are a thorn in the flesh of the capitalists. Already there is the tendency of victimising the Trade Union leaders or other Social leaders, so that workers of 50 Trade Unions (5000 members) at Bombay had to protest against what seemed a settled policy to diminish them.

We are far from the relations of husband and wife which Mr. Bharat Ram of Delhi gave as the ideal for the relations between Labour and Capital, when he adjured legal people not to come as third party in a family dispute. This would suppose that there has been love between them.

The Government of Madras tries to be motherly towards its own poor and landless servants. Land will be distributed to them. It is a reverse of the policy which was followed up to now not to appoint any Government servants where he has some special financial interests. This distribution of land will not prevent a Government servant from being transferred anywhere, it is enough if the land is cultivated, at least by a member of his family or by a hired servant. Let us hope that the land will continue for long years to come to bring food in abundance.

E. Gathier

THE CITIZEN AND THE STATE

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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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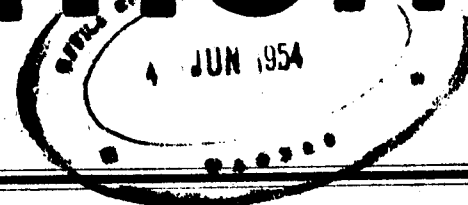
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JUNE 1954

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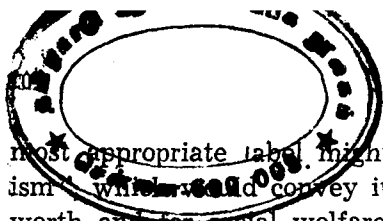
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HERE AND THERE

Red Affluence

Sovietland is crying for food; the masses are not yet seated at the gargantuan table promised by Malenkov. But the party leaders go on giving the good example and striving for a bourgeois girth. Is it not their duty to prevent the party ideal from withering away? We have it from an indiscreet contemporary that, in this as in everything else, the Red leaders in India are falling into step. At Delhi the headquarters of the party occupy not less than four ultra-modern buildings; the rent comes to Rs. 4000 a month and has on occasion been paid for a full year in advance. They employ one hundred and fifty full-time workers at salaries ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 200 per month. The average expenses of the headquarters are calculated at Rs. 40,000 monthly and the bosses strut about with plenty of cash jingling in their pockets.

These bosses keep the red ideal alive, but some of the lower staff grow sour at not sharing the expected convivial spirit. Of late quite a few (some thirty, we are told) did quit. They did not go on strike for higher



most appropriate label might be "personalist socialism" which could convey its dual regard for human worth and for social welfare. In any case it should not be confused with the socialism of the continental West. Shri Narayan's evolution is a clear pointer. The Bhoodan movement too is itself specifically Indian.

Fresh Vistas

The Catholic Social Conference was held during Easter Week at Ernakulam in the inspiring spaciousness of its college halls and the deliberate austerity of its hostels. It had all the elements that make the success of social conferences: able chairmanship, varied erudition, grim earnestness, polysyllabic facility.

The attendance was regular, the discussions lively and the vast resolutions unanimous though, or because, anonymous. The resolutions are published in this issue. There is fair hope, according to realistic reports, that some items of some resolutions will be implemented by some of the members some time or other. Such humble results would give it a distinctive feature among like conferences.

A. L.

"Peace cannot consist in an exasperating and costly relationship of mutual terror."

(Pius XII quoted by Shri J. Nehru)

JUNE 1954

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RESOLUTIONS

OF THE ALL INDIA SOCIAL CONFERENCE
HELD AT ERNAKULAM UNDER THE
PRESIDENTSHIP OF
THE MOST REV. DR. JOSEPH ATTIPETTY D.D.,
ARCHBISHOP OF ERNAKULAM.
(April 21st to 25th)

NOTE : Each one of these resolutions was prepared after prolonged general and group discussions and passed unanimously at a plenary meeting of the Conference. They have been made very comprehensive so that they may provide both general directives and concrete guidance. The more detailed report of the speeches and discussions will be published in due course. It may be stated here that almost everyone of these resolutions was formulated by those who are actively engaged in the type of work concerned, and are based upon the experience and achievements of Catholic Social Workers in various dioceses. The Conference was attended by over 150 delegates from 43 dioceses ; and written notes and suggestions were received from some of the dioceses which could not send delegates.

I. Social Betterment of the poor in Urban Parishes.

RESOLVED

that in urban parishes Social Service Centres be started as early as possible to promote the social betterment of the poor. Such centres should carry out (1) a programme of recreation through games, films and reading rooms ; (2) a programme of improvement of sanitary conditions and medical assistance through campaigns of cleanliness, simple remedies for ordinary

diseases, maternity and child-welfare assistance; (3) a programme of economic uplift through a campaign against wasteful expenditure on festivities and ruinous dowries, by increase of resources through co-operative credit societies and all forms of cooperative endeavour, by the encouragement of thrift and small savings, by instituting wherever possible employment agencies, and finally by the creation of a Social Service Fund for assistance to the needy; (4) a programme of study and instruction beginning with a social survey of the parish, and mainly conducted through study circles on social problems where the art of public speaking and leadership among the workers could be developed; (5) finally by providing for the spiritual formation of the members through retreats, feasts, and Communion days.

NOTE: (1) It is desirable that the most active spirits working in the social centres be youths organised as Young Catholic Workers or any other youth organisations, like the Catholic Youth Movement, the Sodality, the Legion, the teachers of the local schools, etc.

(2) Such Social Centres should be organised for women also, either separately or as a branch of the main unit.

II. Social Betterment of the Poor in Rural Parishes.

RESOLVED

that in rural parishes also Social Centres similar to those of the urban parishes be formed, with the four broad objectives of affording recreational facilities; instruction (a) of a general kind mainly for adult literacy, and (b) in special social topics with reference to rural conditions; of economic improve-

ment by the various methods detailed above; and of spiritual assistance;

that in particular the ideal of rural improvement be based on the Community Project methods, of education, sanitation, communications, instruction and recreation through the joint effort of village communities;

that in particular, rural cooperatives be used extensively and cottage industries be promoted;

that a drive for sanitation and the prevention of disease be undertaken more systematically through the school children and the help of women workers;

that finally in choosing social workers for rural parishes the cooperation of the village headmen be secured, the services of the members of the village panchayat be utilised, and Catholics encouraged to take part and assume leadership in those panchayats.

In Detail:

A. Cooperative Methods for Rural Parishes.

RESOLVED

that multi-purpose cooperatives be organised in our parishes to provide such facilities and services as credit marketing, distribution of agricultural and domestic requirements, rural housing, land-mortgage credit, etc. with the help and guidance of Parish Priests, wherever necessary.

that Catholics should become members of co-operative societies already in existence in the localities in order to secure the maximum benefit to the members of the community.

B. Health and Sanitation in Rural Parishes.**RESOLVED**

that every High School and College student be asked to perform daily some simple action in the service of his rural neighbours, especially to inculcate in them habits of cleanliness and hygienic methods of living, and that to this end there should be a special health campaign in the School and College ;

that very simple, clear, and cheap books in the vernacular on health and the ethical questions connected with health problems be printed, and that they be given to all students of High Schools ; — (The Patna Mission Press has such a publication in Hindi) ;

that if possible during this month of May and generally during this Marian Year, among the instructional activities of the Social Centres short courses on health and sanitation and hygiene be included, and that pamphlets and posters for the same purpose be obtained from the Indian Red Cross Society and local health officers, and the sanitary inspectors be approached to obtain similar pamphlets and posters ;

that Catholic dispensaries be used as Health Centres where the Catholic Teaching on birth control should be emphasized, that vigilance Committees be established in each town for keeping a watch on the Press, Platform, Radio and other forms of propaganda which contravene Christian Principles in matters of health and family planning, that Fr. Brennan's pamphlets on Birth Control be translated into the regional languages and used for instructing people.

NOTE: Opinions were divided on the wisdom of teaching young Catholics "the dangers of birth control".

SPECIAL RESOLUTION:

This Conference earnestly requests the Catholic Bishops' Conference to take early steps to carry out the scheme for an All India Catholic Medical College.

III. Parishes in Plantation Areas.

This Conference recognises the existence of special problems affecting the welfare of Catholics in the plantation areas of Malnad, Malabar, the Pulneys, the Nilgiris, Assam etc. owing to their being scattered in different plantations and a considerable distance from a parish centre, their main evils being sickness due to climate and bad housing, dislocation of family life, lack of all educational and instructional facilities, and resolves

that the parishes in the hill areas concerned be informed of the movement of plantation workers from the plains by the Social Centres of those places so that their numbers and location may be known ;

that the Social Centre of the parish concerned should invite to the Centre chosen workers from the estates during the holidays, for instruction in social improvement, to learn to live in cleaner surroundings, and to improve their social and economic conditions by mutual help, and wherever possible and desirable, by the founding of Labour Unions ;

that during vacations, the Social Service Groups of Colleges and Seminaries be encouraged to visit the

estates, and to complete the work begun in parish Centres ; and

that wherever possible, our social workers on behalf of plantation labourers, utilise the services provided by the ELRO (Estate Labour Relations Organisation) and similar organisations.

IV. Retreats for Workmen.

RESOLVED

that wherever possible annual closed retreats for workingmen be promoted with the purpose not only of securing a general confession, but also to instruct the retreatant in regard to his apostolic vocation ;

that during the retreats to workingmen special instructions be given to them regarding their rights and duties, their solidarity with the working community, and their obligations of charity towards their neighbours ; and

that steps be taken to prepare for the use of preachers, notes and references, and if possible a consolidated manual, to help them to prepare retreats suited to the conditions and needs of the working classes.

V. The Organisation of Employers.

NOTE : The group which discussed this question had to define the term "Employer" ; to decide whether it should include the "managerial staff" which forms the link between the real employer and the labourer, whether share-holders in a company were "employers". It was unanimously agreed that the term should be taken in the strict sense of anyone directly entering into contract with hired labour, be it in a small or in a big concern. At the same time the group emphasized the necessity of maintaining friendly relations bet-

ween the various technical and clerical staff and labourers, since these are more and constantly in direct contact.

A. Employers in general, with special reference to industrialists.

RESOLVED

that all Catholic employers should endeavour to form a section of Social Service for the social betterment of the poor, so that, starting on a parochial basis, it be soon possible to have it organised on a regional and even an all India basis ; if their number in a parish is limited, or owing to other circumstances, they cannot be grouped separately, they should all take an active part in the group of Social Service already existing or to be organised in the Parish ;

that all Catholic employers should endeavour to join some of the well-established Employers' Associations in order to bring to the non-Catholic Employers the social teaching of the Church both directly and indirectly, and to prepare Catholic employers for this duty ; they should have special Lectures and Study-Clubs organised by them and for them, as well as special retreats adapted to their needs and responsibilities ;

that Catholic employers should make combined efforts to plan and execute practical projects of housing chiefly in urban and slum areas for their employees and the poor, either assisting them collectively or individually ; and, wherever there are practical difficulties in building separate houses, to provide common and decent flats at moderate rates ;

that a survey of available cultivable lands be made through the ecclesiastical authorities or other Catholic agencies for the purpose of settling farmers, preferably Catholic, in model villages, in colonisation schemes based in general on the principle of private ownership; that the result of the survey be communicated to ecclesiastical authorities of each region and measures be devised to relieve the pressure on land and spread out Catholic families over wide areas;

that Catholics be urged to join the Bhoodan Movement understood as the voluntary surrender of land by land-owners provided that the distribution of the land be done in accordance with principles in harmony with Catholic teaching; and

that information be sought from proper authorities as to the manner in which the distribution of the surrendered land will be carried out.

VII. Grouping of Dioceses on Linguistic Basis.

This Conference recognises that in order to achieve greater efficiency in social work it is necessary to organise it on a regional and linguistic basis and accordingly proposes

that the grouping of dioceses be made as follows:

- (a) *Tamil Area*: to include the Archdiocese and dioceses of Madras, Mylapore, Nellore, Coimbatore, Pondicherry, Salem, Kumbakonam, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tuticorin, Tanjore and Kottar.
- (b) *Malayalam Area*: to include Thiruvalla, Verapoly, Changanacherry, Palai, Allepey, Quilon, Erna-

kulam, Trichur, Vijayapuram, Kottayam, Trivandrum, Cochin, Tellicherry.

- (c) *Telugu Area*: to include Hyderabad, Guntur, Nellore, Vizagapatam, Warangal, Vijayawada, Bellary.
- (d) *Karnataka Area*: to include Bangalore, Mangalore, Mysore.
- (e) *Hindi Area*: to include Delhi-Simla, Ajmere, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, Gorakpur, Jansi, Indore, Jubbulpore, Patna, Ranchi, Raigarh, Ambikapur, Sambalpur.
- (f) *Bengali-Assamese Area*: to include the dioceses of the Eccles. Province of Calcutta: Calcutta, Krishnagar, Shillong, Dibrugar, Haflong, Jaipalguri, Malda, and the Prefecture of Sikkim.
- (g) *Maharatti and Gujarati Area*: to include Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Belgaum and Nagpur.

NOTE: The Karnataka and the Maharatti-Gujarati Area will provide for publication in Konkani also. The Nagpur Archdiocese, though predominantly Maharatti, has a considerable Hindi area;

And that the Catholic Bishops' Conference be respectfully requested to approve of these divisions to fix the headquarters and nominate the President of each area.

VIII. The Constitution and Functions of Regional Committees.

The Conference also recommends that each region have a Central Board made up of representatives of each diocese, preferably four members — a priest, a

layman, a nun, and a laywoman. And further resolves that the programme of work for Regional Committees shall comprise broadly the following points :

1. The production and dissemination of social literature in the regional language or languages ;
2. the arrangement of facilities for the study of those languages by social workers coming from other linguistic areas ;
3. the preparation and holding of Regional Conferences of social workers every year, or every alternate year, where the implementation of the resolutions of the All India Conference shall be studied and promoted, where special regional problems will be discussed and appropriate action taken, where items for the agenda for all India Conferences will be proposed ;

The Conference also resolves that the next Regional Conferences be held in December this year ;

NOTE : It was also suggested that special Regional Conferences be held for Nuns and Women social workers.

that it be further resolved that the following delegates be members of provisional Regional Committees, with powers to co-opt members where necessary, and that they be requested :

(a) to secure the early constitution of the full and definitive Committees ;

(b) to complete the informations to be sent to the Social Institute of Poona regarding social works eligible for government grants, and the list of social publications available in the regional language, and

(c) to explore possibilities of holding Social Weeks at chosen places in their Areas, and to suggest subjects for such social weeks,

PROVISIONAL REGIONAL COMMITTEES

1. Tamil Area : Rev. C. M. Visuvasam, Madura
Rev. Mother Raphael,
Kumbakonam
Mr. Arokiaswamy, Madras
2. Malayalam Area : Rev. Fr. Jerome, O. C. D.
Mr. Joseph Manjuran, B. A. L. T.
Mr. P. T. Jacob
3. Telugu Area : Very Rev. A. Fernandez
Rev. Chinnappar
Rev. A. Vander Heyden
Mr. J. X. Francis
Miss. M. Naidu
4. Karnataka Area : Rev. A. F. Sequeira
Rev. Fr. N. T. Thomas
Mr. Paul Rodriguez, B.A.L.L.B.
5. Hindi Area : Rev. De Meulder
Rev. Fr. Brennan
Rev. Fr. Cassien
Rev. Mother Clare
6. Bengali — Assamese Area : Rev. A. Cordeiro, S.J.
7. Maharatti — Gujarati Area : Very Rev. Mgr. J. Lobo
Rev. Fr. I. Meyer
Rev. Fr. A. Espasa.

IX. Cooperation with Non-Catholic Agencies.

This Conference recommends that while the organisation and central direction of Catholic social activities should be in the hands of Catholics, the Cooperation of Non-Catholics be sought wherever possible and wherever there is goodwill and readiness to help.

The Conference recommends also

that among the beneficiaries of Catholic social activities both for improvement of social conditions in all ways and the assistance to the needy, non-Catholics also be included in the measure possible so that our charity may be truly Catholic, and our outlook truly national ;

that it be further resolved to recommend to Catholics to join in large numbers, both individually and as an institution, such Government sponsored organisations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj, and such non-official Organisations like the Indian Conference of Social work, in accordance with the directive already given by the Bishops' Conference ;

that in response to the invitation of the Chief Community Projects' Administrator, a special appeal be made to parish-priests, Seminaries and Scholasticates in Community Project and Extension Areas to co-operate fully with the undertaking by personal service and by directives to their people.

X. The Training of Social Workers and Trade Union Leaders.

The Conference recognising the imperative need and urgency of training social workers of various types, resolves :

(a) to place on record its appreciation of the work done by St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, St. Xavier's Bombay, Loyola, Madras, Stella Maris, Madras, St. Joseph's, Trichy, St. Aloysius, Mangalore, and the Catholic Centre, Madras, for training social workers by

a full year's diploma course and by the Xavier School of Labour Relations, Jamshedpur, by its two year course.

to urge on Catholics preparing to do social work to join the courses in large numbers and to request other Catholic Colleges for men and for women to start similar courses ; and

to draw attention to the need for one or other of the Colleges instituting a full Graduate Course of two or three years' duration on the scale of the Diploma Course of the Tata Institute.

(b) The Conference further recommends that Diocesan Directors should take steps to organise shorter courses of two or three months, or even a fortnight's duration, in urban and rural centres, to train workers of the parish Social Centres, and that assistance of Schools and Colleges in the area be secured for this purpose.

The Conference strongly recommends that wherever possible, Catholic Trade-Unionists be grouped together for special instruction in Trade-Unionism, and Labour Relations, in order to assume places of influence and leadership in the T. U. Movement ;

that where there are no unions among workmen, Catholics be encouraged to take the lead in organising them either as independent unions or affiliated to unions whose policy is not opposed to Catholic principles ;

that finally, through the Labour Relation Courses already started or to be started, Catholic agencies take

a leading part in training Trade-Union leaders among Catholics and non-Catholics.

(c) The Conference also makes its own the suggestion of His Grace Dr. Eugene D'Souza of Nagpur, and earnestly recommends that a special one year course for priests, to be later expanded into a degree course, be started as early as possible in Poona, by collaboration between De Nobili College and the Poona Social Institute, and that the Bishops' Conference be requested to secure from the Institutions concerned, the implementation of this resolution ;

considering further the need to impart social instruction to the masses of our people in addition to training social workers, the Conference suggests the holding of Social Weeks and recommends to the provisional Committees and to the definitive Regional Committees when constituted, to hold such Weeks during the coming year in suitable centres to be chosen by them ; and

finally accepting the proposal of H. E. Dr. J. Parecattil, Co-adjutor Archbishop of Ernakulam, the Conference respectfully requests the Bishops' Conference to declare that 1955 be a Social Instruction Year, when social instruction shall be imparted in all parishes from the pulpit, in Catechism classes, and in schools and colleges generally, and to appoint a person or persons to draw up schemes and synopsis of various grades for the imparting of such instruction.

The Conference also resolves that the Handbook for Social Workers which the Institute of Poona was requested to bring out, and which has not yet been

published, may be brought at an early date, preferably before the next Regional Conference, and that in drawing it up the suggestions made by the Delegates to the Conference be utilised.

XI. The Organisation of Catholic Social Workers on an All India Basis, and the Publication of a News-Link for Them.

The Conference records the statement of the President of SEVA that circumstances have compelled those responsible for that organisation to give up regretfully the objective of an All India Association for social workers, and to confine themselves to the Archdiocese of Madras-Mylapore, and to permit not only individual but institutional membership.

In view of this, the Conference resolves

that after the formation of Regional Committees, an All India Federation of these Committees be formed to act as the permanent Catholic Social Conference, and to be enrolled as a national unit of the International Organisation of Catholic Social Workers ; and

that through this National Social Conference, all Catholic social workers be grouped together into an All India Association consisting of regional groups ;

the Conference further resolves that in addition to a doctrinal review like SOCIAL ACTION, there should be a News-Link of social interest and chronicle of social events to serve as a means of unity, coordination and mutual help to all social workers ; and

that to this end, a beginning be made by starting regional news sheets, uni-lingual or bi-lingual, to be

ultimately developed into an organ of the All India Social Conference.

XII. Special Resolution on Foreign Missionaries.

(a) This Conference of Catholic Social Workers, men and women, delegated from all the States of India, places on record its deep appreciation of the work of social uplift carried out by foreign Missionaries in India; and resolves:

That the State and Central Governments be urged to continue to give them the facilities which they have hitherto enjoyed for carrying out their beneficent work;

(b) This conference protests against the anti-missionary and anti-Christian activities of the communal organisations and other interested agencies, particularly in recent months, in several parts of India, which are seeking to discredit the work of the missionaries by false allegations, and by the exercise of violence and unfair pressure on Christian converts, particularly among adivasis;

(c) And finally, this Conference, learning of the appointment of a Commission to inquire into these allegations urges on the members of the Commission to give to the Catholics of the State, full and unhampered opportunity to disprove the allegations made against the Catholic missionaries, and fully hopes that the Commission will conduct the inquiry in a manner that is just and fair to the Catholic Community.

* * *

This Conference requests His Grace Archbishop Joseph Attipetty, President of the Conference to send these resolutions to the Government of India, to the

Government of Madhya Pradesh, and to the members of the Inquiry Commission.

Resolution of Loyalty to the Holy Father

This Conference resolves that the expression of its deep loyalty and filial devotion to the person of the Pope, and the assurance of our humble prayers for the full restoration of his health, may be conveyed to the Holy Father through His Excellency the Internuncio.

The Next All-India Catholic Social Conference

Resolved that, subject to the approval of His Grace the Archbishop of Hyderabad, the next All-India Catholic Social Conference be held during the Puja holidays, 1955 at Hyderabad (Deccan).

J. D'Souza SJ

CONVENER

DOWN WITH THE WELFARE STATE

What's a Welfare State? (1)

It is one that provides for its citizens a wide range of social services in a planned economy. These services include benefits and help for unemployment, old age, sickness, education, family allowances, benefits which, were there no Welfare State the responsible citizen

(1) Cf. *Social Action*, April 1954, p. 121.

would have to provide for himself. The fundamental reason why the State takes 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. The evils which men complain of now are real evils. Unemployment and war are not figments of the imagination. The soul-deadening monotony of many industrial techniques, the insignificance of the ordinary member of an industrial society and his unimportance in relation to the community of which he is supposed to be a part — these are evils which strike at the roots of human dignity. It is not surprising therefore that there has been a revolt against them and the Welfare State has volunteered to take up their cause. What is remarkable however is that that revolt should have taken this particular form, and that in order to combat the evils of a particular organization of society, men should seek to create an organization of another kind which would only intensify the evils of which they themselves complain. This statement has got to be substantiated and it is the purpose of this essay to do so.

Why the thought of a Welfare State has to be rooted out ?

It should be clearly stated at the outset that we are not for going to the other extreme, for advocating individualism, perfect liberalism or total non-interference of the State. The Popes 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 smaller agencies to ensure.

We do concede that the State should provide *some* services but the law of subsidiarity must always be observed, i.e. no higher or more powerful society or organization can usurp or take over any function which can adequately be performed by a lower society or organization. The family is a case in point. The function of the State is merely to protect its rights and to see that it fulfils its duties. It can never abrogate family rights by excessive and unnecessary interference. From this principle the arguments for the unity and indissolubility of marriage derive ; so if the State can take over these duties of the family there is no compelling reason against polygamy or divorce. That is why in Sweden — a complete Welfare State — the divorce rate has jumped from 7.7% in 1939 to 14% in 1950. It has one of the world's highest illegitimacy rates, one of the highest alcoholism rates. Said a clergyman of Sweden's Lutheran State Church : our churches are empty. An objection may here be brought with regard to some countries where birth-control and divorce are practised, but which are not Welfare States. The answer is simple. We do not say that there is only one cause to these moral evils, which cause is the Welfare State. In those countries other causes have been responsible for them, but in countries like Sweden where they didn't exist before, and whose growth

can be traced to the time when they started functioning as Welfare States, it may safely be said that this has caused the lowering of the dignity of family life.

If the State therefore has to look after the individual from "the cradle to the grave" it is only too obvious that he is very much at the mercy of the State. If industry is nationalized, if food is subsidized, health services, family allowances, all the sole concern of the State, the citizen has no one else whom he can have recourse to but the State. As long as he pleases it, he has the security which welfare services afford, but it is at the cost of something more precious, at the cost of his freedom. That security is bought at the price of freedom is further borne out by the witness of modern history. The totalitarian regimes, Germany, Italy, Russia, claimed to provide for all the needs of their citizens, and they all took away their liberty.

Planned Economy :

Another characteristic feature of the Welfare State is that of Planned economy. It is nothing but the regulation of the production and distribution of the wealth of the country by the government. It was born of the desire for equality. It is not surprising that the leaders of the working class which was beginning to emerge as a political power in some countries during the turn of the last century should have welcomed the idea of a planned society. When there was so much wealth of the one hand and such abject poverty on the other, it was easy enough to believe that the mere transfer of riches from one group to another

would cure most social ills. That was the genesis of the planned economy — that poverty and social evil in general were the consequences simply of the maldistribution of existing wealth and that they could be removed if society could be planned again on the basis of a new deal.

But is it likely that any man, or group of men can hope effectively to control from the centre, the distribution of coal and flour and drawing-pins and cattle feeding-stuffs and the hundred thousand other commodities which enter into trade, in such a way as to ensure that the relationship between them is always perfectly balanced, that the supply of each is perfectly related to the demand and that there is never any check upon production? The experience of Great Britain since the end of the war certainly suggests that it is not. Further, when a Government seeks to control in the interests of efficiency even a sector of the national economy, it cannot stop there. It cannot stop because the economy of any country is an extremely complicated mechanism, in which each cog is geared to its neighbour and each part dependent upon another. Therefore, unless the plan is to break down the planner is under a continuous compulsion to extend the field of his control, until at last he is master of the whole.... thus it degenerates always and inevitably into totalitarianism.

Here is the answer to the riddle. The advocates of the Welfare State keep on harping that it has nothing

to do with totalitarianism, that it does not mean nationalization, that all it claims to do is to provide for its citizens social services. Looking at its face value, or theoretically speaking we too are one with them, but what about the practical side? That is why we do not say that the Welfare State equals totalitarianism but degenerates into or leads to it. The same may be said with regard to nationalization. The Welfare State finds it impossible to cope with the amount of social services it has taken upon itself to provide and is hence forced to nationalize the country's industries in order to find a means of income. It certainly did not intend this at the beginning, but is so to say forced to act in such a way.

"Economic control", says Hayek in his *Road to Serfdom* (p. 66), "is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends. And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower, in short, what men should believe and strive for.... The power conferred by the control of production and prices is almost unlimited.... Through control of wages 'free choice of occupation' is abolished.... the individual becomes ever more a mere means, to be used by the authority in the service of the 'Social Welfare'.. In fact things have come to such a pass that a Government has 'assumed the power to tell a workman that he cannot work in one place, but must work in another and take the wages which the second job provides.... Farmers

can raise only the crops they are directed to raise. The number of chickens they can keep is limited and eggs must be delivered to the government with some relation to the amount of poultry feed which is purchased.... farmers must follow the Rules of Good Estate Management or Good Husbandry promulgated by the Labour Government. If they don't comply they are placed under supervision and must raise crops as directed by the Government. If at the end of a year they still were not running their farms efficiently, the Government had the right to dispossess them from their farms."

(Senator Robert Taft speaking of the British Labour Government in *Colliers*, 4/8/'50; see also "Washington Tyranny: Another Case Study" by Stanley High in the Reader's Digest, November 1951.)

Let the words of Pope Pius XII end this consideration on State interference. 'If the State lays claim to and directs private enterprises, these, ruled as they are by delicate and complicated internal principles which guarantee and assure the realization of their special aims, may be damaged to the detriment of the public good by being wrenched from their natural surroundings, that is from responsible private action.' (Unity of Human Society, 1939.)

Following on this case against the principle of Social Welfare schemes, it may be asked if present abnormal circumstances (i.e. under-investment, unemployment, housing) justify their temporary introduction as desperate remedies. We answer in this way: can

it follow that because just at this particular juncture of our history our government may be trusted not to go to excesses, it will not in the future? There may be no harm now, but sooner or later there will be. And in any case it can by no means be allowed to usurp powers which do not belong to it.

India

Let us now descend to particulars of our own country, examine her social and economic problems and see if a Welfare State could solve them.

And first the social aspect: What is it India's citizens need most? There is no denying the fact that we are lacking in a spirit of initiative, an opportunity for self-assertion, development of a sense of self-reliance. Give our workers an object in life beyond that of mere instinctive survival, give them hope of ownership, give them for their own use the product of their labour so that they may see their efforts gaining security for themselves, give them a sense of dignity engendered by control of their own affairs. Give them too a voice in determining their destiny and although they may make all the mistakes of which man is capable and ill-use their opportunities they will still build a better social order than the one built for them by those, whom under compulsion they serve up to now. Our poor worker will see that he is being treated as a human being, not as a wheel in a machine, that he is credited with brain as well as brawn, intelligence as well as instinct, and that honesty as well as fear demands that he will give of his best.

But what does the Welfare State do unless it be to encroach on individual freedom and destroy the elements necessary for the formation of national character, viz. initiative, responsibility and practical ability.

Coming to the economic side of the question, the problems are still greater. In the Welfare State there is a common misapprehension that the "State pays" for all the social services or that it is the rich who pay for the poor. Nothing is further from the truth. Granted a few services may be financed out of taxation of the higher incomes, but as soon as there is an extensive welfare scheme (and our definition of a Welfare State speaks of a wide range of social services) this becomes impossible and payment is found through indirect taxation which falls on the very people who receive the benefits. And how much can be squeezed out by way of income-tax? In Britain today a man earning 10 pounds a week works for 12 weeks out of the 52 for nothing. A man earning 5000 pounds a year works nearly six months for nothing. A man in the highest income range works for 50 weeks for nothing. The British are taxing their people a sum equal to 40% of the national income, as compared with 25% in heavily taxed United States.

But in India, income-tax forms an extremely small portion of her total annual tax Revenue. Compare her Rs. 272 per capita income with that of Rs. 4.085 for U.K. and Rs. 7.180 for the U.S. Can she at all afford a Welfare State? It is through other taxes which affect the price of import, transport, distribution and

that Catholic employers should endeavour to make use of the Parish Survey prepared by the Social Service Centre to find out whether in their urban area there are poor and deserving young men capable of being directed into some technical and practical apprenticeship, either directly in their own concern or in others where they have influence.

B. Leaders in Trade and Commerce.

In view of the existence, apart from industrialists, of large number of Catholic employers engaged in Trade and Commerce, and recognising the special type and conditions of work of their employees both of the higher and lower grades,

The Conference resolves

that wherever possible attempts be made to group them together as in the case of Industrialists, to have their duties responsibilities explained to them through Study-Clubs and Retreats;

that in particular they be taught the principles of social justice in regard to scales of profits, obligations towards customers, justice to their employees in matters of salary, and all forms of social assistance (housing, medical aid, provision for sickness and old age, etc.).

that they be encouraged to combine with industrialists to invest money to start and develop industries, and to train deserving young men for technical, industrial and commercial careers;

that it be most desirable to have a Directory of Catholic Businessmen in India, to facilitate the ex-

cution of these resolutions and that the Social Institute of Poona be requested to prepare such a Directory.

C. Employees under Ecclesiastical Management.

The Conference also resolves that Ecclesiastical and Religious Agencies of men and women, and other Church Organisations employing salaried officials and domestic and other types of servants, be urged to give adequate salaries, and to provide for social security (housing facilities, medical aid, provision for sickness and old age and emergencies, etc) in conformity with the teaching of the Encyclicals, in such manner that the example of Catholic agencies in the treatment of employees may be a powerful confirmation of Catholic social teaching.

VI. The Landowning Class in general and the Bhoodan Movement.

Recognising the gravity of the immense agrarian problem in India, the Conference resolves:

that Catholic landowners who cultivate their land through tenants and agricultural labourers be instructed in their duties and responsibilities in the manner of other employers;

that in particular they be urged to cooperate with Government in its schemes for the increase of food production in all ways, and to improve the condition of their dependents by security of tenure, equitable rents, and by enabling them to become property owners on at least a small scale, through a system of small savings.

and incentive for willing individual effort. Why then must we have this compulsory scheme to be planned, initiated, administered by the State — all to the admitted detriment of "individual initiative and family responsibility?" When family influence is weakened, an immediate result is juvenile delinquency and immorality; when workers are not permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own labour, discontent and unrest follow; when the State unlawfully crushes freedom and usurps functions never intended for it, a sense of helpless frustration, passivity, evasion and unwonted selfishness replaces public spirit, while waste and malingering menace the natural economy.

The logical goal of the Welfare State is the Socialist State and there exist only too many instances today of the public misery as well as degrading individual and domestic want brought upon old and prosperous nations by these pale pink planners.

There is a last objection which ought to be answered. Those who advocate the Welfare State insist that such a State will never interfere with the liberty of its citizens and that all the arguments brought by the opposing side have been based on a wrong premise. The Welfare State, they hold, does not declare that man will be treated like a slave; on the contrary it formally declares that he is a free man — free to work for himself and free to enjoy the fruits of his labour. Drop a man in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean and tell him he is at liberty to walk ashore. Even this would not be more bitter irony than to place a man where all the land is appropriated as the property of

other people and to tell him that he is a free man, at liberty to work for himself and to enjoy his own earning. He is just as free as he would be were he suspended over a precipice while somebody else held a sharp knife to the rope; just as free as if thirsting in a desert he found the only spring for miles walled and guarded by armed men who told him he could not drink unless he freely contracted with them on their terms.

In what is the condition of such a citizen better than that of a slave? Yet if this is not a far picture, it is because the darkest shades have not been dwelt on. We couldn't end better than to quote from Andrew Gordon S.J. in his "Security, Freedom, Happiness." (pp. 89, 90.) "The worker and his family will not obtain a greater share in the means of production. He will remain a proletarian, more secure than before, but also more servile than before because he will be dependent now upon the State in a degree not previously thought possible. The slave may live in comparative security, but he remains a slave. And the major horror of it all is that the new society will be on the whole more pagan and materialist than the old, as the richness of personal individuality and all that goes to the making of character is driven from the scene. The man-in-the-street will become more and more like a well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed animal and less and less like the man his Creator intended him to be."

A. Coelho

THE BOMBAY LABOUR RELATIONS COURSE

At St. Xavier's College, Bombay, the awarding of Certificates to successful students of the Labour Relations Course formed the nucleus of yet another function to mark the conclusion of the Course. Mr. J. D. Kapadia I. C. S., Secretary of the Development Department of the Government of Bombay, presided and gave away the certificates, while Mr. R. Lyman, Regional Director of the Asian Branch Office of the I. L. O., delivered the Convocation address.

The function opened with the reading of the Report of the Director of the Course. The report drew attention to the unexpected response of Trade Unionists in Bombay to the Labour Relations Course. Nearly 150 students had applied, but only 75 had been chosen to keep the class within manageable proportions. The selected men were mostly leaders of their unions, and represented a fairly wide cross section of Trade Unions in Bombay. The attendance at the lectures had been consistently high for the first two months, but then difficulties of working conditions, union activities, and distant places of employment, had prevented quite a few from attending. In the examination, out of the 30 men who appeared, 5 had passed with distinction, 17 with credit, and 9 had completed the exam successfully.

The Report conveyed the Director's thanks to the lecturers who had so kindly placed their services freely at his disposal, and to the guest speakers of the even-

ing. It was announced that the next session of the Labour Relations Course would commence in September, 1954, and that a Course for Low-level Management was also being contemplated. This course would be carried through with the help of the Asian Branch Office of the I. L. O. in India.

In his Convocation Address, Mr. Lyman congratulated St. Xavier's College for having offered to Trade Unionists in Bombay an opportunity of preparing themselves for their difficult vocation. He then spoke at some length of the various activities of the I. L. O. in the Eastern Countries. The ideal of the I. L. O. was to get employers, employees and Government representatives at the same table so that they could solve their difficulties in a spirit of mutual agreement and compromise. He focussed attention on the technical assistance given by the I. L. O. to the eastern countries, and he promised to give all the help necessary to run the new Managerial Course at St. Xavier's.

Fr. Jerome D'Souza, Director of the Indian Institute of Social Order, explained to the audience the reason why the Jesuits were so interested in setting up schools of Labour and Industrial Relations. He drew attention to the importance of a right understanding of Catholic social doctrine. He also stressed the significance of the crest of the Institute printed on the certificate. The stalk of rice stood for agriculture, the factory for industry, the red cross for medical aid, and the lamp and flame for charity. The motto of the Institute was 'Ek dusre ke bhar utao', — 'Carry one another's burdens'.

After awarding the certificates to the successful candidates the President reminded the men of the duties incumbent on today's Trade Unionists. He asked them to try to understand the difficulties of management, and to solve their disputes with the latter in an understanding and sympathetic manner.

Fr. Balaguer, the Principal of the College, proposed a vote of thanks, and reiterated his readiness to help the next session of the Course as best he could. He thanked the lecturers for their kind services and asked the men to keep in touch with their 'Alma Mater'.

A. Fonseca

SOCIAL SURVEY

Of late Rationalisation captured the head lines of the press. Many readers were satisfied with the hazy notion supplied by mother's wit, but perhaps they would have welcomed a more complete definition of the word. "To rationalise" should normally mean to reform industry so that production balances consumption, by cooperation of rival producers, and of capital and labour, by modernizing the means of production. Rationalisation indeed is the application of purposeful ratiocination to economic welfare. It is chiefly about the question of bringing up to date the means of production that the fight is taking place.

An example will help us to visualize the consequences. If up to date machines are brought in the beedi industry, the producers can dispense with the services of 65% of their personnel, increasing by that much the number of jobless people. In this industry which has only a national market the solution is simple. Do not rationalise, make people work and live, though precariously (often they get only Re. 1 and even less a day while the minimum salary should be at least Rs. 1-8 or Rs. 2/-).

But what about other industries, which have to compete with other countries for external markets? It is there that the question becomes more complex, v.g. in the textile industry.

It is certain that worn out machinery has to be replaced. Each year a certain number of looms have to be discarded as beyond repairs. Which new looms must the producer buy? the same as the old ones? but then he loses the benefit of the latest inventions.

Let us hear what the authorities have to say about the matter. First among them is Sri C. D. Desmukh, the Finance Minister, with an eye on exports, and the profit accruing to India; he favours rationalisation. We have not to be outdistanced by foreign competitors.

The Millowners of Bombay, and Allahabad also are for this policy. Only small concerns, unable to pay for new machinery, are in favour of the statu quo. The Millowners point out that the textile workers increased from 491,000 in 1940 to 742,000; so it is not

they that have in any way been the cause of unemployment. Pandit Nehru viewing the situation from the internal angle does not want to see a patch of new cloth put on an old garment. He deprecates a lightning advance in a sector of the Indian industry if the totality of the country does not rise with it, and if with the rationalisation of the machines there is no uplift of the men. The profits of rationalisation should go to the workers to a great extent.

Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Minister for Commerce and Industry, favours rationalisation and an Unemployment Fund which would alleviate the difficulties during the transition period. He affirms that it is perfectly possible to provide alternative work or compensation. He points out that rationalisation must be a slow process, and it could not be achieved in one day. Sri. T. T. is a professor of optimism.

From the view point of the worker, V. V. Giri, Minister of Labour, would not exclude the possibility of rationalisation for new plants working for export. For the rest he counsels discretion in carrying out rationalisation; producers should absorb the surplus workers by starting a second or third shift.

The workers are up in arms against the idea. This attitude is understandable. It has been so in the past in front of every new invention. Jacquart in Lyons had his loom broken into pieces by the infuriated mob. But in the present case they may have some reason to fear a change that would, so they fear, bring ruin to a great number.

They made the calculation and came to the conclusion that replacing 200,000 looms would entail an expense of Rs. 100 crores and throw out of job 180,000 to 200,000. If the cloth would be of a finer texture, it is not certain that it would cut down costs appreciably; it would reduce the price by 9 pices per yard probably only 6 or 8 pices. They add that England continued to work with old machines without availing herself of the newest inventions.

Shri S. R. Vasava, President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, at the meeting of Delhi, defended the stand of the workers. He insisted that the problem is a human one, and affirmed that an increase in the pool of employment must precede the displacement of labour through rationalisation.

Mr. Neville N. Wadia, outgoing Chairman of the Millowners Association of Bombay, presented the other technical aspects of the question. He confessed that 80 crores were needed for the rehabilitation of the Bombay industry and another 69 for Ahmedabad, but both centres have no more than Rs. 50 crores available for rationalisation. So on that score alone the change must come progressively.

He pointed out that the figures of workmen put out of jobs by rationalisation is not correct since it does not take into account the fact that for 48 looms 9 men were required for ancillary work. That would mean 75,000 men would be kept; to that extent the number of 200,000 presented by the labour would be reduced.

If the reduction of 9 pices per yard was passed to the consumers they would be able to buy 360 million yards for the money they actually spent on cloth. This would lead to employing about 54,000 more workers. This seems to the workers a vakill's argument, because it is very unlikely that the textile millowners will work only as philanthropists; and also that Labour will be satisfied with its present salary.

Another argument brought by Mr. Wadia is that if India loses her exports 148,000 mill-hands will be out of work.

Actually since August 1952 the import of new automatic looms has been banned. Before when imports were free, the number of looms brought in, was only 700 a year on an average.

It would perhaps be possible to add some more technical information but this rough sketch is enough to show the problem is very complex.

Of course the remedy pointed out by the Communists and some of their fellow travellers is nationalization of the industries without compensation to the owner. Will not the remedy be worse than the evil itself? The part of truth in this solution is that the intervention of the State is necessary in order that the primacy of the human aspect be not sacrificed to the economic one.

Recent events in Italy show to what extent the intervention of the State may safeguard the good of the workers. A firm working for mechanical constructions, the Pignone, at Florence, threw out on the

streets 2,000 workers, many with families to support, because after the period of profit lean years had come. Mr. Marinotti, the owner of the greatest part of the shares of the company, wanted to leave Italy. His passport was taken away by the Government, and 400 workers occupied the workshop during 49 days. They were encouraged by the Mayor of Florence, G. La Pira, a Christian Democrat, and by Cardinal Della Costa. The Municipal Council voted a sum of 2 million liras to help the workers, Mgr. Montini, pro-secretary of the Pope, told Mr. la Pira of the solicitude of the Holy Father who hoped that the cooperation of the leaders of the industry and of the State may by their joint effort increase the security of the working classes. The message called for a complete solidarity with the brethren who are in misery.

Finally a new society was formed which took back 1,100 workers. The jobless will receive a salary and even an indemnity, and their reemployment was made easier by professional courses open to them.

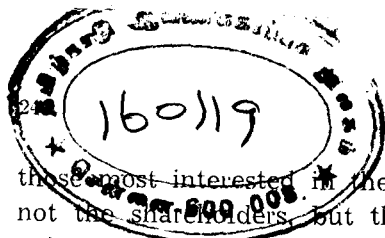
Another crisis marking again the position of the Church took place in Belgium where 7 coal pits were shut throwing on the street 5,500 miners. The Bishop of Tournai, Mgr. Himmer insisted that there are moral rules to direct a solution true to the right and truth. If an undertaking is on the verge of bankruptcy it has the right to shut its door; but before coming to that point the possibility of subsidies by national and supernational powers to reorganise the industry has to be explored to the full. In taking the final decision there is a very serious obligation of taking into account

delivery of small commodities which forms more than 2/3rds the total that she places all her reliance on. Therefore the poor who are not liable for income-tax must still pay the greater contribution, because these other taxes affect them mostly who spend quite a lot of money on such items. Hence it is they who finance an unexpectedly high proportion of all public expenditure and so must pay much of the cost of our proposed schemes whether they benefit under them or not. Thus justice is doubly violated. Further, the State insists that employers are morally bound to pay workers enough to provide for their families. Isn't the State itself equally bound not to extract from the workers' wage-packets so much in taxes as to render the residual net wage insufficient for family maintenance. Yet that is precisely what the full-blown Welfare State does, ignoring the dignity of work and regarding wages as only a basis of taxation. And who gave the State this authority? Incomes are the property of the individual earners; and the individuals are not the property of the State; therefore incomes are not State property to be distributed as it chooses. Lawful taxation needed to run the State is quite a different thing from "re-distribution" which is only a modern euphemism for "robbing Peter to pay Paul" and must either deny the earner a right to his own wage (leading to Communism) or maintain that he cannot be trusted to make proper use of it (which means the Welfare State). This is what Pope Leo XIII has to say on the matter in his famous "Rerum Novarum" (35). "These important benefits (which can be derived from wider

distribution of wealth) can be reckoned on only provided that a man's means be not drained and exhausted by excessive taxation. The right to possess private property is derived from nature, not from man; and the State has the right to control its use in the interests of the public good alone, but by no means to absorb it altogether. The State would therefore be unjust and if under the name of taxation it were to deprive the private owner of more than is fair. . . . The great labour question cannot be solved save by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable. The law, therefore, should favour ownership and its policy should be to induce as many as possible of the people to become owners."

What then is our solution? An ideal solution would be a welfare society, not a welfare state in what Fr. Heinrich Pesch S.J. calls a 'solidaristic society'. This is a community of free citizens labouring for the true common economy, not in the sense of a communistic compulsory economy, but through the subordination of the individual economies to the national task of providing for the needs of the whole people. . . . The freedom, variety, particular aims, autonomy and self-responsibility of private enterprise are not suppressed. . . . The institutional implementation of this system is found in the vocational groups, organizations embracing everyone engaged in a particular profession or performing a particular service for the nation.

The sense of responsibility or public spirit developed in well-ordered society is one of its own surest bulwarks and a natural force promoting that initiative



SOCIAL ACTION JUNE 1954

those most interested in the question, that is to say, not the shareholders, but the workers. The Bishop pointed out that the risks of the workers are far more serious than those of the shareholders and that the ultimate decision cannot be brought about by the dictation of finance.

We seem to be far from Ahmedabad and Bombay. Whatever be the trade the moral principles leading in those matters are the same everywhere.

During the sixth annual conference of the Indian National Textile Workers' Federation at Coimbatore, the question of Rationalisation came into the limelight. C. Rajagopalachariar, ex Prime Minister of Madras, asked the people to give up abstract theories while dealing with human affairs and to put down every proposition in concrete terms and consider it in relation to the man affected one way or other by it.... Few have realized that handloom weavers are far more important as human families than the figures culled together in books on the Indian textile industry.

Mr. Abid Ali, Union Deputy Minister of Labour, stated that rationalisation to a large extent means automatisisation...

Mr. S. R. Vasawada, President of the INTUC, insisted on decentralization of industry. As regards rationalisation he was not opposed to it on condition that it does not displace even a single worker from his job and that labour gets 50% of the profits brought to the industry through rationalisation.

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

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