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VOL. 5 NO. 1

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About Ourselves

JAN '55

With this issue SOCIAL ACTION begins its fifth volume. As our readers and subscribers are already aware, SOCIAL ACTION which began with 32 pages will henceforth be increased in size to 48 pages. It will contain some permanent features which we hope will increase its usefulness. There will be, in addition to the Social Survey which has been included in it for over a year, accounts of social activities of Catholic institutions and organisations and reprints of social documents of exceptional importance. The subscription too has been raised from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per year.

These improvements will, we hope, give satisfaction to our readers. On this occasion it may not be amiss to say few words to them regarding the policy and objectives of this little publication. We must confess that suggestions for improvement have been many, and have come from sources keenly interested in the Institute, and anxious to promote social work. Most people wanted a larger size, more matter, and considerable improvement in get up and the quality of paper. We regret that we have not been able to carry out most of these suggestions. It was felt that the

present "pocket book" size has some advantages. Like a good many other reviews and magazines of the same size it is easy to carry about for reading in moments of leisure. As for improvement in get-up and quality of paper, the reason for the maintenance of the older get-up — which was an improvement on the issues of the first two years — is purely financial. We could not afford to raise the subscription beyond 6 rupees. Even this 50 per cent increase made necessary by the increase in size may affect the number of our subscribers.

That in course of time the review should become bigger and contain very much more matter is certain. But at present the programme of work which the Institute has marked out for itself does not permit this expansion. With a limited staff we have not only to bring out this monthly but also to publish text books and books called by the occasion. We have to take part in training social workers in Schools and Colleges; we have to be at the service of the Hierarchy for assistance in social work in parishes and dioceses, and to organise Social Conferences. With more qualified men on the Staff of the Institute, our publications including our monthly will increase in size and numbers.

A question frequently asked us is, to whom, the review addressed, what is the type of readers which it has in view? We are aware of the nuance of sarcasm with which the question is thrown at us. In a solid and mainly doctrinal publication like ours it is not easy to please the taste of the normal newspaper reader. Even at the risk of limiting our appeal we have tried to address ourselves to educated readers who have some intellectual interests. We have in

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view men and women who are in a position to assimilate the social doctrine of the Church and help to form the minds and convictions of other people. Hence among Catholics, Priests and Nuns, Teachers and Professional men, students of the senior classes, Catholic Actionists active in working class circles, are the readers we have in mind. We believe also that our little review should interest non-Catholic Social workers sympathetic to the Church, or desiring to know something of Catholic social teaching.

We invite social workers in particular to make full use of the material we give them, doctrinal and informational. The ever increasing numbers of social centres and active social agencies will feel the need of simple publications, flysheets in English and the regional languages, to instruct their people. We hope that full use of SOCIAL ACTION will be made in such publications. An excellent example of this is CONTACT, the polycopied sheet brought out by the Y.C.W. of Calcutta under the direction of Fr. A. Cordeiro. We also invite our Catholic journals in the regional languages to use the material in SOCIAL ACTION freely.

A word about subscriptions. There are several subscribers whose subscription will end during the course of the year since they started getting the review about the middle of the year. To them the enlarged review will be sent without any additional charge since they were not aware of the impending increase when they sent their subscription. It is possible that others may hesitate about renewing subscriptions owing to the increase. We know that among people of limited

means even a small sum makes a difference. We would appeal to our readers to extend their support to us in spite of this little sacrifice. Indeed we shall be asking our friends and well-wishers to help in a campaign for more subscribers.

This new volume begins under a new editorship, that of Fr. A. Fonseca. To Fr. A. Lallemand, a brilliant journalist and a shrewd observer of the Indian scene, who nurtured SOCIAL ACTION in these first years, and who brought to the little monthly the friends and the good will he had gathered for the NEW REVIEW, SOCIAL ACTION owes a very great debt of gratitude. He will continue to write his Comments each month. The relief from the work of editorship will give him more time for other activities.

A final word about the Coat of Arms of the Institute which appears on the cover of this number and which will henceforth be reproduced in all the publications of the Institute. The shield contains symbols of the three types of work which practically cover the entire field of social effort. The factory stands for the industrial field; the ear of corn for agriculture; the Red Cross for all types of medical and health assistance, and charitable relief. The Lamp of Charity in the centre stands for the spirit which should animate all social service, the spirit of love of God and of Man as opposed to the spirit of violence and class warfare. The motto "Bear by one another's burdens." एक दुसरे के भार उठाओ taken from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians emphasises again the lesson of Love.

J. D'Souza.

A Good Samaritan Dismounts

M. La Pira is one of the most striking figures of Italy. A Sicilian, professor at the Florence University, he was chosen as mayor of this city which is largely communist. He lives in a one-room apartment of a clinic, with only a prie-dieu, a camp-bed and a chair as furniture. He is a devotee of evangelical poverty, takes nothing of his salary, and often gives coat or shoes to paupers he may chance to meet on the street. He gave up his seat in Parliament to devote the whole of his time to the social welfare of his beloved city which numbers as many slums as works of art.

How it started

M. Giorgio La Pira became a national figure when he intervened in the Pignone affair. In October 1953, M. Marinotti, owner-director of the Pignone, an engineering firm, suddenly dismissed his two thousand workmen, and made ready to cross the frontier. The Home Minister, M. Fanfani, stopped his passport; four hundred workmen occupied the factory (they were to stay in for forty-nine months); La Pira, encouraged by the Cardinal, had two million lire voted by the municipality as a first help to the dismissed labourers, and persistently urged the industrialist to come to terms. "Are you a good shepherd according to the spirit of the Gospel? Don't you see that your decision is not only a matter of private economics, but of national and human importance?" Pope, Cardinal and Bishops strongly supported La Pira's efforts. The *Osservatore Romano* wrote: "It would be wrong to reproach Italian Catholics with playing a demagogic

role as long as everything is not done to suppress the causes of the economic depression, which endangers the lives of the workmen. If these are to survive they cannot wait until to-morrow or after to-morrow the free play of economic forces have had their full effects."

The old Pignone business had become uneconomic. But thanks to La Pira an arrangement was arrived at between a new company and the workmen; eleven hundred workmen were allowed to restart two factories; the others who could not be given immediate employment were given a fresh technical education; the old Pignone had to pay them their full salaries and also an 'extra contractual indemnity'. ⁽¹⁾

In 1954 there was a new incident. The city of Florence already numbered 40,000 people (ten per cent of its population on municipal relief.) Two firms decided to close down and added another thousand to the number of unemployed. La Pira did not hesitate and rushed to the ministerial offices in Rome to secure state intervention on behalf of the workmen. This

⁽¹⁾ It is interesting to note the intervention of the Bishop of Tournai (23 December 1953) in a similar case: Seven coal-pits had to be closed and over five thousand workmen dismissed. The Bishop reminded employers that the solution of an economic crisis supposes right and truth to be respected. "Before closing an enterprise the employer must first of all take into account the wish of those who are first concerned in the decision, namely the workmen.... There is to be no financial dictatorship. In the coal industry especially the risks of the share-holders are by far smaller than the risks of the workmen; the first risk their money only, the workmen risk their bread and life."

led to a controversy between M. Costa, president of the Cofindustria, Don Sturzo, one of the founders of Italian Christian Democracy, and good Mr. La Pira. A summary of their various points of view may prove informative to students of social ethics.

Mr. Costa

Mr. Costa in a letter which took the stand familiar to economic liberals, began with correcting some of the facts and figures alleged by La Pira, and then went on to state his general views:

"Human laws and free contracts must be respected, and so also the reputation of people; they may not be violated out of love for the poor. The laws which regulate economy are divine laws and may not be infringed. One does not help the neighbour by going on employing unqualified personnel but in increasing production and consequently fostering order and discipline in factories. Human dignity is safeguarded if the worker gains his living by free labour and not by a mayor's intervention that would change a workman into a spoon-fed man.

(We have reduced unemployment these last years; and what you did about the Pignone has been to keep workmen busy but not to create new wealth.... besides there are general principles in economic life). There has grown an opinion that social problems can be solved by charities or by beneficent interventions. Each time such a delusion has been followed, untoward results followed. In economic life certain principles and certain interdependent factors cannot be ignored.

Economic life necessarily involves prosperous periods and difficult periods. It is a fancy to suppose these latter periods can be suppressed and each fancy has to be paid for. During the difficult periods, the undertaking must make sure it goes through the crisis, prepare competition and provide for expanding markets. That is why the labour contracts foresee a possible lay off, and adjustment of costs and prices. It is unthinkable that a prohibition of retrenchment in personnel be considered."

La Pira

Mr La Pira was not slow in penning his answer : . .

"It is little use for me to discuss: we do not talk the same language. But please tell me if I am not bound to defend the Florence industrialists. Am I not bound to prevent the industrial patrimony of this city from being dilapidated? You know that the crisis here is severe in the extreme and that if I had not done what I did and what it was my duty to do disaster would have befallen not only Florence but also much of the national economy.

"Let us talk economics. I am told not to talk 'micro-economy' but 'macro-economy', but to view the organic links between small and large enterprises, to visualize the interdependence at work throughout the whole economic field. I then answer with the question: 'What would the consequences be if the small-size and middle-size concerns of Florence would perish? or if the system of large-scale had been disrupted as had been

'decreed' by you? And you, my dear Doctor, what have you done to prevent it all?

"You addressed me sermons on the fourth, the eighth commandments and so on; but you did not raise your little finger to help me and the workmen to carry the burden on our shoulders. You did nothing positive to prevent the whole industrial system from falling to pieces. You remained in the enchanting 'contemplation' of the 'majestic' and even 'divine' principles of Ricardo and Smith. When resources are wasted, workmen thrown on the street, a town's economy threatened with ruin, etc, you invoke the 'divine' mechanics of Bastiat, and in Bastiat's harmony there is no room for an unpleasant thing as unemployment; it does not happen.

"Instead of suggesting a remedy for the city or for the nation, you always invoke the 'divine principles of economics and jurisprudence': private initiative (which?, please), free competition (which?), law of demand and supply (where?), the sacred right of property, the right to liquidate concerns, the right to go bankrupt, the right to retrench, and so on; all metaphysics à la Smith against concrete facts.

Why talk of free competition, private initiative, etc., in a state in which nearly all the credit system is nationalised and about three fourths of the production system is directly or indirectly linked up with the state?

"I only wish to add this: Is it right for the Cofindustria to take the lead against modern eco-

onomy — which is essentially an economy based essentially on state intervention — whilst the state enterprises directly or indirectly are the backbone of its organisation and the greatest coefficient of its economic and political importance and of its social force? There lies the key problem.

“Allow me one word more. You complain of my frequent quotations from the Gospel, and of my applying the Gospel's principles to human daily life. Excuse me, but do you fancy the Gospel is just a prayer book? It is not; it is the book for daily life: basic, lucid, popular. All is recapitulated in Christ, even our economy, the more so that with the prayer for daily life it is integrated into the intimacy with the divine fatherhood.”

Don Sturzo

Don Sturzo, the adversary of all state authoritarianism as of Fascism, was bound to come down into the arena and break a lance against state intervention. It seemed he heard the old Mussolini slogan: ‘All for the State, nothing outside or against the State’. And against that dogma he felt he had to raise his voice, for he is against making the state into an idol, Moloch or Leviathan. Of course good Mr. La Pira has no God but the true one, and for him the State is neither an end nor the end of man's life. But he is the ‘etatist of the poor’.

“In any case the error of all ‘etatists’ lies in their believing that state monopoly would secure a living minimum standard for each citizen. History

contradicts such a belief (Cf. the contrast between Czechoslovakia in 1919-39, and in 1945-47 and today). Nobody can doubt that concerns run by state or state-corporations are nearly all in deficit or are at any rate more costly than private concerns; this is due to a lack of economic risk which diminishes the sense of responsibility, and also to political interference which spoils the business. Exceptional cases are no proofs to the contrary.

“Now if public concerns are most costly, it means the state and the nation are deprived of savings which could be invested or used against other deficits. In short the system prevents a greater welfare for all. I do not deny that occasionally state intervention is necessary, but such cases should be rare and temporary. In any case the state should not suppress economic liberty under the plea of social spirit; there is in liberty a moral value, and moreover intervention does not pay. It is high time some Catholics should cease flirting with a bastard Marxism.”

La Pira

M. La Pira in his answer evoked “the parable of the Good Samaritan who did get down from his horse.” When a mayor sees all the ‘wounded’ thrown down by the ‘robbers’, what is he to do? Can he pass them by on the plea that he is not for state monopoly? Has he not to come down from his horse and look after the wretch? Call that whatever you like, but the Gospel demands intervention: care of the wounded and paying his expenses. At the last judgement, the final

sentence will be : " You intervened ; it is to Me you did it."

" Don Sturzo, it is not necessary to allude to the Fascist State ; we know what it was. You were then exiled in America worrying about Fascism, but our own worry was not smaller. Kindly note that the totalitarian state which subordinates all individual and collective activity is one thing (Cf. St. Thomas Ia, IIae, IV, 21, 31), and that the state which in a measured and organic manner steps in to solve economic and social problems (labour, housing, etc) is another. Would you kindly read again what *Quadragesimo Anno* says about the directing principle of economic life ? Not economic liberalism, not economic dictatorship, but justice and charity must rule economic life ; justice which must penetrate all institutions and all activities and consequently should be embodied in the juridical and social order ; charity which must be the soul of order : this holds good in the national and the international spheres. Were this order be created anew, then the social body would take after the Mystical Body of Christ.

" This argument from the *Quadragesimo Anno* is a stone in your garden, dear Don Sturzo, : what a stone and from what hand ? But possibly such sound principles remained a dead letter for Christian statesmen. Yet do look at what was done in other countries, the U.S.A., England, etc. in the matter of state intervention. And what of Italy ? What of the hold the State has on banks, industry, commerce ? What of the policy of full employment ?

" If the State must protect the property of some (landed and industrial property), why not also the property of the others (trade-property as it was called in the Middle Ages) ? Do we get a union between the classes when the bread of the many is at the mercy of capricious economic conditions ? How can workmen trust an order in which their life depends on the caprices of the free initiative of some citizens ?

" Allow me to come back to my first question. What should the mayor do in the present circumstances ? Should he say, " I am sorry, I may not violate the 'divine laws of private initiative ; get out of trouble yourselves, and go in peace (Read James, 11, 15). It is easy enough to call Marxists those who come down from their horse ; years ago, they said it of Leo XIII. Come, dear Don Sturzo, come and be mayor of Florence ; then you will see how things will appear and appeal to your Christian mind. Let us seek the Kingdom of God first and His justice. Let us not vanquish evil with but with good evil ".

Don Sturzo

" Don Sturzo replied in due time ; he did not deny the need of state intervention, particularly with a view to suitable integration and harmony. But he strongly challenged La Pira's view that 'modern economy is essentially an economy of state intervention.' The word 'essentially' would change the State-by-right into a totalitarian state. La Pira denies he is against totalitarianism ; I take good note of it. But he does not realise that a

state economy tends to destroy real liberty, economic and political. I accept state intervention, but no modern 'etatism' (which word implies the lack of measure,) as it leads to state socialism or communism.

"My stand for free initiative is based on a scientific conviction that a state-economy is not only anti-economic but disastrous for political liberty and harmful for social welfare. I repeat that state undertakings are costly, to say the least, for the reasons I gave, and which arise from ethics and from psychology. The instances given by La Pira confirm my thesis, not his. Compare the results in free Western Germany and in our Italy.

"What hampered our rehabilitation was lack of cooperation, the demagogic campaign of trade-unions, the political struggle between the democratic parties of the left and centre. Rehabilitation must be based on moral, psychological, political and economic rehabilitation. Cooperation between employers and employees, with a human and Christian sense, with a desire to find a solution, with respect for liberty; the State i.e. government, Parliament and political parties should not hamper but rather facilitate the general cooperation."

Conclusion

This reply of Don Sturzo apparently marked the end of the controversy. The discussion was not conclusive; illustrations taken from other countries would have demanded much more thorough study and suitable focussing of conditions and measures taken. The parti-

cular case of the Italian economy itself is horribly complicated with partisan politics. La Pira and Don Sturzo are both sincere anti-fascists, they differ about the extent of the necessary intervention on the part of the State in economics, Don Sturzo stressing verities which hold good in a normal peaceful economy, La Pira stressing the extremely critical conditions, one might say, the war-condition which marks out Italian economy at present. Neither indicates how to build up the suitable public spirit which is necessary to rapid rehabilitation.

A point which was not usually stressed in the past is the claim of workmen against closure of concerns; this point La Pira (like the Bishop of Tournai) brought out forcibly; the winding up of a concern does not depend on the mere caprice of the share-holders, without due regard for the living interest of the workmen and their claim to a job.

And so the good Samaritan of Florence goes on with his ministrations; he may have to remain on foot for many days to come. It is high time all people on horseback should dismount.

A. Lallemand

Blocs, Blockheads and Bunkum

After a five day session in Delhi, the Central Executive of the Communist Party of India issued a statement which was very widely publicised even in papers not owned by reds, pinks or fellow-travellers. This statement is a study in bluff and brazen-facedness, which are the usual red tactics as is known to all who read such statements without the added disadvantage of red or pink glasses. And it is also clear, though sadly only to a few, that words have a different meaning when used by our comrades. Hitler once said: "No one will ever believe a little lie; but everyone will believe a big one." Some of the things our comrades are telling us in this much publicised statement are really big ones; and not merely small ones.

NEUTRAL NONSENSE.....

Whenever an occasion presents itself, Indians generally are anxious to praise the foreign policy of Nehru, which he calls dynamic neutrality; all over the country this policy is hailed for the most part as the saving factor for India. This same policy is hailed as the very policy the Mahatma would have advocated if he were alive. But our comrades care two hoots for the Mahatma; and even less for the safety and prestige of the country. In proof of the former one has only to read what the Soviet Encyclopaedia says about the Mahatma, and what dirt the comrades themselves sycophantically have dished out on the fair name of the Mahatma in their Madura meeting some time back; as proof of the second part, their day-to-day antics are ample

proof. Hence our comrades are getting panicky and they are only over anxious to tie India to the tail of the Soviet Bear and the Chinese Dragon. And for this end they have decided to launch 'a major campaign' to persuade the Government of India to conclude treaties of friendship and co-operation with Soviet Russia, China and other 'peace-loving nations'.

TALKING PEACE AND WAGING WAR

What is all this talk of peace that is going on at a rapid pace everywhere behind the iron curtain and also when the commies come out into the light? According to Bishop Fulton Sheen, this peace is the third Trojan horse of the reds; they launched two others before into the midst of democratic people and they had a fair amount of success. The first was anti-Fascism, in which Communists duped the world into believing that it was opposed to the Totalitarian systems. Then suddenly it entered into a union with Nazism, as Molotov said to Ribbentrop: "Our friendship has been sealed in blood." But it was the blood of noble Poland as World War II was launched. The second Trojan Horse wheeled into the ramparts of modern civilization was "Democracy". Communism made itself appear as the 'great defender of the democratic force of the world.' And wherever the Communists have succeeded to establish their diabolic governments, they name it democratic, as though the mere name is going to make any difference to the slavery they bring to millions. But the free world easily swallowed this big lie too. And now the third horse to come out of the Stygian stables of Moscow is 'Peace'. When Indira Gandhi came back from her

visit to Russia some time ago, she declared that wherever she went in Russia, the people were heard to cry for peace; at least the interpreter told her the people were crying for peace, even if they might have been crying for bread; so one of the Indian papers remarked that so many people howling for peace would make itself such a nuisance, that the peace of the country would be disturbed. During his recent visit to Indo-China's goaty bearded Ho Chi Minh, Nehru is reported to have declared Ho to be a man of peace.

DOUBLE-TALK AND DECEIT.....

But even Pandit Nehru can get fed up with all this hue and cry of the reds for peace; once he said in a public letter: "The Communists shout loudly of peace, but there is little of peace in their shouting." All the peace conferences held wherever the reds could regiment the poor people are all sham shows. Of this even Attlee in his pre-yellow-travelling days said: They (the reds) talk of freedom while they murder it. They talk of peace while they support aggression. They are ruthless and unscrupulous hypocrites who pretend to virtues which their philosophy rejects." What is the meaning of peace in the mouth of the reds? Peace will mean eventually war in the double talk of Communism. If peace was only in words the reds would have been the most peaceful people in the world; but peace is not in words but in tranquillity of order, as Cicero puts it. And at present this order means giving to each free man his due under God, Who is also entitled to His due, which is our adoration, service and love. Further what are the countries termed 'peace-loving' by our reds? Of course they do not mean

countries that earnestly strive after peace; but countries which are either under the Communist yoke, or are ready to acquiesce with the antics of the Soviet Bear and the Chinese Dragon. Korea and Indo-China have been blighted by the blessings of 'Red Peace'. Tibet too is reaping the same benefits; the time might come, and very soon too if we are not vigilant, for Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay to be struck by the forces of Soviet peace. The dove will turn into a vulture, and 'peace' will mean 'war' as 'anti-Fascism' meant 'Pro-Nazism' and as 'democracy' meant 'slavery'. 'Freedom from having to choose' that was the definition arrived at by the reds as definition of freedom, as it was reported, during the visit of the British labourites to Moscow recently. Then no one can complain that the millions in the slave camps, and dungeons in Russia and China have not freedom. Freedom as we understand it, might be termed a 'bourgeois bluff'.

THE PEACE-MAKERS

Eden, Mendes-France and Menon were hailed in the international press as the architects of the peace treaty at Geneva which brought about the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China though at a tremendous cost; namely that of signing away 12 million Indo-Chinese into Communist slavery. Some hailed the treaty as having saved the world from the brink of a world conflagration. Now our Indian comrades come out with a peace of precious news: in their resolution on the international situation described as the most important item discussed by the executive, they give credit for the success of the Geneva conference to

Russia and China ; and lest people who have not yet lost all patriotism might perhaps brand them as traitors to the fatherland, they throw a crumb to India : they give credit 'partly' to India. They cannot bear the sight of anyone except their masters getting the credit for anything.

DODGE AND DOCTRINAIRE DIALECTIQUE...

The medley of assertions that crowd the rest of the resolution would speak volumes for the clever and cunning way in which our comrades have been drilled to indoctrinate their own poor countrymen. There is the feeling of gratification at the results achieved by the reds at Dien Bien Phu, and over the death of E D C, great anger and venom at the conclusion of SEATO which is roundly condemned. This is an instance in which even the reds see red. There is then a hue and cry that the Geneva Pact is violated by the application of SEATO to the associated states of Laos and Cambodia and that SEATO is going to prevent the unification of Viet-Nam. They hail heartily the Nehru-Chou declaration expressing faith in peaceful co-existence and non-interference as a triumph of peace. The Asian nations are urgently called upon to stop American aggression. Then they assert that they want a finger in the Pondicherry pie ; because they helped to liberate it. This shows the final trend which the affairs of the foreign pockets will take if the reds also put their foot into the affair. Then the flood relief measures of the Indian Government are condemned as inadequate ; the Government should leave all the relief work to the reds ; perhaps also the measures taken by China are the only adequate ones ; exporting rice while the millions inside the country were starving.

BLOCS AND BLOCKHEADS...

Continuing in the same strain the resolution describes 'the so-called Soviet bloc as a myth'. And with great brazenfacedness they assert that there is only one bloc in the world — 'the imperialistic Anglo-American bloc'. Then with a clever switching over of allegiance from Peking to Moscow, the Executive claimed that the Soviet group of nations was for peaceful coexistence and non-interference founded upon self-determination of the people. If there is no Soviet bloc, how can the comrades speak of the Soviet group of nations right in the next line ? But that is in the mysteries of Marxist dialectic ; it progresses by contradiction, and Marx himself gave an example of it in this way : in his thesis of philosophy to obtain the doctor's degree, he made the second sentence contradict the first. The comrades should follow suit of course. And then peaceful co-existence, non-interference, self-determination etc. are such nice catchwords, that nobody can fight against them. Co-existence will be a reality at least until the reds feel themselves strong enough to urge on the people by non-interference, *i.e.* in our ordinary words, by the activities of parties directed from the red Mecca, to become self-determined, that is again in our own words, to become vassals of the Russian and Chinese imperialism.

MYTHS AND MYOPIC MUGWUMPS...

The existence of the Soviet bloc is a myth ; and in the same way the comrades want us to believe that Beria was not a Soviet leader but an American spy and an enemy of the people. And all the encomiums lavished on Lavrenti Beria before his purge, was the

work of the 'Imperialistic and aggressive Anglo-American bloc'; and all that they say was found in the Soviet Encyclopaedia about Beria was the figment of American spy work. Not to be overdone in their zeal for the party glory the Yellow reds would have us believe that the Americans were the aggressors in Korea, and they waged germwarfare. And if the Americans say that there are slave labour and concentration camps in the red countries, that also is a myth. Such things are unheard of in the red paradise. If you want proof, ask any of the cultural delegations returning from Russia or China; not a single one of them has seen a slave labour or concentration camp. And the elections in the red countries are securely secret (it is the Americans who say that even the red voters don't know what they are voting for, and that they are given sealed envelopes to be put into the ballot boxes) and they are also democratically free. Again it is an American lie that there are not opposition parties in the red countries; all the elections show that the reds have 99.3% votes and the opposition .7% votes. So they have opposition too, you see.

DIALECTIC DISCOVERIES....

If the Americans spread contrary rumours, they are only harming the cause of the working millions in the world. Stalin was of course a benign ruler, and the beloved leader of the people around whom the Russian people rallied again and again. If it is rumoured that now his memory is not honoured, or that his son has disappeared from the scene, they all are American myths. If the Americans say that millions were liquidated by Stalin, it is not true; even if he

did it, it was out of pure affection for them, can't you see? And another myth circulated by the enemies of the Soviet people is that the disciples of Stalin are struggling with one another for power. And the reports appearing in the papers from time to time that such and such a minister or high official has been condemned to death by the Soviet tribunal, are not true in the first place; even if true it is not the fault of Malenkov; and there is no meaning in saying that it is a sure sign that struggle for power is going on behind the scenes in the Kremlin. Only blockheads would believe such myths. (or disbelieve them? eh?)

Sometimes even the ardent followers of red dialectics are hard put to in deciding what is myth and what is not in the news and views shipped from Moscow to them. The case of comrade Luca is an interesting sidelight in this matter. He became Rumania's no. 3. Communist, and deputy premier, and finance minister. But in 1952 he was purged and was in prison till recently when he had been convicted of treason and handed the death sentence, which was latter charitably commuted to life imprisonment. The 1951 communist party biography said of comrade Luca: 'While the revolutionary spirit was on the upsurge in Hungary (1918-19), comrade Luca was among the first volunteers.... With rifle in hand he fought against the enemies of the revolution.' The indictment released at the occasion of his condemnation said that in that year Luca 'participated in bloody massacres of workers and peasants.' The 1951 biography said: 'Toward the end of 1924, agents of the security police arrested comrade Vasile Luca and subjected him to untold tortures and, sufferings, trying to make him betray names of his

comrades and to make him betray his party. Like a true communist, he remained steadfast and unshaken and refused to betray the cause.' The recent indictment said: 'In 1924 he enrolled as an agent for the Rumanian secret police and acted as an agent provocateur.' And now what is myth? The 1951 or the 1954 version?

SUPPORTING THE SYCOPHANTS....

Generally when the comrades make statements they time them so well that they do not contradict one another. An exception to this was the recently reported about-face antic of Andrei Vishinsky in the matter of the Trieste settlement. For while the Italian Red Deputies were calling the settlement an 'Atlantic sellout', Vishinsky, in spite of the fact that a year ago he had vowed to veto exactly such a solution as has been reached by the Western allies, and although this solution bluntly disregarded Moscow's insistence on internationalisation and a role in Trieste's control, notified the Security Council that the Soviet Union 'takes cognizance' of the agreement as one that 'will promote normal relations... and thus contribute toward relaxation of tension.' But in the case of our Indian comrades their red bosses did not commit such a blunder. For the same paper that carried the bombastic report about the resolutions of the reds' Central committee carried also a statement by one of the representatives of these red bosses in India, just to reassure the country that our reds were speaking the — very same language their bosses wanted them to speak. Inaugurating a conference in Madras, convened by the India-China friendship Association, Gen. Yuan Chung-

sien, the Chinese Ambassador to India, voiced the self-same sentiments contained in the resolutions. He too gave a blast to the 'imperialistic aggressive circles' whom he thinks to be busily engaged in organising hostile military blocs among Asian countries; he too talked the oft-repeated jargon of peace; termed the west aggressive, and congratulated the Indians and his own country with regard to the agreement over Tibet, and warned others that if everybody was so obliging as India in supporting the so-called five principles, there would be an end of fear and apprehension prevailing among antagonistic nations, and that a sense of security and mutual confidence will be created.

BONDS AND BONDAGE....

And tackling the main point of the red resolution, the hon. ambassador stressed the need for strengthening the bonds between India and China. From bonds as envisaged by the reds to bondage as understood by decent people there is not a long way to go. But for the reds and their spokesmen it is convenient to ignore the fact. He too was impatient of the efforts of the west to keep the Indian millions out of red bondage; he blasted it by saying: "It is deplorable that when we are devoting ourselves to peaceful co-operation, powers outside this sphere are engaged in creating tension and casting shadows, threatening peaceful life in Asia." It is always the same jargon about peace; does the ambassador understand that this kind of over-shouting makes the stuff stale?

MERCHANTS, MISSIONS AND MAO....

An exchange of missions is going on between India and China and the pace is reaching fever pitch. Cur-

rently there is another cultural delegation from China in India. The Indian reds and pinks and fellow travellers for the most part go there to be indoctrinated and to incense the idol of red achievements. There have been only very few cases when gratitude for hospitality did not prevent the delegates from expressing the truth about the place on their return. Frank Moraes, Raja Hutheesingh and Brajkishore Sastri belong to this minute group. But the others have reacted according to the red expectation. And the reds when they come, do come not to learn but to teach, and they time their missions well too. On the eve of an election, either general or provincial, or some other important event, these missions will be touring the country and doing their work. And in his speech Gen. Yuan welcomed two such delegations girding their loins for the impending pilgrimage to Mao's paradise. And he announced that a trade delegation led by a Chinese vice-minister was on the way to Delhi to conclude a trade agreement between the two countries 'based on a spirit of helping each other and adjusting each other's demands and needs.'

THE DRAGON AND THE LION'S SHARE....

But in all these agreements and exchanges the advantage seems to be for the Chinese always. All the fine words of our comrades will not explain away the facts that go to prove this. Lately an old China resident wrote in the 'Times of India': he said that there were Indian business firms numbering nearly 130 in Canton and Shanghai, and some of them doing business for 100 years or more. But all these people had to close their business at the advent of the reds.

The difficulties encountered by the Indian merchants were so great that they were glad to escape with their lives after selling out their business at miserable prices. And at present there are no Indian traders in China and he asks whether the so-called delegations ever thought of inquiring into the reason of this in spite of all the loud protestations of friendship by the Chinese reds. On the other hand, there are thousands of Chinese in India doing flourishing business. Another letter appeared in the same paper after a few days corroborating the statements of the first one. And lately it was reported that there is an agreement between India and China on the exchange of students: two Chinese had already reached Delhi to learn Hindi and in return one Indian student will be sent to China to learn Chinese. Will this proportion be kept up in other agreements also? No wonder then if people ask why all the advantages accruing from the present friendship is one-sided. How will Mao's satellites in India explain this fact? Will they counter by branding the whole thing as a myth and as the attempt of agents of the western imperialists to disrupt the friendly relations existing between the two countries, which seemed to have reached the climax with the visit of the Indian Prime Minister to China?

DIGNIFIED DEFLATOR....

Regarding the statement of the Central Executive of the Indian Communist party, even the reds were surprised that no serious attempt was made to blow up this bloated balloon of Bolshevik bluff, let off by our comrades with a make-believe 'made in India' mark. But some of their smugness was knocked off

when Nehru spoke in the House of people. His answer came however just like a petty prick, not a strong blow up. In keeping with his usual parliamentary gentlemanliness, Nehru acted as a dignified deflator. Though capable of using strong language when he wants, Nehru is reluctant to retort in kind to our reds. Once he described the Indian Communist party as 'a foul conspiracy based on fraud and deceit and violence to produce chaos in India.' But such instances seem to be the exception; his usual manner is illustrated by the following:— Once in the parliament, provoked by the commies with false charges, he got up and said: "Some members on the other side are constantly saying, and are repeating like some mantram which they have learned by heart without understanding what it is, that we are stooges of the Americans, that we are part of the Anglo-American bloc, and so on. I should, however like them and others to try and get out of their habit of learning slogans and phrases and repeating them again and again. It becomes rather stale work."

YOU KNEW WHERE YOU WERE....

During the debate on the foreign policy of India in the House of the people, Nehru said:— "Let us take another matter and let us be frank about it. Most of these countries (the S. E. Asian ones of which he was just speaking) are afraid not of what Governments do officially but what they might do through the activities of the communist party in these countries. This is one of the serious difficulties that have arisen in international affairs. Previously, one country was against another. You knew where you were. There

might be some people in one country who sympathised with the other but, broadly speaking, two nations came into conflict. Now we have this new development that in national groups there are what may be called international groups who oppose the national group and who psychologically, emotionally and intellectually, if you like, are tied up with another national group. That creates difficulties. In fact, that is one of the essential difficulties of the situation.

BOLSHEVIK BONDAGE....

"I am not discussing Communism, but the theory of it. I am merely pointing out the essential difficulty of the situation in all these odd countries. If there was such a thing as a communist party in a country, i.e. a national communist party, that is a party which had nothing to do with another country, that is a different matter. It has got a certain policy — economic, political and whatever it is — and it is one of the various parties. The difficulty comes in because that party in our country is intellectually, emotionally and otherwise tied up with other groups in another country and the other country might well utilise that for its advantage (cheers from Congress benches). That is the fear that comes to all these S. E. Asian countries and others, whether it is Burma, Thailand or any other country, with the result, unfortunately, that problems which could be considered by themselves get tied up with these extraneous issues and different types of reactions are created."

"In the old days there was the Comintern, that International Communist Organisation which was wound up sometimes during the last war. Later came

the Cominform, which was, I suppose, something of the old type in a different garb. I think that these organisations and the activities that grow from that idea have certainly caused a good deal of apprehension and disturbance in various countries and nations."

"Now as a reaction to this, we have other forms of international interference in national affairs growing up in various countries, not of course in that ideological way but in a practical, Governmental, sub rosa way. It is extraordinary how this kind of thing is growing in most countries not on one side but on every side."

RESENTMENT AND REINFLATION....

With an air of injured innocence, the reds reacted to this statement violently and readily. Mr. Nehru's reference to international communism gave an interesting twist to the debate that followed. The two communist speakers of the day, Mr. Hiren Mukerjee and Mr. Sadhan Gupta reacted sharply. Mr. Mukerjee admitted that communism was a world movement, and Mr. Sadhan Gupta alleged that Mr. Nehru's remarks were prompted by thoughts of U. S. aid and the commonwealth link; — so reported the papers about the behaviour of the reds inside the parliament house. Another comrade, Sundarayya, called a press conference and communicated the wonderful news that the Indian communist party was not allied with any foreign government or party. If it was tied up at all, it was because of its fellow feeling for the toiling masses in the world. But then some mischievous people started saying, which in the eyes of the reds amounted to calumny, that the toiling masses our comrades were

most anxious to be linked with are at present those of Russia and China and precisely in these two countries the masses are no more supposed to be toiling, but to be ruling. And those impish people riddled our reds with questions and required them to explain their casuistry. Poor people! They do not know the very fundamental tenet of communism, namely, contradiction. and the more the better for the reds. And still more impertinent people started writing in papers, reviewing the whole history of the Indian communist party, from its beginning which was foreign inspired and instigated, the first members being Moscow trained, and being directed from Moscow by M. N. Roy; and then these people ran through the history of the activities of the party to the present day, and they tried to show how our comrades have always kowtowed to the Kremlin masters. Each and every bit of policy was inspired from the Moscow sanctum. If some party leaders were made scapegoats (like P. C. Joshi, Rana-dive, Rajeshwar Rao etc.) that too was under the Kremlin directive. And then come the pilgrimages to Moscow, the red Mecca. Will these mischievous imps poke their dirty fingers into the hole made by Nehru by his dignified prick, and reduce this bloated balloon of Bolshevik bluff to rags, in spite of all the frantic efforts of the comrades to re-inflate it? Will the avenging angels be sent from Moscow and Peking? It is as yet too early to give an answer.

S. Fernandez

A Social Exhibition

A Social Exhibition was held at Bombay during the Marian Congress. A few might ask what Our Lady has to do with the social problems. An educated Christian would not put the question; he well knows that Christian doctrine and practice have intensely social aspects, that Mary was given a definite role not only in individual but in collective redemption, that she is the spiritual mother of mankind, and is never absent from Christian life.

Her significance in social development is prominent. If the value and dignity of the person is at the basis of democracy, was it not proper in a Marian Congress to single out the very first human person? Was it not because of this tenet on the human person and of Mary's place in mankind that women were given their status in the family and in society, that virgins were canonised as early and as readily as the greatest pontiffs, that women were to share in the work of the Mother of the Apostles? Is not Mary the patroness of countless orders and congregations devoted to social service in schools, orphanages, refuges, hospitals, etc? Did not the Marian sodalities in past centuries initiate much of the social and charitable work which is now assigned to distinct associations or taken up by the State? Has not the Legion of Mary a fine record in case-work? Was not the devotion to Mary largely responsible for that sense of purity which marks the Christian home and society? In the Christendom of old, were not Mary's shrines refuges for the guilty and sanctuaries for the poor and the soldiers, and were not her feast-days listed for God's Truce?

And what of Mary's prominent place in our artistic life, paintings, sculpture, poetry and in the cultural pursuits of Christian society? May we not acclaim her as the Queen of social peace?

Such a trend of thought was not developed at the Bombay social exhibition, but it was at the background of its inspiration, even if more immediate necessities demanded another line of treatment. The exhibition was planned and organised by keen social workers of De Nobili College, Poona. Theirs was a scholastic effort at presenting the social question in its usual meaning. A first series of exhibits was a pictorial statement of the problem: maldistribution of wealth and welfare, class strife, national unrest and international insecurity.

The second series depicted the Communist way of solving the problem with all its brutal efficiency. Its achievements are more spectacular than the monuments which antiquity built up with slave labour. But Communism with the narrow-mindedness and short-sightedness of any type of materialism inevitably dwarfs the soul, demands a relentless tyranny and de-personalizes man.

In contrast the Catholic solution propounds basic principles that foster the true progress of society along with the achievement of one's best self: primacy of spiritual values; priority of respect and love due to each human person; dominating preoccupation of justice, equity and charity in every terrestrial endeavour; policy of peace, harmony and constructive progress. A concrete programme based on such principles would be an embodiment of integral humanism.

The fourth section dealt with conditions and efforts in India. In general social legislation, community projects, Bhoodan movement, etc., reveal preoccupations similar to those propounded by the Catholic Church, and call for the cooperation of everyone.

The didactic slant gave the exhibition a touch of novelty. No gadgets, no curiosities that make a popular appeal : but a series of charts and posters stating facts and principles. One may well ask why so much space was given to Communist achievements and so little to the numberless social works under Christian inspiration. It was so tempting to depict or suggest the first Community Projects in Paraguay, the rehabilitation work of a Peter Claver, the Christian endeavour among the most savage tribes, the endless series of orphanages, creches, refuges, schools, hospitals, relief societies, cooperative associations, schools of social science, efforts at class harmony and social peace, etc. which marks out Christian history in all countries and centuries. What an imposing frescoes of genuine humanism could have been contrasted with the subhuman feats of Communism ! The organisers were well aware of it ; they resisted the attraction and chose to limit themselves to a brief and incomplete summary of Christian achievements. Was it excessive modesty or shyness before the dimensions of the task ? Or was it not rather the deliberate desire to bring out the sound idea that no amount of individual achievements ever expresses or exhausts the full doctrine of the Church ?

On the other hand the doctrine was sound, the facts forcibly brought out, the conclusions impressively neat. The drawings were artistic, the colouring well-

balanced, and the tone high above ordinary exhibitions. One would have fancied the exhibits were pages torn from a medieval manuscript elaborated with Dominican erudition and illuminated with Benedictine artistry, pages which the educated would pore over with profit. The Social Institute treasures them all and will put them to good use.

A. Lahuri

Catholic Social Documentation

In view of some recent public statement on the establishment of a socialist democracy and the intention of the Second Five Year Plan to expand the sector for State investment and State management of new industry in the country, it is good to remind our readers of the very clear and definite statement of the Australian Hierarchy in their Social Justice Statement of 1948 on 'Socialisation'. Here are some extracts. There is first a definition of terms :

COMMUNISM is a political philosophy which is based on materialism. Its economic aim is the complete control and operation of all the economic resources of the nation by the government and its agencies. Its political objective is the dictatorship of one party, achieved by the use of revolutionary violence, the destruction of all other parties and the suppression of all other political opinions.

Communism is completely opposed to Christianity and between the two there can be no compromise.

SOCIALISM, in the strict sense, is a theory which advocates that the State should take over and operate the entire machinery of production, distribution and exchange. It differs from Communism in that its adherents generally believe that Socialism can be achieved by peaceful means.

Socialism in this strict sense has a Marxist basis and is repugnant to Christian social principles.

SOCIALISATION is a word to which two different meanings are commonly attributed. By some it is defined in the same terms as Socialism has been defined in the preceding paragraph. Whether this theory is called 'Socialisation' or 'Socialism', it is equally opposed to Christian social teaching.

On other occasions 'Socialisation' is held to mean State ownership of public utilities like the railways and the electricity supply, and the State ownership or control of basic industries and monopolies which cannot safely be left in private hands.

In this latter usage of the term, 'Socialisation', as such, is not offensive to Christian principles.

The Statement then affirms that 'the Church will resolutely refuse to intervene in any matter which is purely political or purely economic.' The Church will only intervene where any moral principle is directly violated or stands in danger of being set aside. Therefore the teaching of the Church on the question of Socialisation springs not from temporary political considerations, but rather from the Church's vision of a social order which is in conformity with the nature and destiny of man.

The concluding part of the State contains the following general principles concerning Nationalisation set down for the guidance of Catholics.

1. While the nationalisation of certain industries may be justified under certain conditions, it is quite clear that the nationalisation of ALL the means of production is absolutely wrong in principle and cannot be held by Catholics. It is equally wrong whether its achievement is proposed by peaceful or by violent means, whether it is to be achieved piecemeal or at one stage.
2. A system which, while avoiding complete nationalisation, extends public ownership far beyond what is required by the common good, is opposed to Christian teaching...The nationalisation of industries which are capable of being conducted in small units cannot be reconciled with Christian thought.
3. The Church recognizes that, under present conditions, there are certain forms of enterprise and industry which are of quite extraordinary importance to the community, and which may legitimately come under public control in one form or another, although not necessarily by means of nationalisation.

Among these are banking and insurance, the manufacture of steel and heavy chemicals; rail, sea and air transport; public utility services (electricity, gas, tramways); armaments.

While it is true no doubt that some of these concerns are efficiently conducted, the question of efficiency is of secondary importance. These are the industries which if they remain in the hands of

uncontrolled private bodies, confer upon these bodies the 'dominating power' referred to by Pius XI. This power is "so great that it cannot without danger to the general welfare be entrusted to private individuals". (Q.A.) It is beyond doubt that the companies which operate in these fields, few in number and extensive in power, are in a position often to dominate alike their customers, their suppliers, their employees, their potential competitors, and at times, even the public authority.

4. Among the industries which should be publicly controlled there are some which may be legitimately be nationalised. In the words of the present Holy Father, "these are the cases in which it is evident that (nationalisation) is really required for the common good—that is to say that when it is apparent that it is the ONLY method which will effectively remedy an abuse or avoid a wastage of the productive resources of the country; and which will ensure the organic development of these very resources, and which will direct them so as to benefit the economic interests of the nation...."

However since nationalisation is not the only way, nor even the primary way, in which the Government should intervene in industry, recourse should be had to it only if and insofar as other less drastic measures have been shown by experience to be insufficient.

5. Even if in a particular case nationalisation proves to be justifiable, it is an expedient which may have dangerous results. "Instead of diminishing the mechanical character of life and work...."

writes the present Holy Father, "nationalisation, even when morally legitimate, is more likely to increase it."

This undesirable development comes about in two ways. In the first place, the nationalised industries will always be large industries with a tendency to keep on increasing in size. The larger the industrial unit the greater the inclination to value the worker as a mere cog in the productive machine.

On the other hand, the fact that the Government sinks millions of pounds into a nationalised industry will inevitably mean that it will fight to preserve its monopoly, even when new technical methods make it possible for the industry to be run by small units operated by working proprietors.

6. Hence even when the State does justly nationalise some enterprise, it would be a mistake for it to conduct that enterprise as a centralised monopoly. For this would be simply to substitute State capitalism for private capitalism, a process without any advantage to the community.
7. In the case of the nationalisation of a particular enterprise, it is obvious that a just compensation should be paid.

The State and the Community.

For lack of space, we give here a brief summary of the letter addressed by Pope Pius XII to the recent French *Semaine Sociale* at Rennes, July, 1954. The mission of the State, says the Pope, is to control, aid and direct the private and individual activities of national life that they converge harmoniously towards

the common good. That good can neither be defined according to arbitrary ideas nor can it accept for its standard primarily the material prosperity of society, but rather it should be defined according to the harmonious development and the natural perfection of man. It is for this perfection that society is designed by the Creator as a means. In a word, the true notion of the State is that of an organism based on the moral order of the world. On this sovereign order is based the true and effective authority of the State. On this common basis the person, the State, the public authority, with their respective rights and duties, are indissolubly bound. Hence the State could not violate the personal freedom of the individual without at the same time undermining its own authority.

A crisis within the State is often the consequence of moral causes. The observance of democratic life imposes stiff demands on the moral maturity of each citizen. Often enough even Christians can be wanting in this respect, either through indifference to civic and political life, or through selfishly seeking their own interests. And thus they too deserve blame for the ills of society. But the Catholic must set a good example in this matter. There is no conflict between loyalty to the Church and loyalty to the State.

It is to be noted that individual lack of civic consciousness quickly becomes collective. In the modern democratic State are to be found very powerful group interests which can be a danger to the very existence of the State because of their power and influence, which they use to further their own interests. While the Church desires that some of these group organi-

sations, like Trade Unions, professional groups, etc., should be allowed to develop to facilitate State activity. She also wants them to be guided to their activity by motives of disinterested service of the community, by a sense of justice and charity.

The aim of the State should therefore be to preserve a fine balance between weakly bowing to powerful business or professional interests and, on the other hand, assuming all powers in its own grip. Finally we should never lose sight of the moral roots of the whole crisis of citizenship in the modern State.

A. F.

Social Survey

Our Prime Minister has repeatedly given out his views after his return from China. The problems of India and China were similar in general. The approach and the method of solving them are poles apart. Amidst his praises of China, her people and her enthusiasm, he never missed an occasion of deploring the lack of freedom; he remains at heart bound to the fundamentals of democracy, however much the Communist Party of India and its papers omitted his well-publicized reservations.

The Communist leader in the Lok Sabha, Mr. P. Sundarayya, deplored Mr. Nehru's strictures on the Party; it was an old slander to accuse the C.P.I. of being intellectually, emotionally and otherwise tied up to other groups in other countries and to fear that such groups could well take advantage of such bonds.

The tempestuous eloquence of the Red leader has not swept away the patriotic memories about what Communists did and do all over the world, during the last war and after.

From the south there comes the news that the Communists had been routed in the elections to the District Board (among others Tanjore, Madurai, Ramnad, Tirunelveli) ; yet the elected Congressmen should not be naively congratulated. They got the majority owing to the support of the Dravida Kazhagan ; communalists defeated communists. That is not genuine democracy.

North and South

An enquiry made in the South brought out the dissatisfaction of Southerners with what they consider the dominance of the North over the South, in party politics, administration, business and education. Tamil people concluded that the Northerners were dominating first business, then political groups and public services. Telugus rated Northern dominance otherwise : first in politics, then in business. On the whole Kanadigas and Malayalees were less hostile to and apprehensive of Northerners.

To the question whether this preponderating influence of Northerners in business was conducive to prosperity, 36.2 per cent replied in the affirmative, 19.6 per cent of the Hindus in the negative and the remainder opined it made no difference. That meant that some 80 per cent opposed any trade restriction on such grounds or were indifferent. The Christian element which is pretty strong in the South was for freedom for all.

Were an enquiry conducted in the North, people would retaliate that Southerners are counted in thousands through the administrative services. In any case such type of enquiries is little conducive to national unity.

Foreigners

From another enquiry we obtain figures that show the progress of Indianization in business. In 1947 there were 6.162 Indians against 7.625 non-Indians in the salary group Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 while in 1954 the numbers were respectively 18.642 and 7.750 ; in 1947 the figures for the salary group Rs. 500 to 999 were 2.225 Indians and 1.616 non-Indians, which figures in 1954 had changed to 7.496 and 650 ; the 1947 numbers in the salary slab from Rs. 1,000 and above were 504 Indians and 5.844 non-Indians but in 1954 they had been altered to 3.346 Indians and 7.008 non-Indians. In short Indianization is well advanced only in the salaries below Rs. 1,000. There is progress however in all sectors and the increase in total numbers of industrial employees reveal a general extension of business activity.

Firms are not adverse to Indianization ; patriotism and economy go well together in this field. Whether outsiders should be kept on must be decided by the needs of the industry and measured by the facilities for replacement ; at times firms are liable to endanger business on the plea of economy on salaries. In the last resort the Government should be consulted on the point whilst it should be the austere duty of foreigners to train their successors as soon and as well as possible.

In industry it is relatively easy to judge if one man or other is absolutely essential. In the field of education the matter is more difficult. The value of a professor is not measured by the number of lectures he delivers, not even by the number of passes he secures at public examinations, but rather by what he is, what he knows beyond the range of a syllabus, by the ideas and methods of work he inculcates, by his power to rouse and guide study and research, by the character training he imparts, by a number of imponderable elements which differentiate a master from a pedagogue. Provided the educational and academic authorities are Indian, the doors of our colleges and universities should remain wide open to visiting philosophers and scientists.

Our Teachers.

After surveying teaching conditions in India for the last two years, the International Team of the Ford Foundation has given his considered judgement about secondary schools. It may be summarised as follows : salaries are intolerably low and preclude any progress in education ; an appeal to the traditional relation between guru and disciple is no valid excuse. Teachers should be given the benefits of health insurance, and other amenities. The age of retirement should not be less than sixty and might well be above. Training programmes should be revised and coordinated.

In a remarkable speech, Dr. Amarnath Jha, president of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations, insisted on the right of parents to choose the type of education they want for their children ; large sums have been spent on basic education and the results are miserable. Basic education aims at teaching

manual dexterity to children and keeping them in the countryside. But such education, he observed, practically ignores languages, history, and other related subjects. On his part, Shri Dinkerrao, the Bombay Minister, confessed that the state coffers were empty (though he was on a later occasion to reveal that the Bombay government intended taking over all aided private schools).

The Conference passed a resolution about the dismissal of a teacher : charge sheet and a fortnight to prepare answers, arbitration board with chairman of no less a rank than a District Session Judge, three assessors, one nominee of the Minister of Education, one representative of the management and one representative of the State Teachers' Association. Politicians should evacuate the field of education and the State should protect teachers as well as P.T.T. employees.

Basic education again came under fire in the Convocation Address of the Poona University when Sir Mirza Ismael called it "a retreat from civilization". Handicraft may and must come within the educational system but it should never form the core of it. What was a fine idea has been turned into a fetish ; the plan of self-supporting schooling has distorted the purpose of education. Even our Universities pay exaggerated regard for job-seekers and run the risk of turning out graduates that have never read beyond their textbooks.

Films.

Each day of the week, 3500 cinemas open their gates ; the attendance is estimated at over two millions. Last year our sixty-five studios produced 233 films. The

capital invested in the trade amounts to forty-two crores of rupees, the gross income reaches twenty-five crores per year, over one million people are employed directly or indirectly. Such figures reveal the business importance of the film industry.

The social consequences are hard to estimate ; it is considered that in a general manner the films have little educative value for the masses, and in quite a few cases detrimental to the morality of youth. According to a judgement of the Madras High Court, the Government has no authority to impose its newsreels. On the other hand censorship rules are revised on occasion and made more stringent. Film censors show plenty of goodwill and readily sacrifice their professional tasks for the strenuous work of viewing a new film. Their zeal is, however, more obvious than their judgement and than the moral standard they apply.

E. Gathier

a worker prays

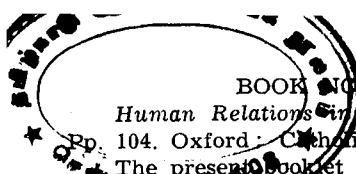
this day
my work i did as best i could,
o God of workers all,
great God and just.
i walk home with the setting sun :
to a mud hut,
a wife
and to a bunch of kids.
but deep a song lies in my heart ;
for my boss, he stood beside me
as i spun the thread today.
he watched me at my work

tho sultry is our spinning shed :
his cosy dwelling he had left
to watch me at my work.
and he stooped to pick a fallen thread
my nervous hands had dropped.
i thanked him with a blush.
he winked at me and said—
okay, old boy,
you get your bonus too today,
don't you ?
then off he moved away.

tisn't the song of the bonus,
good God,
that stirs this worker's heart ;
'tis the way he picked and gave
that thread
(so casual, yes,
unpatronizing too)
the matter-of-fact way,
as a friend would hand his friend a thread.

the thought, —
i now can buy more food
with the cumshaw i received —
is great.
but the joy i treasure more,
very much more than this baksheesh i earned
is the friendship of a friend i found,
the friendship of my friend,
my boss.

Vinny



BOOK NOTES AND REVIEWS

Human Relations in Industry. By Michael P. Fogarty

Pp. 104. Oxford: Catholic Social Guild, 1954. Price, 2s.

The present booklet has been chosen as the 1954 year-book of the Catholic Social Guild. Its author is professor of Industrial Relations at University College, Cardiff. Each of these facts is sufficient guarantee of its worth. Yet both together do not lead one to surmise all its merit and value. Methodical analysis, factual information, clarity of views and especially Christian inspiration are features which put it in a class apart.

Its very compact thought and logical sequence make it hard to summarize its contents. The booklet purports to outline answers to fundamental questions: Why treat of human relations in industry? What are the key-points in such relations? What of the past and future history of human relations in industry? What can be the contribution of Christians to that history? The age of competition and the age of direction have been followed by the present stage, the age of human relations. How can an individual be helped to fit in an industrial concern and in industrial life? How long will it take to solve the problems of human relations in business life? These matters are studied with the didactic ease of a successful professor, and with the erudite realism of a specialist. The background is the development of industry in the West; it is however familiar to students in the East and can readily be compared with parallel stages in Indian industrial history. That is why the booklet is eminently suitable to study circles and social courses in this country. Its method of showing how the recommendations of "Quadragesimo Anno" answer the requirements of industrial work and the psychology of industrial workers is the most striking lesson of this type we ever came across and affords precious guidance in the structure of our nascent industries.

The last chapter, "Conditions for effective Christian action", will amply repay a close study of its data and conclusions. The situation of Catholic workmen in England and India as far as influence goes is essentially a minority situation, and it would be most instructive for our priests and laymen of Catholic Action groups to study the principles and conclusions outlined by the author. They will not be discussed here; it is feared that one or other social worker would be satisfied with a ready-made solution and abstain from buying a valuable booklet that it would pay them to pore over with pen in hand.

A. Lallemand

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2. To provide theoretical and practical training for social workers.
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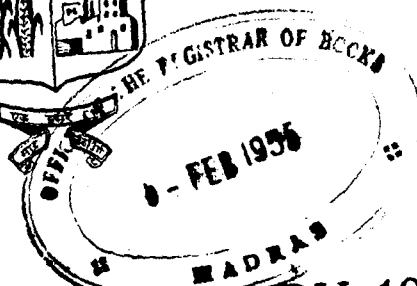
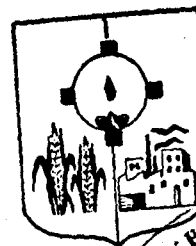
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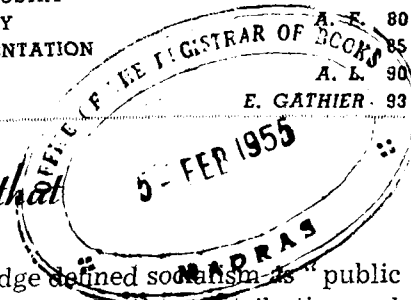
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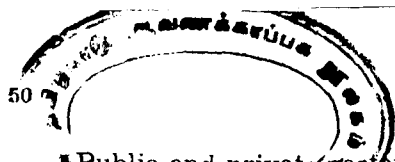
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This side and that

Socialistic Pattern

When Lord Beveridge defined socialism as "public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange", he was aware that the label could be fixed on many patterns. A new pattern was envisioned when the Central Parliament decided that India would become a socialistic state. The Premier insisted that he had little use for any particular theory, but he would adopt a socialistic pattern on pragmatismal lines. There would be plenty of elbow-room for the private sector which would be given due initiative and freedom, but brought under due control. Land cultivation was the main instance; moreover actual business concerns would not be acquired by the State since State acquisition would not increase national wealth. On the other hand, the public sector would monopolise essentials, like minerals, oil, water, electric power; it would be extended gradually as necessity required, though even so private capital would be invited to share risks and profits.





*Public and private sectors would be made to live in peace, cooperation and democratic euphoria. The government had to break through the feudalist crust and the capitalist crust which were choking national life, and to build up a classless and casteless society.

Caution

A gigantic programme! my masters, a terrific problem! It is always hard to eliminate a social crust without creating an administrative crust. It is hardly possible to achieve equality without endangering liberty. Soviet Russia was bent on equalization; she was efficient in methods; she had even recourse to suitable liquidation which always facilitates levelling and was merciless in breaking through crusts. Yet today Russia has distinct classes of unequal status: party, army, workmen, intelligentsia, peasants; with economic and political power being monopolized by a few, she has a dictatorship over the proletariat by a clique.

Undoubtedly the Government of India repudiates all violence and stands by the principles of genuine democracy, but its proposals for amending the Constitution are far from allaying the fears of the body politic.

Mending Amendments

Our glorious Constitution is a four-year old. It was operated on three times already. Twice it was to remove an ugly wart on the neck; but once it was a case of major operation in two steps: freedom of speech and expression was curtailed first, and then

the motor-centre was tightened to allow greater ease in grasping things. The fourth operation which is now planned would allow still greater ease in reaching, grasping and holding whatever lies around. The Bill which was tabled at the last session is intended to mend the previous amendment to article 31. It would permit the Central Government and the State governments to acquire any type of immovable property, to fix the compensation rate from infinity down to zero and to debar any recourse to law courts, even to the Supreme Court.

Thus we would have laws on property that would lie outside judiciary competence, a provision that shocks any democratic conscience. Of course a first dose of anaesthetic gas was administered: soothing declarations, explanations, elucidations; the government at the Centre and in the states would be fair, equitable, moderate. Moreover nothing would be done without the consent of the people, at least of the people in the legislative bodies (which in a democracy includes all the people that count).

Protests are mounting in cities. Nobody doubts the sincerity of the present government. But in our troubled times, one is tempted to retort in Chinese style: "We have no doubt about your sincerity. You are always sincere; you will be as sincere to-morrow as you are today. What troubles us is that possibly your sincerity to-morrow will not be the same as today". May our actual Parliament be cautious! A wise parliament prepares the future not only for its successor, but also against its successor. Amending a Constitution should not become a matter of mood.

The Golden Calf

Convocation addresses are usually dull academic affairs. But the Utkal University was regaled with unexpected wisdom by Sardar K. M. Pannikar, chairman of the States Reorganisation Commission. He strongly vindicated civic freedom "that should be safeguarded by a restatement of the principles of liberalism, with its emphasis on the worth of the individual, with its deep suspicion of the activities of the State in spheres where they encroach on the freedom of individuals and groups". The speaker was strongly critical of "the recent tendency to arm the State with exceptional powers, . . . to give protection to those in authority and to build up the framework of a Servile State." There should be no worship of the golden calf of the State. Quite so, Mr Pannikar, even if the golden calf be painted red.

Agreeable Horror

In the Madras Assembly a member complained that a letter of his to a constituent, and another to the Speaker of the House had been intercepted by the police. He was told it was all perfectly legal. Sect. 26 of the Indian Post Office Act authorizes the police to intercept any message when "it is in the interest of public order and tranquillity."

In some States the practice is endemic. Many simple citizens are given the pleasurable feeling of horror at discovering that they are dangerously important. And as we are in a democracy, we may expect this agreeable horror to be spread evenly in the civic body.

A. L.

Some Practical Problems of Trade Unions

TRADE UNIONISM in the field is vastly different from the neat streamlined thing as it is represented in text books and in lecture halls! In practice we meet it as an organisation of workers usually riddled through by petty rivalries, often wanting in any ability to control its members, not unfrequently lacking in sound leadership and sometimes the sport of management and political leaders alike. This is why, perhaps, my own experience over a period of thirty three years, may be of some use to those interested in our Labour Movement, and anxious to build better labour-management relations in Indian industry.

In 1921 I began work in the engineering department, of one of the largest Textile Mills in India. Today, I am a turner-chargeman, and one of about 14,500 employees of this concern. When I joined the Mills, Trade Unionism was still in its infancy in these areas, for it was merely three years previously that the Madras Labour Union was established for mill workers. Among others, this Union counted as one of its founders, the late Mrs Annie Besant who is well known in the world of theosophy. The Madras Labour Union was welcomed by both management and labour, and in those days of unorganised labour, handsome privileges were given the workers. Among other privileges we were granted annually 15 days privilege leave; 10 days festival leave with pay; a ten per cent bonus every six months and various forms

of gratuities. Medical assistance for the workers and their families, educational facilities for our children and a night school for adults helped improve our working lives.

The very year I joined the mills, I had my first experience of a strike. It is common knowledge that an industrial strike, in this country, is often used as a political weapon. Political agitators called out the workers and we were idle for nearly six months. It is not easy to describe the misery and suffering we and our families had to face, for in those days, and even today, few Unions provided anything like a "strike fund" or any other relief during periods of enforced idleness. With the intervention of the Government, the strike came to an end. We were given a deadline date to resume work, and those who did so were reinstated without loss of pay, bonus or gratuities. It is interesting to note that few workers knew the real cause of this strike!

With the resumption of work, management began a welfare scheme for the workers as an attempt to improve our condition and build up better management-labour relations. A Welfare Committee was set up, and it was composed of representatives of both management and labour. The Superintendent of the Committee was an outstanding Catholic actionist who was accepted by all parties for his integrity and loyalty to principles of justice and charity. That this Committee helped to improve management-labour relations may be judged from the fact that, despite inevitable friction in such a large establishment, industrial peace continued without a break till 1946.

In that year, the Watch and Ward Department of the Mills recruited men from Northern India. Distrust of these "imported men" — for in India we have not only caste barriers, but also linguistic and regional barriers—several incidents took place between the workers and these men. What the local workers resented most was that these men were placed at all mill-gates and entrances. A clash between these watchmen and some workers resulted in a strike, the object of which was to force management to dismiss these men from Northern India. This strike continued for about forty days, and was ended when management promised to place these imported men at points where they would not clash with the ordinary workmen.

Meanwhile all was not well within our Union. Political considerations and not labour welfare again brought disunion among our members. Our Union officials were mostly drawn from the ranks of the National Congress Party, and now, another political party, more of the Leftist brand, determined to get control of the Union. The tactics employed by the leader of this party were clever. He spread the rumour that he was purely a labour leader with world wide experience in the labour field, and that he did not belong to any political party. He insisted that he had no use for Communism, and that he would guide our Union not from the standpoint of politics but only from the viewpoint of labour welfare. The ordinary Indian worker is but poorly informed on many matters and can hardly be considered educated, and so it came about that we were all taken in by this new labour leader and gave him out complete support. With the help of our support this man became the new President.

of our Union — we'll call him President X. After a little while, and naturally so, various reasons were brought forward to change the members of the Union executive committee. When the new executive committee was set up, I found that I was made a member of this body.

As a member of the Union executive committee I had an unique chance of having a close-up picture of the working of this body. It was clear, right from the first meeting I attended, that the committee made it its first concern to strengthen the political party which had captured this Union. Affairs of the Union were always subordinated to party politics. In labour matters, the executive considered the Union merely as a fighting-machine — to fight management. Every incident was exploited, every opportunity was used to fight management and bring it into disrepute with the workers. There was no attempt to teach the workers discipline, or the harm which is done to the workers themselves when unjustifiable methods of go-slow are used in industry. While the workers were constantly Trade Unionism was to secure for them higher wages. about the duties and obligations of all employees. Given the want of education among the majority of workers, and their very low standard of living, they naturally believed that the only aim or purpose of Trade Unionism was to secure for them higher wages.

In an attempt to establish himself, President X who had now taken charge of our Union sent a circular to all departments asking them to state any grievance they had. The engineering department selected me to represent the disadvantages of the Basic Wages System

which was introduced into the mills from 1942, and which had displaced the more equitable system of the Standard Wages. This grievance, with others from the various departments, was to be presented to a Court of Enquiry set up by the Government. Both management and labour were represented at the Court.

The Court began its session in December 1946. I began by explaining the Standard Wages system which operated from 1921 to 1942. According to this system, a new employee, after his test, was put into one of the following categories : Rs. 2-0-0 ; Re. 1-8-0 ; or Re. 1-4-0 a day rising to the Standard Wage of Rs. 2-8-0 a day, with an annual increment of 0-0-9 or 0-1-0 per rupee. Under this system, therefore, a steady first grade worker could hope to reach his maximum daily pay in about four years time : the second grade man would take about nine years and the third grade employee could get his maximum pay within sixteen or twenty-one years. The Basic Wages system, on the other hand, makes it almost impossible for the ordinary worker ever to reach his maximum daily pay. Under this system a new employee, whether skilled or unskilled, starts on Re. 1-6-0 a day, with an annual increment of *one per cent on the basic wage*. This increment works out to about two pies in the rupee per year ! Simple calculation will show that at this rate of increment on the Basic wage, it will take an ordinary workman *over seventy* years to arrive at the maximum of the former Standard Wages ! The Court was surprised and shocked to learn how the Basic Wage system operated against the worker, and promised to "do something in the matter." Unfortunately, like many and other

recommendations and many other promises made by such Courts, nothing has been improved and we still receive salaries according to the Basic Wages system. The apparent indifference of these Tribunals to the needs of the workers and the delay in coming to a decision, have caused the ordinary worker to lose all confidence in such bodies. Most workers fail to see the injustice of the Basic wage for the simple reason that their low wages are supplemented by such increments as dearness allowance and bonus.

Before the excitement of the Court of Enquiry had died down, our Union was involved in another strike. In February 1947 we were informed that the textile mill workers in Coimbatore had demanded a six months' work. The Union of the Coimbatore mills was led by the Communists, and our Union officials felt that if their organisation did not claim a similar bonus they would lose face with the workers. Accordingly, at the next executive meeting President X drew up a strike notice to be served on the management. The notice demanded an extra bonus of six months' pay, and also contained some other demands which we had already submitted to the Court of Enquiry last December, and a decision on which was expected in April 1947. At the meeting of the executive and strike committee I pointed out that since these demands were already in court we could no longer make them a matter for the strike, and if we did, the strike would be declared illegal. When this failed, I appealed to our Union officials to request the Government to call a meeting of representatives of the Union, and the management with some outside independent public men

to decide the case. Evidently President X had no wish to bring about a peaceful settlement, and he dismissed my appeal on the grounds that there was no time!

When I found that the strike was decided upon, I determined to lessen the misery which the loss of pay causes all workers who are called upon to strike but receive no relief from a strike-fund. I, therefore, moved a resolution asking each member of the Union to contribute Rs. 10 towards the establishment of a strike-fund. The principle of such a fund was accepted, but the levy was reduced from Rs. 10 to Rs. 5. At this meeting I again made a last minute appeal to the members to reconsider the strike notice which was illegal as the Court had not yet given any decision on the points put into that notice. Again I failed.

We struck work in March 1947. The same day the strike was declared illegal, and some Union officials were arrested. President X was deported to a foreign country from where he had come to Madras. At an emergency meeting, the Union appointed another President who entered into negotiations with the Government and management. At a committee meeting we were told that a peaceful settlement would be possible on condition the Union called off the strike. Management promised each worker 15 days relief pay, the reinstatement of 32 men who were dismissed after the 1942 strike, and also promised other demands we had made.

Unfortunately all hopes for a quick return to work were shattered by trouble within the Union. The negotiations undertaken at the last committee meeting were denounced by President X who managed to get

a letter through to the Union officials. He demanded that we carry out the strike, and at last he showed his hand by stating that his political party would take over the Union. Many of us who remembered that we had accepted him because he promised to keep politics out of labour affairs, were now deeply disappointed. Moreover, some of us understood perfectly well that the strike was illegal, and did good neither to the workers nor to management. In the confusion which prevailed at the meeting some of us resigned from the Union and withdrew. We found ourselves in the strange position of fighting for Labour, but outside the ranks of organized Labour!

Some days later, I was approached by certain persons and asked if I was prepared to resume work. Knowing that the strike was illegal and that the majority of workers were wrongly led, I decided to work through example. I stated my willingness to resume duty provided that my family and I received police protection, for violence in such matters is not unknown, and more so, as I was to all appearances I was a "strike-breaker". The next morning, 16th June, 1947 I resumed work, and found that there were about 50 men present. The manager came along, and offered each of us a reward of Rs. 5 for every worker we brought back. From my part I refused this reward. I informed management that I resumed work out of a sense of duty: that, just as I once opposed management on the question of the injustice of the Basic Wages, so now I opposed the Union leaders on the question of an unjust strike. As a member of the Union executive my loyalty to the workers still bound me. All I did ask for

was adequate protection for my family, myself and the others who had returned to work.

I now began my attempt to bring the men back to work. I secured a Broadcasting van, police protection and some other workers and set to work. We toured the whole city of Madras calling on all mill workers to return to work on the conditions already accepted by their Union and by Management, and not to be the victims of interested parties. All workers were back at work by June 1947, just three months after the strike began, and four days after I began my "back to work" tour. The management did not victimize any worker, reinstated the 32 men dismissed after the 1942 strike and gave us the six months bonus we demanded. However, it is disappointing to remark that management gave no token of recognition to those men who refused to strike work and who continued to work at great personal risk to themselves and their families. In fact, these loyal workers had to endure the gibes of those who struck work and who openly boasted that the loyal workers were let down by management. This was bad labour relations on the part of management, and one wonders if the same conduct will be shown by any worker at the next strike in the mills! This is all the more unfortunate, as comparatively speaking, the management of the mills gives its labour force conditions which compare well with other industrial concerns.

Meanwhile politics had taken over the Union. We men were openly told that the salvation of our Union lay in its political role! What many of us suspected and feared had now come true! During a mass

meeting held on the Madras beach we were asked to give our loyalty to this political party. Those who know something about the tactics of dishonest politics know how our response was "framed". The greater majority of men accepted. To the credit of nearly six hundred men, it must be said that they withdrew from the Union and its ways. I was among them. Another Union was proposed and established. But that is another story.

A. B. Newman.

The Zero Awalking

"Vinya is like the non-being zero of mathematics. The master or guru is one and unique whose fame grows by the addition of zeros". Such is the definition Vinoba Bhave gave of himself, in the introduction to his Marathi rendering of Gandhiji's booklet *Mangal Prabhat*. The urge to become zero-like in order to become part and parcel of the Eternal Self came to a climax at the end of his studies.

He was born of a Brahmin family of Maharashtra on September 11, 1895 at Gagode in the Kolaba district. His father was a government servant in the Baroda state, so that the child was educated by his grandfather, Sri Narhar Shamburao, a textile artisan, scrupulous, methodical, and very religious minded, and by his mother, an equally pious and austere woman. It was only at the age of ten that little Vinoba went to Baroda to be taught English and Mathematics by his father. At the age of thirteen he joined the local school, but enlivened the curriculum with devouring

the writings of Maharashtra's ascetics and patriots. He passed his matriculation in 1913 and followed the University Intermediate classes for two years. Little by little he matured the feelings of his boyhood and, then one day in early 1916, he told his mother of his resolve. She was cooking the family meal, when the youth who was sitting by her side took a roll of papers and set fire to it. "What are you burning there?", asked the mother. "My school and college certificates," answered the lad. "But why? they might prove useful later on". — "No, I'll never require them. I am giving up my college studies. So why keep those papers?" The lad had made up his mind. And so it was that when all fancied he was going to Bombay for the Intermediate examinations, he detrained at Surat and took the train for Benares. He was starting on his pilgrimage to seek "Brahma, the Imperishable and All-Pervading."

In Benares he began Sanskrit. He also met political workers, some of them belonging to terrorist schools; he did appraise their devotion to the Motherland but he found they failed to reach his standard of dedication and self-renunciation. On the contrary he felt attracted by an address of Gandhiji at the Benares Hindu University. He made bold to send a letter to the speaker who was slowly becoming the national leader. As a sequel to that correspondence on politics and religion, Vinoba accepted Gandhiji's invitation and left Benares for the Kochara Ashram. The interview took place on June 7, 1916 and was the starting point of a life-long relationship. Vinoba became a disciple of the Ashram.

The master had the sense of proprieties. The lad had left his family ignorant of his whereabouts; so Gandhiji wrote to the father: "Your son Vinoba is with me. Your son has acquired at so tender an age such high-spiritedness and asceticism as took me years of patient labour to obtain."

Somehow the young disciple found the Ashram routine monotonous and tiring. He applied for one year's leave, and came back to dear Maharashtra; he stayed six months at Wai where he furthered his studies of Sanskrit and devoured the writings of Shankaracharya who soon grew into the dominant influence on his life. The other six months he devoted to touring the countryside, teaching here and there, or tackling cooperative work with a pulse grinding-mill for high-school students. He was back at the Ashram exactly on the day his leave expired.

He had soon to interrupt his stay once more. His family fell a victim to the Spanish influenza which devastated India in 1918-19. Thoughtful Gandhiji sent the lad home; his mother and brother died. In a mood all his own, Vinoba expressed the desire that the funeral hymns be not sung by the officiating Brahmin, but as his father pleaded helplessness in view of tradition, the lad did not share in the ceremony and stayed at home reciting the Gita and the Upanishads the whole day.

He stayed some two years at Sabarmati. In 1921 he was put in charge of the branch opened at Wardha which moved from site to site (Maganvadi, Bajajwadi, then to Mahila Ashram). In 1923 he launched a Marathi monthly by himself but his editorial career

came to an abrupt end when he was sent to jail for his share in the Nagpur Flag satyagraha (1923); he later on changed his paper into a weekly, which lasted three years only.

He proved a tireless worker. In 1924 he was detailed to supervise the Harijan temple-entry satyagraha in Vaikom (Travancore). On his return he organised a gram-seva (village-service) work around Wardha and kept in touch with this movement till 1948; it was then that he became farmer, weaver, spinner, scavenger in turn without neglecting his fondest task of teacher. This organisational work was broken with a six-month stay in the Dhulia jail; it was in 1932 after the Round-Table Conference; the people of Jalgaon were terror-stricken and Vinoba thought it was his duty to embolden them with a stirring harangue on the coming independence. Even in jail he kept to his mood of ceaseless activity, always urging on his fellow-prisoners "that food without work was sin."

When he came out of jail he settled in Nalwadi where he experimented with ways of supporting himself by spinning work alone. He fell ill, was advised to go to a hill-station and chose a country-house in Paunzar (five miles from Wardha), which from 1937 he made his headquarters for many years. He studied ways and means of developing Gandhiji's programme: khadi, village industries, nai talim, (basic education), safai (sanitation and hygiene). Throughout his experiments he kept in touch with Bapuji. "I know your blessings are ever there to cover me," he once wrote to Gandhiji, "You take this insignificant worker

under your protection. Secure for him from God the fitness that would make of him a worthy sacrifice in your great cause." And Gandhiji answered: "Your love and faith fill my eyes with tears; You will be an instrument of great service."

It was this filial devotion as well as his spiritual mentality that marked him out as the first choice of Gandhiji when the individual satyagraha was launched during the second world-war in October 1940. From Sevagram, the national leader announced his plan of campaign. "The plan is simply this. Direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only... It is to be limited to individual civil disobedience and that, to him only... It is connected with freedom of speech... Who is Vinoba and why was he chosen? He is an undergraduate having left college after my return to India in 1916. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the ashram almost at its inception... He has taken part in every menial activity of the ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialised as very few have... He has made scoffers realise that spinning is the handicraft *par excellence*... For perfect spinning, probably he has no rival in all India... He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have....

"Vinoba believes in the necessity of the political independence of India... But he believes that real independence of the villagers is impossible without

the constructive programme of which khadi is the centre. He believes that the spinning wheel is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous satyagraha campaigns. He has never been in the limelight on the political platform. With many co-workers he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heart-belief in, and practice of, constructive work..."

This long quotation from Gandhiji⁽¹⁾ gives us sufficient insight into his esteem for Vinoba, who started on his errand immediately and was soon arrested (Oct. 18, 1940), and sentenced to three months imprisonment. On his being released, he again offered satyagraha and received a six-month sentence; the third time, he was sentenced to one year's jail. Then came the August 1942 movement when he was detained without trial; he recovered his freedom only in July 1945, and quietly went back to his task of village sanitation round Paunar. He continued that humble task when the murder of Gandhiji woke him up to a mission of larger responsibilities.

He toured the country to survey the refugee problem, came back to his ashram and again experimented with ways and means of making the ashram self-sufficient. His aim was to test if money could be dis-

(1) *Mahatma*. By D. G. Tendulkar : V — Pp. 427 sqq.

pensed with ; three years passed before he was satisfied that money was unnecessary in village life, an interesting point in his plan.

In the meantime Gandhiji's disciples had assembled first at Sevagram (1948), then at Rau (Indore, 1949), then at Angul (Orissa 1950) to discuss ways and means of implementing the master's last will and develop constructive work. Among other things, they had, at Vinoba's suggestion, decided to launch the Sarvodaya Samaj, a general welfare association which would seek the greatest good of absolutely all citizens. In the words of Gandhiji, it would be a true democracy "in which everybody would know how to earn an honest living by the sweat of one's brow and make no distinction between manual and intellectual labour and would be ready to respect the life of others and lay down his own when occasion would demand it."

The third annual session of the Samaj was to be held at Hyderabad (Deccan) but it was only owing to the insistence of many that Vinoba accepted to leave his local activities to attend the meeting. On March 8, 1951, he left his ashram on foot on a journey that was to be decisive ; the zero was walking to his immortal destiny. Day after day he walked his ten or twelve miles, touring each hamlet of the villages, listening to all complaints, holding a prayer-meeting and addressing the people ; everyday he observed the post-independence realities and nursed his ideas of village reform. "The fight for *Swaraj* is over. A tougher fight for *gram-raj* is still to come. This fight cannot be postponed, but it must be like the first, non-violent." After one month he reached Shivarampalli,

near Hyderabad. At the meeting he put forth his views on a true money-less village economy and recommended his four-point programme : a peace army of village workers, the spread of spinning, the abolition of untouchability through individual sanitation work, the 'Honest Life' movement. He also stressed the need of paying wages and rent in kind ; and government support of village weaving. He emphasized the duty of practising equality, which supposes a high spiritual ideal ; "as the sun burns itself out at a very high temperature so that the earth may enjoy a 98° temperature, so each and every worker must be consumed with an inner fire to keep up the vital minimum of solidarity among all men."

Before going back to his ashram, he planned to tour the Telangana district ; he had heard much about the misery of the people, the communist misdeeds in the villages, the harsh repression of the police on the look out for dacoits, and the terror of the villagers squeezed between the rebels and the government forces. In his view the source of the trouble was the shocking contrast between the landlords and the landless ; "the rich is the father of the Communist," he used to say. On April 17, 1951, he entered the village of Pochampalli (Nalgonda), visited the Harijan huts, and listened to their craving for a piece of land.

The people were gathered at about noon ; he publicly asked them what they wanted. "Land," they all answered. — "How much land ?" — General silence ; nobody had prepared an answer. Vinoba appeared lost in thought, and then asked : "If land is not provided by the government, cannot something be done

by the village-people themselves? There are a few landlords listening to me. Is none of them willing to donate some of his land?" — At first silence, then a man got up and said: "I will give you land, I will give you one hundred acres." Everyone was taken aback; quietly Vinoba dismissed his audience and took the speaker aside and asked him if he was in earnest. The man renewed his offer. He was invited to attend the prayer-meeting in the evening. When prayer-time was over, Vinoba told the story of the day; at his request, the donor stood up before all, he was Shri V. R. Reddy; Vinoba praised his generosity, cautioned him against coming back on the promise he had made; V. R. Reddy pledged his word he would not. The next morning, after a night of prayer, Vinoba sent for the land-donor, and once more made sure of his goodwill; the man renewed his promise and produced a written declaration. Vinoba was satisfied and left the village; he had received the first Bhoodan and had found the secret of village rehabilitation.

He was equally successful in the next village, and in the next; everywhere he went, land-donors came forward. The method was effective; it was the method of truth and love; it relied on man's innate goodness and rested on heart-conversion by persuasion. Only people devoted to Sarvodaya could undertake such a campaign. Vinoba had even severe words for some friends of his. "The Congress cannot serve the people because the principle of service has become a joke for the Congress. The socialists are a better lot but they are after power. The Sarvodaya Samaj alone can deliver the goods."... "The Communists have in-

dulged in violence and murderous acts. This is absolutely wrong and therefore all their services go overboard... The way of peace is the real way to serve the masses."

As he went about collecting land, he developed his programme: new wells, new canals, cottage industries, basic education. Day after day, he went on keeping to his routine: rising at four, morning prayer, study; then a walk after five, camping in a new village, bath, meal, rest; newspaper reading, and correspondence for two hours, spinning for one hour; interviews after four, evening prayer at five, meeting, interviews; prayer and bed at nine. In village after village the silent revolution went on; it was the Telangana miracle as one told Vinoba, to which he replied: "No more talking please. The little work that has been done is the result of the goodwill of each and all. One should always appeal to that goodwill... Let us all think good, meditate good, and do good."

By the end of June, Vinoba was back at his ashram. He was soon to resume his tour throughout India with a success which put the scoffers and sceptics to shame. The above details about Vinoba's childhood and social development were culled from Suresh Ramabhai's book "Vinoba and His Mission"; information about his later campaign can be gathered from articles in papers and periodicals. What will be more important will be a subsequent study of his ideology. After the zero awalking, the zero athinking.

A. Lallemand

Human Relations in Industry

In his address at the opening of the new buildings of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay, Pandit Nehru came over and over again to the question of 'Human Relations'. Speaking from his own experience, he said that human relations were necessary in every walk of life, even in the process of government, and not only in industry. The notion of human relations has caught the imagination of the public and soon there will be a flood of literature on this topic. It seems to be a new discovery of man, and yet like all discoveries concerning human nature, it had been discovered long ago; in our days, we are only unearthing a long-forgotten discovery. But all the same, it has been a long, hard road to the re-discovery. It has been made at the expense of much needless cost in human toil and travail and misery.

What it is?

Perhaps a simple way of putting the whole problem is to say that in industry a worker cannot be treated as a mere commodity. He is not a cog in a vast machine that whirls around him unconscious of his reactions and of the meaning of whose whirls he himself is not aware. The personality of the worker must be respected; the interest he brings to his work must be aroused and maintained. The value of his work must be recognised and appreciated. His status in the firm must be firmly stabilised and his contribution to a common endeavour with management accepted and remunerated. To achieve all this a new

conception of the workman against the whole background of industry must be visualised. The human element is slowly coming to the very centre of the picture, to its proper place in the whole pattern of relationships that govern modern productive industry. In a word there is need of a new approach in the handling of workmen, and this is called 'Human Relations'. It emphasises that men must be treated in every walk of life as human beings. The stress is on the 'humaneness' of the individual man or woman.

Importance

So important has the need of this approach become that at the last session of the International Labour Conference, peculiar interest was concentrated on the problem of human relations, and the Director General promised that in his address to the Assembly next year he would deal specifically with the topic. It was noted that despite the increase in the area of collective bargaining and the number of agreements, there were still signs of dissatisfaction in the industry because of the absence of a proper atmosphere in the works. Many of the delegates who spoke on industrial relations, stressed the human aspects of the problem, and the necessity of creating the proper atmosphere in which more attention could be paid to the human aspect in labour-management relations.

Psychological Outlook

So far the tendency to improve labour-management relations has been motivated more by the desire of appeasing the workmen's desire for better wages

and a higher standard of life, ultimately of course to increase the productivity of the firm with the use of a contented labour force. The deeper aspirations of the human heart for social belonging, for appreciation, for human treatment in accordance with status have been overlooked. The motives for bettering labour's condition have been in the main rather selfish, and not sufficiently altruistic. It has never been recognised that industry had to be geared to the service of the needs of humanity, and the poorest of human kind. It has always been looked upon as a source of gain for the owners of the firm and the 'maximisation of profits' has so far been the final reason for the expansion of industry. But times are changing and the force of circumstances especially the upheavals of war and the growth of powerful trade unions are making the community realise that over and above monetary incentives, there is something deeper that people hanker for.

Of late there have been many investigations to discover the hidden springs of human action, the instincts, the urges, the drives and the needs of the human individual. While it is admitted that men do not have instincts in the same sense as the animals, they definitely have urges, drives and needs which must find satisfaction both on the material as well as the spiritual plane. In this respect, 'human nature' is common to all men, no matter what their colour or tongue. Of course needs differ from place to place and are closely linked with differing stages of civilisation. But the fundamental needs of man like hunger, thirst, sex, desire for esteem, desire for an established place in a community or a group, are common to all men,

and must be catered for in every kind of social set-up. Men have religious needs too; religious belief is a common characteristic of the earliest human group life we know, as well as the man of the 20th Cent.

Much of the dissatisfaction both in industry as well as in other spheres of human activity can be traced to the fact that in building up our social structures our human architects have forgotten deliberately or indeliberately to take account of these deep psychological mainsprings of human activity. Unless these urges are satisfactorily treated, there will always remain a large area of social frustration which will be a source of potential danger to anyone who wishes to exploit the unhappy situation to achieve his own ends.

Limits

On the other hand, there is a limit to the satisfaction even of psychological needs. It is useless imagining that perfect contentment of the workman in his job or for that matter that man anywhere on earth can find perfect fulfilment of all his desires and aspirations. But it still remains true that as far as is humanly possible, every individual should be given the opportunities for self perfection in a very imperfect world. This attitude is not due to a feeling of pessimism regarding the recent progress, both scientific and technical, to solve man's dilemma, but from the deeper consideration of the meaning of man's life here on earth and the destiny for which he has been created. Within these limits then, the stage for 'human relations' can be set, and the area is a very wide one indeed.

What men want

The needs of every individual can be broadly classified as follows :

- (a) the need for food, clothing and housing, and protection and provision for the family.
- (b) the need for security both of employment and in regard to one's person.
- (c) the need for self-expression and self-determination within the area of his job. This would include the desire for appreciation of the work he does, opportunity for promotion, to know the 'whys' whys of his job, to be given the chance of making suggestions in regard to his job, to have sympathetic and understanding supervisors foremen and managers, to be treated fairly, etc.
- (d) the satisfaction of belonging to a group where he is appreciated and his contribution to the group recognised. In other words, he must have a definite status and a corresponding function in the community, both of which must be recognised and appreciated by the entire group.

Causes of Dissatisfaction

When any of these needs are unsatisfied, discord and resentment arise and these may take various forms. For instance, a man might be dissatisfied with the scale of his salary, or the instability of his employment, or the disagreeableness of the conditions in which he works, or more often than not, because he does not see the purpose of the job he is doing in the general process

of the factory production. Sometimes he may not be fitted for the job and becomes a nervous wreck. Victimization, poor grievance machinery, the existence of cliques in the workshop may also account for the disgruntled behaviour of other workers. Many other causes of dissatisfaction could be enumerated, but it is always more important to take cognizance of the real causes and perhaps futile to try to satisfy the apparent causes.

Methods in Use

In the West, much progress has been made in the attempt to cater to the psychological needs of the workman, in some cases with marked success. Collective agreements of which we have very few examples in India, are a legal necessity in the U. S. A., while in Britain Joint Consultation machinery is largely used for much the same purpose. In both cases, many of the usual causes of labour dissatisfaction are amicably settled. Questions like wages, promotions, seniority, overtime, vacations, are clearly determined in the agreement, so that the worker knows exactly where he stands in relation to his bosses, and what are the terms of his wage contract.

But besides these essentials, it has become customary to seek to adjust the worker to his job. Both his physical and mental capabilities are to be taken into account before the right type of job can be found for him. The vocational psychologist is becoming a part of the modern factory, especially the large scale industrial factory. In a very few firms in India, capability tests for the choice of managers have been evolved, but practically nothing so far has been

attempted to select men for the lower grades of employment except the requirement of having passed certain examinations.

Another important aspect of the factory that has been subject to much thought and experimentation is that of ensuring easy and sympathetic communication between the bosses and the men. Orders pass from top to bottom, and provided the orders are carried out with a certain required amount of efficiency, the managers are not much interested in the reactions of the men who carry them out. Such a blind authoritarian system can hardly win the loyalties of the men especially in an enterprise where teamwork is so essential. Closer and even direct communication between the top executive and the workman is desired and the strength of the factory complement cut down to make this possible. In his contacts with his subordinates the supervisor is expected to treat them with respect, to praise them for their good work, to accept their suggestions, to be fair and impartial, to keep his promises; in a word, to treat his men like human beings. The Training—Within—Industry programme which is now being actively sponsored in India has this purpose in view. It is meant to train supervisors how to treat their men humanely.

Workers' Interest in the Firm

So far it has always been found that somehow the wage contract induces an element of antagonism between the contracting parties. Many workingmen are of the opinion that the system has been invented for their exploitation by management. They feel that

profits can only be made at their expense. Management in its turn especially in our country imagines that the employee must merely carry out orders and mind its own business by not making exaggerated demands on the earnings of the firm, nor be concerned with its progress. No wonder then that with each party pulling in opposite directions, the spirit of co-operation in a common enterprise is largely absent and in its place bitterness and frustration flourish.

In order to get the workmen interested, attempts have been made to break down the barrier that separates employer from employee. This often flows from the very nature of large scale industry. Contact of the direct kind between the boss and his subordinates is one of the ways of closing the gap, and minimizing the tension. The men should be acquainted with the entire set-up of the factory, be consulted or at least be aware of its policy, see the purposes behind their jobs. Information about the financial situation of the firm should also be communicated to the employees. Sharing of profits and consultation on important issues like production targets, changes of production methods, price of sales, should be introduced. The employees will then feel that they belong to the firm, that they have a stake in its preservation and progress, that they are more than automatons whom the boss seeks to exploit.

Fundamentals

Briefly, there should be a fundamental spirit of agreement between management and employees that each has a fair part to play in a common enterprise. It is false to imagine that the wage-contract is something

immoral in itself, or that the present private system of industrial enterprise is morally corrupt beyond redemption. On the other hand, management must bear in mind that the factory is not solely a profit-making institution, but rather a social world in itself where men live out their lives in serving the needs of the community and in which they ought therefore to be given every opportunity to develop the best that is in them. When a firm satisfies these fundamental human needs of its employees, it has solved to a large extent our modern social problem. But the initiative lies with management to make the firm play up to these requirements. In a word the trend in our days is to adapt not man to industry, but industry to man. And in so far as the leaders of the industrial community work to achieve this end, the more stable will be the economic and social structure we are striving to build, because it answers real human needs.

A. Fonseca

Catholic Social Activity

Training of Social Workers

The St. Joseph's Institute of Social Service, established last year in St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, has issued its first report. Some 30 students have been given the Diploma in Social Work. Much of the success of the Institute is due to the inspiring efforts of the Director, Rev. Fr. Adisayam, who was called upon to shoulder the difficult task of setting up the new department. And the members of his staff who have so will-

ingly backed his efforts, deserve their due mead of praise. While theoretical training for social work is not too difficult to impart, the question of practical training or field work especially adapted to the needs of the country, becomes doubly important because the social worker has to work with human beings in an environment which is not the same for different countries of the world and even differs within a single region.

The St. Joseph's Institute has tried to tackle this difficult problem by running camps in rural areas especially in those that form part of the Community Projects. Much of the work done in the camp has been of the manual kind, but the villagers have also been induced to participate in this work. Since social work is essentially a process of helping others to help themselves, the success of the training activity has always to be gauged by the formation of the students in the difficult task of being able to sympathise and persuade their clients and making them independent of the social worker's assistance in tackling their own problems. This aspect of social work should be borne in mind by the staff of every training Institution.

The St. Philomena's College, Mysore has also started an Institute of Social Service, a step in the right direction that deserves to be commended wholeheartedly. The Theoretical training will consist of the routine subjects of Sociology, Psychology, Social Economics. Besides specialised subjects like Industrial Relations, Rural Welfare, Juvenile Delinquency will also be taught. Field Work will be carried on in the same manner as at St. Joseph's, Trichinopoly. On the

whole the programme of the St. Philomena's College is an ambitious one. This new venture into social service is due to the inspiration of Rev. Fr. Audiau, the Principal of the College.

Perhaps in the prospectus as it stands, sufficient attention has not been drawn to the essential division of basic and specialised subjects. The social field is a very wide one and some kind of specialisation even for undergraduates is necessary, unless a cursory knowledge of the subject is all that is intended. On the other hand, it is good for the students of social work to have some acquaintance with the theoretical fundamentals and the practical skills of every branch of social work. These obvious problems have to be solved over a period of time, after some experience of the situation has been gained. No accurate directives on the point can be given immediately.

There is a final significant element in the training process that cannot be overlooked : supervised work under a trained supervisor in a social institution, where the skills of social work will be learned 'by doing'. Since there are few institutions in India that can boast of running their social work on modern lines with a trained staff, it will be difficult for quite some time to come, to give students of social work the adequate training they need for so delicate a profession.

Social Work by Priests-to-be.

The Shembag Social Service, organised by the Jesuits of Shembaganur, is actively engaged in rendering social service to the people of Kodaikanal and the villages round about. The latest report that has reached us makes interesting reading, because besides

describing the variety of social work done by the scholastics, it also contains an account of the difficulties they are up against, difficulties that are the common lot of every social worker.

Perhaps in the report there seems to be some slight misunderstanding as to the exact connotation of the phrase 'social service'. Does getting cowboys to play a football match as a bait to attract them to a class of catechism afterwards fall precisely within the sphere 'social service'? If social service is to mean 'helping others to help themselves', it is difficult to see how this item should be included in the report. And yet a fairly strict definition of 'social service' is necessary so as to focus the social worker's attention on the ultimate aim of social work. If the football game could be used as a basis for group work on the boys who come regularly to play, then it would certainly fall within this stricter definition of social work.

On the other hand, not all the Scholastics of Shembag are footer fans. Some of them have been busy improving the sanitary condition of the village, but the good work is in danger of languishing because of internal strife among villagers. This is a common occurrence in slum areas too. The gentle art of persuasion must form a strong weapon in the armoury of every social worker. In social work more is achieved by listening and doing than by talking.

Another important problem that has been tackled successfully by some members of the S. S. S. has been the awakening of the Harijans to a realisation of their lot and the desire to improve it. Sometimes the apathy of these poor people, down-trodden for centuries, is

most difficult to overcome. It takes much time and sympathy to arouse in them a consciousness of their new status in an independent India, but the social worker who succeeds in overcoming their apathy, has touched of a revolution.

A delicate element in social service is how to convey the conscious awareness of social values and principles to people who are utterly ignorant of them. The Shembag Social Service is going to run a News Letter to keep the people informed of what is going on around them in the Pulni Hills. This will certainly be a useful adjunct to the general social activity of the S.S.S. But it might be wiser to inculcate the right type of social habits and ideas in the actual process of working with people.

Finally since the Shembag Social Service is meant primarily to train future priests in rendering social service, it deserves all commendation as an excellent training ground for the understanding and practice of social work by those who will have not only to cater to the spiritual, but also in some measure to the temporal needs of their parishioners.

A. F.

Catholic Social Documentation

PAPAL ADDRESS ON ILO'S WORK

Although we have frequently had an opportunity this year of meeting representatives of various occupational associations and of informing each of them of Our interest and solicitude, it gives Us particular pleasure to receive the delegates of the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION, which truly represents the great mass of workers with their cares, their troubles and, above all, their desire for a better and a juster world.

Over the past 30 years and more you have patiently and unflinchingly built up an achievement of which you can justly be proud. Not only have you contributed to the progress of social legislation in different countries but, above all, you have united governments, employers and workers in courageous and successful collaboration. You have led them to master every passion, all bitterness in their demands, and every obstinate refusal to face inevitable developments; they have learned to listen to each other's arguments, calmly weigh the facts of an extremely complex problem and jointly propose the necessary improvements. You have thus created a kind of international forum, a clearing house where essential information and useful ideas are collected, tested and published. After long preparation and unremitting scrutiny and discussion, the General Conference adopts Conventions which, though they do not possess legal force in the member countries, must be discussed by them and may after ratification become real international treaties.

In order to appreciate the magnitude of the task that has been accomplished, one has only to compare the state of labour legislation today with what it was at the outbreak of the First World War. Even during the last century, the need was felt for a co-ordinating body to unite the workers' efforts in their struggle against inhuman conditions. There was a realisation that social safeguards and restrictions would involve economic burdens and weight the scales against those countries that were willing to adopt them.

Our predecessor, Leo XIII, had a clear perception of the great importance of international collaboration in labour questions. As early as 1890, one year before the publication of the Encyclical *RERUM NOVARUM*, he wrote, in connection with the international conference about to meet in Berlin to seek means of improving the conditions of the working classes, that it responded "to one of his dearest wishes", and he added: "Conformity of views and legislation, at least to the extent permitted by differing conditions in places and countries, will contribute greatly to the advance towards a just solution of the question". (Letter to the Emperor William II, 14 March 1890—*Leonis XIII P.M. Acta*, vol. X, Roma 1891, pp. 95-96). A little later, in 1893, he approved the proposal to call a Congress of workers' delegates without distinction of nationality or political opinion.

In 1900 the International Association for Labour Legislation was formed, but the war soon interrupted its work. However, this was only a private venture. More solid achievements could be expected of an institution that was officially recognised by governments.

This unanimous desire finally bore fruit in 1919, and the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION has, ever since, increasingly fulfilled the expectations of the workers and of all those who have justice at heart.

Both through its central organs—the general Conference, the Governing Body, the International Labour Office—and its more specialised bodies—the Regional Conferences and the Industrial Committees—the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION has effectively supported trade unions in their efforts to improve the conditions of the workers. While the International Labour Charter aimed above all at the suppression of abuses and laid down your main objectives at the time of the foundation of the Organisation, the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944 was designed to adapt these objectives to new circumstances. The struggle between the wars had brought a clearer awareness of the need for positive action and had led to the first steps in this direction. The limitation of hours of work, the regulation of the employment of women and young workers, the protection against illness, unemployment and accidents called for measures forming an organic whole, a need which is widely considered to be met by schemes for social security and full employment. Among all the fields in which your efforts are deployed today, particular attention must be drawn to the relationship between employers and workers, which is one of the most delicate points in the evolution of modern society. The INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION has already concerned itself with collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration, and collaboration between em-

ployers and workers at the level of the undertaking. At the present time, the human factor, whose importance was neglected for too long—though not however by Catholic social doctrine—is attracting the attention of sociologists and we know that you intend to make it one of your foremost concerns.

The effectiveness and authority of your organisation largely result from its respect for the lofty ideals which must inspire all those who strive for a civilisation which gives full scope to the rightful aspirations of the workers. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION has not tried to represent one social class alone, or to become the vehicle of any single trend. It welcomes whatever is constructive, whatever meets the real needs of a balanced society and that is why Our predecessor, Pius XI, did not hesitate to draw attention to the remarkable resemblance between the principles set forth in the Labour Charter and those of the Encyclical RERUM NOVARUM. The Christian movements for their part have given their full support to the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION and consider it an honour to take part in its work. They hope thereby that their social objectives will be reached more quickly and more surely.

These objectives include, first and foremost, living conditions which safeguard the inalienable rights of man, as contained in natural law or formulated in statute law. But legislation by itself is a soulless standard, a mere barrier against wrong doing. The essential factor is the spirit that moves its defenders, the urge to improve upon the present, which although it

may be better than the past, is still overshadowed in many ways and burdened with the uncertainty of human weakness. If men are to strive with all their might to build a temporal society where private initiative can flourish without fear, where the rights of the individual are fully respected so that the aptitudes and abilities of each can find their full expression and where everyone can adhere with heart and soul to the highest principles of morality, and religion, they must put their faith in spiritual values, confident that these will triumph over the forces of dissolution and discord.

What is at stake is not only the interests of the working class and its admission to the full exercise of its responsibilities, but the future of human society as a whole. The Labour movement cannot rest satisfied with material success, a fuller system of safeguards and security and a greater measure of influence on the economic system. It cannot visualise the future merely in terms of opposition to other social classes or the excessive subordination of the individual to the State. It must seek its objective on the plane where your Organization has placed it, that is to say, on the plane of universality — as the Encyclical QUADRAGESIMO ANNO proposed — in a social order where material prosperity is the outcome of the sincere collaboration of all for the common good and serves as a foundation for the higher cultural values and above all for the indissoluble union of hearts and minds.

We wish you success in your work at the 127th Session of your Governing Body. Pursue unflaggingly, your study of the problems which face the world of

labour and continue to add to the existing fabric in order to complete and consolidate the whole structure. May the Master of all things, who became a divine workman in order to bring to the earth His message of peace and brotherhood, continue to watch over your activities and grant you the courageous perseverance which overcomes all obstacles. As a pledge of His benevolence and as a proof of Our high consideration, We grant to you and to all the collaborators of the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION Our Apostolic Blessing.

Castel Gondolfo, 19 November, 1954

Book Reviews

The Communist Party of India. A short History by M. R. Masani. London: Derek Verschoyle, 1954.

This is a most welcome book. One hears a good deal about Communism in India without being able to trace its history. Communists do not write the history of the Party until and unless they have secured hold of a government; then they appoint an official historian that marshalls the facts in suitable order and doctors the documents to the satisfaction of the men who have survived the struggle and seized power. Successive editions of the history will then be accommodated to the needs of the successive politbureau which take their turn at the top. All such alterations, doctorings, manipulations are well within Communist ethics; for what is useful to the Party, that and that alone is ethical.

On the other hand historians who are keen on being objective feel badly handicapped by having no access to the Party's documents and directives, most of which are kept confidential and coded. Close association with party members or with ex-party members, methodical study of available literature, methodical survey of the party's communiques, declarations, interpretations, twists and turns, painstaking observation of incidents, manoeuvres, programmes may however allow one to give a fair account of the general trends and multitudinous zigzags of the Party. It was the signal merit of Mr Masani to have addressed himself to such a task, and it is the chief distinction of his book to supply us with a comprehensive history of the C. P. I.

His analysis covers all the official documents that are available, and throws usual light on Red doings and policies. His study deals with every aspect of the subject, and contains much interesting material on the relations of the C. P. I. with other parties and with the Red International.

Chapter Eleven, "The Outlook", calls for special emphasis. The C.P.I. was conceived in Moscow, obeys the behests of Moscow, is staffed with men and women dedicated to a hard task, and closely follows the fortune of the Moscow dictatorship. It is a party at the beck and call of a foreign power. The Red triumphs in China and Indo-China have given it additional glamour and attraction.

What is appalling is the neutralism and indifference of Indian public opinion to the danger of Red totalitarianism; neutralism in academic, professional,

journalistic circles; effortless indifference in Hindu and Muslim religious groups. In the vanguard of opposition, one may single out the Catholic community, the majority of the Socialist party, and the small hard-working Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, as well as the Congress Party which is in power. One would have liked to know in greater detail the reactions of the author to the foreign policy of the Indian government, since that policy is bound to have a deep influence on the fortunes of Communism in India. He is satisfied with the surmise that if ever India "goes communist," it will not be through electoral victory or mass revolution. "It will rather be by means of a 'coup d'état' or seizure of power effected by establishing a base of operations somewhere in the country, and gaining possession, through internal and external pressure, of the levers which control power — the State, the armed forces, the radio and the press."

The book should be found on the shelves of all that stand for personal freedom and national independence; it is well written, well got up, and informative; it is a timely clarion call to all lovers of freedom and of India.

A. L.

Le Service Social et la Personne Humaine dans le Monde Moderne. Pp. 220. Brussels, U. C. I. S. S., 1954 Price: 120 F.

The Catholic International Union for Social Service which held its eighth conference at Cologne last April, has published a full report. To be singled out, one notes the remarkable conference of Mr G. Khan, a professor at the Toulouse Catholic Institute, on "the

Christian view of the person and its free expansion," the lecture of Mgr. Schmitt on human societies and the regard for the human person in social service, the contributions of Miss J. Hoey on the spirit of the social worker, and of Dona H. I. Junqueira on the personalist requirements of intergovernmental organisations. Among the chairmen, one has the pleasure of noting M. l'abbé Coutinho, delegate of the Catholic Bishops Conference of India.

The speakers moved at ease in the highest doctrinal spheres, but the reporters of the eleven discussion groups had their feet well on the earth and presented plenty of practical suggestions for genuine social work.

A. Lahuri

Social Survey

LABOUR CONFLICTS. The conflict of the Bank Employees is at a standstill. Government promises of a fair deal and subtle pressure brought to bear upon them have warded off a strike for the immediate future. The main reason for the postponement of the threatened strike seems to be the promise made by the government to the employees that the emoluments and earnings as they were in 1954 would be frozen and that there would be no cut in the total emoluments due to them. Though the Bankers are empowered to change the basic wage scale, the Government nevertheless would like them to maintain the *status quo* for the time being. As for the Rajadhyaksha award expected soon, it will have retroactive effect. Another

reason which made the Bank Employees hesitate and change their attitude was Government's threat to declare the strike illegal. While the INTUC agreed to put off the strike, the Communists tried their best to have it, affirming that the Government was guilty of double dealing by allowing certain banks to implement the modified award of the Labour Appellate Tribunal when the Rajadhyaksha inquiry was still going on.

Another matter which calls for inquiry is the control of working hours of many of our banks, especially at the end of the financial year when the balance sheets have to be prepared.

Trouble is brewing in another important sector, the Air Services of India. As a result of the nationalization of the Indian Airways, eight units have been amalgamated into one. Uniformity of pay scale should have followed as a matter of course. But in reality it has not. The pre-nationalized Bombay Air Services' employees were better paid than their colleagues in Calcutta and elsewhere. Sometime ago a Committee was appointed to go into this question and make recommendations. The recommendations of the Committee have been most disappointing to some employees of this important service. Though the Committee has pointed out that only 450 of the 8000 employees would lose by the new scale of pay proposed and that over 4000 would actually gain, the employees are extremely sceptic as, according to them, the betterment is only apparent and that in the long run they stand to lose rather than gain any advantage. Needless to say, they favour the old Bombay scale of pay.

Our Policy

Every cloud has its silver lining and the silver lining in this case has been the fine speech made by Mr. Nehru to the Congress Legislators. In a lengthy survey of the Industrial policy of the Government he stated that he would adopt neither the American nor the Russian way in their entirety but rather would borrow the best from both systems. Our ultimate objective, he affirmed, is a socialistic society and economy tempered by practical considerations. In the main, the plan of 1948 would be respected. Certain industries like steel, oil, coal, ship-building, air-craft, telephone should remain under the direct control of the State. But that control does not exclude the cooperation of private enterprise subject to State control. The Government retains the right to acquire any industry but an assurance has been given that for the next ten years nothing would be changed in the *status quo* and after this period, a consultation would be held to decide future policy. That Government is not unduly rigid in its policy of control over certain items of production is clear from the case of the oil refineries where it has allowed, under certain conditions, foreign firms to set up oil refineries in India. It may be that India could not help it and was forced by actual circumstances to yield to this change in policy.

Mr. Nehru pointed out to the Socialists, who want immediate and total nationalization, the impossibility of such an undertaking in the present circumstances of the country. Nationalization implies payment of compensation as stated by our Constitution and we simply cannot afford to pay the compensation. The

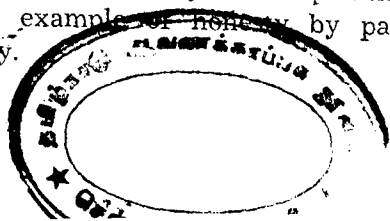
way out would be to amend the Constitution but that cannot be done without due thought and care.

Explaining the causes which have placed America and Russia in their superior position as regards industrial development Mr. Nehru said that we in India could not expect to apply the same methods and achieve the same results as both our circumstances and objectives are totally different. The Prime Minister concluded by stating that what we need is self reliance. We may accept help but we must not be slaves to it. Money alone will not solve our problems, we want the men who will produce the goods. The wealth of the nation must be increased, poverty must be eradicated, unemployment banished. That is the great objective.

THE EMPLOYERS. It is interesting to note the wishes of the employers also. At the general meeting of the Chambers of Commerce they expressed the desire that for their greater security and encouragement there should be less of direct and more of indirect taxation. But they failed to realise, it must be remarked, that such a policy would only result in laying heavier burdens on the poor.

They also want the social policy to be made lighter, for example by amending the Dispute Act to give the maximum compensation for retrenchment, to bring down the dock labour costs to a reasonable level, to raise the standards of discipline sufficiently to help the industrialists. They called upon the government to give an example of honesty by paying their bills promptly.

E. Gathier



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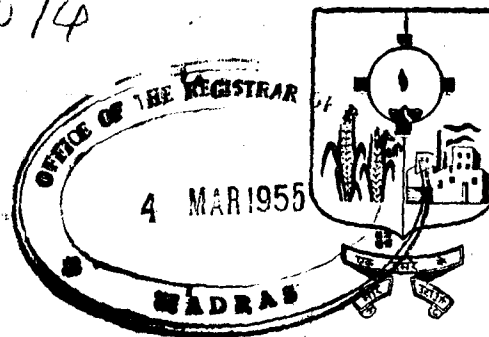
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This Side and That

Titolatry

Many people were happy to see Tito coming ; most were happier to see him going away. His leisurely absence from Yugoslavia when there was tension at home is a poser of no little interest to us. Here he was well guarded and given a good time ; he saw all there was to be seen, he was given the unique distinction of addressing the Congress Party session at Avadi, possibly to provide him with an object-lesson in democracy, for which he has had little training. Now that he is gone, one may ask if the attention paid to him was not dangerously unusual. After all, Titolatry might foster a Titolitarian mood.

If we want to show we are genuinely impartial to all systems of foreign governments, we might with advantage invite the President of Ireland. His country always had a special attraction for Congressmen ; he heads a parliamentary democracy, he does not belong

to either of the world blocs ; and, what should appeal to votaries of non-violence, he has no blood-stains on his hands. Why neglect old friends and flatter dubious acquaintances ?

Avadi

In colloquial parlance, socialism is *mabapism* with the Big Stick and communism is socialism in a hurry. Not so in the Congress dialect ; the Party abhors the Big Stick, and the country is in no hurry. At their Avadi session Congressmen once more decided to establish a socialistic pattern of economy, a socialism based on no doctrine, no definition, no precedent, something novel, unique, undefinable. It is to be the up-to-date translation of "Co-operative Commonwealth" inscribed in the Congress Constitution. The pattern is a pragmatic programme evolved as circumstances suggest. In our Welfare State on a socialistic pattern, the principal means of production will be under social ownership or control ; production will be speeded up. The State will initiate and operate large-scale schemes providing services like power, transport, etc. ; it will have an overall control of resources, social purposes and trends as well as of the balance of the national economy. It will check and prevent the evils of anarchic development by the maintenance of strategic controls, by the prevention of trusts and cartels, by maintaining standards of labour and production ; it will plan the national economy in its basic and broad aspects. The national wealth will be equitably distributed. The private sector will have suitable elbow-room within the limits assigned by the State's strategic control.

It makes a socialistic pattern without being socialism, and it looks like an adroit way of appropriating a fashionable phrase without adopting any theory. The Praja Socialists may be left to their nebulous dogmas ; here is the old Congress curry with a little red pepper thrown in. The eating will be the proof thereof.

Doctrine

Something looked strange at Avadi ; none of the capitalists who financed the Congress in the past or even the Avadi session (20 lakhs), and none of the zemindars protested ; none of the intellectuals (and there are many among Congressmen) raised his voice in protest. What is more surprising is that no justification was given for the choice of a socialistic pattern.

One would have expected to hear about the need of protecting the man-in-the-street and, more so, the man-in-the-gutter against exploitation by private capitalists, the urgency of making India a strong power as quickly as possible so as to give her a fair place in international affairs, and the consequent necessity of heavy industrialisation and rapid prosperity, etc. Much could be argued in favour of increasing government initiative and control in modern circumstances of cold, and possibly hot, war. All that was to be discussed may have been said in the meetings of the Working Committee and the Steering Committee ; in the public session, the resolution was simply read, repeated time and again, and voted without opposition. The common man was not made the wiser.

Caution

Happily the 37th Session of the Indian Economic Association gave us in advance timely caution about

the dangers of a socialistic pattern of economy. Several speakers raised very definite posers about weaving a democratic woof on a socialistic warp. What about maintaining a free choice of profession, trade and business guaranteed by our democratic Constitution when the State will initiate, operate or control the schemes it will choose? What of the control of the Centre over States that may be ruled by parties opposed to the Congress? What of the compensation rate in case of forcible acquisition of private property? Such problems are best left to constitutional lawyers to discuss with the political luminaries of the Congress party.

Democracy

What is of keener interest to genuine democrats refers to the general policy and bears on the relations between liberty and equality. Mr. D. R. Gadgil made pertinent remarks on that point for the benefit of his fellow economists and of the general public. It is undeniable that a free system of private capitalism activated by the sole profit-motive leads to maldistribution of income and wealth; but is State Capitalism any improvement? Is there more democratic liberty when economic power and political power are both concentrated in the hands of a small group? Does not this politico-economic monopoly foster naked totalitarianism?

Distributism

Democracy for all and each cannot be safeguarded if citizens are not left with a proper guarantee of liberty; and liberty is best secured by the restoration of private property, as Hilaire Belloc said correctly, even if his particular scheme did not meet with favour.

In other words, as Mr. D. R. Gadgil proposed, the solution lies in the maximum diffusion of economic and political power, in breaking up economic and political power into as small units as possible. Private property is a zone of defence round the human person and an area for self-expression. The small political units, viz. a village, creates a personal link between the humblest citizen and his daily world. Both, economic and political power, develop personality and dignity, both should be made easily accessible to each citizen if the democratic way of life is to be secured and maintained.

Much has been done about agricultural property; little about small industries. Much also was said about cottage industries and production cooperatives, but what was done to encourage them? There are now only 1,652 industrial cooperatives with a capital of Rs. 8.65 crores, most of them engaged in weaving and most of them in existence before the first Five-Year Plan. Ten lakhs had been earmarked to train personnel in all types of industrial cooperatives; they were not utilised.

Whatever be the declared objectives of the Government, there are no signs that our economy will be properly socialised and based on small industrial and political units; de-centralisation and co-operation are basic in a democratic social economy.

A. L.

Social Obligations of the Upper Classes

During the past fourteen years of his Pontificate Pope Pius XII has made many discourses which, either on account of the fact that they were made to small and specific groups of people, or because they were made in foreign languages, have received little or no publicity in the English press. Yet these addresses represent the Pope's thought on many vital matters of our day. Such discourses are certainly those he has made at the beginning of every year since 1940 to the nobility and patriciate of Rome, assembled to give him their greetings for the New Year. It has been said that the Pope today hardly ever speaks in public without a reference to the social question under one form or another: this in itself is ample testimony to the importance social problems have in the mind of Pius XII. But the discourses to the nobility do not contain mere references to the social problem. They are explicit discourses thereon.

Much of what the Pope has said to the Roman nobles in modern Italy applies to the upper classes of society, wherever in the world or in whichever form these upper classes exist today. Hence it might be useful for our readers to attempt a synthesis of what the Pope has said in these thirteen addresses.

Emphasis on Obligations

Everywhere today we hear tell of social justice and the common good which is the end and aim of

social justice. This is a fine start. Where trouble comes in is that too many people think of their *rights* to participate in this common good and far too few pay heed to their *obligations* of producing the common good. Pius XII tries his best to set things aright. It has taken a Pope to make people realise what we all ought to know: that we cannot eat our cake unless we first make it. In other words, we cannot have social justice or a high level of the common good unless we first set ourselves to achieve that common good. This is done by fulfilling our obligations in Society. Hence it is that in these discourses the consideration of the *duties* of the upper classes and of the contribution they have to make to the society in which they live returns again and again, like the chorus of a song.

The Social States of the Upper Classes

The Pope does not deny the past merits of those who find themselves today in the higher ranks of society: many have justified their place there by long traditions of loyal and devoted service to worthy causes. In his first discourse to the Roman nobles in 1940 he refers to them as "this chosen assembly" and he calls them "the faithful guardians of chivalrous traditions". But the Pope wants them, even in their own interest, to face up to the fact of the changed conditions of the times. Nowadays they are not accorded special privileges as a distinct social class and so they are urged, for instance in the discourse of 1952, to adapt themselves bravely to new circumstances and enter fully into the life of their nation.

Against All Narrow Conservatism

Exactly contrary to this spirit of cheerful adaptation to a new social order and opposed to the very interests of the upper classes would be the spirit of a narrow and bigoted conservatism. In several discourses this lack of generosity and vision is roundly condemned. "A nobility and a patriciate which, so to speak, would fossilize themselves in bitter longings for past days would merely seal their own inevitable decline". (1951)

The Pope is not without regard for what the past has taught us and given us. But the past should be no barricaded door against a better future. In his analysis of the concept of tradition Pius XII reaches an excellence rare among the leaders of the modern world and we must quote him at length. He speaks in 1944: "But tradition is quite different from mere attachment to a past that is gone; it is exactly the contrary of a spirit of reaction which is diffident of all healthy progress. The very word "tradition" is a synonym for movement and advance. The words are synonymous but not identical. While indeed progress indicates simply the fact of moving forward, step by step, looking out on the horizon for an uncertain future, tradition also indicates a movement forward, but a continuous movement, a movement which is at the same time both tranquil and lively.... Tradition and progress complete each other with a harmony so great that just as tradition without progress would contradict itself, so also progress without tradition would be a rash enterprise and a leap in the dark. No, there is no question of swimming against the cur-

rent, of going back towards the forms of life and action of past ages, but with a firm hold of all that is best in the past, go forward to meet the future with the vigour of an unchangeable youthfulness."

The Spirit of Service

This new spirit calls for devoted and selfless service. Whole diameters apart from the spirit of service would be the conduct of the abstentionist, of him who shuts himself up in his own egoistic interests and refuses to cooperate in the production of the common good. This spirit of abstentionism may be due, says the Pope, to discouragement or revenge, or, what is worse, to careless indifference for the ruin of others (1947). All abstentionism is rigorously condemned. Absence of abstentionism is, however, only the negative side of the spirit of service.

And this is not enough. The upper classes must participate actively in the life of society. So frequent are the exhortations of the Pope to this positive spirit of social service that quotations are unnecessary. It is often repeated that society, wherever it exists, has need of leaders in every sphere of its activity: economic, technical, artistic, agricultural, scientific. Who better than the upper classes are suited to serve the social unit by serving it in any of these ways? The important thing is to realise that each one has to make his contribution to society. Else he has logically no rightful place in it.

Some Special Duties

In order to show that the Pope does not remain vague or merely theoretical we shall cite from the discourses of 1945 and 1946 some of the special duties

of service recommended to the upper classes. In whatever they do they should maintain a high sense of social rectitude and honesty, and a certain dignity of bearing, without however seeking to underline social distinctions. Their work, whatever it may be, scientific, technical or artistic, must always bear the stamp of perfection. They must be men without partialities and without self-interest. In the administration of their affairs they should be models on the economic and on the social plane. They should never lend their support to enterprises which militate against the common good or which are detrimental to persons of modest means. They should consider it a glory to be on the side of the less-favoured and of the workers.

These conditions fulfilled, the nobility will constitute the real elite of modern society.

The New Nobility of Our Days

Indeed, service is the only recognised title to special honour in our days. Based on work, from which none is exempt, what may be called a new nobility is springing up in the modern world. "Even in democracies of recent date, which have no traditions of past feudalism, a kind of new nobility or aristocracy has been forming itself, and irresistibly so. It is formed by those families which by tradition place all their energies at the disposal of the State, of its Government and administrative machinery, and on whose fidelity the State can always rely." (1947)

No longer, in modern democratic society, is mere nobility of blood a sufficient title to special honour. In 1951 Pius XII exhorts the nobles: "Today more

than ever before are you called upon to be an elite not only of blood and of race, but even more of work and of sacrifice, of creative effort in the service of the entire social body."

Special Motives for Service

These obligations which lie on the upper classes to serve society become more imperative if one studies the history of so many social evils of our day. The Pope speaks of the Christian West: he shows in the discourse of 1943 how the modern wave of unbelief and irreligion, with all their attendant social evils, had its rise in the conduct of the higher classes of society. Hence it is but right that if the degradation of society began in high places, its restoration today should begin there. A man's obligations of repairing are greater when he himself has ruined what he has to repair.

What the Pope says of the West we may also apply in large measure to ourselves. Many social evils of our society may also be laid at the door of the upper classes. In any case, the upper classes, on account of the high positions they hold in society, have special obligations. They must spend what they have neither recklessly nor selfishly: indeed their wealth must be made "to profit largely those who have been less favoured by Providence" (1941). In the speech of 1943 the nobles are exhorted to guide society not like the lighthouse which never moves, but like an observer from a mountain-top who sees where his help is most needed and then descends to aid in deed.

Work is not Degrading

A prejudice might still exist in the minds of the upper classes, namely, that they would fall short of their dignity were they to take their place side by side with others in the general life of the nation. Pope Pius in 1944 replies that this prejudice would be no less an affront to the nobles themselves than it would be a cause of ruin to society and he exhorts them all to work for society and to aid the progress of science, agriculture, industry, public administration, and government. In 1945 he praises especially the younger generation of the upper classes which "is fully convinced that work is not only a social duty but also a personal guarantee of life."

Conclusion

What we have said is not all that there is in these splendid Italian discourses. Yet it gives us an idea of what the Pope thinks and of what he expects from the upper classes in the shaping of modern society on better and juster lines. The predominant idea is that of service. Social justice is impossible to achieve without service. To grow eloquent about social justice without wanting to serve is to waste time. No one is exempted from the natural law of service. No, not even the upper classes.

P. Caspersz

A Farmer's Union

The latest report (October 1954) of the Belgian Farmer's Union allows us to measure the advance made in the last fifty years by a peasants' association under the regime of private enterprise. It brings up to date the articles published in *Social Action* (Nov. & Dec. 1954). At the end of 1953 it numbered 1,319 local guilds with 92,591 members, to which must be added 1,074 Circles for Peasant Women (1,05,102 members), 615 masculine youth sections (24,277 members) and 772 feminine youth sections (29,216 members). Each guild has departments dealing with particular matters: rural credit; cattle-breeding, pig-breeding, dairies, insurance, etc, or is articulated to regional federations (marketing of fruits, beets, hops, chicory, etc.).

As the local associations cover all the interests of farmers, central services have been set up to direct the policies to be followed. The social services have a general secretariat, an inspection service, a women's league, a fund for family allowances, a mutual help society, and youth sections. The economic services are secured thanks to a purchase and sales department, an insurance society, a credit union, a technical department. The centre numbers 1,300 employees and 600 workmen.

The general secretariat sees to the corporative life of the Union and fosters the religious, moral, social, technical and professional education of the members as well as the defence of their interests. It edits three weeklies, three monthlies and various books and pamphlets. It organises lecture tours (12, 511 lectures

in 1953), cinema shows (279 during the 1953 winter season), services 315 post-schools courses, and the 395 agricultural experimental stations. It has voluminous archives and a 20,000 volume library. Over and above its administrative staff, it employs 21 agricultural engineers, 8 horticultural experts, 4 law advisers, 1 economist; 1 veterinary doctor and 8 chartered accountants.

The Inspection Service keeps the local sections on the move with its forty inspectors. The Peasant Women's League publishes three monthlies and in 1953 organised 5,300 lectures. The youth sections sees to pilgrimages, retreats and short courses. The Fund for Family Allowances caters for 1,29,742 members and in 1953 allotted 128 million francs (about Rs. one crore) to families and 6 million francs as birth-premium. The Social Mutual Aid sees to the interests of farmers employing labour and numbers 5,734 employers.

Religious and moral activities are well organised with parish guilds, pilgrimages, and periodicals.

The economic work of the Belgian Farmer's League is entrusted to autonomous bodies linked up with the social services. The Insurance Society covers fire, accident, life; pension, weather, risks, etc. In 1953 it had registered 3,28,000 contracts, distributed 356 million francs as premium, and had 890 millions in reserve. Cattle-insurance is done on a regional basis. The Wholesale Purchase and Sales Bureau handled in 1953 170 thousand (metric) tons of fertilisers, 264 thousand tons of cattle-feed; 78 thousand tons of fuel, 14 thousand tons of potato seedlings, and 2,300 tons of seeds. It has its own mill, a food processing plant; 25 regional depots and 43 local shops.

Marketing operations, with a limited list of items, covered 8 thousand tons of potatoes, nearly forty million eggs, 4 thousand tons of butter, and sold vegetables up to the tune of eleven million francs. Its turnover reached close to half a billion francs.

Technical services: the Housing department handled over two thousand building projects; the hydraulic section planned the drainage of four thousand acres, and reclaimed some 30 thousand acres; there are also a department for agricultural machinery, electricity, and dairy business. The Central Credit Society works through local branches; in the last year it counted over three thousand fresh loans, and the outstanding loans reached the sum of one billion and a half Belgian francs. (over Rs. 15 crores). The funds of the Central Credit Society are supplied in the most part by the savings of the farmers themselves. The Centre and its 788 local branches had deposits totalling 3,616 million francs.

The Belgian Boerenbond continues its good work along realistic lines but has little use for flag waving.

A. Matthijs

The Zero Athinking

Since Vinoba started the Bhoodan movement in 1951, he has toured much of the countryside of Northern India and gathered an eager band of disciples and helpers. Up to December 15, 1954 he received land donations amounting to 35,42,787 acres of which 1,04,900 acres have been distributed among landless people. Bihar stands first with 21,27,268 acres; then come Uttar Pradesh with 5,16,819 acres, Rajasthan with 3,25,374, and Bombay with 53, 830 (of which 1,284 only were distributed up to now).

In the long, tedious, arduous pilgrimage of Vinoba through the countryside, two events call for special mention. One was the meeting with the National Planning Commission (Delhi, 1951) at which Vinoba vainly sought a pledge to stop all food imports and to procure full employment. The other was the Bodh Gaya Sarvodaya Conference (April 1954) which marked a turn in the Bhoodan Movement. The President of the Republic expressed his hopes, Premier Nehru spoke of his interest; Jayprakash Narayan launched the Jiwandan ideal, set the seal on his own life and the crowning to the Bhoodan Movement.⁽¹⁾

When analyzing the ideology of Vinoba Bhave, one should not expect a well-knit philosophical or economic system with axiomatic basis and logical consequences and applications. He is imbued with Shankaracharya's pantheism, but is ready to talk the language of popular mythology; he stands by the doctrine of Maya but

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Social Action, Sept. 1954.

makes much of the solid and sordid realities of life; he preaches detachment from wealth and envisions a society without greed or pride in any heart, but he insists on each landless man being given some private property. Nor should everyone of his utterances in the course of ex-tempore addresses be tested for philosophical or ethical accuracy. What must be observed above all else is the deep spiritual outlook he entertains, his sincere humility as proved by the obscure and painful work he went through before circumstances brought him into the limelight, his steadfast devotion to the meanest tasks and to the realistic service of his fellow-men.

His ideal, Vinoba called the Samya Yogi society that would be based on three postulates: efficiency by a discipline of good thought without any dominant power in society; dedication of all resources of the citizen to society which must provide the individual with opportunity for growth and development; equal moral, social and economic value of all callings honestly followed according to each one's strength.

"Samya Yoga holds that the same spirit dwells in every man. It, therefore, makes no distinction between man and man. It even goes further and recognizes no ultimate difference in spirit between man and other animals." Without entering into discussion about such broad statements, one may pass to Vinoba's views on the economy. After having denounced the sense of ownership as the origin of clashes between men, he puts forth his ideas on private property. "Acceptance of the trusteeship ideal will transform our entire

thinking, our regard to wealth and the relation between the individual and society. All that we have is for the service of society, and not for serving our narrow selfish ends.... Real self-interest lies in sacrificing it at the feet of society. This moral uplift of the people which Samya Yoga brings about, is its distinctive feature." "All work which is an act of service to society must carry equal value. The prevailing practice is just the reverse of it. Intellectual work is regarded as superior to physical labour and paid more than the latter. This distinction between intellectual and physical labour is entirely baseless! Every one must get full opportunity for development.... God had made every one of us self-sufficient; that is the beauty of His plan. Every one has intelligence and capacity for work. We want the same kind of decentralization in the economic sphere. Unless there is economic equality, domination and slavery and consequent distinction of high and low are bound to continue."

In the political sphere, "We want an order of society which will be free not only from exploitation but also from governmental authority. The power of Government will be decentralized and distributed among the villages. Every village will be a state in itself; the centre will have only nominal authority over them. In this way, gradually, we will reach a state when authority in every form will have become unnecessary, and will therefore fade away, giving rise to a perfectly free society."

There will also be social equality; sweepers, scavengers and cobblers render to society a service

which is not less valuable than that of the Brahmin. "The Bhoodan programme is only the thin end of the wedge of all that we want to do. We want to make people free from all attachment to wealth and material things.... Our ultimate aim is to make land entirely free. There should be not only no individual ownership but also no national ownership over land. We do not belong to this or that nation but to the world. Air, water, light and land are direct gifts of God and must belong to the entire humanity."

It would be out of place to discuss the theological and ethical premisses of Vinoba's Utopia or the validity of his hopes. We will be satisfied with regretting that he did not tackle the problem of the human person in society, which is a basic preliminary to any social system. Nor is it necessary to stress the differences between the Samya Yogi society, and the communist Utopia, or contrast his detachment from wealth with the gross materialism of Marxists, or his shunning of violence as a method of approach to Utopia with the Communist fancy for violence vaporising itself into the government-less society.

What is more instructive is a survey of the main methods Vinoba proposes, or rather of the different spiritual dispositions he advocates to reach his ideal society. In each case he relies on heart-conversion to change individuals and groups; for him there is no bad boy, and even no bad adult. Everybody is liable to improvement and even perfection. That is why everybody is called upon to make his gift, or rather his five-fold gift so as to make a full contribution to social well-being: gift of love (prem dan), gift of

wisdom (Buddhi dan), gift of labour (Shram dan), gift of wealth (Sampatti dan) and gift of land (Bhoomi dan or Bhoodan). All five gifts must coalesce into a great Yagna (sacrifice or offering).

Prem dan is purely moral and requires one 'to love thy neighbour as thyself'. Through Buddhi dan those who are favoured intellectually help others with information, advice and wisdom, like lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc., who render free service. Shram dan which should go with a sound physique can be offered by the humble and the poor. Sampatti dan concerns those who have economic power; even the wage-earner or the street-hawker is invited to devote a portion of his income, be it ever so little, to the general welfare. But the Bhoodan was the first kind of gift Vinoba advocated and it remains till now the one on which he concentrates his efforts.⁽¹⁾ Land is a basic problem. "Besides in the case of land, all could easily see that it was the direct gift of God. Again it is the basic factor in the production of wealth."

Everyone is invited to give some portion of his land; usually one-sixth is recommended. The land which is surrendered is distributed to the most deserving cases in the village by the village panchayats and under the supervision of officials; preference being given to landless agricultural labourers, then to those who have the least; in doubtful cases, lots are drawn. Cultivation of the distributed land must be begun within three years and continued for at least ten years:

(1) *Bhoodan Yagna*. By Vinoba Bhave.

failing which, the land is taken back and given to a less unreliable applicant.⁽²⁾ The Hyderabad, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh governments have enacted laws to facilitate the working of the Bhoodan Yagna Boards. Vinoba fully admits that plough, bullocks and seeds should be supplied along with a piece of land but possibly this complementary gift is not so readily available.

The second revolutionary idea of Vinoba is the Sampatti dan (wealth-gift). All who earn their livelihood are requested to surrender part of their income (usually one-sixth) for the common good, for five years at first, then for life. The money remains with the donor but should be spent in such a manner as Vinoba would indicate; he must regularly submit the relevant accounts to Vinoba or his nominees. Did not Tulsidas say that "all wealth belongs to God, including the energy and initiative in acquiring wealth?" Sampatti dan aims at fostering detachment throughout life and at developing the social function of property. "Every house will be turned into a bank on which society can draw at will. What is offered is to be used locally and so it will make a very easily workable plan".

Details are lacking to measure the success of Sampatti dan, but even if only a few stand by their pledge here and there, it can only make for a better social atmosphere. The plan reveals Vinoba's inner generosity

(2) Cf. *Vinoba*, by Suresh Ramabhai. Bhoodan beneficiaries are not allowed to sell, lease or sublet the land they received.

and wealth of imagination. One must always remember that the whole revolution is to be based on persuasion, heart-conversion, non-violence. Vinoba aims at creating a new society based on mutual goodwill, equality and decentralised administration.

His gram-raj (village-society) implies three main factors :-

- (1) "There must be decentralisation of power, like the one set up by God". (Resources of the created world are scattered all through the universe).
- (2) "Another essential requisite of a gram-raj is that all land, all property and all wealth should belong to society... Our body is made from and out of society and for the service of society. We are distinct from our body... When we are not masters of ever our own body, how dare we claim a right on land or property?" (Here one can notice that Vinoba's views on the human person and its relation to society are deficient).
- (3) "Every calling is to be equally paid. Responsibility implied in one work differs from that in another. But equal wages would not have to be paid unless and until it is established that one with a greater responsibility feels more hungry than another. It is to pay according to responsibility." "The basis of the payment to the President must be the same as that of the kisan and the scavenger."

Bolsheviks had also spoken of paying according to needs; in fact they always paid according to the government-estimated value of labour or service. But of course Vinoba unconsciously implies changing villages into

monastery-like institutions. A study of the ancient Paraguay Reductions might illustrate the weak points of such a plan. Also deserving sympathetic study are some recent attempts on a modern background, like the Work-Communities in continental Europe, with their differential wages measured not only on professional labour but also on other social values.

All attempts based on peaceful reform which aim at a fairer distribution of the national income invite sympathy. Some of the theological and ethical ideas with which Vinoba Bhave accompanies his campaign are largely responsible for the hesitation of Christians in joining the movement. It must be remembered that he aims first of all at the heart-conversion of the Hindu landlords, and it must be admitted that the practical results he has achieved so far deserve appreciation from all.

Without nursing any utopic dream of a sinless mankind, Christians have ample basis in their doctrine and practice to seek through heart-conversion a fairer distribution of the national income and of the national wealth.

A. Lallemand

A Word of Thanks

A WORD OF THANKS to our friends in India and abroad who have helped us with our work by sending us a number of valuable books, documents, statistics and reports on social doctrine and social action.

We herewith gratefully acknowledge the contributions that lately have been reaching us from organisations and individuals of Australia, Belgium, England, Holland, Ireland, Japan, the Philippines, Switzerland and the United States.

We wish to make a special mention of the International Catholic Union of Social Service and the International Federation of Christian Labour Movements, both with HQ. at Brussels, for having elicited the cooperation of their affiliated members, and of the Editor of 'America' for having, on two occasions, devoted two columns to our needs and for having personally circularised presses and publishing houses.

It is an immense stimulus for us to see the great work our Brothers and Sisters are doing in the social field all over the world and we derive great encouragement from the interest they show in our endeavours.

We assure them of our grateful intention to make good use of all their gifts for the benefit of our readers, visitors to the Social Exhibition and students at the Institute.

Catholic Social Activity

Health Insurance Scheme

With the cost of living still high and wages more or less at a low level, the poor man finds it increasingly difficult these days to obtain the necessary medical attention for himself and his dependents. Costly drugs, prohibitive fees for private medical care and limited facilities in public hospitals make it well nigh impossible for him to get sufficient protective and curative medical help. To enable such poor people to obtain prompt and efficient medical attention the members of the St. Luke's Medical Guild of Delhi, have come forward with a very laudable plan: a comprehensive health insurance scheme within reach of every man with a low income. For a paltry payment a member will receive the attention he needs for himself and his family.

The salient features of the scheme are :-

1. Free out-patient care.
2. Free medicine and dressings. Certain costly drugs, if required on medical advice, will be supplied at cost price.
3. Free vaccination and inoculation against small-pox and typhoid.
4. Home visits, when necessary, at a cost of Rs. 2/- per visit.
5. Accurate medical records of all insured persons will be kept.
6. A full time doctor will be employed to visit centres established in parishes and at residential concentrations of incurable persons.

And the scheme is easy to pay. There will be a small entrance fee of Re. 1/- to Rs. 2/- per person, on a sliding scale proportionate to the income of the employee who earns Rs. 400/- or less per month.

Monthly contribution on a sliding scale will be as follows :-

Monthly income up to Rs. 100/- p. m. Re. 1/- per earning member of the family per month.

Monthly income between Rs. 101/- and 200/-, Rs. 1/8 p. m.

Monthly income between Rs. 201/- and 400/-, Rs. 2/- p. m.

Though the scheme is launched by Catholic doctors non-Catholic employees are welcome to join it. Employers of domestic servants can pay the subscription on behalf of their servants.

To make the scheme a success the organisers want at least a thousand members. In a large city with the cooperation of employers and employees it should not be difficult to start a scheme like this and make it a great success. A highly commendable and practical work of social uplift like this undertaken by voluntary bodies is a crying need in our country where disease is rampant and the needed medical attention is sadly lacking.

The Madras School of Labour Relations

We have just received the report of the Madras School of Labour relations which celebrated its first birthday recently.

This school is a new venture in the progressive archdiocese of Madras. Rev. Fr. C. C. Clump of our Institute, during a visit to Madras, seeing the great

need of well trained and well instructed labour leaders to fight for the rights of the workman and at the same time counteract the evil influence of Communist mischief makers, placed before His Grace Dr. L. Mathias, Archbishop of Madras-Mylapore, a scheme for a Labour Relations School for the city. The Archbishop acted with his characteristic energy and swiftness. To Fr. Thomas Joseph, a priest of his archdiocese who had just returned to India after a careful course of studies in Labour Relations in Oxford, the task of starting the school was committed. This was in November, 1953. Towards the end of the month an announcement was made through the local papers about the proposed school. By Christmas 85 applicants out of a total of 290 had been interviewed and selected, a staff of honorary lectures had been got together and every preparation to begin the school had been completed. On January 6th, 1954 the then Minister of Labour, Mr. Khrishna Rao, inaugurated the Madras School of Labour Relations at the Catholic Centre.

The first term lasted from January 6th to April 13th. Lectures were given twice a week, and once a week a discussion forum was conducted. The average attendance was very good (50 to 75%) considering that all the students were workers. As, however, attendance at the discussion forum was not very good it had to be dropped.

The second term began on 6th July and ended on 14th October. The number of students on the rolls for this second term was 100. In November an examination, both written and oral, was held and of the 36 students who took it 18 were declared successful, three

of them having been placed in the first class. The school takes students without distinction of caste or creed.

In future the school is to run for two years, as the experience of the first year has abundantly made clear the impossibility of doing justice to a well integrated course of studies during two short terms. An application has been made for Government recognition and it is hoped that it will be granted in the near future. The encouragement that the school has got both from officials and the public has been most consoling. Half a dozen eminent lecturers have their services freely and enthusiastically to make this new born baby a great success.

From the beginning efforts were made to collect books for a library. Already enough books have been gathered to make the library the best of its kind in the City.

Here is a list of subjects taught in the school: Political Economy, Industrial Organisations, Political Theory, Political Institutions, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Procedure, Economic History, History of Labour Movement and I. L. O., Trade Unionism, Collective Bargaining, Grievance Procedure, Everyday Law for the Lay Man, Labour Law, Joint Consultation & Industrial Democracy, Industrial Ethics, Industrial Psychology, and Welfare in Industry.

A formidable list indeed but one well calculated to turn out a well instructed and thoroughly prepared labour leader.

Social Service League.

St. Philomena's College, Mysore.

To discuss social problems, to popularise the need for social service and to publicise the part played by students, in social uplift the members of the Social Service Samaj of St. Philomena's College have undertaken the publication of a quarterly review named SOCIAL SERVICE, the first number of which has just reached us. It is indeed a very commendable venture even in this age of reviews, magazines and journals of every description. No one who knows something about present day psychology can afford to underrate the value of publicity. Publicity is at once an encouragement and an incentive.

The spirit of Social Service seems to have caught the imagination of the students of this College judging from their annual report. They have been busy with half a dozen well chosen fields of activity in all of which much useful work has been done. One form of activity in which the students engaged themselves is worth noting. To help young men to knock out of their heads a few wrong ideas on manual labour the Samaj offered its services to the Government to help build a road. The offer was gladly and promptly accepted. Some 150 boys worked for days on this task doing all the ordinary coolie work. It was tough work but all enjoyed it and the authorities were highly impressed.

Social Service League.

Sacred Heart College, Thevara, T - C.

The report of the activities of the students of this well known College makes very interesting and instruc-

tive reading. It is really remarkable how much young people can do and are willing to do if only their co-operation is enlisted for the cause of the poor.

The S. S. L. is divided into nine groups, each with its well appointed task, viz.: Finance, Poor Relief, Housing, Medical Aid, Sanitation, Education, Child Welfare, Rural Lectures, Cloth Distribution and Labour Corps.

It is gratifying to note some of the activities of these various groups. The Housing Group, by contributing labour and material, helped to thatch a hundred houses while the labour corps erected a fine building to serve as a recreation centre and reading room by doing all the unskilled work. The building cost the members over Rs. 1000/-. The Medical group visits and tends the sick, takes poor patients to hospital, buys medicines and food when needed and even buries the poor dead. The Finance group has been making a thorough economic survey of villages. A number of students are prosecuting their studies in the college thanks to the funds made available to them by the S. S. L.

But some one may ask from where all the money comes? From the students themselves. Over Rs. 2500/- were collected by voluntary contribution and another Rs. 1000/- through variety entertainments staged by the students.

These Leaguers have every reason to be proud of themselves. Much has been done but much remains to be done still. We wish them every success. May their enthusiasm spread to other centres.

F. C. Rodrigues

Editorial Note :

As announced in Social Action, (Jan. 1955) we wish to make this survey of Catholic Social Activity in India a permanent feature in our Review. We earnestly request Social Service Leagues in our Colleges, Schools and parishes to send us regular reports so that we can give them wide publicity.

Social Documents

Functions of Bankers

Addressing the delegates attending the International Congress on Credit Questions, the Pope exhorted bankers to think of money in terms of social welfare and not simply excessive increase in dividends.

"How much capital," he said, "is lost through waste and luxury, through selfish and dull enjoyment, or accumulates and lies dormant without being turned to profit! There will always be egoists and self-seekers; there will always be misers and those who are short-sightedly timid. Their number could be considerably reduced if one could interest those who have money in using their funds wisely and profitably, be they great or small. It is largely due to this lack of interest that money lies dormant. You can remedy this to a great extent by making ordinary depositors collaborators either as bond or share-holders in undertakings whose launching and thriving would be of great benefit to the community, such as industrial activities, agricultural production, public works, or the construction of

houses for workers, educational or cultural institutions, welfare or social service.

Boards of directors have been greatly criticised. Such criticism is justifiable insofar as the members of these boards envisage nothing but excessive increase of dividends. If, on the contrary they have at heart the wise and healthy handling of capital, then, by doing this alone, they are performing a social activity of the first order. They are assuming an intense, moral and psychological task that is greatly different from the simple impersonal transactions at the desk or the counter. The work of the banker, the manager of a house of credit, who studies the client, explains to him, and makes him aware of, what may interest him in order to direct his cooperation, enabling him to follow intelligently the fortunes of the undertaking, constitutes a social and moral activity of the greatest value, an activity that brings the most fruitful results.

In spite of everything the investor wants an assurance that he will not lose the money he has subscribed. Without risking the honest return due on his investment, he also desires to make it a source of benefit for others and for society. This supposes, of course, that the undertaking merits his participation and that it is, essentially, of a nature to interest him, because of its being in harmony with his personal disposition and taste. Here, then, is another aspect of your role.

A young inventor, a man with initiative, a benefactor of humanity comes to you for a loan. You must study him in order not to put the trusting lender into the hands of a utopian or crook, in order to avoid the

risk of sending away a deserving borrower capable of giving immense services but merely lacking the necessary funds for carrying them out.

How many geniuses, how many intelligent, generous and active men die in misery, discouraged, survived only by their ideas — ideas which men more clever than they will exploit for their own profit? And then there are all those people put into temporary difficulties through a bad year, a poor harvest, losses caused by war or revolution, sickness, or some other unforeseen or unforeseeable circumstances in which they are not at fault. Through a loan such men can rise again, set about working and, in time, pay off their debt. What material help, what moral comfort you could give to all these!

After what We have said, it seems superfluous to speak of the immediate result of the meeting of capital and ideas. In proportion of the importance of the capital and the practical value of the idea, the labour crisis will be more or less slowed up. The conscientious and hard-working labourer will find employment more easily; the growth of production will progressively, though perhaps slowly, lead towards and economic balance; the many inconveniences and disorders, deplorably resulting from strikes, will be lessened for the greater good of a healthy domestic, social and moral life. To a certain degree, however modest, the saving of money will become possible for a greater number of people, bringing with it many various advantages."

Population and Hunger

The Catholic International Union of Social Studies of Malines has issued the following important state-

ment on the population question, only a brief summary of which can be given here.

1. Increasing resources and developing social responsibility

Two-thirds of the people of the world live in underdeveloped countries. In most of these countries the production and import of food falls far short of what would be required by a reasonable standard of nutrition. These are lands of hunger and rapidly growing populations. Even when the surplus production of certain highly developed countries is taken into account world food production falls short of the needs of world population. But this gap can be filled if improved farming techniques could be utilised, and one tenth of the reserve of cultivable land were brought into use.

To achieve this target, a United Nations Report suggests that the advanced countries should invest some £ 3,500 million a year in the underdeveloped countries, which in their turn must invest a similar amount out of their meagre National Income. Technicians and educators will also be needed in these underdeveloped lands. Substantial migration will also be implied considering that the area of new land to be occupied and cultivated will add half or two-thirds again to that cultivated today. Efforts on such a vast scale cannot be put forth over-night and the development must be allowed to take its own time, because the change-over will imply a cultural, social and political revolution.

Experience seems to prove that there is a natural decline in the birth-rate in the more technically advanced and economically and culturally stable coun-

tries. But in countries starting their development, mortality suddenly begins to fall rapidly, while the birth-rate remains at the high level typical of countries with high mortality. This causes a population increase and a shortage of food supplies. Countries in this position should be given special economic aid from their richer neighbours. On the other hand a more intense effort must be made in these countries to develop the individuals' sense of social responsibility and to raise the general cultural level of the people.

In any case, any long-term solution for solving the problem, must be based on the two following principles :

- (a) that any action taken should be designed to strengthen and broaden human personality, and enable people to take an increasingly conscious part in the divine work of creation.
- (b) that action of this kind is of significance to all states, nations, races and classes, and so calls for world co-operation.

In particular, the advanced countries must be ready to re-think their international policies and not grudge capital and men even at the cost of their own security and standard of life. At the same time this contribution must be personal since it is a new outlook that has to be transmitted with economic aid. As far as possible this aid should reach the people of these countries through private agencies rather than government ones, both to avoid centralisation and making people too dependent on government.

In their turn the economically underdeveloped countries must freely co-operate with their benefactors

by guaranteeing reasonable working conditions for the nationals of these countries and adequate security for foreign investments. They must themselves avoid lavish expenditure on luxuries, and do all they can to promote their own cultural, social, economic, and political development.

The studies and experiments on ways of accelerating social change recently set on foot by UNESCO can make a great contribution to the problem of the balance between population and resources. In fact the solution of the problem of the under-developed countries is a question more of social science and ethics than of technology.

2. *The Family and its control*

Since as shown above there are cases where a reduction in the birth-rate is justified, it is important to define the right attitude to the size of the family. It is particularly important to remember here the basic principle laid down above, viz. that the first rule of any population, economic or social policy must be to promote the expansion of human personality and along with it a flourishing family life. Hence

- (1) it is essentially a matter for the parents to decide how many children a family is to have.
- (2) In taking this responsibility, parents must have regard not only for each other's physical and psychological well-being, but also the welfare of their children, the welfare of their family and those of others and the welfare of the entire community of men.
- (3) The State as the guardian of the common good must watch the population movement in the coun-

try and equip itself for this purpose with the necessary means of study and analysis. It must keep its citizens warned of unbalanced developments of population.

- (4) Besides this, the State has the right to adopt policies which will help the solution of unbalanced population movements. But in watching over the birth-rate it must not go so far as to indicate what individual families are to do. Its intervention must be limited to collective and indirect measures, for society does not control the family, at least in what touches directly the essential purposes of marriage, the having and upbringing of children. In these matters the family is only responsible to itself and to God, and must develop in itself a sense of these basic responsibilities.
- (5) Hence parents may consciously decide to have a regulation of birth which is consistent with the law of God because it does not defraud the intentions of nature and is founded on right intentions and moral motives.
- (6) 'birth regulation' on these lines must not in any case be used to reduce the typical family to a size such that there are no longer enough children in it to ensure sound human and spiritual relations in the home and the continuance of the race.
- (7) even when regulation is rightly used to space out births, its basic rule must always remain the desire to create which is characteristic of true love.
- (8) Therefore it is clear that methods of regulating births which prevent conception, because they

prevent the sex act from achieving its proper purpose, and because they can be used without self-control, *are to be absolutely condemned.*

Methods which do not in themselves prevent the sex act from achieving its proper purpose, but can be used with a minimum of self-control, such notably as the safe period technique *are permissible, provided there are substantial reasons to justify them.*

Methods such as ordinary celibacy, or abstention within marriage *are likewise permissible.*

Celibacy as a vocation *deserves encouragement, as a superior state of life.* This does not merely demonstrate self-control. It may also reflect self-dedication of a higher order even than the dedication to one another of husband and wife.

In general, the problem in the under-developed countries is not to choose between a policy of reducing births and one of increasing material and human resources. It is one of educational policy; to teach each member of the community to see more and more clearly his responsibilities to the rest. For even the (permissible) regulation of births, understood in the sense just outlined, is legitimate only if it derives from a genuine sense of personal, family, and social responsibility. And the achievement of this sense depends on raising the ethical and social standards of the people.

F. C. R. & A. F.

Social Survey

Presidential Speech

The Indian National Trade Union Congress held its seventh annual Convention at Nagpur at the beginning of January. Mr. S. R. Vasavada in his well balanced Presidential speech made some far reaching suggestions for the amelioration of the working classes and especially to reduce the number of the unemployed in India. We shall give some of the more important points of his speech below.

Though the first Five Year Plan has done much for the benefit of our country the problem of unemployment remains almost untouched. As the majority of our people depend on agricultural pursuits and live in villages, suffering from unemployment and under employment, it is necessary to provide for them occupations in the rural areas to remove such unemployment. They should be trained in various handicrafts which are within their reach, Government should be give them all facilities they need, markets should be found for their products.

As for the capital that is necessary to industrialise the country Mr. Vasavada strongly urges that every effort should be made to make the common man join in the venture by his small investment which, if realised, will amount to crores of rupees. This will enable the government to free itself from the clutches of the rich who loan the money and then take control of the means of production.

Turning to agriculture the President pointed out how important the peasant is for the welfare of the

country. Thanks to the first Five Year Plan India has become self-supporting in the matter of food stuffs and incidentally has benefited the farmer. But unless we are vigilant and give serious thought to the problem of prices of food stuffs the country's economy may be violently disturbed. It is obvious that if the prices fall to a very low level the purchasing power of the farmer will be adversely affected with the result that all industries will suffer. It may also be that if a farmer feels that he does not get proper return for his labour by cultivating a particular crop he would be discouraged and switch on to some other crop which will benefit him but not the nation.

"Government should declare their policy regarding agricultural prices in a clear manner. The farmer must be assured of what minimum price he is entitled to receive for his products, and this assurance should be given before he sells his products".

Speaking on the Second Five Year Plan the President stressed very strongly the idea that employers in big industries are Trustees of the Industry. They should voluntarily limit their incomes to a reasonable amount and forgo the surplus. "If the wealth concentrated in the possession of a few Managing Agents were to circulate among the poor people of the country, it would increase the purchasing power of lakhs of people, the starving would be fed, and the ill-clad would be properly clothed".

The Company Law needs an immediate amendment "in such manner that only qualified persons can manage the concern, the remuneration for management is in conformity with the average national income and

facilities are given to the workers employed in the industry to bear the responsibility of management".

Mr. Vasavada wants the Government to fix maximum and minimum incomes and hopes that this would be done promptly after the report of the Taxation Inquiry Commission is published.

The appointment of a Wage Commission to go into the whole question of workers' wages in the country is of prime importance. In many industries workers are paid so low that to keep the family alive men and women and children have to work. The dearness allowances, where paid, are more often than not inadequate to cope with the high prices of essential commodities. Even the payment of bonus is, under the pretext of losses in industry, suppressed. The economic condition of such workers is today even worse than it was before the war. Workers' efforts to better their position are considerably hampered by decisions of law courts which complicate the whole matter immensely. For this purpose a Wage Commission must be appointed to go into this question.

Treating Rationalisation the President reminded the Government to bear clearly in mind that the prime object of any industry should be not to make larger profits but to profit the country. Unemployment is an acute problem facing the land. By rationalisation will this be solved or made worse? The INTUC is not opposed to rationalisation but to the adoption of it without taking into considerations all aspects of the labour situation.

The ideal of the INTUC in the matter of labour relations is to deal with all problems from a human

angle and to settle, as far as possible, all problems by peaceful means following the guidance given us by our revered leader, Gandhiji. In Industry there are the management, the technicians and the labourers. If all these are imbued with the one idea that all three are working for their mutual benefit then settlement of disputes is an easy matter. There will be the spirit of give and take. Discussion and negotiation has proved to be the best method. There should also be a willingness to see the other party's difficulties and make sacrifices to meet them.

"Such sacrifices on either side strengthen the bond of friendship, since both of them have made efforts by their sacrifices to preserve the Industry in the interest of the people. Both of them really become true servants of the Nation. This is the philosophy supporting the method of negotiations".

Referring disputes to the various Tribunals only makes matters worse for one easily gets lost in the technicalities, delays and all forms of difficulties. Government should remedy this sad state of affairs by reorganising the machinery set up for settling disputes removing from it all which complicates the issue instead of helping us to obtain a quick and straightforward decision.

The President concluded his address by commending the proposed amendment to the Constitution to remove certain restrictions placed on the Government in enforcing social legislation for the benefit of workers in industrial concerns. He also called upon the authorities concerned to take steps immediately to allow Provident Fund on wages inclusive of dearness

allowances, which is not done at present. If many factories working conditions are far below standard and must be looked into and measures taken to enforce more effectively the Factories Act.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to health of industrial workers. "The country's human wealth is being destroyed due to neglect to provide sanitary houses for workers, ensure better conditions of work and supply them nutritive food. It is better to prevent illness than spend money on treatment after people have fallen ill."

INTUC Resolutions

The INTUC Convention adopted the following resolutions ;

1. There should be an equitable distribution of wealth and maximum and minimum incomes both in private and public sector of industry must be fixed.

2. The Bhoodan movement is highly praiseworthy and every encouragement should be given to it. Suitable legislation must be passed to see that the land donated is justly distributed.

3. Small industries as they are essential for the welfare of the rural population and solving of the unemployment problem should be encouraged and protected.

4. The administration of industries should be rationalised in such wise that workers have an effective say in the management of the concerns. This will serve as an incentive to the employees and production will consequently increase.

5. The prices of agricultural products should be equitably fixed to protect the farmer and safeguard the national interests.
6. The present machinery for settling industrial disputes needs a certain amount of overhauling to make it more prompt and effective.
7. Basic industries should be nationalised or at least effectively controlled by the Government.
8. The Government should regulate properly its import and export policy to protect and promote industry and solve the unemployment problem. And finally
9. Every effort should be made to further the cause of basic education and thoroughly overhaul the present system of education.

The International Labour Organisation

Mr. V. K. R. Menon, Director of ILO's India Branch, speaking at the Seminar on "Teaching about the United Nations" held under the auspices of the Madras University, explained the aims and objects of ILO. After explaining how the Organisation functions he referred to ILO's assistance to India in recent years.

An ILO mission of two senior officials assisted the Government of India in framing their proposals relating to what has now evolved as the Employees' State Insurance Scheme. After the Scheme started functioning Government felt that a team of experts could usefully examine its working with a view to suggest remedies or improvements where needed. Three ILO experts fulfilled this mission.

Increased productivity is a burning problem of the day confronting all countries in varying degrees. A team of ILO experts worked in India during 1954 and the result of their studies and experimentation in the field of productivity produced useful results. In consequence the Government of India has decided to set up a National Productivity Centre in which for a period, the ILO will depute experts to assist. Three of the experts have already arrived and it is expected that in the course of the next six months or so, two more will join them.

Another field in which there is considerable scope is *Training Within Industry* popularly known as T. W. I. An ILO expert working hitherto in a limited area has satisfied employers and trade unions of the utility of T. W. I. which, in consequence, is becoming increasingly popular. To meet demands from various quarters, a second ILO expert on TWI has also arrived. Arrangements are now made for training up Indian nationals to continue the work when these experts finally leave the country. An expert on vocational training is expected to arrive shortly. The Government of India has asked for the services of two ILO experts to assist in the reorganisation of the National Employment Service particularly with a view to increase the scope and functions of this service to make it comparable to similar services in other countries. The request has been acceded to and the experts are likely to arrive in the next few months. On the other side, many Indians have received training abroad under the ILO's schemes of fellowships and internships.

This is indeed a formidable list of assistance given by this Organisation for the benefit of the country.

Mr. Menon also disclosed that Indian experts had played their part in rendering technical assistance to other countries in Asia. He mentioned that it is the Asian Field Office of the ILO located at Bangalore which looks after the technical assistance work in India and other South East Asian countries.

The National Employment Services

Good work has been done by this organisation to solve the unemployment problem. During the year ending in October 12,125 jobs had been found for Adivasis, 42,530 for Scheduled Tribes. This works up to 29 per cent of the demands for employment on the part of these people. It is interesting to note that of this number who found employment 3361 came from Bihar, 700 from Bombay, 680 from West Bengal and 380 from Assam. Two main obstacles in finding jobs for the applicants were their lack of suitable academic qualifications and the technical know-how. As employers are not mere philanthropists they are unwilling to take in workers who have not suitable qualifications for the kind of work they have at hand.

Though there are large number of persons unemployed yet many of these are not prepared to work in rural areas. Thus in the Bombay State alone 26 veterinary doctors, 74 educational organisers, 17 doctors, 15 lady health visitors, 76 midwives and 150 village level workers are needed. The Government can not find them. People brought up in towns are unwilling to go out into the villages to work and live there. Living conditions in most of our villages are

rather primitive and this frightens most persons who are otherwise qualified and willing.

Social Service

The Mysore Government has decided to make social service compulsory for all students. Manual work will be imposed on all students to which they will have to devote a fixed time every week. Every year there will be a camp at which attendance will be compulsory, two weeks for all. Those who want to obtain a diploma will have to spend six months in a camp devoted to social service.

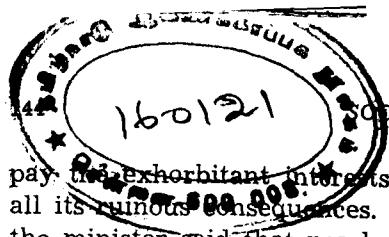
The term social service is understood in a broad sense and comprises such activities as road making, building and cleaning village tanks, teaching in schools, helping village panchayats and cooperatives, nursing and other welfare activities.

Vinoba Bhave

The Bhoodan Movement is gaining in momentum. Wherever Bhaveji goes he is received with great enthusiasm and land gifts are pouring in. Speaking in Bankura he announced that he had collected 7208 acres of land from 2697 donors and in one place two entire villages were donated. He has been preaching incessantly everywhere to those who have to give away what is not strictly needed for their private use.

Cooperative Societies

The Central Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, among other things, said that the cooperative society work in India was a failure. In spite of all efforts our peasants still get most of their credit from money lenders, especially the professional ones, and



pay the exorbitant interests demanded of them with all its ruinous consequences. Giving facts and figures the minister said that nearly 75 per cent of the credit comes from the money lenders while the contribution of the cooperative societies is a paltry 3.1 per cent. If the farmer is to be saved from the clutches of the usurer and be rehabilitated the cooperative movement will have to reorganised and made to work.

E. Gathier.

BOOK REVIEW

Mary in Islam

(by V. Courtois, SJ, The Oriental Institute, 30, Park Street, Calcutta - 16. — pp. X + 80. Price Rs. 1/4.)

Back in 1952 Fr. V. Courtois, the Director of the Oriental Institute (Islamic Branch), published a series of articles in his little review, NOTES ON ISLAM, on Mary in Islamic literature. These articles carefully revised and augmented are now presented in book form. The work is divided into two parts, the first dealing with Marian texts in the Qur'an and some of its more famous commentaries and, the second, on Mary in Muslim folklore.

It is quite natural that we should find something in Islam about Mary as it admits Jesus as one of the Messengers sent by God. But it is interesting to know that Mary is held in such high esteem by the Muslims.

A short critical study on Mary in Islam would have, we think, added considerably to the value of this little book.

The Little Flower Press which has printed the book deserves high praise for the excellent get up of the book.

F. C. R.

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

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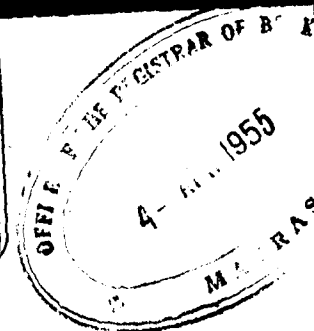
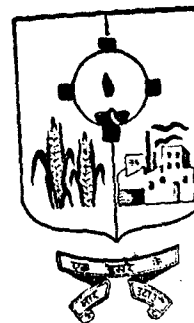
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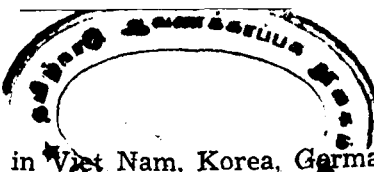
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This Side and That

Naughty Questions

The President's address which opened the budget session was heartening to hear. India is rightly proud of her achievements at home; the refugee rehabilitation is well on the way to be solved; the food problem does not vex the mind any more though the public eye will always scan the skies for rain clouds; dams and factories have changed the industrial landscape, and community projects have rejuvenated the countryside. India is on the move, there is hope in her eyes and buoyancy in her gait. Parliament was beaming with self-satisfaction. Even our foreign policy met with little criticism. The Comrades who have received new directives from Moscow admitted we are no more the running dogs of imperialism and the Congress parliamentarians have grown into submissive dutiful *chelas*. Only two naughtily knotty questions were shot with the effectiveness of broadsides. If we take it as a policy to acknowledge facts, why not admit that there are two governments in China as we admit that there are



two in Viet Nam, Korea, Germany? If we stand by the principle of self-government, why not stand by the right of the Formosa people? A third might have been added: Why no reference to the Chinese universal conscription that will raise not less than twenty million soldiers in a few years?

Dialectics

The budget was expected to give us an outline of the first draft of the rough copy of the famous socialistic pattern of our welfare state. What was produced was so indistinct that dialectical humour is making furore in the lobbies. The diehards quote the Churchillian quip about Christopher Columbus having been the first socialist. Sir Winston's arguments are trotted out with gusto: Columbus did not know where he was going; he got something quite different from what he was seeking; finally (and this is most important) he did it all on some one else's money. Others counter that if Columbus was the thesis, the modern capitalist is the antithesis; he knows what he is going to get, he gets exactly what he seeks, and (this is most important) the only thing he seeks and gets is money. Which reactions of the local wits go to show that our socialistic pattern is very hazy.

Timidity

When challenged about having changed his views, the Prime Minister retorted that he stood by what he had written some twenty-five years ago and that he still maintains political democracy is futile unless accompanied by economic democracy. Unhappily he did not elaborate the point. Unless one is dazed with

timidity, one should boldly pursue the idea to its practical conclusions. Political democracy implies that each citizen is made an independent political unit, were it only a voting unit; logically economic democracy should suppose everybody being an independent economic unit, were it only a possessing unit. Hence the way to economic democracy lies in the fair distribution of the national income and of the national wealth: family wages, easy access to property, etc.

But the tendency of modern times is the other way about, and our 1955-56 budget is quite modern. By and large it provides for a substantial extension of the public sector. An ominous development, indeed, which recalls what Engels wrote in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*: "The modern state, whatever be its form, is essentially a capitalist machine.... The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national Capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit."

Backward Classes

The Report of the Kalelkar Commission is replete with factual information; with arithmetical detachment, it brings out sorry spots in our society. The naked fact is that nearly two hundred million citizens are to be classed as backward socially and educationally, (the economically backward did not fall under the survey). If one adds the Scheduled Castes who total over sixteen per cent of the population and the Scheduled Tribes who make up another five per cent, the backward magma engulfs some eighty per cent of our 360 millions. The picture turns into a Chinese puzzle when one takes into account the class division:

a minimum of 125 classes in each state. In agriculture, there are farmers, tenants of various types, fishermen, etc.; in traditional occupations, barbers, weavers, potters, water-carriers, etc.

Most of the blame apparently falls on the privileged classes, who perpetuate this state of affairs, not out of deliberate malice, but out of sheer respectable tradition; a man is born backward and stays so till death.

What are the remedies? Reservation in public services according to numbers? Cottage industries, agricultural loans, schooling facilities? As soon as particular measures will be proposed, sharp controversies are bound to arise and explode. What was done by force of habit may be continued deliberately. Neither will the gigantic task of rehabilitation be achieved overnight by a stroke of the pen, nor will official goodwill be sufficient. The task calls for many Vinoba Bhaves and for many private agencies. And here one can visualise a fair division and cooperation between the public sector and the private sector; let public finances assist the resources and devotion of social workers volunteering for this noble national task.

A. L.

“Material progress through research and the exploitation of natural resources continues its unceasing advance. The Church approves of this advance, even in regard to its principles. But . . . when material progress is not balanced by religious and moral forces, it risks becoming the cancer of human society.” (Pius XII)

Factory Noise

Recently, I happened to meet a friend of long ago whom I soon discovered to have lost his sense of hearing a little. It was painful to learn that he was handicapped for life. There was no doubt at all that this was the result of his having been exposed for a long time to a noisy workspot which was a boiler shop. It is this meeting with my friend and the painful discovery that prompted me to make a study of the problem of factory noise.

This article, then, strongly emphasizes and also examines the need for removing from the factory the danger of deafness resulting from exposure to excessive noise.

The Risk

The ear, which is one of the most delicate organs of the human body, is not designed for tolerating extremely intense noise. Long exposure can do permanent damage to the ears. Yet many mistakenly believe that they often can “get used to it” without also realising that they can do so only at the great risk of becoming permanently hard-of-hearing.

Sound is first received by the ear drum which, being vibrated, passes on the refined sound-product for record on the nerve cells. When the sound is abnormal, such as that existing in a Boiler Shop, the whole hearing mechanism reacts violently, and thus arise discomfort and irritation. This reaction will be continuous as long as the noise continues. Persistent reaction over frequent and lengthy periods causes the

cells to become tired. The cell reaction decreases as a result of this fatigue and so also does the corresponding personal discomfort decrease, thereby giving cause for the common belief of "getting used to it".

At this stage the ears are said to have developed "auditory fatigue". By nature such fatigue is of a temporary character and adequate rest will, in most cases, remedy the defect.

If however this rest is denied and exposure to noise continues the cells tend to become damaged permanently, and so lose their latent power of recovering from auditory fatigue. This marks the beginning of partial deafness.

In the absence of good medical attention and as a result of continued exposure, the initial defect of partial deafness is encouraged to develop into a complete and permanent total loss of hearing. At present there is no known cure for such complete deafness.

Why Noise Control?

This article does not ask for the complete elimination of all noise from the factory; it suggests the reduction of noise to protect the health of the worker. Do we not personally desire and appreciate a quiet atmosphere at our workspot? When we would do almost anything to remove all irritating noises from our surroundings, whether at home or at office, why should we not do the same for our fellow human being, the factory worker, who day in and day out is exposed to the continual clangour of hammer and heavy machinery?

As long as Industry remains indifferent to the evils of excessive factory noise, so long also does it

continue consciously to expose its employees to the ultimate danger of deafness. Surely, Industry does not expect society to uphold this neglectful attitude when it means the fruitless sacrifice of the worker's sense of hearing!

Official Action

The first official step towards recognising deafness as an industrial disease, was taken by our Legislators in 1923 when the Workmen's Compensation Act was enacted to cover, among other diseases, those caused by noise. The Act recognises as an occupational disease, a permanent total loss of hearing caused by noise at the workspot, and, for awarding compensation, assesses the consequent loss of earning ability at 50% of normal working capacity. The idea underlying the Compensation Act is to make good the "economic disability" caused by injury. The award of compensation was not intended to be, and will not, in my opinion, ever be a solution to the evils of factory noise. *You cannot remove the danger of a worker's turning deaf by agreeing to compensate him for his deafness.*

While the Act has specifically provided for a permanent total loss of hearing no reference has been made to a permanent partial loss of hearing. Presumably, our legislators reserved to the State Governments the power to include such injury. It is noteworthy that Section 4, sub-section 3 of The Workmen's Compensation Act 1923, reads:

The State Government, after giving, by notification in the official Gazette, not less than three months

notice of its intention to do so, may, by a like notification, add any description of employment to the employments specified in Schedule III, and shall specify, in the case of the employments so added, the diseases which within the State shall be deemed, for the purposes of this section, to be occupational diseases peculiar to those employments respectively, and the provisions of sub-section (2) shall thereupon apply within the State as if such diseases had been declared by this Act to be occupational diseases peculiar to those employments.

There is much food for thought in the question whether State Governments could, under this provision, validly extend the benefits of compensation to cover a partial loss of hearing ?

Further Official Action ?

Continued disregard to the evils of factory noise will only strengthen the determination of certain sections of public opinion (of which the workers as citizens form a part) to push for legislation to compel Industry to undertake the control, and the provision of adequate safeguards against the dangers of harmful factory noise. Cannot Parliament on the strength of public opinion specifically extend the Compensation Act to cover partial deafness or even enact new legislation ?

Supposing the probability of statutory intervention were to materialise what would the position regarding the payment of compensation be ? Normally, compensation is awarded only for injuries and diseases accompanied by a loss of wage earning capacity. There is no such loss of earning capacity when the disease

is a partial loss of hearing. If the award of compensation is granted to partially deaf workers then they in addition to their usual wages would also receive compensation money. The employer pays both.

Of course, the employer can contest every such compensation claim. But, at present, several vital matters relating to diseases of the ear are still a matter of scientific discussion. In the absence of agreement, the views of the prosecution carry as much weight as those expressed by the employer's counsel. It is indeed hard to imagine how the employer could avoid paying every claim for compensation on partial deafness, when he is not able to substantiate his case with conclusive evidence. This fact coupled with the legal stipulation that the worker need not necessarily provide the evidence on his compensation-claim, provides an unrivalled opportunity for making easy money. The question is, would Industry survive under such an unprofitable and, undoubtedly, heavy drain on its resources.

Another Aspect

It is once again repeated that the probability of statutory intervention depends on how Industry tackles the problem of factory noise. There is another aspect to be considered. Industry is constantly striving for more output, lower cost of production, and higher productivity of labour. These cannot be satisfied unless, among other things, sufficient attention is paid to the improvement of working conditions in the factory. Unnecessary, excessive noise undoubtedly detracts from congenial working conditions. When it is present, workers are exposed to discomfort and irritation. It is a fact,

too, that in proportion to such discomfort their working capacity is diminished, but the proportion is not mathematical but psychological. The ill effect of excessive noise upon the output of their labour is twofold: it has a direct effect in reduced efficiency by wear and tear on the nervous system, and it has also an indirect effect by damaging good relations with their employers. The effect of bad relations between employers and employees upon factory output is a matter of incalculable loss to be assessed in hundreds of thousands of Rupees in the course of many years. It must be seen that such a want of harmony means not merely no increase in production, but also it means a positive decrease to below normal. Discontent among workmen is a real financial loss to the businessmen, and it requires intelligence to remove it.

On the other hand, working conditions are greatly improved by the reduction of harmful factory noise. Free from the discomfort and strain of excess in this matter, the workers' capacity for production increases. Production per man-hour increases. Consequently, as output increases the fixed costs of production would be spread over more units of output, resulting in decreased costs per unit. Do not decreased unit-costs signify an increase in the profit-earning capacity of each unit? Would not increased profits mean increased bonuses for the workers? Would not award of a bonus lead to a contented labour force? Workers would not only appreciate the payment of a bonus but would also highly esteem the efforts of their employer to provide a healthy workspot by abating all burdensome noise. One way or the other, it all adds up to the attitude displayed by Industrialists, employers

and managers to the problem of industrial noise. I particularly include managers because they must realise that the well-being of their profession, which is a social process,¹ does depend on their attitude towards remedying the social ill of deafness caused by factory noise.

What Can Be Done

Research, by its wide scope and heavy cost, is limited to the initiative of our larger undertakings. At this point, the reader may point out and justifiably that as Indian Industry is only adolescent its chances of successfully pioneering Industrial Research are indeed very shaky. Initially it would be preferable and profitable to study the results of investigations carried on abroad, notably in the U. S. A., where the problem of "Factory Noise" has been the subject of several research studies sponsored by American Industry and ably assisted by the State, private Institutions of Research, and Universities.

There are certain industries wherein noise is largely inherent and often unavoidable. It may not in this case, be economically feasible to investigate thoroughly the problem of factory noise. Known methods of noise control however can be applied to reducing as far as possible, all surplus noise as it often is the elimination of a few decibels of noise-sound which turns an unhealthy work-spot into a healthy one. The following suggestions of general import are offered with

¹ Cf. : *Brech, Management : Its Nature and Significance*. Third Edition Page 6.

the object of pointing out what is usually done to effect this :—

- (a) The first thing to do is to localize the 'danger areas. This may be done by classifying as 'dangerous' those places where it is very difficult for two persons to conduct a normal conversation.
- (b) With the 'danger' area defined it would be easier to discover the exact source of noise.
- (c) The third step would be to determine the causes of the noise. Are they avoidable or unavoidable? Can substantial reduction of noise be achieved by stressing better maintenance of noisy plant and machinery.
- (d) If noise cannot be reduced to any appreciable extent, the following measures may have to be considered :
 - (i) Would the use of alternative equipment reduce vibration and noise ?
 - (ii) When alternative methods of production cannot, for several weighty reasons, be considered, the use of acoustic materials should be contemplated.
 - (iii) Would a re-organisation of plant layout cause any reduction in plant noise ?

Where these methods do not prove successful more attention could perhaps be paid to safeguarding the health of the worker. There should be a regular medical examination of those workers who are constantly in contact with violent noise. Pre-employment tests should be made for separating workers who are diagnosed to be susceptible to the danger of easily succum-

bing to noise-deafness from normal workers. There is a disadvantage in using protective devices for the ears. The 'plug' may protect the ear from the strain of noise, but would the worker, for instance, be able to hear the warning shouts of his co-workers in the face of approaching danger, such as a falling load ? Adequate medical attention should be provided for workers who become partially deaf and alternate methods of rehabilitating permanently deaf workers should be considered jointly with the Government.

Peter J. Surrao

There is no Music

(a social poem)

There is no music in the noise that jars
 Where rumble round a hundred belted wheels,
 And clatter loudly whirling metal bars.
 There is no music in the stream of stars
 Bursting from where the tortured metal squeals,
 Nor in the rattle of production cars.
 No music, but an endless, painful roar :
 That forces entrance at the patient ear,
 But while it does so, closes tight the door.
 And whose the ear then hearing never more,
 After its owner long has laboured near
 The jangling noises that from fact'ries pour ?
 'Tis oft the workman toiling on the site,
 And I am moved to better his sad plight.

I. Hoyle

The Chingleput Development Block

Rural Welfare schemes have been in operation in the Madras State since 1946. They began with the Firka Development Plan which aimed at the general rehabilitation of village communities. This Plan was an attempt to translate into reality Gandhiji's dream of Village Swaraj. It was not surprising, therefore, when some few years later, the Community Development Programme was launched all over the country, rural rehabilitation was no stranger to Madras State. To-day, the State counts four Community Projects begun in 1952-53 ; four Community Development Blocks started in 1953-54, and twenty-eight National Extension Service Development areas. Taken together these projects cover a population of about 60 lakhs out of a total rural population of nearly 279 lakhs. The whole scheme also takes in about 3,000 village communities out of a total of 19,491 villages in the State.

Tirukalikundram, "the hill of the holy eagle" — for legend has it that this great bird makes a daily flight from the distant north to feed on the terrace of the temple on the hill — is the headquarters of, perhaps, one of the most progressive development areas—the Chingleput Development Block. The office of this Block is housed in a modest building within a few yards of a picturesque temple at the foot of the hill of the holy eagle. This development area covers about a third of the Chingleput District. It forms a well defined compact region, being bounded on the west and south by the sweeping curve of the sleepy Pala River as it winds its way into the Bay of Bengal. The

deep blue waters of the Bay form its eastern boundary. Expressed in figures the Development Block takes in 141.07 square miles of soil of average fertility, and it contains 112 villages made up of various classes of people, like the Harijans, Nayakars, Muddaliars and Brahmins. But figures tend to be illusive. They fail to convey any idea of the vastness of our development projects. They tell us nothing about the lives of the people in these areas, and of the conditions which obtain in the villages. This is why a visit to these areas is of particular interest. It is only when you, yourself, have travelled over miles of road, or have seen isolated villages far in the distance, and great undulating fields stretching as far as the eye can see, that you begin to glimpse the magnitude of the task undertaken by the Community Development Projects all over the country !

The Chingleput Development Block is no exception. It has its share of vastness, long distances, large areas of exhausted soil, stagnant village conditions, and above all the common rugged individualism of the village folk. The Block set its targets high. Indeed, as a Development Block its operations include the all round uplift of the area. Its improvement scheme includes such items as agriculture, animal husbandry, land reclamation, irrigation, health and rural sanitation, on the material side. On the more important social side, the scheme attempts what is, perhaps, more difficult, to infuse into the village folk a community spirit, and to bring them together in a common mighty effort for rural betterment born of the pride of mutual aid and self-help. The Block Team or Administrative Staff comprises, besides the Block Development Officer and

his clerical staff, one trained official for each of the different subjects on the development programme, and twelve village level workers, or *gram sevaks*. Each gram sevak has under his care between eight and nine villages. He is the real *contact officer* in the whole administrative team. To him the villagers take their troubles and difficulties. And he must have the practical ability to convince the villagers of the usefulness of the improved practices which the development programme operates.

The material development of the Chingleput Block has progressed with remarkable success. You can see this as you travel through the Block area — the ever extending acreage of paddy under the Japanese method of cultivation, the use of improved farm implements, the long lines of green manure crops which border the fields and stand ready to replenish the richness of the soil before the next crop is sown, the eagerness with which farmers seek a *demonstration patch* within their fields and remedies unknown to them but a short while ago to fight disease in their cattle. The use of new chemical fertilizers and compost pits have grown apace. For those of use who prefer statistics, the following figures may be of some interest :—

Area brought under Japanese method of cultivation : 173 acres.

Area brought under green manure crops : 108.61 acres.

Area brought under vegetables : 19.84 acres.

Number of demonstration patches started : 154.

Number of trees planted : 37,094.

These figures refer to the quarter ending on December, 31st, 1954. In many cases the target figure for that period was well exceeded. The erection of veterinary dispensaries, and the care and protection of cattle against disease was ample proof that this sector of rural uplift was carefully attended to. It was interesting to hear that a recent epidemic among the cattle of the area could not be brought under control until the project officials had explained away the deep rooted and strong sentimental superstition of the villagers against any form of inoculation of cattle !

The establishment of Community Recreation Centres are, indeed, an outstanding achievement of this Block. One such centre, at Sadras, stands within view of the sea on the eastern outskirts of the development area. Its pleasant situation adds to the recreational value of the establishment. This building, like the others for the purpose of community activities, has been constructed by the free labour of the village folk. Project officials have seconded the efforts of the people by supplying the Centre with a radio, various types of games and books for the library. That the library is well patronized by the people of the village was evidenced by the many names in the daily register of books lent out. Near this Centre at Sadras, lay neat piles of red bricks all made by the villagers and kept ready to go into the erection of the school building for the village children. This was yet another proof that this development area was teaching the people the art of self-help.

The establishment of these Recreational Centres, even more than any achievement in agriculture, irrigation, and so on, amply indicates that the project offi-

cials have found the key to real progress of our village communities. Such Centres effectively help make the Community Development Block, a real *community*, in the full sense of the term. That is to say, these Centres help bring the people together, they grow to know each other, they discuss common problems of the village, isolation-barriers are broken down, and slowly that *we-sentiment*, so precious to community life and effort comes into being. In fact, while no one will decry the value of material uplift which is brought about by the Community Development Programme, it cannot be denied that a greater achievement is the rehabilitation of the mind and pattern of conduct which is effected by this Development Block in particular.

The realisation of the community spirit is all the more necessary in our villages, when it is remembered that farming is not merely a method of making a living. It is a way of life. Our village people live an integrated life. They have their own pattern of life and behaviour which is the outcome of years of tradition and custom. Thus, long years of struggle against climatic conditions, a poor soil and distrust of the outsider have tended to drive deep into the soul of our villagers, an apathy and rugged individualism. Moreover, the villager sees his activities around the domestic hearth, in his fields and farm closely bound up with his beliefs and religious practises, albeit, superstitious. From this source springs a set of values so cherished by the village communities. The displeasure and fear of their gods, the demands of their caste and local traditions and a distrust of the unknown are woven into their pattern of daily life.

Rural rehabilitation, therefore, means changing not only the material structure of our villages, but also the deeper sentiments and customs of the village population. Not only must they be taught to change their methods of agriculture, of cattle protection and preservation, and even their domestic way of life, but a method must be found of convincing them that the new way of life does not offend their customs and traditions. When the farmer is told that the artificial fertilizers will improve his fields and give him a better crop, in actual practice this means that he must change his cherished faith in the gods of the fields and farms ! When he is told that he must inoculate himself and his cattle against certain diseases, this means that he must give up his age old faith in the goddess of health ! The impact of these new methods for rural uplift, tend to shake the whole foundation of his life, and risk the disintegration of his former way of life.

It was, indeed, refreshing to see how successfully the project officers of the Chingleput Development Block have handled this delicate problem of social change in the lives of the people within the Block. The contribution of the Community Recreation Centres towards this end, we have already noted. The co-operative spirit and the *community feeling* have also been successfully cultivated. Proof of this was seen in the common efforts of the villagers to solve the common problems of the villages, such as the need of a better water supply or better roads. Common effort has already supplied these public needs in many parts of the development area. Individual contribution has been expressed in various forms. Sometimes it has been in money. At other times it has been in free

labour. Perhaps, the best illustration of the growth of the spirit of co-operation was seen in the action of some villagers who donated part of valuable land for the construction of roads for the use of all in the neighbourhood.

The establishment of Village Development Committees which incorporate members of the Gram Panchayat is yet another proof of the right approach used by the project officers in the matter of rural betterment. Indeed, leadership in the village is naturally entrusted to the Panches, and if these men are brought round to understand the effectiveness of the development programme, more than half the battle of rural uplift is won. Moreover, the development programme is spaced over a fixed number of years, and when this period is over, there will still be need of a sustained effort on the part of the village communities to keep up the work done. This can only be realised if the leaders of the village are prepared to continue the good work. An interesting and effective means employed by the project officers to win the co-operation of the village people, is the practice of advertising, at the entrance of each village, the many items of development undertaken by that village, and also, the names of leaders who are responsible for village-co-operation. For who, indeed, is not urged to still better effort, when he sees his name written up for an honourable mention, whether this be in a famous daily newspaper, or even on the walls on a modest village dwelling?

C. C. Clump

Catholic Social Activity

Bettiah Parish

This little parish in the diocese of Patna has some 250 families most of whom belong to the lower middle class. Owing to widespread unemployment quite a number of families are finding it increasingly difficult to provide for themselves and their dependents the barest necessities of life. To assist these in some way the parish has started several schemes which help many destitute families.

1. To help poor women who have of necessity become the sole bread-earners for their families the Holy Cross Sisters are operating an industrial school. Knitting woolen goods, hosiery, vestment-making, washing, sorting and selling cancelled stamps collected from various parts of the world, laundry are the main occupations. Only the poor women of the parish are employed. Some 50 destitute women are supported through this institution.

2. About 32 families are maintained through the parish printing press, a non profit making concern run mainly for the benefit of the parishioners. Besides finding jobs for many, the press also trains every year a certain number of boys in the art of printing, book-binding and other allied subjects. Some of these boys have found good positions elsewhere after finishing their training.

3. Members of the parish sodality go round once a week and make a house to house collection of rice. Some give a handful and some give more but all give

something and enough is collected to help out some 25 families.

4. The latest venture is a credit union inaugurated on 28 February of this year. This will help the local artisans, mostly carpenters and black-smiths. We wish this new union every success and hope to hear more about it in the days to come.

All these above activities are in addition to the usual parochial social works such as schools for boys and girls, free scholarships for poor children, grants to poor families, medical aid through free dispensaries, distribution of milk, etc.

A very creditable array of activities indeed for a small parish.

The Defence Services Catholic Association, Poona.

We have just received the Second Annual Report of this Association. Some excellent attempts are here being made to get the workmen together and to cater to their more urgent needs. For instance, the Welfare Fund, that provides financial assistance to deserving members by means of a loan without interest, benefited several members to the tune of Rs. 238. On the other hand, repayments of the loan by borrowing members came in slowly and Rs. 162 is outstanding on this account.

Welfare work in the form of visiting sick members and those in distress has increased, and the Association is regularly represented at funerals of departed members. A death fund is functioning successfully and is a boon to the families afflicted by the death of an earning member.

Social Activities in the form of gatherings at Christmas and socials and dances during the year were well patronised. And the reception to his Eminence, Cardinal Gracias, was an overwhelming success. Bridal couples were presented with a statue of Our Lady while more important members who had worked for the Association were given farewell parties on transfer to another place.

However the report has also failures to record. Chief of these were the very poor attendance at the Hindi classes specially organised for the men since they are all expected to pick up the language soon. Similarly the few lectures on Labour Relations failed to attract the members.

The real difficulties of the Association arise from the fact that it is made up of heterogeneous groups with different tastes, customs and standards of judging. Further the lack of a meeting place for the men is a big handicap and has been mentioned as one of the more urgent needs of the Association.

The training of the members and the moulding of their attitudes takes place mainly through their activities. During their meetings they are taught the democratic way of taking decisions and arguing their cases. And on their spiritual and social occasions they are reminded of the need for developing the community spirit, and the part they must play in fostering the right type of Unionism with their work-fellows.

Up to date, the Association has over a thousand rupees in the Savings Bank, and its total liabilities and assets balance at over Rs. 2000.

We wish the Association many more years of useful social activity and may it foster the growth of a deeper community spirit among its members, and prepare them for their work as active and free trade unionists.

Tamil Nad Regional Board of Social Action

The first meeting of the Tamil Nad Regional Board of Social Action was held on 21st and 22nd of February, 1955, at the Catholic Centre, Madras.

In all twenty-three delegates from eight out of the eleven dioceses of Tamil Nad participated. Among them were priests, Sisters, laymen and women.

At the beginning of the meeting, Rev. Fr. Thomas Joseph of the Madras Archdiocese, the convenor of the Conference, was elected Chairman and Mr. V. J. Arokiaswamy, rapporteur.

A Working Committee consisting of one member from each of the dioceses was set up. The following were elected with power to co-opt one from each diocese not represented: Mr. Santiago Ignatius (Tiruchi), Mr. Irudayaswamy Nadar (Tanjore), Sr. Theresa (Madura), Mrs. J. Dumont (Pondicherry) and Mr. Joseph Utheriam (Coimbatore).

The conference also elected the office-bearers for the current year. These are: Rev. Fr. Thomas Joseph, President, Mr. V. J. Arokiaswamy, Secretary and Rev. Mother Raphael, Treasurer.

The main resolutions of the meeting are as follows:-

1. To request the Bishops of Tamil Nad to make a minimum contribution of Rs. 100/- per diocese, to defray the expenses of the Board.

2. To request the Indian Institute of Social Order, Poona, to furnish a list of social works which come within the purview of Government recognition and grants.
3. To suggest to the Central Board of A. I. C. S. C. (Social Institute, Poona) that in future its meetings be held at the place and around the time the Indian Conference of Social Work is held so as to enable the Catholic delegates to participate in the Conference and meet delegates. Besides saving time and expense, this arrangement will enable Catholics to attend the Indian Conference when matters affecting Catholics come up for discussion and put forth their views.
4. To ask all members to make a detailed and careful study of disabilities suffered by children of Scheduled caste Christians in the matter of educational facilities, and report at the next meeting.
5. To explore possibilities of holding a Seminar during summer to give an opportunity for Social workers to gain knowledge and share in the experience of others.
6. To hold the meeting of the Working Committee once every three months.

The Conference also drafted a Constitution for the Regional Board. It has been forwarded to the Indian Institute of Social Order, Poona, for their remarks. When it is received back it will be circulated among the Ordinaries of Tamil Nad and finalised.

The meeting closed after deciding to meet again at Madura in May.

F. C. R.

Social Documents

The Australian Hierarchy on a Family Wage

Every year the Australian Hierarchy publishes an official statement on Social Problems confronting the country. The latest document of this series published on September 5th, 1954 deals with the problem of a just Family Wage. We shall give here below some extracts from this important document.

"The Catholic Church has never ceased to declare that unless the control of productive property, of the means of production, is as widely decentralised as technical processes permit — unless workers are also owners — the institution of the family will be imperilled and the community as a whole based on unstable foundations.

Nevertheless, while Catholics are expected to spare no effort to disseminate the ownership and control of the means of production as widely as possible, they are faced with the present fact of the dependence of the majority of bread-winners on their employers through the prevalence of the wage system. It is vital, therefore, that that system should be just in practice and infused with Christian principles.

In the course of the present Statement, it will be made clear that we do not believe that the wage system as we know it today is either the fairest or even the most efficient method of remuneration. We will propose a system of Family income in its place."

The Hierarchy then goes on to the study of the wage structure in the last ten years since they issued

their publication on "Pattern for Peace." "A great transformation has taken place in the economic structure of the country under the impact of inflation. From December 1943 to December 1953, prices measured by the "C" series index had risen from 1268 to 2624 or 107 per cent."

Throughout this period of Australian history the system of cost-of-living adjustments to the basic wage prevailed. Though the wages increased the real gain to the worker was small as at the same time the cost of living also rose. But in spite of that there was a slight improvement, thanks mainly to certain labour legislation. "The first factor", say the Bishops, "to be recorded in assessing the condition of the wage system is that, underlying the great inflationary surge of wages and prices, some degree of real improvement has taken place." But yet all is not well for "we cannot but view with deep concern many developments which have taken place during the last few years."

The points which give rise to anxiety are briefly these :-

1. The clear statement by the Arbitration Court in its Basic Wage Judgement of October 1953 that the fundamental consideration in fixing the basic wage was simply an estimate of the "highest amount that industry can pay."
2. The relative deterioration of the real income of the worker with family responsibilities compared with that of other groups of workers.
3. The deterioration of the position of skilled workers.
4. The deterioration of the position of pensioners and other persons with fixed incomes.

As to the Basic Wage Judgement it must be pointed out that in spite of the comments of the judges to the effect that they themselves had their difficulties in fixing this standard the judgement goes against "the undoubted principles stated in the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* that wages should be related in some way to family needs."

There has always been a disparity in the wages of Australian workers with family responsibilities compared with that of other groups of workers. The worker with a family certainly needs more to meet his obligation than one who is not so burdened. "The minimum or basic wage should be so fixed with reference to the needs or requirements of the worker himself or herself, and those who have no dependents should not (the basis of distribution being according to needs) exceed their proper requirements."

Skilled labour is paid besides a basic wage like any other worker a *margin* payment. Though during the years under review, the basic wage has increased considerably the margin has remained more or less static and thus the remuneration of the skilled labourer has declined in comparison with that of the unskilled labourer.

Finally it is obvious that the condition of the fixed income group is really deplorable. "Pensioners and other recipients of social services have seen their real income driven down to often cruel levels, despite occasional increases by government action. Those who practised thrift, often at great sacrifice, in order to guarantee their livelihood during old age, by investing their savings in shares or rental properties, have been

the victims of what is, in effect, a confiscation of their assets".

"In the light of the above injustices and anomalies, we are of the opinion that there is need for a thorough-going overhaul of the Australian wage structure.

We believe also that any overhaul which concerns itself only with wages will be inadequate. Over-riding the concept of wages as the sole concern of the public authorities, attention should be devoted to the concept of an adequate "Family Income", of which the wage constitutes only one part. Accordingly, in the remainder of this Statement we will deal with such a system of Family Income, and refer to wages simply as part of such a system.

We hold the view that any new system resulting from such an overhaul must be based on dual foundations —

- A. A scientific assessment of the wage and other forms of family income according to the "needs" of the worker.
- B. An equally scientific measurement of the productivity of the economy to determine how far those "needs" can be met.

Furthermore, since it seems illogical to determine only the basic wage on a scientific basis, it is necessary to bring into reckoning also child endowment and other forms of family allowances, margins for skill and some forms of social services, including pensions.

We are not insensible to the great difficulties which will be faced by all of the public authorities which, in one way or another, will be involved in this re-assessment, in view of the condition of public opinion

and the vested interests at stake. However, to postpone the task because of these difficulties will simply ensure the development of further distortions and injustices with consequent disturbances to the peace of the community. The serious impact of all of the anomalies listed on the maintenance of public order will only become apparent if and when a series of bad seasons, or a fall in the prices of our exports, for example, prick the present bubble of apparent prosperity.

A Basis of Understanding

In attempting to suggest a just and rational basis for a Family Income system, we may assume that every one admits that in an ideal community all who are able and willing to work should have work and a decent living in return for their labour.

But how is that to be achieved? If three workers, a single man, a single woman and a married man with a large family, apply for work and undertake each to do the same amount of work, the employer may quite reasonably say that he is prepared to pay each of them a fair wage, to be fixed by mutual agreement, or by the relevant wage-fixing authority. But he does not think it realistic, or just, to expect or to compel him in addition to provide for the married man's large family. His firm or industry could not afford it.

The result of enforcing any such policy would be that single men and women would get employment by preference and the family man would remain unemployed. The family man has, of course, a right in strict justice to the same wage as his unmarried fellow

workers if they all do the same work for their employer. But that wage leaves his wife and children unprovided for. How is the financial gap to be bridged?

In the existing state of our economy, the onus, we suggest, rests upon the community or the state. In social justice, as distinct from strict justice, the state must come to the relief of the family man. Nor should it be urged that the state is asked to give a gratuitous subsidy to the family. For apart from the duty of Christian charity, the man who marries and rears a family renders an important and vital service to the stability, progress and defence of the state, and the state should willingly discharge its debt. Indeed, in Australia the state acknowledges this obligation when it provides child endowments and other social benefits.

The worker with a family responsibility, therefore, in addition to the wage which he, like the single man, is entitled to get from his employer, will receive from public funds a social benefit allowance for his wife and for each child dependent on him.

Components of Family Income

To apply these general principles in practice, we suggest the following arrangement:-

1. There should be a Standard Wage, which would be that of a single man. This would cover his essential needs of food, clothing and shelter. It would provide a modest amount for recreation, and enable him to make partial provision for marriage. It would enable him to begin to make suitable provision, through public and private insurance, for old age, for periods of illness and unemployment. It would provide some opportunity where-

by the prudent man, by the practice of thrift, could acquire a moderate amount of property for himself. The same amount would be fixed for either sex.

2. On his marriage, the worker would be entitled to an increase in income to provide now for his wife in addition to himself, and to provide also for savings in anticipation of the expense of the birth of a child. He would also be entitled to a bonus to enable him to purchase in part his house and furniture.
3. On the birth of each child, he would be entitled to an added weekly payment to cover the cost of his dependent children. Endowments for dependents should remain so long as dependency exists.

If our society were organized on vocational lines, with the workers and employers in each industry joined together in Industrial Councils, the money for these payments would come primarily from the industry concerned, which would establish an equalization fund out of which the payment could be made. In the present state of public organisation in Australia, it seems that there is no alternative to the payment of these endowments by the State.

Advantages of the Family Income System

The advantages of such a system are clear.

1. It will meet the individual normal and reasonable requirements of every adult worker, man or woman. It will ensure that employers meet the specific obligations imposed on them in strict justice while

society as a whole fulfils the obligations of social justice.

2. By providing the same basic wage for workers, irrespective of sex, it will eliminate the competition between the sexes. Female labour will not be exploited on account of its relative cheapness. Men will not be replaced by women in industry for the same reason.

3. It will correct a situation in which a youth of twenty-one years, with no dependents and no responsibilities other than to provide for his own necessities of clothing, food and shelter (the last mentioned two items often met by a small payment for "board" to his parents), accedes immediately upon majority to practically the same income as is available to a married worker with children.

4. The Standard Wage being based upon the needs of a single man or woman, the wage at twenty-one years of age, though sufficient, may be lower. However, because of the safeguards described below, there will be no advantage to employers in replacing "old" workers by "new" adults.

5. The provisions for full child endowment will at least tend to remove the economic reasons for restricting the size of the working man's family.

6. A complete overhaul of the structure would, of course, make provision for adequate marginal payments for really skilled workers. It would ensure that the comparative position of skilled and unskilled workers, was not destroyed by the lapse of time.

Cost-of-Living Index

Once the Family Income had thus been firmly anchored to the concept of "needs", the fulfilment of

which would be the primary purpose of a proper system of remuneration, it would be logical to vary the constituent parts of the Family Income (wages, endowment, etc.) periodically in accordance with variations in the cost-of-living.

A Productivity Index

As Pope Pius XI pointed out in *Quadragesimo Anno*, the condition of the national economy must also be taken into consideration in determining the level of income which should be enjoyed from time to time.

We note that many competent economists urge that a productivity index should be compiled and that variations in productivity should be taken into account in varying wages. It is held that there are great technical difficulties in the way of the development of such an index. If these difficulties can be overcome, increases in productivity thus scientifically measured would determine the proportion of the workers' "needs" which could be met from time to time. They would ensure that increases in wages and endowment would be real and not merely nominal. They would provide a standard by which the worker's claim to share in the fruits of technical advancement could be safely conceded.

Once the Family Income has been placed on a "needs" basis, the Cost-of-living Index could be used to vary its constituent parts in accordance with variations in living costs. The Productivity Index would guide the relevant authorities as to the proportion of the worker's "needs" which could be met from time

to time and the rate at which the whole level of Family Income could be raised without running the risk of inflation.

Constructive thinking of this type is to be commended as a valuable contribution to the discovery of a rational method of assessing Family Income.

Application by Degrees

Such a re-assessment of the entire structure of Family Income, however firmly it might be embedded in justice, would certainly be faced with great practical and political difficulties. In "Pattern for Peace", the suggestion was made that the system should be introduced gradually. It could be applied, for instance, to the case of workers as they reach majority, leaving those already in receipt of the adult "basic wage", as at present assessed, and who would be the losers under the new system, to continue under the present arrangement.

In the early stages of the change, until the new system covered all workers, the state could collect from employers the difference between the Standard Wage which they paid to each "new adult" and the amount which they would have been called upon to pay had the old basic wage still endured.

In this way there will be no incentive for employers to dispense with present employees, to make way for the new adults. The difference, which would have to be paid by employers to the state, could be utilized by the state to assist in the payment of endowment.

The duty of assessing the new Standard Wage, margins, the amount of endowments, and even of

pensions and related social services should be imposed upon a public authority of the type of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, the principles of assessment described above having been statutorily defined and uniform legislation passed throughout the Commonwealth. We believe that once the political authorities have laid down the principles on which Family Income is to be based, the assessment of the actual amounts is better left in the hands of a non-political authority, with skilled economic, statistical and legal advice at its disposal.

Conclusion

Whether one considers workers or employers or independent working proprietors, all draw their rewards from the totality of the national income. If employers receive too great a share of that income, an injustice is visited upon the workers. If one section of the workers receives too great a share, others of their fellow workers are alike victims of injustice.

It must therefore be emphasized unconditionally that this method of fixing of Family Income does not mean any diminution of the total amount paid by employers to workers. At the very least, it is only a redistribution of the total amount already paid in wages to workers on a scientific estimate of the real needs of each individual. Needless to say, there is nothing to prevent whatever increase is deemed desirable in the total share of the national income earned by the workers to ensure a progressive rise in the standard of living.

This, then, is the practical and constructive proposal which we put forward for consideration as one

possible remedy for many of the anomalies and injustices which now exist under the varied heads — wages, endowment, pensions and social services.

In *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI pointed out that it is impossible to assess a just return for a man's labour simply by taking one aspect of the question into consideration. Many factors enter into the matter, among them being the question of "needs", the state of the individual business, and the condition of the national economy. The concept of Family Income, elaborated above, takes all of those problems into consideration. Furthermore, it is an approach to the concept of a "Social wage" enunciated by Pius XII.

We do not doubt that it will require both courage and foresight on the part of all concerned to bring such a system into being. In the long run, however, the birth-pangs of a new system will almost certainly be less painful than the constant and recurring tensions occasioned by the anomalies and injustices of the old."

F. C. R.

Social Survey

The Russian Steel Plant

The Indo-Soviet Steel Agreement has been signed and thus has passed from the project stage to a contract. Communists and fellow travellers are exultant. The Red press is unusually loud in its praises and is making every effort to convince the public that the agreement is not so much a contract between two

parties but rather an outright gift to this country from our Soviet friends. This very vehemence of the propaganda should make one a bit suspicious. Let us examine the agreement a little and see whether the Soviet offer is more advantageous to India than the German, Krupps-Demag, plant at Rourkella.

First we are told that the Russian plant will be cheaper than the German one. Is this true? The Rourkella plant has been officially estimated to cost 72½ crores of rupees while the Bilhai one will cost 100 crores but its production, however, will be twice that of the former. Therefore we are told the Soviet one is cheaper. But it is good to remind ourselves that the capital cost of a factory with twice the capacity of another in the same line of production is never twice that of the latter, but considerably less. Besides the items to be produced by the German combine are such that they need more expensive machinery than that of the Soviets.

The Soviet equipment will cost 43.4 crores. We do not yet know how much the Rourkella machinery will cost as it will be obtained on the basis of a world wide tender. The least we can say is that a comparison on this score is not possible at this time.

The Germans have to be paid about Rs. 2 crores for the project report; the Soviets 2.5 crores. Both parties will hand over the plant to the Government of India whose property they will become.

Much is made of the low rate of interest — 2½% — charged by the Russians. Article XII of the Agreement reads :

“The credit shall be repaid by 12 equal annual installments payable on or before 15th day of March of

each and every year following the year in which each such credit is raised. Interest will accrue at 2½ per cent per annum from the date on which each particular credit is raised and will be similarly paid on or before the 15th day of March of the following year. No interest shall accrue on such amounts of the credit as have been repaid.”

“If the figures are worked out, it will be seen that for every 100 units of credit raised on a given date, 116¼ units will have been paid towards capital repayment and interest at the end of 12 years. In other words, if the Soviet share of the investment were to be acquired outright in one transaction at the end of the 12th year, the premium payable on the face value of the Soviet share would be 16¼%. Now the Indo-German agreement provides that the Indian Government and the German combine will reciprocally have the option binding on each other, to buy or sell the German share of the capital at a premium of 20% of the face value of the shares at the end of the 9th year reckoned from the initial investment date. This yields an interest figure, over the nine-year period, of a little less than 2¼ per cent as against the Soviet 2½%. The saving on the interest effected by installment payment in the case of the Russians (the difference between the total premium of 20 and 16¼) is no real gain, since the annual installments of capital repayment we shall make would have earned interest for us if payment were deferred for 12 years and made in one lump sum.” (Thought, 12 Feb. 1955, p. 4.)

While the German agreement takes full account of water supply and the township the Soviet agreement

leaves it to the Indian Government which means India will have to pay to set up these.

The supply of coal for the plant may entail an extra expenditure as local coal does not seem to be fit for metallurgical purposes: at least it has not been proved that it is fit.

Much was said of the time element. The Soviet plan was supposed to be ready in 18 months. The Agreement fixes 31 December, 1959 as the final date for the completion. When all the factors, such as supply of equipment, building, erection of the plant, etc. are considered it is very doubtful whether it will be ready by the end of 1959.

The only thing that is quite clear and beyond dispute is that this plant will be a boon to the Communists and their masters in their work of subversion. No wonder the Red press is so enthusiastic!

The Report of the A. L. E.

The report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry is out and makes very interesting reading. The Enquiry was made through a large and well-trained and well-supervised field staff, who collected the data by personally interviewing selected agricultural families. The Enquiry was begun in 1950. The results are presented in seven volumes. We shall give here a few statistics which throw some light on the problem of agricultural labour in the country.

Out of 58 million rural families in India, 17.6 million belong to agricultural labour. In 1951, 30.4% of the rural families were of agricultural workers, 22.6% landowners, 27.2% tenants and the rest, 22.2% were

non-agriculturalists. According to localities N. W. India had 77%, Central India 84% and East and South India 79% agricultural families.

Of the 6.2 million agricultural families in South India Madras State alone accounts for 5.1 million. There were 5 million agricultural families in Eastern India of whom well over 50% came from Bihar. The size of the family in North West India was larger than in any other part of the country. South and North East India had the smallest families.

The classification of families into earners, helpers and dependents works out as: out of 5.01 persons in a family 1.57 were earners, 0.96 were helpers and 2.48 dependents.

The average size of holdings is 7.5 acres of which 6.6 are cultivated and the rest lying fallow. Of this 4.4 acres was owned and the rest, 3.1 acres held on lease.

Community Projects

The Community Projects as well as the National Extension Service have made progress and the villagers are reaping the fruit everywhere. In 1954, 9025 miles of kutchra and 757 miles of pukka road have been built under the C. P. and 2716 miles of Kutchra and 294 miles of Pukka under the N. E. S.

The area of land irrigated by major projects in 1954 was five million acres. Three hundred thousand acres of kass ineffectuated land in Bhopal was cleared during the same year.

All the States have reported good progress in various nation building activities. In Bihar they have

been concentrating on the supply of good water for drinking purposes and on putting up decent buildings to house schools. Assam devoted much attention to wells, tanks and village communications. In Orissa the emphasis was on water supply, irrigation and schools.

The craze for family planning is still raging in many quarters. But from all reports the planners are making little headway in the rural areas.

Many Congressmen are of opinion that the N. E. S. should be concerted into Community Projects. In judging the progress of the C. P. or N. E. S. one should not go so much after actual results obtained in material works but must rather see the progress made in village organisation.

Landholdings

There is a move everywhere to put a ceiling on landholdings. In Jammu and Kashmir it is fixed at 22½ acres. West Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Bharat propose to limit it to 33, 30 and 30 acres respectively.

U. P., Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Delhi, Madhya Barat, Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal are trying to stop fragmentation of land.

Unemployment

The problem of unemployment is still acute. The Union Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, is of the opinion that in ten years time 24 million jobs will be created and the spectre of unemployment will be banished from the Indian sub-continent. He says that with the development of the public and private sectors

of industry more and more people will find employment. His estimate may be a bit optimistic but optimism does much good.

The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation

To help industry an Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation has been set up in Bombay with a capital of 25 crores. British investors will contribute one crore, U. S. A. half a crore, the Government of India 7.5 crores, the International Bank 5 crores. The Corporation will lend to private industry long, medium and short term loans. Incidentally the setting up of this Corporation goes to show that the talk of the Socialist pattern of the new Indian economy has to be understood in an altogether restricted sense.

Labour Problems

The West Bengal Government has been urging industry to absorb more and more Displaced persons. Special advantageous treatment is promised to those who will start industrial undertakings in D. P. colonies.

In Ajmere many mica workers are idle. The Supreme Court has ruled that the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 is not *ultra vires* of the Constitution of India. The Ajmere Government has fixed minimum wages at Rs. 1/8 per day. The mine owners say that in the present state of business it is impossible for them to pay such high wages. Many mines have been shut down and the few which are working have very few workers on the list.

E. Gathier

BOOK REVIEWS

Foundations of Morality

(by Louis Leguen, S.J. pp. 100, publisher and price not stated.) Part I.

This little book is written for students, apparently University grade. "Its aim," states the author, "is to make you (students) wish, desire, and strive to be better than you are, to become as perfect as you can be, to become such fine and finished types of human beings as win the love and admiration of men everywhere: such noble and beautiful characters as we all admire and wish we were." (Preface). As is clear from the above quotation the book is meant to be a text for the Moral Science class. In this part the great problem why man should be Moral is exhaustively treated.

Written by an eminent professor of English the book makes most interesting reading. The many and apt quotations from wellknown poets with whom College students are familiar adds to the attractiveness of the work.

The printing, however, leaves much to be desired. The far-too-small and light print is rather hard on the eyes.

Students as well as teachers will find in this little thought-provoking manual sound principles of ethics lucidly and clearly treated and explained.

F. C. R.

Fatal Star

(by Hamish Fraser. John S. Burns, Glasgow 1954.)

That thought is for action was one of the favourite maxims of the social philosopher, Karl Marx. It has also remained the doctrine of Hamish Fraser after he left the Communist Party in 1946 and joined the Church two years later. There is a special ring of earnest sincerity about this story of growing disillusionment and groping for the truth that should cause its readers to do some soul-searching as to whether they are playing their part in the struggle against evil. Much of what the author says of his fellow Catholics in Scotland can, we are afraid, be applied to us here. "Not once," he complains, "in a decade and a half of unremitting activity within the working class movement did I ever hear a single Catholic trade unionist give voice to an idea even remotely related to the social teachings of the Church."..... "Too often the faith of the faithful burns too dimly for men to see our good works and glorify our Father who is in Heaven." Since doubting Thomas is the patron saint of modern man, "he would fain see the risen Christ. Consequently the ever contemporary miracle of the Church — not only her witness to what she has seen, but the miracle of what she is — is more important than ever today."

Those who querulously complain that the social encyclicals are dry-as-dust documents unrelated to modern problems could usefully read the chapter "Twentieth Century Pilgrim's Progress" (the best chapter in the opinion of the reviewer) and discover for themselves how the author "was thereby convinced

that the social teaching of the Church provided not only a way of life but also the only means whereby the modern proletariat could be effectively emancipated... Thenceforth I began to be aware of the immense potentialities, not only for me, but for all Catholics if they only could be made aware of the social implications of their Faith." The author asks a very pertinent question: "Why was it... that Catholics who alone had an effective answer to the social problems of the modern age not only did little to implement the social teachings of the Church, but were, more often than not, content to re-echo the social ideology of Marxism."

There are some very strong things against Catholic "progressive", those who pretend to associate themselves with the better side of Marxism: "Let those who dislike the Soviet reality face up to the fact that the features to which they object derive directly from the main premise of Marxist thought". The woolly thinking that admires Communist doctrine while condemning its action (which flows from the doctrine) deserves to be shown up, but both here and in some other places in the book we find the convert still breathing out fire on his back from Damascus. S & B Webb's *Soviet Communism* is quoted without any qualifying note. On account of the prestige of the authors for objective research, it would be wise to point out that on this occasion the Webbs left most of their scientific equipment behind.

The chapters on "Does Fatima Make Sense?" and "Mary and the Social Order" are a tribute to the author's deep piety and a lesson on how to connect

social problems with a living faith. As for the incident of the "miraculous" Fatima dove, I by far prefer Mrs. H. Fraser's explanation that the poor thing mistook the author's unkept mop for its nest.

May the author produce a further brood of inspiring thoughts.

A. N.

God's Ways With Men

(by P. J. Sontag, S.J., The C.B.C., St. Xavier's, Patna, Two vols. Pp. xii-476, vi-474. Rs. 15/- per set.)

Of all sciences the most important is the science of the spiritual life, and yet sad to say, the least popular. The cause is not far to seek, for while other sciences have an abundance of literature to cater for the tastes and abilities of every one, the Science of spiritual life is starved for literature. Take, for instance, the question of mental prayer. Any one who knows the rudiments of asceticism will admit that mental prayer is absolutely necessary for one desiring to make any progress in spiritual life. A book which explains points or considerations on the truths of religion is, if not an essential, at least a very useful guide for most people. How many suitable books of this kind have we? Few indeed. And these few are not quite satisfactory. For one thing they are out of date, for while the truths they unfold and the applications they make are timeless their approach and presentation is not modern, and for another they are mostly meant for priests and nuns. What has the layman got?

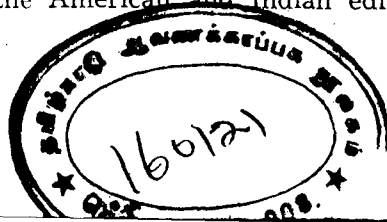
To meet the needs of the modern man, especially the common layman who strives to live a fervent life, Fr. Sontag has published two volumes of meditations

which have about them a modernity and freshness of approach which brings one back to the book, expectant of new treasure-truths to be unearthed. It is a simple and yet sound and profound guide of man's way to God.

Though perhaps mainly intended for the layman, priests, seminarians, and all religious men and women will find these meditations eminently suited to their needs. The aim of the consecrated soul is to be Christ-like, alter Christus. That ideal or pledge of loyalty to keep Christ present in every phase of our daily life is constantly kept before our eyes so that "over and over again we are urged to behold our Divine Master, that day by day we may become more, like him, more with him."

Particularly noteworthy is the social character of the meditations for they stress the daily application of the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ in all our neighbours to such an extent that we shall not be at rest until all things are restored in Christ. There are several meditations which treat explicitly the social, and political responsibilities of every Catholic, be he layman or cleric.

The volumes were first published in America. The high cost, Rs. 50/- per set, was beyond the means of most people in this country. We must thank the author for bringing out an Indian edition, moderately priced at only Rs. 15/- per set. The Sanjivan Press has done such an excellent job that the only difference between the American and Indian editions is in the price.



F. C. R.

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

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