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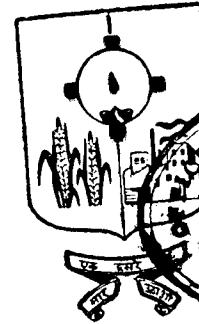
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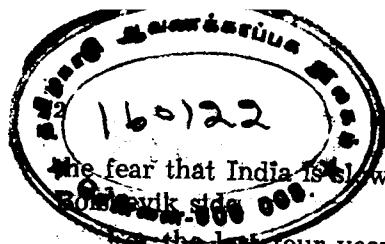
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This Side and That

Winter Visitors

The high light of the winter season was the official visit of the Secretary of the Russian Communist Party and of his Prime Minister. Their tour of the country was a popular sensation ; everywhere roads were done up, buildings whitewashed, arches erected, crowds duly mobilised, children trained to applaud spontaneously, and tax-payers resigned to foot the bill. Receptions were on a lavish scale, speeches numerous and nebulous enough to add to the confusion in many minds.

Besides the countless artistic, cultural and histrionic, economic, social, scientific and political delegations which are exchanged between India and Russia, besides the mounting activities of our Indo-Soviet and Sino-Indian Friendship Leagues, besides the mutual encouragement of fairs and exhibitions, besides the increasing pressure of the Communist Party within the country, besides the public declarations of mutual friendship, the state visit of the Soviet leaders cannot but arouse



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The fear that India is slowly being dragged over to the

For the last four years, leading politicians of ours have in their speeches dimmed the public memory of Communist misdeeds and crimes. The cruelties of their dictatorial regimes, the internal dissensions and blood-stained purges which dot their calendar, their immense slave-labour camps which re-educate political dissidents, their methodical persecution of all religions are glossed over as historical necessities. The despotism of their executive officers, the unreality of their constitutional guarantee of civic and political liberties, the denial of freedom to trade-unions and cultural associations, are justified as the inevitable drawbacks of economic efficiency.

The misdeeds of the old colonial system are denounced and deplored with hands raised to heaven, but the oppression in countries conquered by Red armies (Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, etc.) are passed over in silence; the failure of international disarmament plans is bluntly blamed on western democracies, and ready trust is put in an ideology which proclaims lie and libel as normal diplomatic manoeuvres. People cry themselves into hysterics after an atomic explosion in the Pacific and they remain deaf to an H-bomb exploding in Siberia, the first being denounced as the thunderclap of a world-war, the second as the irrepressible sigh of a peace-dove.

People ask themselves how such constant discrimination could be consistent with impartial neutrality.

The End of It All

Quite a few insist that India is following a path of her own, and will never allow conditions to drift to the

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ugly realities of present-day Communist regimes: atheistic materialism, party dictatorship, tyrannic bureaucracy, disregard of all moral and spiritual values. How can they be so sure? Some years ago gallons of ink were wasted to prove that China would not and could never turn Communist, and now as many gallons are spent on demonstrating that China was naturally ripe for a Communist regime. Will the same happen about India?

The question does not appear to embarrass some leaders who nurse confused ideals and mixed emotions, but the Congress Party which professes to keep to the Gandhian principles should watch and guard against a drift to extremes they are officially shunning, and against inculturation and acculturation. They should memorise two plain warnings publicly given by none other than Mr. Krushchev. The first referred to those who might look forward to a Red conversion: "Those who fancy that we have abandoned Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism are like shrimps learning how to whistle." The second was quoting a Russian proverb: "One often kisses people one cannot strangle".

If we are to believe him, Soviet-land will relentlessly pursue its ancient dream, world-communism, even if it does not strangle friendly countries just now.

Converting the Reds

At this point one might note that Soviet friendship for India is a newly hatched sentiment. Not so long ago several of our leaders were called 'traitors' or 'running dogs of imperialism', and the latest edition of the Soviet Encyclopaedia still contains outrageous aspersions on the Father of the Nation, a strange con-

trast with the dithyrambic eulogies trotted out for Indian consumption.

There is little sign that their Indian tour opened the mind of our illustrious visitors or checked their truculent sense of the Russian feeling of effortless superiority over the Indian way of life. Possibly they did come to admit that outside the Iron Curtain there are people that are not war-mongers. But did they happen to realise that the best guarantee of a will-to-peace among the masses lies, not in a dictatorship over the proletariat, but in the daily life of democratic institutions? The masses in countries alive with active democracy are not tempted to wish for war and are spontaneously allergic to war propaganda, whilst they could easily be hypnotised into war-hysteria by a dictatorial oligarchy which allows no freedom of opinion, press or assembly and encases the whole public life in a monolithic frame.

Will the present Congress Party convert Communist autocracy or will Soviet dictatorship pervert Indian democracy?

Silver Lining

There are definite symptoms that India will keep to her way of life. Our leaders are sincere and staunch in their profession of democracy. It is said that, as there is no foreign policy except home politics, they dream of confusing and confuting Communism at home by painting themselves red. As to the crowds, they enjoyed the holidays and "tamashas" but they were disappointed that those panchshila friends looked very much like well-fed white bourgeois; and they made up their mind to go their own way.

A. L.

Family Wages in India, II

In our last article¹ we treated of one of the reforms needed to prepare for the establishment of a family wage in the country, namely, raising immediately the wages of those in the lowest wage brackets, especially of those below Rs. 50 a month.

We now consider other measures to be taken and objections against doing so, and then conclude.

As a preliminary observation it must be admitted that the great poverty of the majority of workers in the country is not a natural necessity which just cannot be helped and about which nothing can be done.

It must also be admitted that the workers, and we mean especially those less well paid, receive insufficient wages, largely, though not exclusively, because employers are stronger and can resist pressure. This is especially so where there are no unions, or only weak unions, as holds good for agricultural labourers.

Towards a Family Wage

The reader will recall that at the beginning of this series of articles we said that much of R.N. was applicable to India today. This is especially true of the clinging to the tenets of a dying liberalism which prides itself on its "rugged individualism" and its freedom of contract, which, for the worker, means freedom to accept an unjust wage or starve. "Many of the new business leaders have the thrusting nineteenth-century

¹ *Social Action*, Dec., 1955, "Family Wages in India I".

businessman's contempt for the efforts of the working class to protect themselves and enhance their status."²

We immediately hear about managerial difficulties because they have behind them a powerful press while the workers are not so served. "Unlike the agriculturists," says the *Economic Weekly*,³ "the manufacturers are a vocal and powerful class and have active contacts in Parliament and in Government circles. They in fact control both the import as well as the export authorities and are the real power behind Government's policies." It would be interesting to know what are the exact fortunes of the industrialists and large owners in the country. We do not know. In the Lok Sabha, Mr. N. V. Gadgil is reported as saying that ten per cent of the total (national) income is earned by less than 1500 families, and that out of Rs. 561 crores earned annually, 1,442 families and individuals earned Rs. 58 crores; 161 persons earned Rs. 26 crores and after paying income tax had a net income of Rs. 4.44 crores.

On almost all sides we hear of the great economic improvement during the last few years. Mr. B. M. Birla, who ought to know, addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (March, 5th, '55) said: "In the past year, as during the previous years, the country has made steady progress on the economic front...." More academically the *Eastern Economist* summing up the components of the dynamism of the recent economic trend, says: "The first of these is the high elasticity in voluntary saving.... Secondly, largely because of the rise of incomes the market has been

² India — Progress, Plan, *Economist*, Jan. 22, '55.

³ 9—4—1955.

able to expand, enabling costs in some industries, notably textiles, to be reduced.... Finally, the fact is that the balance of payments has remained stable while real income has risen...."⁴

But, it must be asked, if there is such all-round improvement, why then is it not possible to improve the wages, in a *substantial* way, of the lowest paid workers? They should certainly be the first to enjoy an increase in national prosperity. The last three years have shown an increase of about 20 per cent in agricultural production and over 30 per cent in industrial output, but the effects have still to be felt in the lower wage sectors. As a matter of fact, at the time of writing, agricultural prices show a serious fall which will adversely affect wages; and though agricultural prices have fallen, those of manufactured goods remain the same, in spite of the reported fall in costs.

"The nation's economy became strong and healthy in every other respect," reports *Commerce Annual*. The 'other respect' is the dark shadow over the country, — unemployment. Mr. G. L. Nanda, Minister for Planning, said last year, that there were about 1.8 million applicants for work every year. He admitted that these new applicants were not being absorbed and that in addition to these, there existed extensive unemployment and underemployment. The first Five Year plan has been readapted to meet the problem which remains serious. Statistics, he said, were inadequate, but indications point to the employment situation being the worst among the educated classes. The second Five Year plan would aim at fuller employment. At pre-

⁴ 5—3—1955.

sent, he said, the situation was that both employment and unemployment had increased, i.e., there are more jobs than before but there are still more people to fill them.

Since, when two employees chase one employer, wages go down, it is obvious that steps should be taken to see not only that the wages of those in the lowest bracket do not suffer, but that they should have a full and *first* share in increased national prosperity, for it would be idle to speak of national prosperity if a large section of the nation can hardly eke out an existence.

Raise the Wages

What would be the effect of rising wages? Advantageous because it would be an incentive to work better and thus increase production. A better-paid working class means increased and well-distributed purchasing power. Of course, an increase in wage rates is useless if it brings with it a corresponding increase in prices; what is asked for is an increase in *real* wages.

It is usually objected that the output per worker does not warrant a wage increase and that a decrease in profits would kill off investment. It is true that productivity is the key to prosperity. It is also said, that there is a fall off in the country of output per man unit. If this is so, the reasons for this should be sought out, and output increased. There may be unjustified reasons for lowering production, *v.g.*, unwarranted go-slow tactics, but it should also be remembered that insufficient wage incentives and general dissatisfaction with what is felt to be an unjust labour-management relationship may be a cause of lowered output.

In return for a just wage and just conditions, a just day's work must be done, and there is a danger that as the tide turns in this country and trade unions become stronger they may carry over with them the spirit of the bitter fight that has gone on so far, in order to win some justice from a capitalism that, generally speaking, is only ready to make concessions that are won from it as the result of a fight for rights. It would be wrong if workers, as their pay and conditions improved, refused to give an honest day's work in return for a just wage. It would be wrong not only morally, but also economically, for the ultimate basis of improved prosperity must be greater production.

Another heavy loss for industry is the heavy rate of absenteeism and of labour turnover in the country. If the average American labour turnover is between 50 and 60 per cent, that of India must be much higher with a consequent higher loss to industry. Since we ask for just wages, there must be justice practised by both sides, labour and management.

Loss of Investments?

It is argued that a wage rise means less profits and thus less attraction for investors. It is quite true that a good incentive is needed for investment. The ECAFE Report for Asia remarks that as regards India the rate of production is too slow, the rate of capital increase is also too slow for the proper economic development of the country. Private capital in India is very shy, especially about investing in long-term undertakings. The joint stock companies have investible funds, but are not ready to run the risk. Hence the present need of the much controverted foreign investment.

While all this is doubtless true, a better distribution is a greater national asset, and this could be achieved by raising wages. An annual increase of Rs. 400—600 for the worker is a far better national investment than an increase of many crores in the hands of a few, especially when they prefer liquidity to long-term investment. In an underdeveloped and heavily populated country as India, the need is for a better distribution of wealth and a greater purchasing power on the part of the masses. Then demand, production and investment will increase. (In a system that is already paying as high a wage rate as is possible, higher wages do not always increase purchasing power. But India is not in this category.)

While workers must remember that they cannot pursue an uncorrelated demand for an ever-increasing wage rate, since many other factors must be considered, employers must also recall that economic history teaches that real wages have risen for over a century. This rise, far from harming industrial prosperity, has been one of the chief factors in it, and there is every reason to hold that this will be the case in the future.

We believe that if the economic system is soundly organised according to the demands of social justice, it will be able to provide all with a moderate sufficiency of essentials and with the means of enjoying frugal comfort. If our present economic set-up cannot do this, then it is not in accord with social justice and must be made to be so.

Minimum Wage

One of the means of raising the wage rate in the country, especially of the lowest bracket, is a minimum

wage fixed by law. Although this has been done for some industries and States, the Act has still to be made a working success. The following letter brings out very well what is wrong :

To The Editor, "Times of India"

Sir,—An overwhelming majority of workers employed in industries to which the Minimum Wages Act has been applied have never been paid wages as prescribed by the Act. As a member of the Minimum Wages Committee (road construction and building operations), I toured several districts in Maharashtra last month. At all the places I visited I found that the wages paid to workmen were far less than what the Act prescribed. The Act has prescribed common wage rates for both males and females but nowhere has this uniformity been observed. Even where Government contracts are being executed, contractors have refused to pay workmen wages prescribed by the Act but have obtained the signatures of workmen on amounts they were never paid.

The minimum wages for industries to which the Act is made applicable is determined by a committee consisting of equal representatives of workmen and employers. While prescribing the minimum wage, due consideration is always given to factors such as the capacity of industry to pay and the wage rates prevailing in the surrounding area. The wage prescribed is the bare minimum and not a fair wage. It enables a workman to satisfy only his bare physical needs. If industry cannot afford to pay such a wage it has no right to exist.

R. J. MEHTA,
General Secretary, Hind
Mazdoor Sabha

Bombay, March 29.

At a Maharashtra INTUC session, March, '55, it was suggested that the Minimum Wages Act be scrapped in the interests of the workers. The reason for

this seemingly strange request was that certain industries were crossing over to other States to avoid the Act.

Little comment seems needed on these reports. Certain sections of business do not want to pay even "the bare minimum, and not a fair wage." It is obvious that without honesty and a fundamental sense of justice, no progress can be made in labour relations.

Unjust Contracts

Another evil practice that is unjustly keeping down wages is the contract system whereby an employer gives out undertakings to contractors for the most advantageous offer. The employer is interested in getting the best bargain; the contractor is interested in getting the contract at the greatest possible profit to himself. Neither cares for the worker who is the first to suffer from the bargaining, especially when contracts are sub-let and profit is sought by lowering wages.

Some legislation has been introduced to counteract these evils, but here again it is execution that counts. It is legislation in action, not on paper, that helps the worker.

We certainly hold that State intervention should be kept down to the minimum necessary, but in situations such as we find in this country (unjustly low wages, and no unions, or no strong unions) to fight for a just wage, State intervention is necessary. Agricultural workers and domestic servants are a special case in point.

Even Minimum Wage Too Much?

It is also objected that a weak industry cannot pay even a minimum wage, and that those industries which can, will evade the law. An industry that cannot pay a minimum wage is a parasite, and if it can only exist by exploiting the workers, it should cease to exist. Experience has shown in the West that none of the major evils feared by employers by what they termed an interference with their liberty on the part of the State and trade unions, ever took place. Labour legislation, generally, has been an all-round benefit. What must be curtailed is, not the legitimate use of his liberty, but the employer's capacity to exploit the worker.

That the Minimum Wage Act will be violated can be said of all laws. This is no reason not to make laws, but an argument to see that they are enforced.

Family Allowances

When wages in the lower bracket have been raised, and a minimum wage for all workers fixed, the next step towards a family wage is the introduction of family allowances. Although, as we have explained in a previous article, family allowances are only a palliative, they do help a family to get an income approaching what is necessary to support a family in decency.

Considering the present poverty of the country and the vastness of the undertaking, family allowances should be introduced gradually, beginning with the more poorly paid families whose need is greater, and commencing the scale of allowances with the third child. Payment for these allowances could be met by

contributions from both employers and workers according to the scheme already existing in some Western countries.

It is not sufficiently realised that family allowances, by bringing about a better distribution of wealth and increasing the purchasing power of the best consumers, the large families, improve the general economic situation by a wide-spread increased demand, and thus help production and fuller employment. Furthermore, it will be recalled, that family allowances are not charity but an expression of social justice, a return to the family for the services which it renders to the community.

Conclusion

The family is the basis of society. It is vain to build on shaky foundations. Material conditions affect sane all-round development; so, if the family, and consequently, society, is to develop satisfactorily, it must be given the material means for such a development. This implies a family wage. We cannot be satisfied with our economy until such a wage is paid.

But since the paying of this wage is not possible at present, immediate measures must be taken to prepare the way. As long as justice is not done to workers, no supine attitude can be excused.

There is no slick solution to safeguard a better distribution of present, and, especially, of future wealth, but, undoubtedly, just wages for all is an integral part of that solution. And a more just solution than what at present holds must be found. The Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, in a frank declaration made in Bombay, said that the glaring discre-

pancies in the economic life of the people could not be permitted to continue for long. He said that economic progress since Independence had not been great and that there was unimaginable poverty everywhere. Bombay, he said, was an example of extreme poverty and fabulous wealth. It was the same story in the rest of India, especially in the cities. A handful of capitalists were controlling the destinies of the people. He was not blaming anyone, but the system.

We ask, as a component of a new and better system, for just wages for all, specially for the poorest.

New India is on the march, but whether it be to true progress or to ruin, will depend, in the long run, not on brilliant material progress, but on whether the country as a whole, and especially her leaders, are inspired with sound ideas about the human person, the family, labour, wages, property, politics and other essential matters. It is up to all to find out what is the truth about these vital points, but it is above all the duty of those more gifted and more influential to know that truth and to let it shine before all men.

A. Nevett

(This concludes a series of six articles on "Wages" which appeared in *Social Action*: "Wages" May-June; "Family Wages" July; "Wages in India I" Oct.—1955; "Wages in India II" Nov.—1955; "Family Wages in India I" Dec.—1955; "Family Wages in India II" Jan.—1956.)

Boimondau Organisation

About the organisation of the Boimondau Labour Community, little needs be said regarding the professional organisation; it is divided into three services, the industrial service, the commercial service, and the accounts service, as they call their departments. The industrial service is handled in sections and in teams, a feature one finds in the ordinary factory. What is original is the social service which deals with all the other activities organised to foster the humanist development of the members, not only mutual assistance but education and culture. This social service has many sections: sports, arts, spiritual and intellectual pursuits, meetings and festivities, health and assistance; it has youth sections and family groups. Worthy of note is the spiritual section which has four groups, catholic, protestant, humanist, materialist, who carry on their meetings, studies and other activities according to their own decisions, but always on condition of respecting the convictions and liberty of all others. The intellectual section can boast of several teams: library, trade-union activities, civic study, community bulletin. There is however no political section, as the community is affiliated to no party though it seeks the favour of all.

On such a background, one should expect that admission to full membership will be surrounded with suitable conditions. Three stages are arranged for: probationer, postulant, companion. The new arrival remains on probation for three months; he is not a member of the community but a wage earner paid according to union rates.

After three months, he passes an examination and may be admitted as a postulant for one year; he is paid at the same human rates as the companion but he has no voice in the administration of the community and no vote in the General Assembly.

If he goes through this period to his and to the community's satisfaction, he is admitted as a companion, with all rights and duties: he has become a fellow-owner and a fellow-administrator; he is bound by the Rule and should keep the pledges he has taken for his professional and social life. The members or Companions are classified into the producers i.e. those who work in the concern, and the family-members (wives and children living at home); note that they are not called non-producers since they make a real contribution to the community life.

Government of the Community

The supreme power is vested with the General Assembly which gathers all the Community members, producers and family-members. There are two yearly sessions, one is a study-day, and is spent on revising the Rule of the Community and on electing members to the various offices, professional and social; the other is the feast-day (St. Eloi) of the corporation.

Besides the sessions, there is a weekly meeting at which are read the reports on the week's history and contacts are made closer between all.

The head executive is the Chief of the Community. He is chosen for three years on a unanimous vote of the General Assembly, and he may be chosen for three successive terms. He has full powers to select and use

the means to implement the policies of the Assembly. Since unanimity is always required, both Assembly and Chief must agree. More generally "no decision of any organism or group-leaders is valid unless it is confirmed by the Chief. After having secured mutual trust between superiors and subordinates, he appoints all leaders at any level. He has the right to assist at all meetings held in the Community, without being bound to do so". He would be, as it were, omnipresent and omnipotent, were it not that the whole organisation is voluntary and every decision is taken on the basis of mutual agreement. Automatism, laziness, slave-mentality might allow the Chief to grow into a dictator, but such deficiencies are hardly expected in a group of members who are individually bent on personal emancipation and group harmony. Somewhere in the Rule, it is said that the Chief must be the best and that he must serve. He is to be the soul of the Community. The Chief is assisted by the Community General Council on which are sitting the four heads of the departments or services, industrial, commercial, accounting and social, and eight members, elected by the General Assembly. It meets at least once every quarter, to hear and advise the Chief, study problems, check accounts; it fixes the remunerations, prepares the budget, interprets the Rule, and may appeal to the General Assembly against the Chief's decision.

The Tribunal

The Judiciary power is entrusted to the Tribunal comprising eight judges elected by the Assembly; one departmental head, one section leader, one team leader, three specialists, two family members of whom one

is a mother. They are elected each year from a list approved by the Chief and it hears and decides all disputes and delinquencies. In the ordinary, special individual judges are formed for each particular case.

The Community possesses no Code of laws. As the Rule says, "all judgments are passed with reference to the Community ethics and Rule. Commonsense guides the judges. Their liberty is entire. One should not be surprised that they inflict different sentences on similar cases, since they do not judge the fault but the man. They should always know the man before judging him." Our legal luminaries will have noted the revolutionary principles: the man and not his fault is being judged. In the view of the Communitarians, the delict should not be separated from the person of the delinquent and judged by itself. It is the whole man that must be examined and judged. Another original feature of Communitarian justice is that, as a logical sequence of the fundamental law of unanimity in decisions, all must agree on the guilt or innocence, namely judges, plaintiff and accused, and, except in the case of a sentence involving dismissal, the accused must agree to the punishment. Such provisions bring out the humane and human character of the Community's organisation.

There also exists a Control Commission made of three elected members to watch over the general run of the Community and to check the accounts regularly.

Neighbour Groups

The last institution which characterises the Boimondau organisation is what is called the "Neighbour Group". In some way the Neighbour Group is

the most important unit of the Community since it is the basic unit for the education in communitarian life. It is a group of five or six families living in the same quarters, and meeting once a fortnight. They meet at one of the homes in turn, and there, while taking coffee, they trash out all possible issues. Minutes are taken and sent to the Chief: everything is discussed except politics; news, domestic events, anniversaries, festivals, clauses of the Rule, remuneration, collective savings, etc. It is also from the meetings that homes can be rated for cleanliness, order, union, and valued from the social point of view.

At the Group level, much immediate help is given, baby-sitting, care of the sick, exchange of books, etc. Men, women, children are invited and, in the convivial spirit of a common meal however simple, mutual knowledge and esteem are fostered. The minutes of the meeting are like the kaleidoscope of the daily life in Boimondau.

Remuneration

The remuneration given to a member is on the basis of his total human value and calculated in two parts: his professional value and his social value.

Let us take the professional remuneration. It is not a salary or a wage. A salary or wage is a lump payment fixed in a contract. Labour is priced like commodities; it will have no right to profits, nor will it be liable to losses. At Boimondau and all Communities of Work the remuneration is a share in the net profits distributed according to each one's deserts. This implies sharing profits and losses. The Community, however, goes further and provides against adverse

contingencies of life in the community and family life. Professional remuneration is based on two factors: the professional coefficient, and the individual rating or note. In the same process of production, engineer, foreman, miller, turner, apprentice, etc., have not the same impact on production; this relative bearing on production normally is proportional to the individual qualification. This ration is the potential coefficient.

The rating as viewed in the Boimondau Community will correspond to the actual effort, attention and dexterity of each individual who may prove to be at a given time a good, satisfactory, or mediocre engineer, miller, or apprentice. The potential coefficient multiplied by the individual rating is taken to represent his professional value. In the first years everybody was asked to estimate his personal value in a meeting of the team, and this estimate was usually accepted by all, though the member who was cheating outrageously was penalised or even excluded from the Community. In course of time it was noted that all gave themselves practically the same rating. At present there is a general rate-list of professional coefficients and the personal note has been suppressed. In its stead, a rate of return is calculated in advance and those who do better are given a premium.

The calculation of the social value is based on similar ideas. The social value is broken up into personal value and communitarian value. If the maximum (100 points) is reached, the character of a man will have carried 14 points, his practical knowledge 3, his culture 3, his health 5, his intelligence 5; his sense of responsibilities 50; his communitarian spirit 10, his civic sense 5 and his family responsibility 5. This is

used to calculate the social coefficient, whilst the individual note or rating will assess the activity, sportive, cultural, artistic he may undertake in the various social teams and sections.

The social value added to the professional value makes up the total human value and is expressed in points. The total profits of the Community is divided by the total number of points to give the money expression of one point, and hence to calculate the total remuneration of each member. The corresponding sum is automatically put to his name.

The proportion between the professional and the social value varied in course of time, at the start the social being rated as half the professional, then later being taken as equal. Note that wives have their remuneration for the work at home, which is estimated as their professional value; children too have fixed remuneration, since by growing they render service to the Community. Actually the social value of wives and children is being paid according to a scale which is higher than the family allowances provided by the state law.

In general the Community is inscribed on the state security organisations, but pays for the risks not provided for by the law. In case of prolonged sickness, salary is paid in full as well as all costs of hospitalization and maternity.

Counter-Effort

A peculiar social activity is the countereffort; it is the work put in at the farm the Community acquired. Besides the one month holiday with full pay which is often spent at the Community's rest-houses, there

is one month spent on the farm of 235 acres. Most of the Boimondau pioneers had been in the Resistance during the war and had developed a yearning for the open and camp life. They also wanted to raise their own produce; finally they took it that no man should be divorced from the soil. So that they unanimously decided that all, wives included, should each year work on the farm for three periods of ten days each. In this unexpected decision, one can feel as it were how deeply and sincerely the Boimondau people seek in all sorts of ways for a life that will be truly full and human.

Conclusion

This humanist preoccupation is basic with the Communities of Work. At Boimondau they say: "We do not fabricate watch-cases; we try to make men". They do not pretend to have discovered a final and universal set up that would embody their ideal. They are aware that their attempts are not conclusive. They can however boast that they are close to a satisfactory solution for middle-size enterprises, but they are still trying to find their way for the large-scale or small-scale undertakings.

At present the communitarian concerns are grouped under the Communitarian Entente. The Entente's charter stipulates that the production goods of the Community must at all costs remain in collective ownership, and never be distributed among shareholders, so that no type of private capital should claim any right on ownership or management.

Except for a few extreme cases of integral Communities, some private property is allowed: shelter, tillable piece of ground, musical instruments, paintings,

etc., everything that guarantees each human being his natural liberty and no more.

At present the number of communities included in the Entente is forty-five ; in 1953 they numbered 805 workers, of whom 610 were companions. Their total turnover reached over one billion francs (about Rs. two crores), their total salary-post was over 350 million francs (Rs. 50 lakhs). They were of different types ; transport concerns 5, metal-work 5, electricity 2, textiles 3, studies 2, carpentry 8, building 4, upholstery 2, agriculture 1, watch-making 8, finally 5 confectioneries, photo-studios, etc. The watch-making industry is the best represented with 8 concerns, 410 workers, and 466 million francs (Rs. 6 lakhs) as yearly turnover. They are found in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Italy.

Here and there the movement tries to take root. A Community in Boimondau style is not started abruptly. It supposes either an economic pre-community or a social precommunity, that is to say, an undertaking which is ready to develop the social life or a social group which is prepared to embody its social spirit round an economic enterprise. The movement grows at the level of the earth, develops in practical experiments, and lives on a humanist inspiration. It denounces economic liberalism as exists in our modern capitalism and economic totalitarianism as found in communism. It is an effort at creating a civilisation on work and through work, at setting up a system wherein the individual and social sides of man will be balanced in realistic institutions, at achieving personal and social pluralism in peace and harmony.

The movement deserves the attention of our leaders ; it is vastly different from the past experiments of Fourier, St. Simon, Cabet, Tolstoy, etc. It can be studied in situ. Our delegations and missions are sent here and there to visit and study all types of institutions, state-farms, dams and barrages, shipyards and atomic plants. Could not a few earnest social workers be detailed to make an enquiry on the spot into the various Communities of Work ? Could not our Community Projects which government has planned for the country take advantage of such a study and borrow from Boimondau a renewal of democratic and humanist inspiration ?

A Lallemand

Documentation

The Menace of Communism

(Joint Pastoral of the Australian Hierarchy)

"The Communist threat to the Christian world is not something that has suddenly arisen in our generation. Its fundamental errors were exposed by the great Popes who ruled the Church during the last one hundred years. The Bishops of the Catholic Church, in union with the sovereign Pontiff, have been foremost in the world-wide struggle against atheistic Communism.

In one generation this aggressive and ruthless movement has contrived to hold about a dozen nations in bitter bondage. Untold sufferings have afflicted millions of helpless people, and since the Catholic Church has always been the chief opponent of this sinister system the persecutor's hand has struck most heavily at the Bishops of Christ's clock.

appear to realize that they are forwarding the interests of Communism.

There seems to be every likelihood that the present political upheaval has presented the Communists with an unexpected vantage-ground in their fight. We fear that the hard-earned fruits of victory in industry will be speedily lost by a renewal of Communist control over our industrial life.

Many people are deeply confused by the recent happenings in our midst. They justly fear that the cause of Communism has been advanced considerably during the last few months. Internally and externally the position has worsened. Very many people asked us to give them some direction in the present confused situation.

The Church is not concerned with party politics as such. It has no desire to establish a Catholic domination in public life, nor has it been attempting to do this. It seeks only to preserve freedom, to serve the common good and to unite with our fellow citizens in achieving these aims. Let us emphasize that Catholics have always been free, and remain free to exercise their franchise according to their conscientious judgments, on policies, parties and candidates. They are, of course, not free "to profess, defend, or spread the materialistic and anti-Christian doctrine of the Communists".

Immediate Communist Threat

At the moment there is one outstanding issue for the nation and the Church. It is the immediate threat to the security of the people and to the freedom of religion in Australia.

This peril has a twofold aspect: disruption from within and aggression from without. We deplore the fact that some public men have failed to realize the magnitude of this issue. They seem to concentrate on issues of lesser moment, or to act from considerations of personal ambition or advantage. It is only the Communist cause that will ultimately benefit from this failure to face up to the basic national issue.

We are alarmed at the attitude of those who, without finding an adequate substitute, have seen fit to disband a

well-proven means of fighting effectively the Communist threat to the nation. If they fail to provide such a substitute, they will have failed in their duty to the nation. Mere generalized declarations of hostility to Communism are completely futile in these times.

The anxious attention of patriotic and thoughtful Australians is directed in these days towards the nations of the north of Australia. We know that there are forces in that vast area which are working for good, and others even more actively working for evil. We have the deepest sympathy and admiration for the national aspirations of these countries. We share in the well-founded fears of many of our northern neighbours that their newly-won freedom will be sacrificed on the altar of atheistic Communism. For this reason Australia's foreign policies must be judged in the light of their bearing on Communist strategy at home and abroad. The over-all Communist objective is the gravest peril now threatening the freedom of Asia and the freedom of Australia.

Therefore, we call on all Catholics and appeal to all our fellow citizens of the Commonwealth to face the great threat of our times with courage, coolness of judgment and self-sacrifice. We strongly urge them to oppose vigorously any revival of Communist influence and power in our political, industrial and cultural life.

It is the duty of every Catholic to work for the good of his own country. Its greatest good can be obtained by the application of Christian principles to private and public life. We must be God-fearing and God-loving, faithful to our religious practices. We must observe loyally the commandments that God has laid upon us, mindful that "his yoke is sweet and his burden light." We must be true to our social obligations, opposing all inroads on man's dignity as a son of God, and insisting on his God-given rights. As Catholics, we realize that more is effected by prayer than by human effort. The present emergency calls for continued prayer and penance. "There is no way of casting out such spirits as this except by prayer and fasting."

F. C. R.

Social Survey

Medical Institute

A Bill has been introduced in the Lok Sabha by the Union Health Minister which seeks to establish in New Delhi an All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, which will be a sort of super Medical University. The objects of the Institute, says the Bill, shall be:

- (a) to develop patterns of teaching in undergraduate and postgraduate medical education in all its branches so as to demonstrate a high standard of medical education to all medical colleges and other allied institutions in India;
- (b) to bring together in one place educational facilities of the highest order for the training of personnel in all important branches of health activity; and
- (c) to attain self-sufficiency in postgraduate medical education.

The Institute will be run by the Central Government and will operate medical colleges, a nursing college, hospitals, research centres and other institutions to train rural and urban health organisations, etc. The Institute will have its own curriculum of studies and will confer degrees and diplomas. The Central Government will meet all the expenses. A sum of about Rs. 70 lakhs has been earmarked for 1955-56.

Production of Books

Inaugurating the UNESCO seminar on the development of public libraries in Asia the Union Minister for Education, Maulana Azad, said that the Government of India had decided to set up a National Book Trust for the preparation and production of healthy literature for the masses. The Trust will promote the publication of classics and standard books on important subjects, and of translations of outstanding books, Eastern and Western, into the several Indian languages. It will also help universities, academies and other approved institutions to publish such books and ensure that they are made available to the public as cheaply as possible.

The Government of India, he continued, were seeking to set up an integrated system under which there would be four national libraries in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi with the one in the Capital as the coping stone of the edifice. As part of the integral system there would be a central library in every state giving support and guidance to district libraries. Under the system the district library will be the pivot and will maintain a mobile service to take new books to the people in the villages and bring back to the headquarters books already used. Out of the 320 odd districts in India, he said, 100 had already either set up such circulating libraries or were in the process of doing so. The programme they had drawn up would ensure that by March 1961 there would be no district without its own district library and circulating library service. (The HINDU)

Prohibition in India

The report of the Prohibition Inquiry Committee is at last out and, as expected, it has recommended total prohibition for the whole country by April 1, 1958. The date seems to be significant.

The Committee is of the opinion that there is popular demand for prohibition all over the country and that the matter is urgent. It has given two years grace to the State governments to get ready by setting up suitable machinery. There seems to be no concern at all for the financial implications. India has to find a lot of money for the second Five Year Plan. Revenue from excise is estimated at about Rs. 50 crores, an appreciable sum of money. Though the Committee states that prohibition has been a great success in Bombay and Madras the common man who is in close contact with the situation has his own doubts of the so called success. We published in these pages some months ago a report sent by the Madras Government to the Prohibition Inquiry Committee which certainly was not so sanguine in its appraisal of the situation. Though all States are willing to adopt prohibition on principle many of them hesitate to launch forth into the deep. Drink does harm, it must be controlled

and with vigour. But is total prohibition the remedy for the evil.

Alcoholism

An Institute of Scientific Studies for the Prevention of Alcoholism is to be started in Bombay in May next year to provide scientific training in specific phases of the alcohol problem according to an announcement made by Mr. B. G. Kher, President of the National Committee.

The Institute will devote its attention to the study of the effects of alcohol on the physical, mental and moral powers of the individual as well as on the social, economic, religious and political life of the Community, the state and the nation. The course at the Institute will aim at giving certain scientific facts and basic information that would qualify school administrators, teachers, physical directors, coaches, physicians, nurses, religious leaders, temperance, social and welfare workers to work more effectively in behalf of national sobriety.

The Institute will be located in Bombay but will train workers from all over India.

The Institute will also undertake experiments to produce a non-alcoholic beverage-substitute to eliminate craving for drink.

Railwaymen

The National Federation of the Indian Railwaymen held their first annual general meeting since the Federation was formed in 1953 at Vijayawada under the Presidentship of Mr. S. R. Vasawada, the National President. Mr. Vasawada in his Presidential speech has suggested that before starting the second Five Year Plan employers and employees should get together to discuss and come to an amicable settlement on all outstanding issues and then strictly adhere to the decisions arrived at during the entire period of the Plan so as to derive the maximum benefit for all concerned.

He has called upon the Government to appoint another pay commission to go into the entire question of pay scales and also to remove anomalies which, he said, still prevailed in the pay scales of certain categories of railwaymen. A suggestion that workers should be associated in the administration in order to inculcate in them a sense of responsibility and duty has also been made.

The President strongly criticised the existing machinery for settling disputes and asked for its thorough overhaul. Work at present is so slow and involved that a large number of disputes remain undecided with the result the workers are getting impatient, discontented and disillusioned.

The speech ended with a stirring call to railway workers to fight corruption in all its forms in the railways and to build up for themselves a reputation for selfless service of the highest order for the Nation.

State Insurance

With the extension of the Employees' State Insurance Scheme to Madras City more than a million workers have been brought under the Scheme. From reports received from places where the Scheme is in operation it is clear that it is becoming popular. As it is a new and grand scheme it will take some time for it to work smoothly and satisfactorily. So far the Scheme is confined to industrial workers employed in factories using power and employing twenty or more workers. Plans are afoot to extend the benefits of the Scheme to other categories of workers.

Labour College

India has now its first Labour Training College. The Gandhi Mazdoor Smarak Nidhi Trust has sponsored a Labour Training College in Indore. The object of the College is to mobilise and train young men for national service through the labour movement on Gandhian lines. Admission to the College will be confined mainly to two categories of persons : (1) Worker-leaders with a background of field work, and (2) Social-science graduates with an aptitude for labour work

and national service. To begin with it is intended to admit 12 worker-trainees and 8 graduate-trainees. The course includes both practical and theoretical training. For practical training the trainees will live in a commune attached to the College, where they will be assisted in building up a regulated life required of a social worker. In addition they will be associated with the day-to-day work of the local INTUC where they can learn the know-how of work. The theoretical training includes a study of labour problems, with the necessary and social and economic background. The training period of graduates will be two years while for worker-trainees it will be one year. The classes started from October 1955. (Labour Gazette)

Diet

With a view to correcting the imbalance in Indian diet, emphasis is being shifted, under the second Five-Year plan, from cereals to protective foods like milk, meat, fish, fruits and vegetables, etc. Special attention will, therefore, be paid to the development of dairy farming, animal husbandry and fisheries (Eastern Economist). This certainly is a most welcome development. It is a notorious fact that most of our people are undernourished and the diet is very much unbalanced. People must be educated to pay more heed to their diet on scientific lines. Education, however, should go hand in hand with production. There is ample scope in our country for the development on a vast scale of the production of milk and milk products, fruit and canned foods. This incidently will go a long way in solving the employment problem in our rural areas.

Second Five Year Plan

The second Five-Year Plan is very much in the news in spite of the upheavals caused by the S. R. C. Report and the visits of foreign dignitaries. The various agencies concerned have submitted their plans to the Planning Commission and are clamouring for their sanction. The total outlay is about Rs. 5000 crores. The problem now is where to get all the money from. According to Mr. G. L. Nanda, India's Minister for Planning, Rs. 11,000 million will be needed in foreign capital.

Corruption

The Home Minister, Pandit Pant, has introduced in the Lok Sabha a bill which seeks to amend the Indian Penal Code to facilitate the investigation of cases involving corruption among officials. It is proposed to make the offences detailed in SS. 162, 163 and 164 of the I.P.C. cognizable, in order to deal effectively with touts and agents through whom corrupt officials secure bribes and illegal gratifications. Offences mentioned in SS. 161, 165 and 165A have been made cognizable by the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947. The Home Minister said he was prepared to agree to the deletion of the clause in the Act which required that investigation in cases where an official was accused of corrupt practices, was to be carried out only by officers above a certain standing. This would ensure that any suitable officer could carry on the investigation. There is a lot of corruption in the country. Some of this is due to sheer greed for money and for luxuries which are by no means necessary. But among the lower ranks of employees corruption has become almost a necessity owing to the low wages and the high cost of living. To remedy this latter state of affairs what we need is not new Acts and new machinery to detect corruption but the payment of better salaries.

Cooperation

The Co-operative Movement in India has made great progress during the half century that it has been in existence. This progress has not, however, been uniform between different States or as between different fields of activity. As at the end of June, 1954, there were about 200,000 of co-operatives of all types all over the country with 15,000,000 members and a working capital of Rs. 3,520,000,000. Of these, the agricultural credit societies formed a preponderant majority. They numbered over 125,000 and had a membership of 5,800,000 and a working capital of over Rs. 540,000,000. The bulk of the achievement in this respect, as in several other fields of co-operative activity, was confined to a few States such as Bombay, Madras, Andhra and Uttar Pradesh.

Though much has been achieved so far much more remains to be done. Co-operative movement is very weak in most States and even in those where it has made a good beginning it does not cover all fields of activity where there is scope. According to a survey made in 1951-52 only 3 per cent of the total credit obtained by the cultivator was provided by the co-operative credit societies. More education, more propaganda and more efficient management is needed to make this movement a greater success than it has been so far. "India set before itself the ideal of Co-operative Commonwealth. There can be no commonwealth without wealth for the common man. The common man of India to-day, as well as of to-morrow and of the day after, belongs to rural India. Predominantly he resides in rural India. Even where a lopsided economy has drawn him in appreciable numbers to the big cities and enlisted him in the ranks of industrial labour, his heart and interests continue to be in rural India. The only plan that can restore vitality to the rural economy, and, on that vitality, build up the future prosperity of the common man is one which, as the first condition, imparts strength to both agricultural and rural industry. Only then, and in that process, will conditions have been brought about for the well-being of the common man, and therefore, for the realisation of a commonwealth. The process should, and with wisdom and determination can, be that of co-operation; co-operation, not merely in the narrower technical sense in which it has completed fifty years of existence in this country, but in the much broader conception of it as the purposive union of all the forces which work for the common good and, in particular, the Co-operation which joins together in a common purpose the united strength of the Indian village with the united strength of the Indian State."

(All-India Rural Credit Survey Report)

Conversion Bill

A Weekly Note of "Thought" (Dec. 10) deserves quotation: "Mr Nehru's forthright intervention in Parliament against a private member's Bill seeking to regulate religious conversion should go some way to curb the mischief that has been afoot in the name of Hinduism and patriotism. For a long time obscurantists and ignoramuses have been indulging

in a mind of which-hunt with hair-raising stories about Christian missionaries' devilry sometimes in Madhya Pradesh, sometimes in Uttar Pradesh and sometimes in the "strategic areas between Assam and Burma." The Bihar incident when a crowd attacked a church and belaboured the priest and congregation and desecrated the church was merely an ugly expression of this serious disease creeping into our body politic. The particular Bill would make it obligatory on all seeking conversion to register themselves and those converting would, if it were passed, have to obtain a licence from the Government. In its central purpose the Bill was primarily aimed at those Christian associations and other groups which believe in religious proselytization. Some of the country's newspapers, whose stock stands or falls by the amount of religious bigotry and hatred among different communities of India, have found in the Christian missions targets unable or unwilling to retaliate. What is even more unfortunate is that some of the legislators too are falling for this popular stunt. All the Christian missionaries working in India are by no means ideal followers of Christ; there are some among them to whom "Churchianity" is a superior object of allegiance than Christianity. By and large, Christian missions are, as religious orders go, superior in the sense of service and virtue to most other denominations.

The Prime Minister's reference to the "ghastly report" of a committee of the Planning Commission which had been set up to enquire into orphanages and women's homes would serve as a reminder that to throw stones on others while living in a glasshouse is neither moral nor wise. Not much wrong had been found, Mr. Nehru said, in those "run by Christian organisations but there is a great deal wrong in those run by other religious organisations." It is an evidence of the gathering malady in this country's collective life that this report would have failed to find due space in the columns of the daily newspapers in India which otherwise show an ever-ready nose for news. But for Mr. Nehru's bold lead, his own party might, it can be said without fear of contradiction, have found nothing wrong in the Bill now thrown out. Sometimes the difference between his party and organisations like Ram Rajya Parishad is without much distinction." F. C. R.

Book Reviews

NIGHTMARE JOURNEY. By Vladimir Petrov. Calcutta: Criterion Press, 1955. Price: Rs. 6/8.

The present is an Indian edition of a book which is recommended for its exciting contents and limpid sincerity. It is the story of Vladimir Petrov's arrest, captivity, and escape from the Russian labour concentration camps.

What happened to him happened to hundreds of thousands; he was no hero, had no exceptional position, and met with no unusual treatment; what singles out his case is that he passed through everything from beginning to end and yet survived and could tell the story.

He does not discuss Marxist theory or Communist policy, but Red practice as it obtains in Russia, and as is followed in Eastern Europe, China and all satellite countries. Pace the good intentions or delusions of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, the systematic crushing of fundamental rights is never justified, the evils of a dictatorial rule are not swept aside by the democratic profession in a Constitution, and the horrors of a single party rule will never be wiped off the memories of men.

The arrest of an ordinary student, his banishment to the Kolyma goldfields, his labour in a concentration camp, his escape, his long journey through Russia at the end of the war, his adventures under German occupation, and his progress to Rumania, Austria, Italy, up to the U.S.A. are the landmarks of his Nightmare Journey. His story was first published in America, it was then reprinted in India at a price accessible to the purse of many.

This Indian edition is a master-piece which bears easy comparison with the best in foreign countries. It is a real pleasure to have such a proof of the talent and technique of Indian printers. May this artistic specimen be an inspiration and a challenge to all our publishers.

A. Lahuri

SEVENTH REPORT OF THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BOARD, published by the UNESCO, the 20th session, Supplement No. 4. pg. 269. — price \$ 3.

This excellent and detailed report traces the progress of Technical Assistance for economic development applied especially to the underdeveloped countries of the world like South-East Asia, Africa and South America for the year 1954. The types of Assistance include such projects as the basic surveys of resources and the building up of administrative services; power, transport and communications; industrial production and mining; agricultural production; auxiliary services to industry and agriculture; health services; education; community development and other social services. Besides improved techniques have been promoted by demonstration and pilot schemes, and a variety of training schemes for skilled and semi-skilled workers has been undertaken.

To get an idea of what technical assistance means in the concrete, the case of India may be cited. The Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Department of the Survey of India, the Bhakra Dam Designs Directorate at Delhi, the Ganges-Brahmaputra Water Transport Board were all recipients of expert technical advice for the development of their peculiar needs. In the industrial field, vocational and instructor training, increase in productivity, classification of employment opportunities, and occupational analysis were undertaken. In agriculture, crop production and protection, animal production and disease control, land and water use and farm machinery, and the establishment of training centres for rural welfare, are the particular fields in which technical assistance was required and made available. Finally, several scientific and research centres in the country borrowed experts from abroad, while the services of others were utilised for medical and population studies.

The Report is well illustrated with charts that cover the global scope of technical assistance. On the whole some 23 million dollars were spent on the 1954 programme, much of the finance and the technical guidance came from the highly advanced industrial countries of the West. But we are happy

to note that some of the so-called underdeveloped countries like India gave about as many technical advisers as she borrowed.

A. F.

TATA MANAGEMENT CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS 1955

This is a very attractive booklet. First by its exterior appearance: fine printing, expert disposition, lively photographs suggestive of earnestness and responsibility; in one word: style.

The contents are even better. First the range of subjects treated in the pattern of the theme Employee-Management-Relations; so far as we can see, no essential aspect was left untouched but what is more: many very important points of view came to the fore. For the experts this booklet is really an excellent summary of the Industrial-Relations-Problem.

Secondly the spirit both of the papers introducing the subjects and of the reported discussions is worthy of modern enlightened social-conscious managers of big Industry, as the participants in the conference showed themselves to be.

We feel quite sure that Prof. Myers must have felt himself happy at home among them.

Beginning with the very valuable phrase of Mr. J. R. D. Tata in his Inaugural address: "Let us approach our problems with due humility"; I would like to characterise the spirit of the whole proceedings in the following words: a deep sense of humanity, balance, objectivity and practicality. Really if this spirit is applied systematically and thoroughly in the diverse factories of the Tata house, well I should say: the workers there should appreciate their good fortune.

Does this mean that we agree with every proposition in the booklet under review? Certainly not.

In the first place we have something to say concerning a phrase in the same Inaugural Address, referred to above: "...a feeling that they have some voice, IF NOT IN POLICY, in some of the processes of management".

We do not want to affirm that the workers have a RIGHT to interfere IN the POLICY of the factory in which they work. We know that in the U.S.A. the workers do not want to interfere formally and DIRECTLY in this POLICY-making, but if the meaning of the above phrase was to DENY ANY SUCH RIGHT on the part of the workers and this on principle, we would not agree. We know also that this is a very grave and complex problem, but it is equally true that the problem is not solved as yet and our opinion is that when with time, as is inevitable, the workers become more conscious of their power and of their real place in the industrial process they will want to interfere more and more in its policy-making even in the individual plants. We put only one question: If a modern big factory cannot be run without labour—and that is certainly true—why should the workers not have a part in its policy? If You deny them that right, they can refuse to work with You and for You, and where will you be then? (The passage referred to is on p. 7. last but one para.)

Our second remark relates to the right of workers not to be members of a Union in a given plant (cfr. p. 27, 2nd column). We agree that every wage earner should be a member of a Union and that it is even his duty to do so, but does it follow from that, that he should be a member of this distinct Union even if it wins great advantages for him in this individual plant, where accidentally he is working just now? When we use here the word "accidentally" our intention is in no sense to question the very great desirability of steadiness in employment nor to promote arbitrary turnover; it is to emphasize his fundamental freedom to freely choose the factory where he wants to work and to change from it say because in another plant he can have better working conditions. We think that no worker whatever is bound to be a member of any specified Union and that it may be his duty.

to eschew members of some particular Union, for example for reasons of conscience.

Our biggest point of disagreement is paradoxically enough not with any of the papers or pronouncements of some participants of the Conference but with Prof. van Dusen Kennedy on p. 29. § (d)

By simply putting three words together, Prof. Kennedy touches a point that in our opinion is the biggest and in the long run the most dangerous flaw inside Unionism in all the countries of the West and not only in India. These words are: "...VOLUNTARY, SECONDARY LEADERS..."

From this it follows that in the meaning of Prof. Kennedy "...full-time salaried officers..." are the PRIMARY leaders. And in fact actually that is true. But in principle, beyond being extremely dangerous, this is non-sense and the very negation of every true democracy. Salaried officers must be Functionaries and not LEADERS in the strict and precise sense of that word; in principle they should not only be but they are and cannot but be, as Prof. Kennedy himself puts it on p. 30. "...employees and servants of the Union, freely subject to direction, criticism, removal by the membership," for the very reason that in this case the members and only the members are the EMPLOYER. Now who of both should be the PRIMARY leader, the employer or the employee, is a question that in our view must not be discussed. Because that principle is not applied or anyway not sufficiently applied in Western Trade-Unionism. There is rampant in smaller or larger measure in all the Unions of the West the terrible sickness that Prof. Kennedy denounces so forcefully in the words: "Unions should not be the personal instruments of leaders." Unions need vitally paid functionaries as experts in every field of their activity but as Advisers, never as leaders with power for decision. Their MORAL authority may be immense, but always for counselling, never for imposing their views. It is because of that evil, the PRIMARY leadership of paid functionaries, that membership is so inactive in Western Trade Unions that their numerical strength is so loose and floating and at least relatively so small. And

it would be still very much smaller if a certain proportion of the wage earners class were not as conscious as they are that Trade Unions are their only protection in an industrial society and therefore stick to them notwithstanding all the actual abuses, of which the exaggerated position of power of the salaried functionaries is the gravest.

We conclude this review by repeating our high appreciation for this beautiful report on the "Tata Management Conference and Seminar on Industrial Relations 1955".

J. C.

LE MARXISME EN UNION SOVIÉTIQUE. By Henri Chambre.
Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1955. Pp. 510.

With the ever increasing number of delegations interchanged between India and Soviet Russia, the study of Communism has become more imperative than ever. The present book of H. Chambre is most apposite. Henri Chambre is not one of those tourists who go sight-seeing Soviet land and gather a few superficial impressions which our Russia-returned delegates are prone to splash in our newspapers and which merely tell us that Russia is on the surface of the earth and that Russians are men like ourselves.

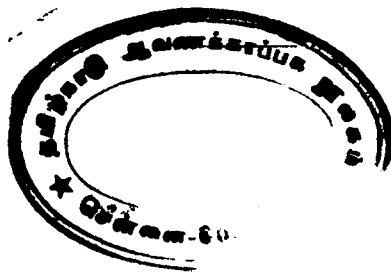
Henri Chambre studies Communism not as it is in theory but as far as it is embodied in a political regime. He studies in turn its institution, its legislation, its culture and its political economy. In each of those fields he pursues an objective study of the reality, and especially examines how far Soviet Russia is faithful to the Marxist ideology. He systematically compares the views and plans of Karl Marx with the Soviet situation today; he points out each instance in which Communism has been transformed, warped, or even contradicted by Russian official policy.

From his thorough study, two main conclusions are drawn. First soviet ideology is a political instrument of the Party and the State. The second is that the ideology of the Gotha Programme has vanished, swept away as it was by the conditions of the N.E.P. and that the ideology contained in the German Ideology and of the Preface to the Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy when developed in course of time brought out in full light the contradiction which is inherent in Karl Marx's theory.

In other words: instead of being liberated from all alienations, the new man of Soviet Russia is encompassed and stifled in a totalitarian economic and political power. On the other hand, and here is Marx's fundamental contradiction, the dialectical process which was supposed to end in a historical liberation of man is endless and irreducible. Law, ethics, economy have become utilitarian and political techniques, and the crucial question remains as to whether man's full destiny and salvation are immanent to a terrestrial city.

In "Le Marxisme en Union Soviétique", the evolution of historical materialism is developed step by step, thanks to the numberless Russian, American, English and French documents which the author had at his disposal. His book is a welcome change after so many travelogues and autobiographies; it is a thorough and systematic probe into the soul and life of contemporary Russia.

A. Lallemand



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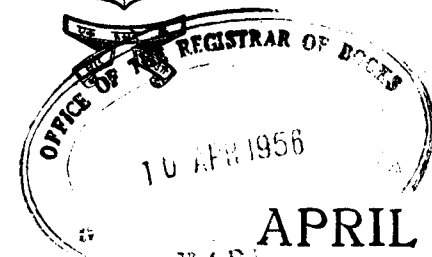
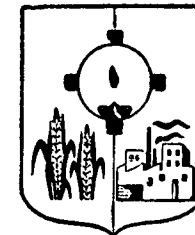
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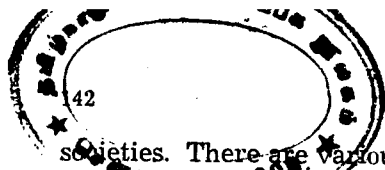
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This Side and That

Code of Manners

When going through the syllabus of schools of social service, one is struck with the stress laid on industrial relations, civic duties, social hygiene and what not. Strangely enough none insists on a factor which is the salt of social life : etiquette. Of course mutual respect and sympathy are mentioned in social ethics, but the manner and style of bringing out those inner feelings are not detailed.

As a label describes the contents of a package, so etiquette tells us the qualities, tonality of respect, warmth of regard, delicacy of benevolence, refinement of spirit, etc., with which people treat others. As the spontaneous expression of inner feelings might be clumsy, obscure or liable to misunderstanding, tacit mutual agreements are made that give words, gestures, tone, posture, a definite significance ; they are the social conventions. These conventions vary with the cultures, traditions, requirements and transactions of groups and



societies. There are various types of such social conventions, e.g. one expressing respect and fostering fear, another expressing equality and fostering impertinence; one stressing the sense of personal dignity, and giving an opening to pride, another bent on a display of mutual attention and allowing for hypocrisy, and so on. Tribal life has its etiquette as well as the sophisticated ceremonies of cities though sociologists who write or read big books on manners and customs often enough fail to unearth the fundamental feelings common to all men.

Learning Etiquette

Because of this pluralism in codes of manners, would it not be opportune to prepare and teach a short course of national and international etiquette? Our citizens travel from place to place, people of many regions foregather, tourists come and go, delegations go and come, mankind gets so much together that one is often enough at a loss in trying to be adequately urbane and pleasant to all and sundry.

There are obvious rules; even in the most comradely style, cultural visitors do not sprawl on couches, or play the buffoon; V.I.P.'s are not welcome with a mixture of flowers and pebbles, political leaders are received in a Rolls Royce and not in police van, etc. But there are also conventions which one cannot know without detailed learning. Our young people who wish to play their patriotic part in pining cultural or other delegations, committees and commissions would feel happy if they could get a firm grasp of the particulars of national and international etiquette.

The sense of brotherhood mints the gold coins of social intercourse, etiquette issues the small change; gold coins should be genuine, but also neat, shining small change contributes to the ethics and esthetics of social intercourse. A social service course should supply gold coins and small change.

Life Insurance

The Minister of Finance did not mince words when explaining what had led to the nationalisation of life insurance. The matter had been studied over the last five years. The insurance work was done without any sense of trusteeship and social responsibility. Savings in the shape of premiums were handled as monies of shareholders, and invested uncautiously, if not fraudulently, in many cases, whilst the legal controls imposed from time to time had failed to improve matters. Management expenses ran up to 27 per cent of the premium compared with 15 in U.K. companies and 17 in the U.S.A. concerns, whilst the premium rate was about the highest in the world. When the policy-holder sees that only twelve annas out of each rupee he paid up are actually used to guarantee his future claim, he naturally expects they will be securely invested, but they were largely loaned out on doubtful securities or put into equally doubtful concerns; which practice partly explains why many claims were postponed indefinitely or unanswered. "The truly well-managed companies are a very small minority". "Legislation and control can no longer be regarded as giving us a reasonable chance of achieving our objective". Hence nationalisation. If companies complain against the measure, they have only themselves to blame.

But are the policy-holders reassured? Should one say that money is always safe with a Government, when one notes the many instances of inflation and money depreciation which happened here and there in many countries? Are there no cases of fraud and corruption in government services and undertakings? If concerns that fail in the private sector must pass into the public sector, should not business that fails in the public sector pass to the private sector?

Look Before You Leap

The Life Insurance bill is the first step taken towards the socialist pattern of Indian society. At the back of this new policy, there is no Marxist dogma as is usual with socialists of Continental Europe, but rather a vague ideal of moving towards a society in which everyone enjoys the same social rights and standard of living, and the move must be step by step as circumstances dictate, one step forward and one (or two?) steps backwards, more or less in the style of the British Labour Party.

In that connection, one should note the reserved attitude of Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the new leader of the Labour Party, who shows himself very shy of any further nationalisation, and would prefer reaching equality through redistributing income by taxes and death-duties rather than through a full-scale nationalisation which would spell the death of freedom and democracy.

A. L.

The Living Wage

(Continued)

Obligation in Social Justice or Strict Justice?

The family wage is considered by Pius XI in "Quadragesimo Anno", a right of the labourer. He writes: "So in the first place an effort must be made to obtain that which our predecessor Leo XIII, of happy memory, has already required, namely, that in the State such economic and social methods should be set up, as will enable every head of family to earn as much as, according to his station in life, is necessary for himself, his wife, and for the rearing of his children; for the labourer is worthy of his hire."

"To deny this, or to make light of what is equitable, is a grave injustice, and is placed among the gravest sins by Holy Writ. Nor is it lawful to fix such a scanty wage as will be insufficient for the upkeep of the family in the circumstances in which it is placed."

Though it is expressed in clear terms in the above passage the obligation of the employer to pay a family wage to the labourer on account of the *dignity of human labour*, still moralists discuss whether such a duty is of strict justice or not. The importance of this discussion is great, for if the family wage is due in strict justice (commutative justice), there arises the question of restitution.

As a personal fault or sin this may be more serious in God's eyes; but the violation of commutative

justice brings about the problem of restitution with all its complications.

From the word *obligation* used in the encyclical we cannot make out clearly whether it means strict justice, for the obligation may be of general justice as well as of commutative justice. Of course the Encyclical insists on Living Wage (Q. A. 73) to the extent of advising the liquidation of the business if unable to pay a living wage. But such a demand could also be based on social justice.

While sociologists starting *a posteriori* from social facts and echoing the misery of the slums and poverty of the modern worker, have claimed, since long, a Living Wage for the worker, moralists have been generally more reluctant to accept the thesis of the obligation in strict justice. For the moralists starting *a priori* from the principles sticking literally to the notion of commutative justice which demands in any contract *equality* between the value of the services and the price given for them, could not reconcile themselves to the obligation of strict justice for paying a family wage. But due to the weight and learning of Papal documents at present the moralists are more social minded; although the majority of them still maintain that absolute Living Wage to be a claim of social justice, a good number like A. Vermeersch, Merkelbach, Kuppen, Noldin-Schmith, defend the absolute—Living Wage claim in commutative justice; while a few like V. Vonghelew, C. Noppel and M. Rocha go to the extent of defending the obligation of relative Family Wage

in commutative justice.⁽¹⁾ One of the reasons why moralists are reluctant to admit the obligation of Living Wage in strict justice, is because the sum involved cannot be determined accurately, and consequently arises the difficulty of fixing the amount of restitution. We think that when the Government, as the agent of common good should fix a Legal sum or price as the Living Wage; then no doubt, moralists should accept Legal Living Wage, binding in commutative justice. We think a good practical solution to solve the difficulties of Living Wage would be to foster Social Legislation fixing the exact amount of Living Wage. In the case of India, the Government legislation fixing the exact amount of Living Wage in Rupees, Annas and pies would constitute a good guidance for us. Still this requires a good deal of statistical studies for which I think just now we are not prepared.

But the lack of evidence in determining the condition of this obligation can in no way excuse the employer avoiding the obligation of paying the Living Wage.

If the Economic Conditions Allow

In case the employer cannot pay a Living Wage he cannot be bound to do so; for when there is no profit nothing can be paid, and when the enterprise is running at a loss there is no profit. But no doubt the employer is bound in social justice to improve things in such a way as to be able to pay a Living Wage. On this subject Pius XI draws some pertinent conclusions:

(1) Cfr. Collationes Brugenses, 1950 : De inferiori justi salarii Limite : p. 213.

"The condition", he says, "of any particular business and of its owner must also come into question in settling the scale of wages; for it is unjust to demand wages so high that an employer cannot pay them without ruin and without consequent distress among the working people themselves"

Evidently in such circumstances the labourer's right to a family wage becomes suspended and hypothetical, as does the claim of a creditor when the debtor becomes insolvent. But the employers must have in mind that wages comes first and then the profit, though they are not obliged to pay high wages when there is no profit at all.

But in such a case it becomes the duty of the State to interfere in order to take proper measures to secure the minimum family wage. But if the business makes small profits on account of bad management, fault of enterprise or out of date methods, this is not a just reason for reducing the working man's wages.

The weighty commentary on "Quadragesimo Anno" by Oswald Nell-Breuning⁽³⁾ holds that the obligation of paying Living Wage in strict justice does not arise until society is so reorganized (through social justice) that the economic value of the workers contribution equals a living wage.

The conclusion is that each country or place, according to the economic conditions, should fix Living Wages corresponding only to the standard of the

⁽³⁾ Reorganization of Social Economy, p. 177.

country and countries should strive to increase production in order to make it possible to give a Living Wage as high as possible.

V. APPLICATION TO INDIA

When we come to treat of the Living Wage in India, we must repeat again that besides the human needs of the worker we have to consider the economic condition of the country. This is most effectively shown in the National income or *per capita income* of India. It naturally follows that when the national income is high, its level must be reflected in the standard of life of the people, as well as in the worker's wages. As in India the national income is low⁽⁴⁾ the Living Wage cannot go high, except if we take merely minimum Living Wage, as our ideal for the productivity of the worker as well as that of the country cannot pay more than what production allows. The two elements therefore, national income and Living Wage, should go apace provided distributive justice is the rule of the country.

Having in mind those principles, we have now to ask how much should be the minimum Indian family wage. It may not be 10 dollars like in U.S.A., but should be enough to maintain about 6 persons according to the standard of the people in India.⁽⁵⁾ This

⁽⁴⁾ Per capita income in 1946 of different countries was as follows: India, Rs. 204; Australia, Rs. 1799; Canada, Rs. 2,868; United Kingdom, Rs. 2385; United States, Rs. 4,668; Cfr. India Govt. Gazette, Dec. 1946.—See also Wadia and Mercant and Economic Problem, p. 523, 540.

⁽⁵⁾ Fr. Nevett in "Social Action" for July gives 6.6 persons for Indian average family.

implies that the wages should be enough to support a family of six as regards food, clothing, housing and education. But how much should it be in terms of Rupees? To know this we require a well studied Family Budget of the different classes which do not seem to be available, but we cannot avoid mentioning some facts here.

There are in India many millions of unskilled workers in rural parts as well as in the towns living on the border of starvation, and who may not get even one Rupee a day. Evidently such families are not getting a Living Wage, for no family budget will be possible to adjust with Rs. 30/- a month. In such cases it is the duty of the State to take the necessary steps, not precisely to get immediately an ideal Living Wage, but at least to raise their wages from the starvation level. Here then is a vast field for relief for public and for private agencies and immediate steps should be taken to relieve the extreme misery of families who make only Rs. 30 a month.

In Western countries it is easier to make a calculation for Living Wage, because there is a rather confirmed standard of life, but in India the gaps are so great between the low paid agriculture—coolies and the skilled industrial workers that to make an accurate average family budget becomes an almost impossible task. Until social and economic life of working classes become more standardised the difficulty continues.

Regarding the factory workers, it is obvious we must admit there must be great difference between

large cities like Bombay, Calcutta and up-country villages. A budget of Rs. 100/- may not suffice in Bombay to make a family wage, but evidently it will be quite enough in a village. Since the problem of minimum Living Wage is mainly concerned with industrial workers, we have to make a careful table of the cost of living of a family in the towns and industrial centres. Then only will we be able to make a demand for a minimum Living Wage according to the economic conditions of the place. This is the work of experts.

Two years ago in the study class in Alwaye Seminary we fixed tentatively the minimum family wage (for five members) for non-industrial areas of Malabar at Rs. 64/- a month, distributed as follows :

Food	Rs. 45—0—0	(calories above 1,500)
Clothing	5—8—0	
Education	5—0—0	
Housing	4—8—0	
Total	64—0—0	

Of course, this may not be called an ideal saving wage as explained before ; but it represents approximately a decent minimum Living Wage in the villages of Malabar. It is plain that for towns like Bombay we will have to double the amount in order to get the same convenience we get in the villages of Malabar.

Supposing that per capita income for India is only Rs. 250 the maximum wage this income allows is Rs. 115 per family per mensem, while the maximum allowed by American per capita income is more than Rs. 2,000.

In order to prepare the ground and create a suitable climate for the progress of social reform regarding the Living Wage among the employers and the public in general, we have to emphasise two remarks. Employers should have in mind (1) "Wages should come first and then the profits", (2) the principle "salary should be according to the work" is too individualistic and disregards the needs of the family which should be implied in the wages. These two principles must be our guidance in our effort to fight the unrestricted capitalistic views in order that the poor may not be deprived of minimum Living Wage now, and specially after the present transitory stage the social and economic life becomes more standardised.⁽⁶⁾

However, the raising of Living Wage depends mainly on the economic condition of the country: i.e. on Production. The Five Year Plans have for their immediate object to increase production and *per capita* income. When production is considerably increased then the question will be of distribution and then only will it be possible to pay to the average man in India a Living Wage which may help him to lead a happy

(⁶) Family wage considered here is for every *honest normal worker* (Encycl. Rerum Novarum) who according to normal economic conditions, is supposed to render labour enough as average man. Very often people are employed who cannot render efficient work, or the kind of work they do is such that they in no way deserve a full wage. Such workers should have the character of mere family servants, or else of part-time workers, and they are not expected to get in justice a full salary, as normal labourers. Such workers should not usually have full responsibility for the support of a family.

life. When we look to the enormous potential resources which India possesses, we have every hope, and pray that through wise planning we can raise India to the status of a prosperous nation providing its millions with the means of comfortable existence and every honest worker with a *minimum decent Living Wage*.

Fr. Victor, O.C.D.

India and Communism

(A paper read at the Hindi Session of the All-India Catholic Lay Leaders' Conference, Nagpur)

We are here today to discuss a highly controversial subject. But a subject controversial only to those who do not have a clear conception of what this subject truly means. In the minds of those who clearly understand even the bare principles of Communism, there is not the least shadow of doubt that its hypothesis and the methods deduced therefrom are totally unacceptable. Yet it is stealthily gaining ground in our country. But before trying to account for this expansion, I would like to say a few words on what Communism is and what it really stands for.

Communism is a materialistic and atheistic philosophy of life infiltrating today into the practical affairs of our social, political and economic life. It is an international conspiracy directed by totalitarian Russia which is committed to world conquest. An important

result of the Communists materialistic outlook is his determination to destroy all forms of religion. For the Communist all religion is a mere fabrication of lies to keep the exploited and the 'have-nots' of society in willing chains to their expropriators and capitalistic employers. Religion is the opium of the people. Nor has this Communist dogma changed over the last forty years of its existence as a powerful bureaucracy in Russia. Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, the first Secretary of the Communist Party in Russia, who had just finished his good-will tour in our country, openly admitted

"We remain atheistic and we do everything we can to liberate a certain part of the people from the opium attraction of religion which still exists."

In India

How is it then that Communism with such a materialistic and atheistic philosophy of life has been able to become a threatening danger to India whose whole cultural heritage has been spiritual? Looking back over our country's long ages of civilised living, we may say that the privileged vocation of India among other peoples is to be a witness and messenger of the priority of the mystery of God over that of material creation. She has been the witness of the unique value of that which does not pass away, the eternal, the spiritual, and the life within. Hence the reason for the appeal of an atheistic and materialistic Communism in a traditionally spiritual India cannot be explained by the appeal of its atheistic and materialistic philosophy. In fact, the philosophy behind Communism is too little known in India. If Communism

were displayed in its true colours, it would lose much of its popularity very fast. This in itself is a potent factor in determining for us, believers in God and the spiritual, the means of fighting against the continual encroachment of Communism in India.

Because it is impossible to say everything about Communism in this brief paper, I intend to limit the scope of the paper to a consideration of the threat of Communism in present-day India.

Gathering Strength in India?

Since Communism is a negation of all that is spiritual and religious, we may rightly ask ourselves why it is that it is gaining strength in our country? We must look elsewhere for the explanation.

(a) The poverty of India.

India in spite of its plentiful resources has been a land of abject poverty and misery for a very long time. Since we have gained our independence, the Congress Government has been making great efforts to eradicate this poverty through its five-year plans, its Community Projects, its Development Schemes, etc. People have been generously co-operating with the Government to lift this curse of poverty from off the land. Our country has made astonishing progress, yet it will take some time still before the effects of these plans and projects reach the teeming millions of India, especially the rural population, which compose the majority of our population. Meanwhile the people are impatient to shed their garb of poverty and don that of plenty. The Communists generally take advantage

of this time-lag situation. They spread dissatisfaction with the Government among the people. The uneducated, and even the educated, become an easy prey to Communist promises of a quick material paradise.

(b) *The problems of languages, reorganisation of States, etc.*

There are certain great political and social problems, such as the problem of language, reorganisation of States, etc., which the Congress has still to grapple with. There is much ill-feeling among the masses at this delay. They do not trust the leaders partly because of the wide-spread corruption among political leaders. Here again the Communists exploit the situation. Let me give you only one instance. The Report of the States Reorganisation Commission is now published. There is ample evidence that the Communists have used this report to spread excitement amongst the disgruntled elements of the population. They incite the people against the policy of the Congress Party and the Congress Government. Here also they do not follow any uniform policy. They study the temper of the interested groups and act accordingly. They try to create a gulf between the different sections of the people sometimes on communal and sometimes on linguistic or provincial basis. Thus they divide the people and poison their minds with their policy and teachings, creating among them unrest and revolutionary tendencies.

(c) *India's friendly attitude towards Communist countries.*

The third of the general reasons why Communism is gaining strength in our country is India's definitely

friendly attitude to Communist countries. There are frequent visits of the heads of the States from one country to the other. When Pandit Nehru visited Russia and China he received an unprecedented welcome in those countries. Communist leaders visiting India have been equally well received. We have just had Bulganin and Krushchev in India and they were given one of the grandest receptions in our history. Millions cheered them as they passed by. It would appear that Communists are our greatest friends and benefactors. Yet, here is what these so-called friends are planning and hoping of us. They want India to have the same kind of 'liberty' and 'freedom' as exists today in China. Rajini Palme Dutt, the Communist-appointed guru of Indian Communists, says in the Communist Party's weekly organ, the New Age (11/9/55) :

"...the path of political development in India is moving forward to the same basic aims of complete liberation from imperialism and its associates as has been achieved by the Chinese People's Revolution."

Mao-tse-Tung in his message to India in Nov. 1949 expressed the fond hope that :

"A free India will one day emerge in the world as a member of the Socialist and People's democratic family."

In other words, China's Dictator hopes that India will one day become just another colony of the U.S.S.R. So quite naturally, when India welcomes her, Russia smiles, cleverly hiding her intention of bringing India within the fold of the Communist countries. India's-

show of friendship for Russia and China gives a handle to our Communist friends here, to work for this same end of throwing India in Moscow's bosom.

(d) *The sense of frustration among the youth of the country.*

As the last of our general reasons for the spread of Communism in our country let me draw your attention to the widespread sense of frustration prevailing among the youth of the country, especially in Colleges and Universities. We have recently witnessed several cases of student indiscipline, chiefly at the instance of communists and communalists. The firing incidents at Patna in Bihar are quite recent cases. And in regard to them the Students Action Committees have publicly admitted that the National Flag was dishonoured at the instigation of certain political parties.

Methods and Techniques

By what methods and techniques does Communism hope to gain a foothold in India. With the Communists, the end justifies the means. With them, making an agreement and breaking it, is just a matter of expediency. With them formal international agreements mean nothing; they are never more than a paper agreement and therefore are broken whenever policy demands. Pundit Nehru and Marshall Bulganin agreed on the dissolution of the Cominform. This is Russia's international organisation to give directions of policy and aid to the Communist Party in each foreign country. The Cominform, supposedly dissolved, is today very much alive and kicking. There is undeniable evidence that the resources of the Communist Party

in India come from the crores of rupees which it obtains from the Cominform to maintain an army of whole time workers, newspapers, publishing houses, bookshops and 'Front Organisations'.

Mr. J. D. John writes in the "Current" of 12/10/55:

"A very large number of Russian books in Hindi, Urdu and Bengali are being sold in the market. All these books preach Soviet ideology and are very cheap. This is the first time that Russia begun to flood our market with books in Indian languages—a new step to indoctrinate our masses with an alien ideology. It also amounts to financial assistance to the Communist Party of India. Looked at from any angle this step of the Moscow Foreign Literature Publishing House amounts to interference in the internal affairs of our country."

Here is a flagrant violation of one of the fundamental principles of our Panchashila, to which both Bulganin and Krushchev pay lip service.

Infiltration

The infiltration of Communists into organized sectors of public life is well known. They have their cells in Government Departments, Parliaments and Assemblies, Armed Forces, the Police, educational and cultural institutions, newspapers, trade unions, Kisan Sabhas, Students' Unions, etc. The cases of Alger Hiss in the U.S.A. and of Petrov in Australia are only too well known. Slowly and stealthily they creep into

every organization, get a strangle hold on it and bring it completely under their domination. To quote one instance. The following incident is reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 8/9/55:

"My Syed Hassan has resigned from the P.D.F. Legislative Party of Hyderabad due to certain serious differences. Giving reasons Mr. Syed Hassan said to the *Patrika* representative that the P.D.F. Party was dominated by Communists and all the important elements of the Party were Communist minded....from top to bottom the Communists were having their say in all matters. The non-Communists members were being used as tools for propaganda and the party was practically doing nothing for others."

Front Organizations

Everyday the Communists are forming organizations, under their own communistic control, of the unorganized sectors of public life. They have their cells in every union of practically every type of worker. When the Communists have attained full control over these various organizations, they transform them into so-called 'Front Organizations'. The names of these organizations may not suggest communist influence, but the whole purpose of their existence is to promote the ends of the Communist Party at the moment, *viz.* separatism, disruption, unrest and discontent among the masses in general and the workers and labourers in particular.

If and when different sections of these unions or sanghs clash and come to blows, the Communist purpose has been achieved.

The Communist tactic is essentially disruptionist and violent. It is carried into every branch of the administration, even into the legislature. All democratic opposition and action is corrupted into irresponsible, violent agitation. This is the 'modus operandi' of the Communist Party in India as well as in the rest of the world.

A very neat analysis of the whole purpose and intent of the above mentioned infiltration by the Communists was put forth in the Lok Sabha by the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Anantasayanam Aiyangar. In his analysis of the political parties in India before the Laski Institute of Ahmedabad, it was reported that:

"He regretted that there was no real opposition party in India. He dismissed the Communist Party at the outset because the Communists do not believe in Parliamentary Democracy. If, therefore, the Communists assume power in India, they would establish a totalitarian government as in Russia and China."

(*Indian Express*, 15/10/55)

The Future of Asia

Let us now turn to a consideration of the significance of the policy of China and the policy of India with regard to the future of Asia. In these two great countries of Asia, a new order of government and society have come into existence. While China has

embraced the principles of Marxism, India is determined to abide by the standards of democracy. India bases her government on respect and the maintenance of the Rule of Law. Every individual has the right to voice his opinion on political, social and economic affairs; he cannot be pushed around arbitrarily by the Government. Our Courts still zealously uphold the rights of the citizen. There is no forced labour in the land. The press is comparatively free. The Government is responsible to the Legislatures, Central and State, both of which are elected by the people in free elections.

China on the contrary is a totalitarian dictatorship. In China the individual is just so much raw material to be moulded according to the dogmas, the twists of policy and the needs of the Communist Totalitarian State. Thus the Chinese ideal is totally opposed to the Indian. Yet the problems in each country are similar.

In each country a radical transformation, both social and economic, is urgent. Poverty and industrial backwardness are common to both. And touched by the contact of the material advantages of the West, the people of both countries, especially the educated classes, demand radical changes in the existing state of affairs. Both countries therefore wish to do away with penury and equip themselves with modernized industries. But their methods of attaining their ends radically differ.

Thus we see a sort of competition, though unintentional, going on between the two countries. South Asia is awaiting the outcome of this competition. Which-

ever country shows the more impressive economic progress will be accepted as the leader of Asia. If it appears that by sacrificing freedom there can be greater economic advancement, the intelligentsia will not hesitate to turn Communist. In the meantime, while the Indian Government pushes on with its social and economic reforms, the Indian Communist Party is consistently thwarting the Government and its efforts to make the free system a success. At present, the Communist Party is the principal and most formidable opponent of the Congress.

Counter-action

Is there any way to counteract the nefarious propaganda being so effectively carried on by the Communists?

In the opening paragraphs of this paper, I had pointed out that India's whole cultural heritage has always been spiritual. She has all through the ages been a witness and a messenger of the priority of the mystery of God over material creation. As such, India cannot accept the atheistic, materialistic philosophy of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. I feel sure that as soon as our people come to realise how opposed to all their conceptions of God and creation, Communism truly is, they will reject Communism outright.

To strengthen our argument, it will not be out of place, to put before the masses the opinions of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi and his true disciple, Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Their whole lives have been so wrapt up in the spiritual, that even their

social and political work is just another aspect of the Divine and the immaterial. Mahatmaji calls Communism 'Satanic', while Vinobaji, comparing Gandhism and Communism says :

"Two persons were so physically alike that one could well have served as the double of the other as a political fraud. But there was one slight difference. One breathed, the other did not. The result was that a dinner was being prepared for one, and a coffin for the other."

Communist 'Liberation'

It would be worth while to give full publicity to what Communistic "liberation" truly means. This is how some of our leading politicians, writers and social workers describe it. Shri P. Verma, M.L.A. (U.P.) writes in the *Pioneer* of 16/9/55, from Berlin :

"Communism in Europe's Eastern zone is nothing more than Russian Colonialism, and after having come into contact with a good many Europeans of these parts, I dare say that none are happy about it. But our Communists in India who talk so much about liberty, equality and fraternity, would do well to see what a bondage it is for the Russian-held Easterners. No West German or foreigner or Indian can purchase anything in East Germany or East Berlin. But the Easterner can go to West Berlin and buy anything he likes."

Shri K. Dutta writes in the *Organiser* of 3/10/55 :

"The Soviet Colonial record in Asia is not as widely known as that in Eastern Europe, although the process of subjugation has been both extensive and ruthless."

Shri Narayan Agrawal writing for the *Tribune* on 30/9/55 says :

"....there is no opposition party or organised public opinion tolerated in the Soviet Union or in China. This is negation of real Democracy. India is not going to allow this state of affairs."

Dr. K. N. Katju, Defence Minister of India, addressing the Congress Seva Dal Camp, called upon the people to fight Communism and check the growth of its ideology, which he said was capturing the minds of Asians. He also said that there was no democracy or freedom of speech in Communist countries.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, member of the Congress Working Committee, and daughter of the Prime Minister of India, addressed a very large gathering of students in this very city (Nagpur). In her address, she said :

"Students in India enjoy far greater opportunities, and a much greater freedom than their counterparts in Russia."

Then she went on to describe the low standard of living and shortage of food and housing. Here then are just a few samples of what our leaders have seen

and told us about Communism in the very Mecca of Communism. These reports will be of the utmost importance when we try to put before our people what Communism is, and what it stands for and what it means in everyday life.

Conclusion

It is our duty then to fight back the Communist peril to the best of our ability out of a sense of loyalty to our faith and our country. Our efforts must be twofold: we must refute the propaganda of the Communists as well as work for the social and economic uplift of India. Unlike the rest of South East Asia we cannot just watch the competition going on between the democrats and the totalitarians for the soul of Asia. We must throw in our weight with the efforts of our democratic country and see that India's efforts are crowned with victory, because in her salvation lies our salvation too. This is one more essential reason why Indian Catholic Lay Leaders should seriously play their part in the social uplift of their country and give her the right type of guidance she sorely needs in these anxious times.

Remi Paul

The Second Five Year Plan *

The Planning Commission of the Government of India has published a Draft Outline of the second Five Year Plan. It has been offered for general information and for eliciting comments and suggestions. It first briefly states what has been already achieved during the first Five Year Plan and then goes on to give a substance of the proposals for the continuation and development on a larger scale of the great work undertaken to achieve the socialistic pattern of society — “an economic and social order, based upon the values of freedom and democracy without caste, class and privilege, in which there will be a substantial rise in employment and production and the largest measure of social justice attainable.”

The second Plan period begins on April 1st, 1956 and will end in 1961. The plan which has been presented as a Draft Outline is the result of the labours of large numbers of persons in the Central Government, in the States at various levels and leaders of thought and opinion in every part of the country. For two years now the needs of the country as a whole and of every village in particular have been studied with great care and plans laid for further progress. India has undertaken a stupendous task. Much money, sweat, labour and blood will have to be expended. But if

* The material for the above article is taken from SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN, A Draft Outline, published by the Planning Commission, Government of India, February, 1956. Price Re. 1 or 1sh 6 d.

all co-operate and do their best, each one in his own allotted sphere, the people of India will be able to look back with joy and pride at the good work accomplished for the betterment of this vast land.

In the first Five Year Plan the emphasis was assigned to agriculture and irrigation and power; in the second Plan industrial and mineral development will be the spearhead of economic development. The total outlay for the second Plan works out at Rs. 4,800 crores. Of this total over half will be spent for the development of industries, minerals and transport, the latter being absolutely essential for the progress of the former two categories. The distribution of the outlay by major heads of development is as under:—

1. Agriculture and Community		
	development	565 crores 12%
2. Irrigation and Flood Control	458	9
3. Power	440	9
4. Industries and Minerals	891	19
5. Transport and Communications	1384	29
6. Social services, housing &		
	rehabilitation	946 20
7. Miscellaneous	116	2

Targets of Production and Development

The plan envisages an increase in agricultural output by about 18 per cent. The production of food grains is to increase by 10 million tons or 15 per cent, and somewhat larger increases are expected in the case of cotton (34 per cent), sugar (28 per cent) and oilseeds (21 per cent). At the end of the plan the consumption

of foodgrains will, as a result, increase to 18.3 oz. per adult as compared to 17.2 oz. at present. The national extension and community development projects will be extended so as to cover a total population of 325 millions. Land brought under irrigation will increase by 21 million acres as compared to an increase of 17 million acres during the period of the first plan. The generation of electric power will be stepped up by the installation of additional capacity of 3.4 million kW to 6.8 million kW in 1960—61 as against 2.3 million kW at the beginning of the first plan. There will be substantial domestic production of steel, coal, cement and fertilizers. The output of finished steel is planned to increase from 1.3 million tons in 1955—56 to 4.3 million tons in 1960—61. The total output of producer goods in the country is expected to go up by 150 per cent over the next plan period. Considerable advance is envisaged in education, health, housing, rehabilitation of displaced persons and other social services.

National Income and Employment

The sum total of these developments is reflected in the movement of national income. The national income is expected to increase from Rs. 10,800 crores in 1955—56 to about Rs. 13,480 crores in 1960—61. This will mean an increase of about 18 per cent in per capita incomes (from Rs. 280 in 1955—56 to Rs. 330 in 1960—61) as against an increase of 10 per cent over the first plan period. The target is to double the national income by 1971—72. If the present rate of increase is kept up we shall have reached the target by 1967—68.

One of the problems which the plan seeks to solve, at least to an appreciable extent, is the acute problem of unemployment. Additional employment likely to be generated over the second plan period in sectors other than agriculture is estimated at 8 million. In this estimate only full time employment has been taken into consideration. It is estimated that there will be about 10 million new entrants to labour forces during the period of the second plan. If we add to this the 5.3 million back-log of unemployed we get a grand total of nearly 15 million. It is assumed that large numbers will find full-time jobs in agricultural pursuits.

Co-operatives

During the first five year plan, largely on the initiative of the Reserve Bank of India, several important steps have been taken to reorganise the co-operative movement with special reference to agricultural credit. The co-operative movement now includes 22 State co-operative banks, 499 Central banks and bank unions, 126,954 primary credit societies and 9 Central and 291 land mortgage banks. At the primary level, besides agricultural credit societies, there are 30,306 agricultural credit societies, 8,389 non-agricultural credit societies and 21,137 non-agricultural non-credit societies. The primary agricultural credit societies have a total membership of 5.8 million and non-credit societies of 2.7 million.

It is proposed that the long-term goal for the co-operative movement should be reorganisation of rural business on a cooperative basis in such a way that within 15 years 50 per cent of the total business, in-

cluding credit, marketing, processing, etc., comes within the cooperative sector. It was further proposed that during the second five year plan the active membership of primary agricultural credit societies should be raised from 5 to 15 million and the amount advanced through the co-operative movement in short-term loans from Rs. 30 to 150 crores, as medium-term loans from Rs. 10 to 50 crores, and of long-term loans from Rs. 3 to 25 crores. The principal targets in the co-operative programme for the second five year plan, are as follows :-

Number of large sized societies	12,000
Number of marketing societies to be organised	1,700
Number of other processing societies	112
Warehouses of Central and State Corporations	350
Godowns of marketing societies	1,700
Godowns of larger sized societies	5,000

For achieving these targets, apart from the contribution which the Reserve Bank will make, the plan provides for a total amount of about Rs. 48 crores.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture has prepared a draft legislation for setting up Central and State warehousing corporations. It is proposed to build up storage capacity of 2 to 2.5 million tons. The Central Warehousing Corporation is expected to establish nearly 100 Warehouses, each having a storage accommodation of 10,000 to 20,000 tons or more. State warehousing corporations are expected to construct about 250 warehouses of 2,000 to 10,000 tons of capacity.

As for the development and progress of the co-operative movement the need of personnel is of paramount importance centres have been set up to impart thorough training for all categories of personnel.

Agriculture

The satisfactory results attained in the agricultural sector during the first plan suggest a change in the perspective for agricultural development during future plans. As it is no longer necessary to place a dominant emphasis on the production of cereals, the aim now is to diversify agricultural production, to put land to the best possible uses and to take all such measures as will increase the productivity of land and the yield of individual crops. Greater attention will be paid during the period of the plan to certain aspects of land utilization neglected in the past, such as horticulture, cultivation of fodder crops to support livestock development and dairy farming and village plantations for the supply of fuel. Rs. 350 crores has been earmarked for agricultural development and is distributed as under :—

Agriculture	164 crores
Horticulture	9
Animal husbandry and dairying	61
Forests and conservation	48
Co-operation	47
Fisheries	11
Others	10

For crops such as sugarcane, cotton and jute a number of special measures are proposed to be under-

taken. Intensive sugarcane development schemes, are to be extended to non-sugar factory areas. About a million more acres are expected to be brought under sugarcane cultivation. In cotton, efforts will be concentrated on increasing the area and the production of long staple varieties. Development plans of States also provide for schemes for the cultivation of improved types of tobacco, for better methods of production and marketing of black pepper, lac, and cashew-nut.

One of the more important aims in the agricultural sector during the second plan period is to increase the production of fruit and vegetables. The plan allots Rs. 8 to 9 crores for promoting fruit and vegetable cultivation. The plan also provides for the development of the fruit and vegetable preservation and canning industry through loans for establishing canneries and cold storage plants.

In providing for an outlay of over Rs. 40 crores for animal husbandry and Rs. 21 crores for dairying, it is hoped that during the second plan period greater progress will be made in this branch of agriculture than has been so far possible.

Despite the large cattle population of India (nearly 195 million) the net value of live-stock products amounted to Rs. 664 crores or about 11 per cent of the income from agriculture. In 1951 there were some 5,000,000 useless cattle in India. Attempts to ban cattle slaughter is increasing the useless cattle population. As the fodder problem is acute the surplus population is only adding to the difficulty of improving livestock.

More and more veterinary centres are being established. These by controlling and eradicating cattle diseases are cutting down mortality which again increases the cattle population.

During the plan period special attention will be paid to breeding better stock, to increase the food supply and to develop the milk and milk product industry.

Irrigation and Power

At the beginning of the first plan the total area under irrigation from all sources was 50 million acres. Of this, the area that received secure irrigation from large and medium-sized irrigation works was only 25 million acres. The doubling of this area by irrigation works, which would remain effective in years of low rainfall, was adopted as the target to be achieved over a period of 15 years. By the end of the second plan period nearly 20 million acres will benefit from the various projects undertaken.

Out of the 188 new irrigation projects, 136 will cost less than Rs. 1 crore ; 34 between Rs. 1 crore and Rs. 5 crores ; 8 between Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 10 crores ; 9 between Rs. 10 crores and Rs. 30 crores ; and only one project more than Rs. 30 crores. Most of the irrigation projects, therefore, of the second plan will be of medium or small scale and will yield results in quick succession.

The growth of energy resources is one of the principal foundations of industrial development. The consumption of electricity is rightly cited as an index of economic development.

During the first plan installed capacity has gone up to 3.4 million kW and the *per capita* consumption has gone up from 14 to 25 units. About 19,000 miles of sub-transmission lines of 11 kV and above have been added, thus more than doubling the transmission network which existed at the beginning of the first plan.

It is proposed to raise the installed capacity by the end of the second plan to 6.8 million kW. In all 42 power generating schemes (new schemes and extension to existing power stations) will be undertaken during the plan period. With the construction of 35,000 miles of transmission and sub-transmission lines of voltages of 11 kV and above, the transmission net work will be doubled. Energy generation which stood at 6.6 billion kWh before the first plan is expected to increase to 11 billion kWh in 1955-56 and to 22 billion kWh at the end of the second plan. By the end of the plan period 80 to 90 per cent of towns with a population between 5,000 and 20,000 will be electrified. Towns bigger than those have been electrified already. Attempts will be made to supply electricity to as many villages as possible. The target is to electrify 10,000 out of 561,000 towns and villages with a population of less than 5,000.

Industries

As has been stated above the emphasis in the second plan is on industries. Over half the total outlay will be spent on industries and allied subjects. The total provision made under the second five year plan for industrial and mineral development amounts to about Rs. 710 crores. In addition Rs. 200 crores are

allotted for the development of village and small industries. The public sector will play a dominant role in the industrial development during the entire plan period. Private sector will be some sort of a handmaid.

The aim of the Government is to make India self-sufficient as regards all forms of machinery. With this in view, during the second plan period attempts will be made to increase the production of steel from 1.3 million tons in 1956 to 4.3 millions in 1961. Three new steel mills will be set up at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur each with a capacity of one million tons ingot. The existing steel works at Tatanagar and Mysore will be expanded.

The programme for the establishment of heavy engineering industries includes a heavy steel foundry at the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory to meet the requirements of the railways for heavy castings, and the establishment of foundries, forge shops and structural shops. Negotiations are going on for the establishment of a heavy electrical equipment factory. It will be some time before this factory will go into full production. Many of the factories started during the first plan period, such as the Chittaranjan Loco Works, the Integral Coach Factory, the Hindustan Shipyard, the Telephone Factory and others, will go into full production during the second plan period. The development of steel and certain key industries will lay the foundation for the manufacture of practically all forms of capital goods in India within the next ten or fifteen years.

The private sector will supply machinery for a number of industries such as cotton textiles, jute and sugar, paper and cement, etc. Manufacture of electric motors, transformers, road-making equipment, various forms agricultural machinery will be stepped up considerably.

Here are some of the targets set for the second plan (target for 1960—'61) :-

Steel	4.3 million tons
Structural fabrications	500,000 tons
Aluminium	25,000 tons
Locomotives	300
Fertilizers	450,000 tons
Ship-building	90,000 GR Tons
Cement	800,000 tons
Automobiles	57,000
Bicycles	1,250,000

Minerals

During the second Five Year Plan, on account of the requirements of steel and transport, the development of coal production will claim the first attention. Coal production increased from 34.3 million tons in 1951 to 36.8 million tons in 1954. On the basis of targets proposed in the second plan for industries, for thermal power generation and for railways, the demand for coal at the end of the plan period is estimated to be about 60 million tons. Most of this will come from the collieries of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

Social Services

The outlay on social services during the second plan will be about twice the provision made in the

first plan. During the second plan about Rs. 946 crores have been provided for social services, the distribution being as follows :

Education	320 crores
Health—including urban water supply	267
Housing	120
Labour	26
Welfare of Backward classes	90
Social Welfare	28
Rehabilitation	90
Social schemes for educated unemployed	5

The objective of health programmes is to improve the general level of health by expanding the basic health services and bringing them within the reach of the people. It is estimated that in 1951 there were 8600 medical institutions in the country with about 113,000 beds ; in 1955—56 the number of institutions is estimated to be 10,000 with about 125,000 beds. At the end of the second plan the number of institutions is likely to be 12,600 and the number of beds 155,000 so that the increase expected is about 26 per cent in institutions and about 24 per cent in hospital beds.

The key to the extension of health services and their efficient operation is the availability of trained personnel in all categories. The number of registered medical practitioners which is estimated to be about 70,000 at the end of the first plan is to be raised to 90,000. For this purpose new medical colleges will be set up and existing ones will be expanded. At the end of

1954 there were 20,793 nurses, 24,290 midwives, 756 health visitors, 4,468 dais and 946 nurse-dais. The aim is to provide one doctor, one nurse and one midwife for every 5,000 population. India will need 80,000 nurses, 80,000 midwives, 20,000 health visitors and 80,000 dais and nurse-dais. But at the end of the second plan, if all goes well, the numbers will be as follows : doctors : 80,000 ; nurses : 31,000 ; midwives : 32,000 ; health visitors : 2,500 ; and dais and nurse-dais : 41,000.

Another problem of vast dimensions is the one relating to housing. There are an estimated 54 million houses in the rural area, of which a large number need rebuilding or reconditioning. In the urban area the housing problem is very acute. During the first plan period about 1.5 million houses were built. During the second plan period efforts will be made to build a further 2.2 million houses. In spite of all the building programmes in 1961 the shortage still be about twice as much as it was in 1951.

* * * * *

A plan covering a five year period has to be regarded as essentially flexible. It will have to be constantly kept under review and as new possibilities or directions of development emerge, the plan may have to alter here and there or modified to suit given circumstances. The Government will now consider the criticisms offered by the public after going through the Draft Outline. After taking these into consideration a fuller version of the second Five Year Plan will be placed before the public.

F. C. Rodrigues

BOOK REVIEWS

A COURSE OF MORAL INSTRUCTION, Part III. By Louis Leguen, S.J., Pp. 80.

The first two parts of the present course dealt with the "Foundations of Morality" and "Moral Life". Part III reaches "The Top and Crown of Moral Life", namely, virtue, which perfect man's moral excellence. It shows what human life looks like when actually made moral. The ground covered extends over the field of the main virtues, prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude. The treatment is meant to be at the level of high school students.

A. L.

THE SOCIAL ATTITUDE. By C. C. Clump. Madras, Loyola College Book Depot, 1955. Pp. 74.

The aim of this book is to give the senior students of schools and colleges and members of Social Study Groups guide-lines which may enable them to discharge their social obligations over the field of the main virtues, prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude. The treatment is meant to be at the level of high school students.

It studies man's social side, the social order, the family, the state, social economy, its organisation and its right order. Helpful discussion aids are distributed so as to facilitate a deeper assimilation of the subject.

A. L.

THE EVOLUTION OF MAN. By Fr. M. Hermanns, Allahabad, Society of St. Paul, 1955. Pp. 140.

Readers who have gone through a good deal of literary and journalistic essays on Darwinism will be fortunate to acquire this book by Fr. M. Hermanns, S.V.D. a specialist in the subject. His book is a challenge to Darwinism and its various schools. The subject is taken from successive angles; human biogenetics, physical and cultural anthropology, pre-history and paleontology, so that this multiple approach makes a full treatment. Fifteen neat illustrations enhance the value of the study.

What makes the special value of the study is its objective and up-to-date character. The data of the various sciences dealing with evolution are registered, collated and duly qualified; none is omitted, and all are noted as probable, false, certain or uncertain as the case may be. Their bearing on evolution is examined, tested and stated in as clear a language as possible. It is the best focussed summary of the subject one could expect.

But the author who is an authority in the Vienna School of Anthropology has not been satisfied with going through the work of others; he has added the most valuable information which he personally gathered on various primitive tribes of India, particularly on the Kadar of Cochin, a tribe which up to now is usually neglected.

The book is not recommended to amateurs of fairy-tales on our ancestors; but it will give full satisfaction to students who are keen on having scientific data and logical reasoning. It is a "must-book" for the library of every college in India.

A. L.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. By V. V. Giri, Bombay, N. M. Tripathy, 1955. Pp. 71. Price: Rs. 2/-.

In his forward, Shri Asoka Mehta introduces the brochure as a series of lectures delivered to the Scindia and Associated Companies Staff Union by the Ex-Labour Minister, Government of India. This should be enough to tell their importance, and interest.

The problems relating to Trade-Unionism and Industrial Relations are taken up first. The author takes a strong stand against compulsory arbitration and for conciliation boards and collective bargaining he also advocates a gradually increasing share of the workmen in the management of industries, a most desirable ideal which the illiteracy of labourers discourages, and which should be protected against the interference of outsiders.

His goal is "a Welfare State or a Cooperative Commonwealth gradually evolving... a Socialist State and a Classless Society in their fullest sense". He evidently foresees that

"the private sector will be ultimately absorbed in the public sector". (p. 21) He does not however explicitly advocate complete nationalisation, but apparently nurses the idea of a system of labour-management cooperatives. One might surmise that people who are of that way of thinking, feel, and rightly so, that property is really de-socialized when it is nationalized, since it is de-personalized when made anonymous. The question of rationalization for India is thoroughly studied; the conclusions recall Mahatmaji's three principles for effecting rationalization: rationalization should not create unemployment; additional workload, if any, to workers ought not to be such as to jeopardize their health; the profits of rationalization are to be equitably shared by management and labour.

The ensemble of the studies reveal a deep sense of social justice and equity as well as of a prudence born of practical experience over many decades.

A. L.

Matrimony was not instituted or re-established by men but by God; not men, but God, the Author of nature, and Christ our Lord, the restorer of nature provided marriage with its laws, confirmed it and elevated it; and consequently those laws can in no way be subject to human wills or to any contrary pact made even by the contracting parties themselves..... The freedom of man has no power whatever over the nature of matrimony itself, and therefore when once a person has contracted matrimony he becomes subject to its essential laws and properties. Hence St. Thomas Aquinas, treating of conjugal fidelity and the procreation of children, points out that "in marriage these things are implied by the matrimonial contract itself, and therefore if anything contrary to them were expressed in the consent which makes the marriage, it would be no true marriage at all". (*Christian Marriage*).

Social Survey

The Handloom Industries

Recently was celebrated the All-India Handloom Week which has become an annual feature. Exhibitions and seminars were organised and speeches made by top leaders.

During the last few years the handloom industry has received much attention from the governments, both Central and State. It plays a vital role in expanding employment in the rural area. There are about 2,000,000 handlooms in India which provide employment to about 5,000,000 persons and an estimated 20,000,000 persons depend on them for their living. During 1955 about 1,450 million yards of cloth was produced by the Handloom Industry in India worth about Rs. 5 crores.

During the first Five Year Plan period a sum of Rs. 11.1 crores was spent on this industry. It is proposed to spend Rs. 66.5 crores during the second Five Year Plan. The money will be spent on teaching weavers better methods of production, supplying more modern equipment, setting up housing colonies for workers, establishing co-operative agencies for supply of raw material, storing and marketing. Plans have been to supply power to handlooms in order to enable the weavers to earn more. At present they earn about Rs. 50 to 60 per month. They may be able to earn as much as Rs. 200 per month by using power and modern methods of production.

In the Madras State a large number of Co-operatives have been set up which have become quite popular among the weavers. In Andhra the Government is considering the setting up of a Finance Corporation to rehabilitate the handloom industry.

Hostels for Working Women

The Central Social Welfare Board has set up a committee to study the problem of finding living accommodation for working women in big cities of the lower income group, i.e. to say those earning between Rs. 75 and 150 per month. The

Committee will tour all the big cities to find out what facilities are now available and what can be done for the immediate future. Government is prepared to grant financial aid to private institutions who are prepared to set up hostels for such working women. Whether we like it or not more and more middle class women are seeking employment in towns and cities. A good proportion of them find no accommodation and have to impose themselves on unwilling relatives and friends. Living in commercial establishments is either expensive or dangerous and usually both. Properly run hostels are a crying need. Here is an excellent chance for social work.

Employees' State Insurance

A sum of Rs. 30,642,615 was received 1954-55 as contribution by the Employees' State Insurance Fund while a sum of Rs. 8,192,942 was expended.

Of the contributions received Rs. 18,789,480 was income from employers, Rs. 9,726,312 income from employees, Rs. 1,197,574 income from miscellaneous sources and Rs. 929,349 grant-in-aid from the Central Government. Of the expenditure Rs. 2,129,773 was by way of medical benefit, Rs. 1,773,303 for sickness benefit, Rs. 6,925 for maternity benefit, Rs. 759,125 disability benefit, Rs. 3,473,578 for administrative expenses and Rs. 5,239 for other expenses.

As is seen from the above figures only about 25 per cent of the total receipts has been expended. Of this nearly half (45%) was for administrative purposes only. Though one of the main purposes of the Insurance scheme is to make available relief in time of illness and incapacity only about 10 per cent of the total income has been spent under this head. Something seems to be very wrong with the Scheme, or at least in the way it is worked in practice.

Cross-word Puzzles

At last Mysore has fallen in line with the rest of India by applying the provisions of the Central Prize Competition Act of 1955 to the State. The Government of Mysore has

stated that the licence granted to the R.M.D.C. Cross Word Puzzle Competition which ends on March 31st of this year will not be renewed in the present form. The Provisions of the Act will apply which means the sponsors will not be able to offer more than Rs. 1000 in prizes nor accept more than 2000 entries for each competition. Many a youthful gambler will be hard hit as he will not be able to dream any more of that first prize running into five figures which was to be his.

Management of Industries

Prime Minister Nehru addressing workers under the auspices of the Indian National Trade Union Congress said that the present relationship between labour and capital was not a good one. He is of the view that the time has come when labour should play a greater part in the affairs of industry by having an effective share in its running. He said that there were several methods of associating labour with the management of industries. The Government is going to experiment with these methods to see which one is the most suitable.

Several Government concerns have already announced their intention to make a beginning in this line. A selected number of workers, chosen by the workers themselves, will be associated with the management. Unless strict measures are taken to see that political and other interests are kept out this new experiment is bound to fail. Unfortunately in India, as elsewhere in the world, many of the so-called trade unions are working not for the benefit of the workers but to further their own political or personal ends. Some of the so-called labour leaders are not in the least interested in the welfare of the workers for whom they are supposedly working. Often enough they are total strangers.

Labour Relations

The Sub-committees appointed by the Labour Panel of the Planning Commission to study certain problems relating to labour have submitted their recommendations.

The Committee on Industrial relations, it is understood, is of the opinion that labour laws relating to trade unions and labour relations need revising. The Committee has agreed that in respect of trade union, the number of outsiders on the executive should be reduced, adequate protection should be accorded to office-bearers of primary unions and federations, and cases of victimization of other workers should be inquired into and dealt with expeditiously.

As regards recognition of trade unions, it was felt that a representative union should have, at least, one-third membership of the totality of the workers to entitle it to recognition. While collective agreements between industry and a representative union would be applicable to the entire industry, where an employer and workers in a unit had agreement on the same matters the workers should have the option to opt out of such an agreement. It was also felt that employers' organisations should be properly developed so that workers could enter into agreements with employers as such.

In the matter of the advisability or otherwise of continuing compulsory adjudication the employers are for retaining it for the time being. Amongst the workers there is a difference of opinion. The INTUC is for keeping it for the present while the AITUC and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha are more less for its abolition.

On the subject of labour association with management the employers prefer councils of management rather than appointed or elected directors. These councils should, according to employers, concern themselves only with questions of production and welfare. They also favour the idea that such councils should be given administrative responsibility for welfare activities.

The INTUC favours such association, provided the participation was "real and willing", and if employers supply information to workers' representatives on all essential matters. The Hindi Mazdoor Sabha wants consultative bodies of workers to discuss all matters concerning management. The AITUC is not in complete favour of councils but wants only elected representatives.

As for wages the Sub-committee on Wages is of the view that the question of static wages should be ruled out. It suggests the setting up of wage boards for the various industries. The wage boards, in fixing wages, should take into consideration reports of the Fair-Wages Committee, the Profit-sharing Committee, and the decisions of the various tribunals and agreements reached in the Joint Consultative Board.

The workers want the contribution of the employers for the Provident Fund to be raised from 6½% per cent to 8½% per cent as the Government does to its workers. The employers are opposed to this. They want a comprehensive legislation for social insurance scheme to bring under one organisation all existing social insurance measures, with a view to give greater benefit to employers and employees.

The Sub-committee on Working Conditions has suggested the full implementation of existing legislation during the second Five Year Plan. Protection should be given to all categories of workers who do not enjoy it at present, e.g. building and construction and transport workers. It has also suggested the raising of the housing subsidy to 30 per cent and the amount of loan to 50 per cent.

Peripatetic Schools

With a view to training village artisans at their very doors, as many as ten peripatetic schools have been started in the Community Project area of Mehsana District of Bombay State.

According to the progress report of the project for January, 1956, 190 candidates had completed their training, while 227 were receiving training in different professions, such as cotton-weaving, tanning, leather work, dyeing and printing, rope-making, pottery, carpentry, etc.

The Community Projects Administration has decided to associate village school teachers with the development programme in a larger measure. For this purpose the teachers will be given special training. The number of blocks by the end of the second Five Year Plan is expected to be 1,800 and

the number of teachers to be trained during the Plan period would be about 72,000. The training will be so arranged that it does not disturb the normal work of the schools.

The Rajasthan Desert

A provision of Rs. 2 crores is expected to be made in the second Five Year Plan for soil conservation work in the Rajasthan desert. The Rajasthan desert concerns an area of about 80,000 square miles and extends into Kutch, Saurashtra and Bombay in the south and west, Punjab and Pepsu in the north and Uttar Pradesh in the east. It is stated that the problem with regard to the desert is not one of afforestation alone but of soil conservation and proper utilization of land also. The principal cause of erosion in Rajasthan is overgrazing and indiscriminate felling of trees. According to the scheme prepared for inclusion in the second Five Year Plan expenditure on the desert Afforestation Research Station at Jodpur and the extension of its activities will be met by the Government of India.

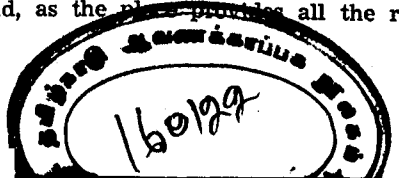
Rayon Pulp

A project to eliminate the dependence of India's growing rayon industry on imported wood pulp, its basic raw material, as well as to help the growth of the newsprint industry has been taken in hand by the National Industrial Development Corporation.

Two Italian experts recently visited a number of places to make a study of availability of raw materials and to select a suitable place to locate the industry.

The scope of the investigation and project report also is expected to include the manufacture of rilsan, a synthetic fibre resembling nylon, from castor oil abundantly available in India. The industrial fibre is an essential raw material for rubber tyres, brushes, etc., at present met from imports.

It is reported that the experts have tentatively selected Ootacamund, as the place provides all the raw materials in abundance.



F. C. R.

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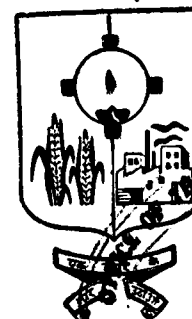
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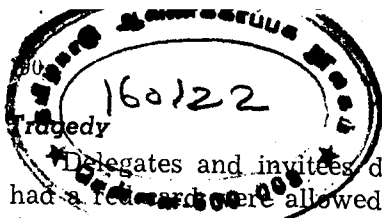
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This Side and That

Moscow Dramatics

Russia has always been noted for its theatricals and Red Moscow has improved on Tsarist Moscow. The last show was the 20th Congress of the Communist Party. The first item on the programme looked like some solemn pastorate with a leit-motif of universal love, self-confidence, and solidarity. The solos did their best, Krushchev as soprano, Bulganin as contralto, with Mikoyan playing the basset-horn; the whole of the Red upper class was there, along with the invitees from many countries. The applause was tumultuous. According to Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, the steady pilgrim to Moscow, it was a glorious show, and the libretto distributed throughout the world, italicised the most telling sentiments: all was peaceful in the country, the Leninist tradition was reaffirmed, collective leadership secured, self-confidence at its highest, and, however wicked the outside world, there was peace, comfort and prosperity at home. The pastorate ended with an apotheosis of the Red peace-dove.



SOCIAL ACTION

Delegates and invitees dispersed; but those who had a few minutes were allowed to stay and assist at the drama staged for the education of the members of the Central Committee. The chief parts were given to new actors. Krushchev played a supporting role whilst Mikoyan sang the leading solo. His voice was harsh, his song bitter with regret and hate, and his tune alive with repentance and rebellion.

Mikoyan had been made the mouthpiece of militant anti-Stalinism. Krushchev had deplored some weaknesses in the dead dictator, alluded to his vices and arbitrariness, regretted his frequent departures from true Leninism. Mikoyan was outspoken; he even ventured to denounce some of Stalin's theoretical statements as pure trash, he protested against the slandering of some purged leaders of the Revolution and of the Red army, he denounced the "whole school of law", urged a war against "bureaucratic centralism", and alluded to Lenin's testamental clause to "remove Stalin from the General Secretariat". He had helped Stalin to the supreme power, but he had now come back to what he learned at Lenin's school, regretted his past error and hoped that his present confession would be taken as a profession of faith in pure communism and an attempt to undo some of the Stalinist evil.

Penitential Psalms

The audience was dumb with amazement. There was no protest; series of actors with their red cowls intoned the sequel of penitential psalms, which were

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murmured on the following days with increasing boldness. The seance closed with a unanimous show of hands approving the resolution re-establishing the Leninist collective leadership. So there was no more any risk in denouncing the Stalinist policy which time after time had been declared the "correct line," and Krushchev grew bolder than all others.

Mr. Hyde

At the 18th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Krushchev had intoned the final chorus: "Long live the towering genius of all humanity, our beloved comrade Stalin!" At the secret session of the 20th Congress and in later press interviews, he turned Dr. Jekyll into a Mr. Hyde. Stalin, he said, had murdered hundreds of the best old Bolsheviks, among whom 70 out of 133 members of the 1937 Central Committee, he falsified documents to substantiate the charge of treason which led to the execution of Tuthachevsky and 5000 Red Army officers, he had political opponents tortured along with their children. Stalin had scorned English and American warnings of Hitler's invasion plans, had left the army unprepared, and then fled from threatened Moscow at the hour of danger, leaving the defense to Zukov, Rokossovsky and Konev. Stalin who had been proclaimed "the genius," "the greatest teacher of mankind", "the glorious leader of the working class", etc., was now, denounced before the world as a monster, a megalomaniac, congenitally vengeful and blood-thirsty, a coward, a dunce who failed to prepare against the Nazi invasion, a victim of persecution mania, a cruel paranoiac, afflicted with the worst diseases to be found

the vocabulary of psychopaths. To the spontaneous question of the common man, "If it was so, why did you not put him aside some way or other?", Krushchev could only answer: "There was a reign of terror", "We never knew, when we entered Stalin's presence, whether we would come out alive". Such is the terrorism which can reign in so-called people's democracies.

Confessions

Those violent denunciation of the terrorising beloved Comrade is a puzzling phenomenon. Stalin's revilers once upon a time were his beneficiaries, and his co-sharers in policy and in legislation. Had their sense of guilt become so oppressing that they sought a thorough catharsis? Was it more than a public manner of recovering a political virginity and having a facial uplift before making a new debut in international circles? Could one argue that a new line had been given to the whole Communist world, when Mao-Tse, Tung, Monsieur Thorez, Signor Togliatti, Polish Bierut, Herr Ulbricht, and Marshall Tito do not heartily join the chorus or even spoils it with their falsetto?

Should we not rather seek an explanation in the temperament of those Russian leaders Stalin had so well tamed and search the very Russian situation for a hidden hand leading the choir? It is said that at one of those cocktail parties in which diplomats reveal their id, ego and supergo, Krushchev was forced by his boss to perform a village dance; could it not be fancied that, at the Central Committee meeting of the 20th Congress, he was again forced to execute a

new dance? There was a relevant hint in the speech of Comrade Ulbricht, the puppet dictator of East Germany. The Red Herr said that "Hitler's fascism was defeated by the heroism of the Russian army" as was clearly shown in party documents, and not by the genius of Stalin as the very Stalin had pretended in his biography. In the declarations of Krushchev there are praises for the army. Rehabilitated Zukov is now in the Central leadership; Beria and the independent police force have been liquidated or deflated, the Red army has now grown into the supreme guardian of the Soviet State. Who knows if this Red army might not produce a Red Napoleon, or at least a bandmaster with a stick long enough to keep the nose of every singer on his paper?

A Riddle

The spontaneous reactions in New Delhi were aglow with warm satisfaction, and an undertone of "Didn't I tell you so?". Yet the riddle remains and the forecasts are uncertain. Delhi does not care about philosophy, Moscow does, and it is on the background of Communist philosophy that the Moscow theatricals must be examined.

The cult of personality, we are told, has been swept away for ever. (Of course in Marxist philosophy, there is hardly any room for the cult of the human person!). In other words, there will never be any more anything like a Big Boss. We are now going back to the regime of collective leadership. Major decisions will not be taken by the General Secretary of the Party, as was done for the last three decades, nor by the eleven

members of the Presidium, but by the Central Committee (125 members ; 250 with the alternates). In the Committee there will be free debate and resolutions will be passed on a majority basis. On the other hand, immediately after the 20th Congress of the Party which decided to re-establish collective leadership in the Leninist style, the debates were secret (in contrast with the practice in Lenin's time). From all reports, there was no open controversy, no direct clash of opinions, no criticism of the resolutions proposed. The voting was unanimous in the most authentic Stalinist tradition.

Forecast

Do all those declarations and proclamations amount to what Gandhiji would call a heart-conversion or do they indicate a mere change of tactics? Circumstances have changed indeed : atomic weapons making wars suicidal for both parties, latent tensions between Russia and China, restlessness in satellite countries, growth of an ambitious intelligentsia among scientists and technicians, rivalry between civilians and soldiers, dissensions between individuals and groups in the party (who are liable to all the foibles met with in other countries), the necessity of developing the consumer's market ; all like developments indicated a change of policy and tactics. Gone are the days when military conquests or annexations could enlarge the Red Empire. The Communist dictatorship had built up the strength of the Soviet State which now could meet any attack or any outside challenge. The world was now so athirst for peace that sympathies would be lost by any display of violence, and the widespread anti-colo-

nialism was a weapon powerful enough to favour peaceful penetration. The time had come to make proletarian communism duly respectable, well-washed and socialable.

Lasting Philosophy

One should note that there has been no repudiation of any long-sighted goal or of any basic principle or policy. The basic philosophy is today what it was yesterday : dialectical materialism. The method keeps the old axioms : "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fiercest and most merciless war" (Lenin in *Left-Wing Communism*) ; "We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class-struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is deduced from the class-struggle of the proletariat." (Lenin's speech to the Russian Young Communist League, October 2, 1920).

The general view has not changed : "As long as Capitalism and Socialism exist side by side we cannot live in peace. One or the other will finally triumph, one will hold the funeral oration for either the Soviet Republic or World Capitalism. It is only postponing war". (Lenin-*Collected Works*, vol. XXV)

The choice of tactics remains commanded by circumstances. "To wage war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie...while renouncing beforehand the use of manoeuvring, of playing off the interests of one foe against the other, of entering into agreements and effecting compromises..., would not such renunciation be the height of folly? We might

as well, when climbing a dangerous and hitherto unexplored mountain, refuse in advance to make the ascent in zigzags...." (Lenin—Works, vol. XVIII, p. 158)

This is all that is meant by a return to authentic Leninism. Stalin made a zig, Krushchev is making a zag.

B. and K. in England

The visit of Bulganin and Krushchev provided a neat instance of the English way of accommodating protocol and democracy. Whilst the Red Big Bosses were driven in bullet-proof cars along the correct lines and treated to lavish parties democrats inherited from the aristocracy, the poor exiles from the Red colonies were allowed to give vent to their feelings.

Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians held processions and meetings to claim freedom; Poles in their thousands laid a wreath at the Cenotaph in memory of the "1100 officers massacred by the Russians in 1941" and in protest against Bulganin's tactics of allowing the Nazis raze Warsaw to the ground; the Ukrainians reminded the world that "9000 of their fellow-citizens were shot at the beginning of Krushchev's regime in Ukraine", whilst the Catholic hierarchy and faithful crowded the churches to pray against the atheistic persecution endemic in Red-dominated countries.

Such lessons of a cruel past are not wiped away with a few diplomatic smiles, and halting promises. New Delhi, however, nurses rosy visions of the future, but possibly New Delhi is getting colour-blind.

A. L.

The Care of Juvenile Delinquents in the Bombay State

Child welfare and, in particular, the care of destitute children and young delinquents, form an important element in the social policy of most countries today. The same is true of India, and the publication of the *Twenty-first Annual Report, 1954—55, of The District Probation and After Care Association, Poona*, is but an expression of this essential part of the social work in India.

Such Associations have been established at Ahmedabad, Surat, Poona, Satara, Belgaum, North Kanara, Karwar, Kolhapur, Thana and in the districts of Ahmednagar, Dharwar, Bijapur, Nasik and Broach. They operate under the Bombay Children's Act, 1948, and engage in a very wide field of activity. Perhaps, the main feature in the working of the Act is the investigation and inquiry into the lives of the children, up to the age of sixteen years, who are brought before the Juvenile Court with a view to giving these unfortunates a chance to lead normal useful lives.

Juvenile Courts

These Children's Courts while taking note of the misbehaviour or offence of the young, attempt to get down to the root causes of these anti-social actions, and discover the manner in which the young are placed along the road to crime. A typical case is that of young Shankar, aged 13, who was brought up before the Poona Juvenile Court for various petty thefts.

He came from a fairly good middle class family. Unfortunately, on the death of his parents he was thrown into new surroundings living with different members of his family who moved him from school to school and from town to town. This unsettled and shifting manner of life did not make for any training in discipline or control; in fact, it created in the young Shankar an attitude of distrust of his own family members and a feeling of insecurity. He took to the roads and supported himself by waging a petty war against property-owners till he found himself in the Children's Court.

The following table gives the number of cases disposed of during the years 1949-1953 in the Juvenile Courts of the Bombay State. This, of course, excludes the number of cases still pending.**

TABLE 1

	1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952/53
Boys ..	6160	6632	7304	7627
Girls ..	1294	1325	1539	1572

The children who are produced by the Police, or the Probation Officer, or even by their parents or guardians before the Juvenile Court fall, roughly, into two categories. There are those who are sinned against by their own parents, guardians or society, such as the homeless, the destitute and victimized children. These children while not being delinquents in the strict sense of the term need some kind of protection against irresponsible parents and guardians and the anti-social

**Source: Annual Administration Report of the Juvenile Branch for the years, 1949 to 1953.

elements of society. These are the little ones sent out to beg by their parents and guardians or who are used to break the prohibition law, or, again, to bring in an income from doubtful moral practices. Obviously, such children unless they are given special care and attention soon swell the ranks of the youthful criminal. The second category is made up of "Youthful Offenders" who are persons under the age of sixteen years and who have taken to dishonest ways of living by engaging in such crimes as theft, gambling, ticketless travel, assault and even murder.

Children in need of Care and Protection

The children in the first category come under Part V of the Bombay Children's Act, 1948. This Part provides measures for the care and protection of destitute and neglected little ones. The following table, over the period of four years, gives the main causes which have led to the children being brought before the Juvenile Court:—

TABLE 2

		1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952/53
Homeless & destitute	Boys	1768	1865	2156	1736
	Girls	486	382	384	400
From homes of unfit parents & Guardians	Boys	60	288	290	522
	Girls	47	113	56	112
Uncontrolled	Boys	117	189	167	192
	Girls	10	6	9	22
In moral danger	Boys	138	109	160	86
	Girls	203	159	248	165

Taking the number of children of this category who have been dealt with by the Poona Juvenile Court, for the last two years we find the following figures :—

		1953/54	1954/55
Homeless, wandering } } begging	Boys	332	342
	Girls	174	188
Uncontrol- } lable	Boys	49	52
	Girls	15	6
In moral } danger	Boys	3	—
	Girls	64	41

The Young Offender

Children who fall within the second category come under Part VII of the Act which is concerned with youthful offenders arrested on a charge of a non-bailable offence and who cannot be brought forthwith before an ordinary court. The following table giving the main charges against youthful offenders covers the period from 1949 to 1953.

TABLE 3

		1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952/53
Theft	Boys	1919	1699	2010	1897
	Girls	101	177	152	110
Gambling	Boys	178	259	269	337
	Girls	—	1	1	—
Ticketless travel	Boys	114	485	767	651
	Girls	9	21	35	13
Assault	Boys	35	63	56	54
	Girls	4	13	4	8
Murder	Boys	6	10	12	11
	Girls	1	3	1	3

**20th and 21st Annual Report, District Probation and After Care Association, Poona.

From these figures it will be seen that the number of cases dealt with by the Juvenile Courts is steadily increasing. Tables 2 and 3 show a distressing increase in the number of children brought in from homes in which parents and guardians are unfit persons, and closely linked with such homes, is the uncontrollable child. Lastly both these tables draw attention to the fact that the number of young offenders among girls is on the increase !

Influence of Environment

Examining the areas or locality or the "Native Places" from which the young delinquents who appear before the Courts come, we get the following facts :—

TABLE 4

		1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952/53
Cities	Boys	3605	3802	4030	4336
	Girls	954	979	974	1139
Districts	Boys	1651	1850	2315	2299
	Girls	989	326	416	357

The preponderance in the number of delinquents coming from cities in the Bombay State over that of those coming from the district and rural areas would appear to support a commonly held view that delinquency is more common in cities than in the country districts. In fact, the contrast of urban and rural ways of life has a deep and profound influence in children. Moreover, had housing and overcrowding which characterize our industrial areas set up unhealthy conditions which corrupt the child.

At the same time, there is, today, a growing consensus of opinion that delinquency is not the result merely of bad housing and over crowding. Prof. H. Mannheim shows in his *Juvenile Delinquency in an English Middletown* (1948) that delinquency can occur at a high rate in a new housing estate. Or, take the view of another, certainly not an expert or scholar on delinquency, but one who "could not withstand the challenge of a bank" and became one of America's No. 1 "bank busters" — William Sutton. Speaking to a clergyman who visited him, and while discussing the road that led him to crime he said: "Environment has nothing to do with it. You and I came out of the same neighbourhood, were subject to the same influences, and today you're on the right side of the bars and I'm on the wrong side. I deliberately chose the wrong path — you deliberately chose the right one".

This does not mean that environmental influences must be neglected but it leads one to suspect, as does A. Aichhorn in his *Wayward Youth* (1948), that because thousands of children who do not become delinquent grow up under the same unfavourable conditions as those who do become delinquent there is, perhaps, in the delinquent child a "predisposition to delinquency". In other words, some children develop a susceptibility to delinquency during the pre-delinquent years, but there is still a considerable conflict of views as to the origin and nature of this susceptibility, and as Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes say in their *Young Offenders* (1942) "we shall not begin to know what to do with regard to susceptible types.....unless we have well-founded lines of action in regard to suscep-

tibility". While it is impossible even to summarize the findings of observations made on susceptibility, the interested reader may usefully consult some of these works: A. Aichhorn; *Wayward Youth* (1948); J. Bowlby *Forty-four Juvenile Thieves* (1946), *British Medical Journal*, 1950, I, 570; S. and E. Glueck. *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (1950).

The breakdown of the nine hundred applications received from the public by the Juvenile Court for assistance showed during 1954/55 the following main categories:—

Approximately 40 per cent from broken homes, illness or death of parents or loss of employment by parents.

Approximately 30 per cent from homes in which there was marital unhappiness.

Approximately 20 per cent from homes in which children were uncontrollable.

Approximately 10 per cent from homes in which parents or guardians were unable to cope with the physical and psychological distress of children.

The Report significantly draws attention to the fact that the number of applications which come from homes subject to marital unhappiness "is increasing". It goes on to state that such applications usually come from

"men whose young wives are not staying with them, or by young wives who are ill-treated by their husbands."

Probational and Institutional Care

When the Juvenile Court has heard the case and examined the findings of the Probation Officer, it may deal with the young person in one of the following ways :—

- (i) The Court may grant an absolute discharge or acquittal.
- (ii) The young person may be conditionally restored to his or her parents or guardians. In this instance the custodians of the child may be required to execute a bond which holds them responsible for the good conduct of the child.
- (iii) The Court may release the child subject to Probation with or without supervision.
- (iv) The young person may be committed to the care of a Fit Person, or to a Fit Institution, or to a Certified School.

The following table gives the disposals of cases by the Juvenile Court over the period from 1949 to 1955.

TABLE 5

		1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952/53
Released on Pro-	Boys	199	224	363	379
bation without	Girls	18	49	36	44
supervision					
Released on Pro-	Boys	266	247	184	189
bation with	Girls	12	17	25	19
supervision					
Committed to	Boys	352	462	484	500
Fit Person	Girls	189	223	163	162
Institution					
Committed to	Boys	536	630	655	704
Certified	Girls	174	140	178	160
Schools					

Which of these methods are most conducive to regaining the young offender? It is obvious that each case must be treated individually and judged on its own merits. While institutional care has long been the more usual form of treatment, and indeed, still has its value, there is, however, a growing body of opinion which holds that better results are obtained when the child is treated at home. It is on this view that the system of Probation has been established.

It follows, therefore, that the duties of the Probation Officer are by no means completed even when he has submitted to the Juvenile Court his findings on the background of the child from his investigations into the home, family and school of the child. In fact, the keystone of his duties is found in section 13 (vii) of the Bombay Children Rules, 1950, which reads "to

advise and give guidance and assistance to the children placed under supervision or released on licence and to endeavour to find them employment."

The first and most important step in probation is, of course, that the child and its guardian should clearly understand what it means. It is a common experience that many young offenders and even their parents and guardians often think that it merely means being left off, while the truth is that probation is a conditional release for a trial period during which the young offender will receive all the help and supervision which the Probation Officer can personally give him or secure for him.

The treatment programme for each child must be worked out individually, and the success of this programme depends to a large extent on the willing co-operation of the parents. Here a serious difficulty is often met with. Many guardians, more through ignorance than bad will, fail to give this co-operation. The Probation Officer must remember that just as there are parents who disregard the doctor's instructions in the case of the sick child and think they know better than the doctor, so also, it often happens that parents refuse to co-operate with the Probation officer. The parents must understand clearly what is wrong with the child, what factors in his life make for this upset and what treatment is required, so that the child may return to a normal healthy way of life. All this, of course, is the technique of Case Work with which the Probation Officer is familiar.

Public Responsibility

It is useless to pretend that the Juvenile Branch of the State Government with its Courts, Probation Officers and other Institutions alone can successfully tackle the problem of Juvenile Delinquency. There is need of a willing co-operation from every member of society. Success can come only from a co-operative effort from all ranks of the people. Thus, it is all very well to speak of parents of delinquents co-operating with the Probation Officer, but what kind of co-operation may one expect when these very parents are the victims of unemployment, misery, destitution and distress?

The figures in Table 5 speak for themselves and show an increasing number of children placed in institutions. One reason for this is, as every Probation Officer will admit, that most of these unfortunates come from destitute families which, even when they have some kind of shelter, can hardly call it a home!

It is not very helpful to know that slums and overcrowding help to corrupt children, when so little is done to help improve such living conditions of the poor! Is it any wonder that the heads of many institutions fear to send their charge home, even for a holiday, because they know that such conditions and morality as obtain there are not conducive to the good work started in the institution? Is it not surprising that when so much money is put into the material development of the country, so little, in proportion, is set aside for the more important task of rebuilding and developing the future citizens of the country?

The pity of it is that the excellent work done by the Juvenile Branch, by its Probation Officers, its Inspectors and Institutions is often retarded and slowed down precisely because co-operation on the part of the public is lacking. Juvenile Delinquency is a social problem, and like all such problems its solution is the responsibility of the public.

C. C. Clump

Industrial Labour in the Second Five Year Plan

Since the Second Five Year Plan is to concentrate on heavy industry, it is obvious that Industrial Labour will occupy a place of great significance in the life of the country during the next few years. The Plan aims specifically at providing job opportunities for millions of men both in the urban and the rural sector ; and if one may take the figures given for the urban sector as an index of the increase in industrial employment that is likely to take place in the next five years, then one may infer that nearly 4 million more men will be added to the prevailing industrial labour force by the end of 1960. In view of this fact, one would expect even more discussion and attention paid to the problems and the welfare of industrial labour than the very few pages devoted to the subject in the Draft Outline of the Plan. All the same it is interesting to note the essentials of the labour policy outlined in the

plan in order to get an overall view of the main problems confronting the labour movement in the country.

Trade Union Organisation

It is realised by and large that the Trade Union movement in the country needs better organisation, if it is to prove an effective weapon in the hands of the workingmen against the superior power of management. The leadership of the unions is in the hands of outsiders, mainly lawyers and politicians, who are often inclined to exploit the movement for their own selfish ends or in pursuit of a revolutionary ideology. While the plan rightly desires to rid the trade unions of these people, the lack of leadership from the ranks of labour makes it imperative for these men to stay on for some time to come. But their numbers in the Managing Committees of the Trade Unions may be gradually reduced. At the same time, the Plan lays down that legislation be introduced to prevent the victimisation of office-bearers. Such victimisation has in the past been an effective barrier to career trade unionists from the rank and file of labour.

Another controversial point in view of the multiplicity of unions and their political affiliations is to which union official recognition should be granted. The planners are aware of the problem but give no solution. However many proposals have been mooted by trade unionists, their sympathisers, and other interested parties. Some suggest that a secret ballot be held and the union which obtains $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the votes of the total complement of the factory should be acknowledge the 'recognized' union and be allowed to speak on behalf

of the workmen. Others on the contrary find the ballot system too dangerous as it will land the unions safely into the hands of the Communists and their fellow-travellers who are at the moment the most active and efficient workers in the trade union field. Once the Communists have gained the ascendant, it will be very difficult to oust them again. Yet another proposal to solve the difficulty is to treat with the representatives of all the unions in the factory, thus giving them all a certain kind of recognition, for where the economic and social welfare of the workingman is concerned, it is expected that all the unions will have a basic platform on which all are agreed. Thus collective bargaining will be made possible despite the fact of several unions existing in the same factory. Candidly speaking, the proposal seems a bit utopian, because the feuds between the unions can be very keen and uncompromising, and it is a most difficult task to get them to agree. Their leaders are often inspired not by pure motives of service of the workingmen, but more often by the desire for prestige and power.

The Plan envisages legislation so as to make the unions financially sound by increasing the rate of subscription of recognised unions and making it possible for the subscriptions to be deducted at the source. If this could be done, the unions secretary and his administrative staff would be saved the worry of pressing members to pay their subscription at the beginning of every month, — a thankless task in most cases.

Industrial Relations

So far industrial relations have been characterised by the 'class war' outlook, in which both sides distrust

each other and are ever ready to profit by every advantage to strengthen their position or continue in their negative attitude of non-cooperation. The planners insist on the adoption by the protagonists of a more civilised concept of industrial relations. There must be a readiness to discuss rather than to dispute. Negotiations between labour and management must be carried on in good faith, the result of a new attitude towards each other, springing from a belief in the principle that labour needs capital and capital labour. Collective Bargaining needs to be encouraged since labour legislation has its own limits and causes endless delays when the parties go to court. And generally speaking what is voluntarily agreed upon has more chances of successful execution by both parties than even a learned judicial decision which satisfies neither.

Indeed the Plan recommends that labour and management should settle their differences as far as possible out of the courts, which should be used as a last resort. But a Standing Industrial Tribunal will be set up to enforce compliance with the terms of the awards, and the existing ineffectual system of giving awards without power to enforce them will be done away with.

But besides Collective Bargaining, other machinery like the Works' Committees and the Joint Consultative Boards should be utilised says the Plan, to bring about easier and smoother relations between labour and management. In this there might be the danger of the Works' Committee dislodging the Trade Union since it might conveniently take over the functions of the latter,

much to the satisfaction of the management and the chagrin of labour. A careful demarcation of the role to be played by either institution is therefore necessary. While the Works' Committees should keep to the technical and the human problems of the enterprise, the Trade Unions should attend to the level of wages, allowances, and conditions of work prevailing in the entire industry. There is ample room for Joint Consultation too in the total scheme for securing better industrial relations and increasing production, but past experience proves that in India at least Joint Consultation has not achieved much in the way of boosting production: however it has served to create a better atmosphere in certain industries. Even this result is not too small to be despised.

But more than Joint consultative machinery, the Plan envisages for its successful implementation an increased association of labour with management. In other words, the wage contract should be tempered by the contract of partnership; labour and management should be equal partners in helping to increase national welfare. The Plan therefore recommends that "in each undertaking there should be a Council of Management consisting of an equal number of representatives of management and workers. It should be the responsibility of the management to supply full information on all subjects to councils of management, which should be entitled to discuss all matters pertaining to the establishment other than financial." Obviously matters that fall within the scope of Collective Bargaining should be rigidly excluded from the discussions of the Council of Management.

Mere discussion as such will lead nowhere unless labour is allowed a share in the fruits of increased production. Profit sharing schemes which have yielded rich dividends elsewhere in the shape of a contented labour force, smoother industrial relations and increasing productivity should be worked out in the sphere of Indian Industry as well.

The Public Sector

It has been found that while the State is taking a larger and larger part in the industrialisation of the country, the men who run the State enterprises have been brought up in the traditional bureaucratic outlook, where anything like democratic leadership is unknown. This is an unfortunate tradition and the Plan recommends that since the State is now the virtual employer of millions of men in State industries, it should set the example of being a *model* employer, and abide scrupulously by the legal and moral regulations that govern the relations between the employer and the employees. It is noticed that the General Managers of State enterprises tend to be more than usually autocratic because of the very great power of the State in relation to the employees. State enterprise is not bothered by the annual profits and losses that are of such great concern to the private owner. The State can always afford to take a long term view in regard to its own business. And it can therefore hold out much longer against any labour threat of non-cooperation or obstruction. It is therefore much less vulnerable to the normal weapons of retaliation used by the workmen than the private owner. Hence State enterprise can adopt a much more liberal policy in regard to their employees.

Another important consideration that should guide the policy of State enterprises is suggested by the Plan when it stresses the significance of the 'socialistic pattern of society' as the guiding star of the entire economic activity of the nation. Since in the public sector the 'profit motive' finds no place, the responsibilities of the workers correspondingly increase in the role of production. Both management and labour must view themselves as equal partners in an enterprise that seeks to achieve a welfare state where the standard of living will be much higher than what it is today and equality of opportunity be guaranteed to every individual, whatever his status in life.

Wages

It has been calculated that in the first five year plan, wages have risen 'pari pasu' with increased production, i.e. the increase in earnings has been accompanied by an increase in the output per worker. Despite this fact, much labour discontent still exists for various reasons, chief among them being the rather irrational and haphazard methods of requiting labour. The Plan therefore suggests that Wage Boards should be set up in each industry, to settle this vexed question on the right lines. It recommends that wage fixation committees should take into account not marginal firms but average firms, when determining the just wage. The rate of payment should in certain cases be linked to the productivity of the worker, but in such a manner that he may never get less than the minimum wage prescribed for the industry. It is also suggested that fresh family budgets be taken in view of the vast changes in the cost of living and in the habits of

the people, so as to arrive at a uniform cost of living index for the working class. Tripartite wage boards should be set up in each industry to settle wage disputes and work out the principles on which wages have to be determined.

Provident Fund

In the modern unstable world of business, security is an important aspect of the life of every worker. The Plan therefore recommends the Employees' Provident Fund Scheme to be extended to cover industries and commercial establishments where the scheme does not as yet exist. All industries employing 10,000 workers and commercial establishments will have to undertake the scheme, and the rates of contribution will be raised from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. How this will affect the economic stability of the firm and what will be its effects on the slender resources of the employees has still to be worked out.

The Central Labour Institute

The idea of the Central Labour Institute was already envisaged in the first plan and during the second plan the Institute will be extended to include departments of industrial psychology and industrial physiology. The purpose of the Institute is to afford facilities for the scientific study of the various aspects of industrial development, especially in their relation to the human factor. Besides being a kind of demonstration centre for the display of health and safety devices in industry, the Centre will also be used as a training ground for the study of labour problems. The need for the Centre is argued from the absence of

voluntary effort in this direction by Indian industrialists. Government must therefore step in to fill the vacuum. In addition to the Central Labour Institute, industrial health, safety and welfare museums will also be established at Calcutta, Madras, and Kanpur.

Training Facilities

With the development of industry, there will be an increasing demand for skilled services, and the Plan rightly lays stress on the provision of training centres in the country. At present the capacity of the training centres is limited to 10,000 persons, but during the second plan facilities for the training of an additional 20,000 persons will be made available. One great advantage of these training schemes will be that many of the educated unemployed will find an opportunity for gainful employment outside the big business and government offices they generally patronise. It would be a great boon for the country if these training facilities were expanded even further and useful talents wasted at the moment were channelled into industry.

Labour Education

The Planners are aware that sound Trade Unionism requires well trained leaders of labour who have risen from the rank and file. They have recommended that schemes for the training of trade union workers should be organised. In this laconic sentence very little is contained as to the kind of training the trade union leader requires or should be given. But obviously if the union leader is to play his part in

bargaining collectively, on Works' Committees, and in the Council of Management, he should have a thorough grasp of the meaning and purpose of trade unionism, a 'sixth' sense, as it were, into the psychological make-up of the men he leads, an intimate knowledge of the factory or concern in which he works, and finally confidence and courage to bargain effectively with management. Moreover he must believe in the basic philosophy of Democracy and be convinced of the importance and the equality of each single workmen he leads. Without this background, little will be achieved in the way of improving labour conditions and successfully implementing schemes of co-partnership. Perhaps the Plan has not sufficiently stressed this aspect of labour policy. A great deal of industrial development will depend on wise leadership of the workingmen during the second plan. The human element can never be overlooked. And the greater the responsiveness that can be elicited from the workingmen, the larger will be the increase in production.

Welfare Schemes

About Rs. 26 crores have been allocated for implementing schemes relating to labour. Among these schemes perhaps the most important should be industrial housing. With the increase in the industrial population, some 5 lakhs of houses will be required to provide workmen with adequate shelter. A difficulty in providing cheap houses is the concentration of industry in certain urban areas like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur, etc. which makes the provision of housing facilities extremely uneconomical. It may

therefore be suggested that industries should be properly located and the welfare facilities for labour foreseen in time to obviate the growth of industrial slums. If the private employer is to be entrusted with the care of building houses for his workmen, he should be assisted monetarily by the State on a more generous scale, otherwise the rent to be paid by the occupant is much above his capacity.

Besides housing, other welfare schemes, like Welfare Centres, Canteens, pit-head baths, adult education and the training of labour leaders, will have to be financed out of the Rs. 25 crores.

Employment Exchanges

In the second Five Year Plan Employment Exchanges are to be doubled in number, because of the large demand for employment with the increasing pace of economic growth. The Exchanges will be placed under the State Governments, while the Centre will exercise a co-ordinating function to ensure a steady supply at every point of scarcity. Moreover the Exchanges will also gather information regarding the market for employment so as to direct the supply of labour towards the most profitable channels of demand.

Evaluation

While the desire for the free and willing co-operation of labour in the work of building up the material prosperity of the nation, and the determination to give the workingman a fair share of the increased production, is strongly expressed in the plan many

of the recommendations of the Second Five Year Plan will remain in the realm of pious wishes, unless drastic action is taken to permit the growth of a strong labour movement. Legislation is not enough; union leadership must be given the opportunities of training for their functions in the union. No amount of mere material satisfaction in the factory in the way of better working conditions will be a strong enough alternative to prevent the bitter frustration that still provokes a rebellious and non-cooperative attitude from labour. A change of mental outlook in the management is as urgently required. Certain fundamental convictions like the dignity of the human personality and its inherent uniqueness and significance in the scheme of industry must somehow be made to grip the minds of the public. Similarly democratic procedure both in running the unions and managing the industrial establishments should be accepted as the only possible method of safeguarding that inherent dignity and allowing the development of personality, which is much more important than the mere satisfaction of ever increasing material needs. How must this 'outlook' on which so much depends be created? While the 'socialistic pattern of society' implies in a cloudy way this essential idea, the term 'socialism' as such has its own peculiar connotation of being more concerned with the collectivity than with the individual. But though society has suffered greatly through the cult of Liberalism by which the individual was enshrined as the supreme end of all production, Socialism has tended to preach the opposite doctrine of collective welfare, in which personal development is almost submerged. But in India the 'socialistic pattern' seems

to include the notion of personal development and welfare. And the Plan should set this notion in the forefront of its message to the people. A change in mental outlook is much harder to achieve than an increase in material prosperity, but unless this change is brought about, it is difficult to say whether the labourers will have advanced or retrograded at the end of the Second Five Year Plan.

A. Fonseca

Social Legislation

A number of new laws have either been passed by Parliament recently or are under consideration. We shall give here a brief summary of such of the new enactments as have a social import.

1. Amendments to Penal Code

Two Bills have been introduced in the Lok Sabha (Bill 11 of 1955 and Bill 70 of 1955) which seeks to amend the Indian Penal Code in Sections 170 and 427.

The first amendment deals with public servants unlawfully subjecting persons to penal consequences. There have been cases in which public servants have abused their position by pretending to hold an office, which they know they are not holding, and have committed acts resulting in penal consequences to persons or to the public in general. This offence has stood unpunished because of the want of any measure to pre-

vent it. The amendment seeks to add the following new section:

S. 170A. "Whoever being a public servant and knowing or having reason to believe that power to subject persons to penal consequences is not vested in him either expressly or by necessary implications, does or attempts to do or is privy to the doing of any act, resulting in subjecting any person to penal consequences without trial by or order of a judicial tribunal, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine or with both."

The second amendment is to give protection to farmers. According to S. 427 of the Indian Penal Code any person causing damage to the amount of Rs. 50 and more is liable to be prosecuted and punished. Now there are cases where damage amounting to less than fifty rupees is done to standing crops which causes much hardship to poor farmers. Besides in view of the necessity to increase food production better protection should be given to cultivators. The new amendment seeks to punish those who cause damage which amounts to rupees ten and more.

"S. 427A. Notwithstanding anything contained in section 427, whoever commits mischief and thereby causes loss or damage in respect of crops to the amount of ten rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both."

Both the above bills have been introduced by private members. What their fate will be remains to be seen.

2. Publication of Parliamentary Reports

Bill No. 1 of 1956 seeks to protect the publication of proceedings of Parliament, State Legislatures and their Committees. "Exception 4 of section 499 of the Indian Penal Code creates a privilege in respect of a substantially true report of proceedings in a court of justice, but not in respect of publication of a substantially correct report of the proceedings in a Legislature. Therefore, although the publication of a substantially true and faithful report of the proceedings of a Legislature will not constitute contempt of the Legislature, the fact that the words complained against were privileged when they were uttered in the Legislature will not confer any privilege in respect of the publication of these words so far as the criminal law of the land is concerned. The Press Commission have recommended the amendment of section 499 of the Indian Penal Code to cover the lacuna." (Statement of objects and reasons).

The Bill proposes to lay down the following law :

"S. 3. (1) Save as otherwise provided in sub-section (2), no person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of the publication in a newspaper* of a substan-

* "Newspaper" is defined as any printed periodical work containing news or comments on public news, and includes a newsagency supplying material for publication in a newspaper.

tially true report of any proceedings of either House of Parliament or of State Legislature or of either House of a State Legislature where it consists of two Houses, or of any Committee of any of the Houses aforesaid, unless the publication is proved to have been made with malice.

(2) Nothing in this section shall be construed as protecting the publication of any matter, the publication of which is not for the public benefit."

The Act applies to reports or matters broadcast by means of wireless telegraphy as part of any programme or service provided by means of a broadcasting station.

3. Agricultural Produce (Development and Warehousing) Corporation

This Bill introduced by the Government seeks to set up a corporation for the development and warehousing of agricultural produce. The statements of objects and reasons says that the bill has been introduced to give effect to the recommendations made by the Rural Credit Survey Committee relating to the development and warehousing of agricultural produce on co-operative principles which have been accepted by the Government. The Bill provides for the constitution of a Central National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board which will be a policy-making and financing body. The functions of the Board will generally be to plan and promote programmes for the production, processing, marketing, storage,

warehousing and import and export of agricultural products through co-operative societies. The Board will be financed by the Central Government.

The Bill further provides for the setting up of a Central Warehousing Corporation in order to implement the warehousing programme laid down by the Board. The Corporation will have a share capital and the management of the Corporation will be vested in a Board of Directors. The main functions of the Central Warehousing Corporation (S. 25) would be to acquire and build godowns and warehouses for the storage of agricultural produce and to arrange facilities for the transport of these. The Corporation also will act as agent of the Board of the Government for the purpose of the purchase, sale, storage and distribution of agricultural produce, seeds, manures and fertilizers.

The Bill also empowers every State Government to establish within the State a State Warehousing Corporation on the lines of the Central Warehousing Corporation. The Corporation will have a share capital half of which will be contributed by the Central Warehousing Corporation if the other half is subscribed by the State Government.

4. Compulsory Work

A Bill introduced by a private member in the Lok Sabha (Bill No. 6 of 1956) seeks to impose on all able bodied citizens compulsory work for national development purposes for a certain number of days every year. The statement of objects and reasons has this

to say about the proposed law. "National development and reconstruction, through which our country is passing, imposes a duty upon every citizen of India to contribute to this great objective. To live as a modern free nation of the world of today, we must strive to raise the standard of living, bring about industrial progress to such level as is required to achieve self-sufficiency, and to provide the basic necessities of transport, communications, housing, etc. The co-operative effort of all the people of the land is required, particularly when the task is stupendous and resources meagre. To create an atmosphere of *voluntary work* (italics ours) and to get people work-minded, it is necessary that there should be some measure to make all this possible." Hence the M.P. proposes a new law which will make the "voluntary" work compulsory. The days of muddle-headed thinking are not over.

Here are the pertinent provisions of the proposed legislation.

"S. 3. Every citizen of India* shall be required to set apart at least twelve days in a year or one day in every month for doing development work. The work may be done either at a stretch or piecemeal."

"S. 4. A person who is unable to work or cannot work under the provisions of this Act," shall be required to pay compensation at the

* "Citizen" means any able bodied person who has attained the age of 18 years.

rate of rupees two and annas eight only per day."

The Bill also provides for the setting up of a development Fund consisting of "all proceeds from compensation, penalty, voluntary contributions, gifts, grants, etc., from various sources."

Those who fail to pay the compensation for failure to work will have to pay a fine of Rs. 5. If they fail to pay the fine and the compensation they will be proceeded against as if they had failed to pay tax and will be meted out the punishment provided by law for the evasion of payment of a tax.

A register of citizens will be maintained. The Planning Commission will determine the nature and scope of the work to be contributed by citizens. An officer appointed to administer the Act will be given by discretionary power to exempt "any person from the operation of this Act for reasons of extreme old age or infirmity or any other reason deserving consideration."

As before the eyes of the law there is no more any distinction between persons merely on the ground of sex women will be required to contribute work just as men.

Persons below the age of eighteen voluntarily contributing work will be given certificates. These certificates will be considered as extra qualifications for the grant of scholarships, for admission to educational institutions and admission to Government and quasi-Government service.

We cannot but commend the exemplary zeal of this M.P. for national development. We hope Parliament will give due credit to the zeal but throw out the Bill.

5. Motor Transport Workers

Another Bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha by a private member (Bill No. 11 of 1955) seeks to amend the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939 in order to regulate the conditions of work of motor transport workers. Though road transport has become very important in recent years there is no comprehensive legislation to regulate the working conditions of those employed in this form of labour. The present Bill seeks to add a new section to the Motor Vehicles Act which provides for certain precise and detailed provisions for the welfare of transport workers. We shall give here some of the more important proposals.

No adult worker shall be required or allowed to work in any transport vehicle for more than four hours before he has had an interval and rest of at least half an hour; for more than seven hours in one day; and for more than forty hours a week.

There shall be a day of rest in every period of seven days. If a worker is required to work on a day of rest he shall be paid at double the ordinary rate of wages. If a worker is deprived of his weekly day of rest he shall be given the lost days later, within two months immediately following the month during which he has missed his day or days of rest.

Work in excess of seven hours a day and forty-two hours a week shall be considered as overtime. "Subject to the yearly limit of one hundred and twenty hours, the amount of overtime in any one month shall not exceed forty hours."

No worker will be required to work for more than nine and a half hours a day including the interval of rest. For night workers the period of work shall be six and a half hours including the interval of rest. Night work is to be paid at twice the ordinary rate of wages.

In every transport service ordinary medical facilities are to be provided. Where there more than one and fifty workers the medical facilities provided shall include a regular dispensary and a medical officer attached to it permanently.

Where one hundred workers are ordinarily employed the Government may make rules requiring the maintaining of a canteen by the employer.

The employer must provide rest houses for his employees at all places where the transport vehicles halt either for night or for lunch or any period of rest exceeding three hours at one stretch.

The Bill provides for annual paid leave, for sick leave for a period of fifteen days and for the payment of wages during the period when a worker is forced to remain idle as a result of any injury suffered during the course of his work.

The Government may require employers to supply uniforms, head and foot gear to its workers. They may be also required to provide reading rooms and other recreational facilities.

The provisions of the Employees' Provident Fund shall be made applicable to transport workers.

Violation of any of the provisions of this Act will be punished with imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine which may amount to a thousand rupees, or with both.

Considering the importance of the transport industry and the large number of persons employed we hope Parliament will pass this law with necessary modifications. There are 350,000 transport workers in India.

6. Employees' Provident Fund

Bill No. 12 of 1955 seeks to amend Employees' Provident Fund Act, 1952. Large number of workers receive as consolidated wages one rupee eight annas or less a day or forty-five rupees or less a month. It is beyond the capacity of such workers to pay the contribution which is required of them for the Provident Fund. The Bill provides for the exemption of such workers from payment of their contribution.

The Bill proposes to substitute the following section for the existing section 6 of the Act of 1952 :

"S. 6. (1) The contribution which shall be paid by the employer to the Fund shall be eight and one-third per cent of the basic wages and the dearness allowance for the time being payable to each of the employees, and the employee's contribution shall be equal to the contribution payable by the employer in respect of him :

Provided that when the consolidated wages of any employee, which shall include the basic wages and the dearness allowance, is not more than one rupee eight annas per day or not more than forty-five rupees per month, no contribution shall be payable by him and the entire contribution which in such cases shall amount to not less than ten per cent of the consolidated wages shall be paid by the employer."

The new section proposes to raise the contribution payable from six and a quarter per cent, as laid down in the Act of 1952, to eight and one third per cent.

7. The Citizenship Act, 1955 (No. 57 of 1955)

This Act has been passed by Parliament and has been published in a Gazette of India Extraordinary on 30 December 1955. It was hotly debated in both Houses of Parliament, referred to a Select Committee, and finally passed with a few modifications of no great importance. The Rules which are to be made as provided for by the Act have not yet been published. Persons desiring to acquire Indian Citizenship may have to wait till the Rules are made and published.

8. The Prize Competitions Act, 1955 (No. 42 of 1955)

This Act passed by Parliament last year had received the assent of the President on 22nd October 1955. It has come into force on 1st April 1956.

It extends to all the States except four, namely, those of Bihar, West Bengal, Travancore-Cochin and the Punjab. The Legislatures of these four States have not yet passed resolutions in favour of the Act. Mysore passed the resolution in March.

Hereafter all promoters of Cross-word and other Prize Competitions will have to take out a licence which will be granted according to the Rules framed under the Act by State Governments.

The Act limits the prize which can be offered on a competition to Rs. 1000 per month. The total number of entries which may be received for a competition is limited to 2000. Accounts must be maintained and shown to the Licensing authority on demand.

F. C. Rodriguez

Catholic Social Activities

Regional Conferences

In order to achieve greater efficiency in social work it was decided at the All-India Catholic Social Conference held at Ernakulam in 1954, to divide the country into seven zones on a linguistic and regional basis. Each of these regions was asked to hold Social Conferences every year to study the social problems peculiar to each region, to plan and organize social work and to carry the social apostolate into the towns and villages of the region.

In keeping with the resolutions of the Ernakulam Conference Regional Conferences have been organised in most of the Regions. We shall here give the reports of those Conferences who have kindly sent us information.

Hindi Region

This region comprises of the dioceses of Delhi-Simla, Ajmere, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, Gorakpur, Jhansi, Indore, Jabalpur, Patna, Ranchi, Raigarh-Ambikapur, Sambalpur and Cuttack.

The first Regional Conference was held in Patna in October, 1954. Representatives from all the dioceses of the region participated. The three days they spent together were very fruitful both as regards the exchange of views and in formulating plans for future activity. The Conference passed some very important resolutions before concluding its session.

No Conference was held in 1955 but all units were asked to send delegates to take part in the Lay Leaders' Congress which was held at Nagpur in December 1955.

Telugu Region

The following dioceses make up this region: Hyderabad, Guntur, Nellore, Vizagapatam, Warangal, Vijayawada.

Owing to inevitable difficulties no regional conferences have been held so far. But we have an interesting report from the President of the Regional Board on the excellent work being done throughout the area.

1. In most schools of the region social service groups have been established. Besides studying the theory of social service the members of these groups are actively engaged in doing valuable social work in the villages such as adult literacy, sanitation, village up-lift, etc. This sort of work is not only benefiting the village folk but also the youthful workers themselves who by coming in contact with real life and undertaking low and mean jobs are acquiring an entirely new out-look on life in keeping with the social teaching of the Church.

2. Efforts are being made everywhere to make available to the neglected rural population medical care. Dispensaries have been set up to cater for them. In Hyderabad the Catholic Nurses' Guild has organised flying squads to carry prompt medical aid to those need. Besides regular visits to villages and slum areas these young ladies are always ready to answer

emergency calls. By their own efforts they have collected a good supply of useful and necessary medical stores which they freely dispense for the benefit of the poor sufferers.

3. Catholics are actively cooperating with Governmental and private social welfare bodies who, besides doing social work, are thus able to carry the social message of the Church to the outsiders.

4. A small beginning has been made in establishing agricultural co-operatives. The two which have been set up are doing very satisfactory work. Others are being planned.

5. The magnum opus of the region is the *Mark's Town* run by Br. John of God. Over a hundred needy lads are housed, fed, clothed and educated in this institution which is conducted on the lines of the famous Boys' Town of America.

Tamil Region

The dioceses of Madras-Mylapore, Vellore, Coimbatore, Pondicherry, Salem, Kumbakonam, Trichinopoly, Madurai, Tuticorin, Tanjore and Kottar make up this region.

The inaugural conference of this region was held in Madras in February, 1955. Twenty-three delegates representing nine dioceses participated. The main work done by the Conference was to draft a constitution for the Regional Board. The draft was sent to all the Ordinaries for their approval. The conference also adopted some important resolutions.

One of the decisions taken was to conduct Seminars to study social problems. In keeping with this resolution a seminar was organised for those doing medical work. About 150 Sisters belonging to some 23 Religious Congregations doing medical work and other forms of social work attended. Lectures were given on various topics covering a wide field of social activity.

Later another Seminar was conducted in Madras for social workers which too was well patronised by workers from many parts of the region. A beginning has been made to share experiences of the various groups engaged in social work. For this purpose a little review called the *News-Link* is being published for "initiating, encouraging, coordinating and developing the Social Work in Tamilnad." The first issue had a circulation of 150 copies distributed among various institutions of Tamilnad. The second issue had a circulation of 400. There is a plan to publish the review on an all-India basis.

During the course of 1955 several meetings were held of the Working Committee of the Regional Board.

All the dioceses of the region are doing excellent work of various types. Great activity is reported both among the students and the parish folk.

Kannada Region

The first meeting of this Region was held in Bangalore in December, 1955. Delegates from Bangalore, Mangalore, Mysore, and Bellary were present. The

newly erected diocese of Ootacamund was not able to send a delegate.

All the constituent dioceses have well organised and well run social service groups, Mangalore topping the list with a wide variety of social activities.

Bangalore has established recently an industrial school to impart vocational training to boys. Non-catholic boys also are admitted into the institution.

In Mysore the Social Service Samaj of St. Philomena's College has been engaged in active social work which has brought encomiums even from the State Government. The College also conducts a diploma course in Social Service which comprises both theoretical and practical work.

The Conference has decided to set up in each diocese a Central Secretariat to coordinate and plan social work. It has been resolved to conduct a labour relations course, preferably in Bangalore, to train labour leaders. Efforts will also be made to organise seminars to study social problems both from a theoretical and practical angle.

Kerala Region

This region includes the dioceses of Tiruvella, Verapoly, Changanacherry, Palai, Alleppy, Quilon, Ernakulam, Trichur, Vijayapuram, Kottayam, Trivandrum, Cochin and Tellicherry.

The first regional conference was held at Alleppy in April 1955. A large number of delegates from all the dioceses of the Region took part in the three-day discussions. The results of the discussions were embodied in several resolutions of great importance and practical utility.

One of the first resolutions to be implemented was the organisation of a *Labour Relations Course* in May, 1955 at Ernakulam. It lasted about a month. Some 25 candidates deputed from the Dioceses of Ernakulam, Verapoly, Trichur, Palai and Quilon attended the course. Rev. Fr. A. Fonseca of this Institute was the Director. He was ably assisted by a group of experienced professors who gave their services freely and gladly for the noble cause. A test was held at the end of the Course and certificates were presented to successful candidates.

Another step taken to implement the resolution, of the Conference was to organise a *Labour Advisory Board*. The Board was formed at the Regional Committee meeting held at Alleppy immediately after the Conference. The Board has now nine members, priests and laymen. It meets regularly every month. Its main function is to collect statistical information about the present distribution of labourers in the industrial centres of Malabar, their tendencies and leanings, the labour organisations that are now in existence and the scope for starting new unions or branches of the INTUC. The biggest achievement of the Board has been the appointment of Labour Organizers. These Organizers are doing very good work. They have

succeeded in registering new unions in some places and bringing into them hundreds of workers who were formerly under unions controlled by Communists. Efforts are being made to appoint more of these Labour Organisers for other localities. The Labour Advisory Board is busy organizing labour on proper lines and safeguarding the spiritual and temporal interests of the working classes. The work is steadily gathering momentum.

Labour Organizers

The LAB has appointed four Labour Organizers, one part time Chief Organizer and three Local Organizers. The Chief Organizer has jurisdiction over the whole of Malabar and has the duty of directing and supervising the work of Local Organizers. Mr. K. C. Eapen is the Chief Organizer and the Local Organizers are Mr. Varuthukutty working at Ernakulam, Mr. Thomas Xavier working at Alwaye, and Mr. A. N. John working at Alleppy. Their salary and T. A. have been fixed and specific conditions of work have been laid down. All these Organizers are experienced labour workers and practising Catholics. The work so far done by these devoted men is very satisfactory. They have already won over quite a large number of workers who were hitherto under Communist influence and domination. With the appointment of more of these Labour Organizers the Labour Advisory Board hopes ultimately to smash the hold of Communists on the working classes of Kerala. We wish them every success.

The Labour Organizers have been the following very wise directions :—

"1. Before launching any new schemes or organizations, the existing conditions of each factory or industrial centre have to be carefully studied ; the number of workmen employed ; Catholic and non-Catholic ; existing organizations, etc.

2. Reliable and competent local men whose co-operation can be secured in any new organizational work have to be found out.

3. The lines on which work can be started have to be carefully chalked out ; whether branches of the INTUC can be newly organized or the existing unions, if any, have to be supported.

4. The scope and facilities for starting Catholic Organizations and Clubs etc., should be carefully investigated and early steps should be taken towards their formation.

5. Whole-hearted co-operation should be extended to the organizers of retreats and recollections.

6. Close contact should be maintained with the Labour Advisory Board and the Regional Committee and their directions and advice should be taken whenever necessary."

Parish Credit Union

In order to promote thrift among the parishioners, to provide small loans for productive and provident purposes, to inculcate the habit of self help and mutual aid, and in general to improve their economic and social condition a Cooperative Credit Union has been established in the little but progressive parish of Bettiah, North Bihar.

The parish is in a rural area, the parishioners are definitely poor, numbering about 325 families. A good many of the families find their living in small-scale home industries or in cultivating small farms. These people are often in need of small loans to buy raw materials, for domestic purposes, etc. The only source from where they can get loans are the professional money-lenders, who, as is well known, are merciless usurers, charging as much as 75 per cent interest if not more.

Though poor, these people can save a little each month. But as no bank is interested in deposits of a few annas the saving habit is conspicuous by its total absence.

The Credit Union has been started to help the parishioners to learn to save and also get loans when needed at a very low rate of interest. Started three months ago the Union has at present a membership of 170. They have saved during this short period of time a sum of Rs. 3000. The Union accepts savings of even four annas at a time.

During this period loans totalling Rs. 700 have been given to 25 members. Very strict rules are laid down for the granting of loans and stringent measures are taken for their recovery. The members may pay their loans in easy instalments. The interest charged is 1 per cent. These 25 members have saved on interest alone nearly Rs. 500 by borrowing from the Credit Union instead of from the local money-lender. Any profits made by giving loans, etc., will be divided among

the members as a dividend on their investment. Some Credit Unions of this type pay 6 or 7 per cent dividends.

A Credit Union like this in a parish is a very useful institution and fosters many social virtues both in the material and spiritual order. For one thing it fosters the habit of thrift and saving for the rainy day. By bringing people together and help ; each other the spirit of co-operation is fostered, suspicions and prejudices are got rid of and union among the parishioners is strengthened.

As this is an excellent form of social service more and more of these Co-operative Credit Unions should be established everywhere.

St. Aloysius' College Social Service League

The Social Service League of St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore, has sent us its Annual Report. Going through it one cannot but admire the glorious work done by this league for the social welfare of the country.

During the year under review (1955—56) the League had a membership of 206, all volunteers. The working of the League was managed by a Executive Committee composed of 19 members and seven teachers. The President of the League, to whose enthusiasm and whole-hearted co-operation much of the success of this League is due, is one of the College Professors. Meetings of the Executive Committee are held at frequent intervals to map out programmes of

work and settle business matters. The General Body met five times during the year.

The League put in 1,527 days of work for various activities. The major work of the League is the Night Schools of which there are six. 208 adult pupils are receiving instruction in these schools. All the teaching is done by members of the SSL, who it must be remembered are College students with a heavy curriculum of studies to go through.

The League has set its mind on building a home for the beggars of the town. Negotiations are in progress to buy some land. The Leaguers have also collected a good sum of money to help lepers. They are maintaining a little establishment for helpless lepers and their children. There are 27 inmates in this home. The League proposes to build up a real comfortable home for these unfortunate sufferers.

Some of the other creditable activities of the League are medical care of villagers, literary campaign, road building, village sanitation, urban improvement in the shape of cleaning up certain sections of the town, slum clearance and anti-mosquito measures, etc. During the year the SSL planted 243 seedlings in one of the villages. On Independence day they gave a sumptuous dinner to 1,500 beggars. All the work entailed in this stupendous task was done by the students themselves.

There are many more interesting and soul-stirring accounts in this Annual Report a perusal of which

will pay rich dividends to those who plan students' social service leagues. Surely the St. Aloysius' College Social Service League is one of the most enterprising and well organized groups anywhere in the country. We wish this League every success and God's abundant blessings.

F. C. R.

The Tisco Agreement

An agreement to establish and maintain orderly and cordial relations between the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Tata Workers' Union so as to promote the interests of the employees and the efficient operation of the Company's business was entered into between the Company and the Union on 8th January 1956. The main provisions of the agreement which will remain in force for three years in the first instance are as follows:

1. Mutual Security

To further the objectives of goodwill and co-operation, the Company and the Union have given to each other certain assurance for their mutual security. To enumerate a few important ones; the Company has given the assurance that it will continue to recognise the Tata Workers' Union as the sole bargaining agent of employees at Jamshedpur in the union sphere. It has also agreed, in principle, to a union membership security system and to collection of union subscription through the payroll in respect of employees other than

supervising staff. The Union, for its part, has recognised, the right of the Company to introduce new and improved methods of equipment, to decide the number and location of plants, the nature of equipment or machinery, the methods and or processes of manufacturing, etc., subject to the condition that it will be consulted where employees' interests are adversely affected. The Union has also recognised the right of the Company (1) to hire, transfer, promote or discipline employees, following the normal procedure; (2) to fix the number of men required for the normal operation of a section or department and to eliminate, change or consolidate jobs, sections, departments or divisions provided that where the employees' interests are adversely affected the Union will be consulted before a decision is taken.

2. Closer Association of Employees' with Management

The Company has decided to associate works employees with management in the working of the industry and the Company and the Union will discuss and devise at an early date ways and means of progressively achieving that objective at the appropriate level and by gradual stages.

3. Productivity

The Company has assured the Union that (i) there will be no retrenchment of existing employees, (ii) the employees required for jobs other than those in which they are at present employed will, when necessary, be trained for the specific jobs; (iii) if the employees are transferred or put under training they will be guaranteed their present average earnings. Under the

agreement the fixation of the number of men required for the normal operation of each existing section or department as referred to earlier shall be carried out and completed within a period of one year from the date of agreement. In the event of disagreement about such number the matter will be referred to independent experts for arbitration and if the parties fail to agree upon the appointment of independent experts the matter will be decided by an arbitrator appointed by the Government of India. The decision of the arbitrators will be binding on both the parties. The Company will be entitled, where there are more men in a section or department than the number fixed, to leave vacancies unfilled as also transfer surplus men on one department to fill up essential vacancies in other departments or new plant.

4. Job description, Job evaluation and Wage Structure

As a scientific approach to labour productivity the Company and the Union have agreed to a programme of job evaluation as the basis of simplified and rational wage structure in future. The work of job evaluation will be done by a joint committee composed of equal number of representatives of the Union and the Company with an independent expert Chairman.

5. Revision of Wages and Gratuity

Pending job evaluation the Company has agreed to give two flat ad-hoc increases — one on 1st January 1956 and the other 1st January 1957 — at the rate of annas 2 per day to those daily rated workers who get up to Rs. 3 per day and at the rate of Rs. 3—4—0 p.m. to all clerical employees getting up to Rs. 140 p. m. and

all monthly rated workers getting up to Rs. 75 p.m. The agreement provides for inclusion of dearness allowance proper in the calculation of gratuity payments. This benefit is given only to those employees in Jamshedpur whose basic salary or wages do not exceed Rs. 500 p.m.

6. Revision of wages and separation of Works and Town

After the job evaluation work and the installation of Company's plant are completed there will be further negotiations for revision of wages separately for employees of works and the town. The Company has declared that in such negotiations it will be prepared to offer, in recognition of the increased labour productivity and the larger profits resulting from the plant expansion programme, an appreciable upward revision in the wages and emoluments of the works employees.

7. Construction of Quarters

The Company has agreed to construct 300 one-room quarters and 1,700 two-room quarters by 31st March 1959, subject to the satisfactory conclusion of land acquisition proceedings now pending. Water supply inside the houses has also been promised in return for a reasonable charge in the shape of increased rent.

8. Promotions

The Company has agreed that promotions to vacancies in the Supervisory and the non-supervisory staff will be made, whenever possible internally. Promotions to non-supervisory staff posts will be made on

the basis of seniority whereas promotions to supervisory staff will be on the basis of merit and in accordance with a detailed procedure formulated by the Company in consultation with the Union.

9. Grievance procedure, Works Committees, Discipline, etc.

It has been agreed that a grievance procedure formulated in consultation with the Union should be introduced in all departments and shall be strictly followed. The Company and the Union will also co-operate in ensuring that differences are discussed and settled at the appropriate level. Intervention at the top Union and Management levels will take place only in exceptional cases.

The Company and Union have also agreed to examine the working of the Works Committees with a view to improving the same. (Labour Gazette, February, 1956.)

"One of the essential points of Christian social doctrine has always been the affirmation of the primary importance of private enterprises as compared to the subsidiary function of state enterprise. This is not to deny the usefulness and necessity, in some cases, of government intervention, but rather to bring out this truth: that the human person represents not only the purpose of the economy, but is its most important element."

POPE PIUS XII.

Social Survey

Low-income group housing grants

The Central Government has disbursed during the month of January, 1956, a sum of 193.37 lakhs to six States under the Low-income Group Housing Scheme. Uttar Pradesh received 100 lakhs, Madhya Bharat 46 lakhs and the rest lesser amounts. The total allocation under the scheme to various States up to January 1956 came up to nearly Rs. 21.28 crores of which about Rs. 7.79 crores have been already distributed. In almost all urban areas the problem of housing is becoming more acute day by day. The Government is making valiant efforts to mitigate the hardship suffered by the millions who are living in sub-human conditions. One of the causes for the shortage of housing is the rent control legislation in force in the country. Though this measure has brought relief to the tenants it has hit the landlords hard. Not only are the landlords reluctant to build but they are not even interested in keeping their buildings in good repair. Added to this is the acute shortage of building material, the control of raw material and the labour problem. If more incentive were given to the private sector the housing problem could be solved to some extent.

Road Transport

The Planning Commission has advised all the State Governments to go slow with their schemes for nationalisation of road freight services. The scheme for nationalisation of road freight transport will not be considered until after the end of the second Plan period.

Prohibition

It has been announced by the Planning Commission that it would not be possible to introduce total prohibition in all the States by the date suggested by the Prohibition Inquiry Committee, 1st April 1958. For one thing most of the States

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are reluctant to start the experiment of total prohibition as the loss of revenue involved is considerable. Secondly in spite of all the propaganda made it is quite clear that the States which have tried total prohibition have not succeeded as much as they say they have. Both Madras and Bombay have warned other States to proceed gradually and cautiously. Time alone will tell us whether there is any truth in the dictum that in States where total prohibition prevails no new drink addicts are formed and that once the present addicts, i.e. those who became addicted to liquor in pre-prohibition days, die out there will not be found a drunkard in the whole State. Nothing like optimism!

Employees' Provident Fund

The Employees' Provident Scheme which was started in November 1952, covers about 1,950 factories and 15.4 lakh workers in six industries. If a Bill introduced in Parliament is passed the rate of contribution for the fund will be raised from 6½ per cent. to 8⅓ per cent. But those receiving less than one rupee eight annas daily or less than Rs. 45 per month will be exempted from paying the contribution.

Bullock Carts

There are nearly ten million bullock carts in India. They are said to carry more goods than mechanized transport. Government is spending a lot of money on research work to evolve better frames and wheels. It is decided to change to rubber tyred wheels as this will enable the cart to carry heavier loads and also will be easier on roads.

Railways

India will require during the Second Plan period 1,430 broad gauge and 853 metre gauge locomotives. Chitarajan is expected to build 1,000 broad gauge and TELCO 300 metre-gauge locomotives. The balance will be met by imports. 365 locomotives will be imported in addition to the orders already placed.

Chitaranjan produces 12 locomotives per month at present. The target set is 300 per year by 1961.

Nurses on Fast

Recently nurses working in Government institutions in Bombay and Poona undertook a one-day fast as a protest against Government's decision to transfer them compulsarily to primary village health units.

A spokesman of the Bombay Nurses Union stated that nurses had undertaken the fast after their deputation had failed to get an assurance from Bombay's Health Minister, that their demands for accommodation, safety and security and better service conditions while on duty in rural areas would be considered by Government. It is reported that some nurses have sent in their resignations rather than go into the villages.

It is not unwillingness to work for the villagers that is at the bottom of this trouble but rather the real difficulties the nurses have to put up with. Most of these nurses are young women. It is reported that in some places they have been given living accommodation which is far from being safe to their modesty. They are also asked to go on duty at late hours without proper protection. There is no doubt that more medical facilities should be made available to our villages. But we cannot do this at the expense of our young women.

Suicides in Saurashtra

The seven-man Committee appointed by Government to study the problem of the increasing number of suicides in the State has submitted its report. The Committee studied over a period of four years about 1,400 cases of suicides. The rate of suicides among women is double that among men.

The Committee found that some of the so-called suicides were plain murders. One of the frequent causes of suicides among women is the harassment or ill-treatment meted out to them by parents-in-law. Unemployment, poverty, illness, failure in examinations are some of the other causes.

Cities have a much higher rate of suicides than villages.

Magic Drugs

It was stated recently in the Lokh Sabha by the Minister for Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kuar, that experts had been asked to decide as to whether the much advertised drug *Navaratna Kalpa* came under the purview of the Magic Drugs Act. According to the advertisement this drug is "a compound of nine precious stones: diamonds, pearls, corals, emeralds, topazes, sapphires, amethysts and agates". It is said to "strike at the very root of nervous debility, elephantiasis, sinus, digestive disorders, leucoderma, piles, blood poisoning, fistula, asthma and all the ailments major and minor." So far as we know the experts have not yet given their opinion. Whatever the opinion be one thing is clear, the drug must be a potent one.

In spite of the Magic Drugs Act, placed on the Statute Book nearly a year ago objectionable advertisements continue to appear in a number of magazines. As we had pointed out at the time what we need is not more and more new laws but better enforcement of existing laws. What is the use of enacting new legislation if it is to be a mere decoration and an added headache to law students.

Cigarette Industry

The Indian Labour Gazette in its December, 1955 issue gives some interesting information about the cigarette industry in India, collected by the Labour Investigation Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1944. The information has been brought up-to-date by further investigation by issuing questionnaires. The facts given here are collected from a questionnaire issued in May 1955. The 14 factories that replied to the questionnaire include all important cigarette factories in India.

During the month there were 11,588 workers employed in this industry of whom 11,047 were employed on a permanent basis. Most of these employees (99.4 per cent) were working on a time-rate basis. None of these factories employ workers through contractors except for construction purposes.

In 1954 out of a total 11,445 workers employed in the industry 1,830 were women.

With the exception of one unit each in Bombay and West Bengal, all the units in the various States showed a downward trend in employment. The total employment decreased from 12,300 in 1952 to 11,588 in 1955. Comparing figures for 1952 and 1953 the downward trend seems to have been arrested.

Though some factories have regular machinery for recruitment of workers the usual practice is to employ the friends and relatives of old employees. In recent years, however, on account of a fall in demand for cigarettes, many of the factories have labour surplus to their requirements and there has been hardly any fresh recruitment. No provision is made in any of the units for apprenticeship or training. Generally unskilled workers fill the skilled position in course of time.

Not only are the bulk of the labourers permanent but the labour force in the industry is more or less static; 85.8 per cent of the workers having put in over 5 years' service and 46.3 per cent over 10 years'. Absentism on the whole is not high (about 13 per cent). Generally, more workers absent themselves from work during the months of March to May.

The basic wages paid range from Rs. 22 for male and Rs. 18 per female (Hyderabad) to Rs. 40 (Bombay). Almost all the units pay dearness allowance ranging from Rs. 66 (Bombay) to Rs. 2 (Hyderabad). In May 1955, an amount of Rs. 6,16,353-12-0 was paid as basic wages, dearness allowance, etc., for a total of 137,199 man-days worked. The average earnings per day per worker, therefore, amounted to Rs.4-7-11.

All cigarette factories, except one each in Bombay and Hyderabad and two in West Bengal, pay annual bonus to their employees. While some paid three or four months salary as bonus some others paid 1/12 of the annual basic salary as bonus and 2/12 as gifts.

In 1954 there were 654 accidents, none of them fatal, 363 of which were paid compensation amounting to Rs. 12,144.

Welfare facilities on the whole are very inadequate. Only two units have provided housing facilities for their workers and few have other amenities such as medical care, creches, etc., provided. Two units have organised co-operative societies for their workers. All except two units have Provident Funds.

In 11 units registered Trade Unions are functioning. Data available for seven of these units show that membership totalled 6,921 of whom 996 were women.

Leather Industry

In order to help village leather industry the Central Government have sanctioned loans and grants totalling Rs. 10 lakhs to the five States of Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Hyderabad and Madhya Bharat.

The money is to be spent for the establishment of model tanneries, construction of tanning sheds and pits, tanning of hides which are now usually exported to foreign countries, supply of various forms of equipment for the leather industry and shoe making. Expert instructors will impart scientific training or modern techniques in tanning and production of leather goods. This development programme is expected to solve the unemployment problem in the rural area to a certain extent.

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has been granted a loan of Rs. 1,25,000 and a grant of Rs. 1,10,000 which are to be disturbed to co-operative societies and registered bodies for the establishment of five marketing depots for hides and skins, tanned leather and other leather goods including footwear.

Exodus from East Pakistan

The migration of minorities from East Pakistan is causing much concern in India. The Rehabilitation Ministry report for 1955 placed the number of persons who migrated to India during the year at 240,000, a monthly average of 20,000. This

is double the rate of the previous year. 70,000 migrated during the months of January and February of this year.

The Planning Commission has allocated Rs. 125 crores for the rehabilitation of refugees and is prepared to raise the allocation if need be. India has so far spent Rs. 287 crores for refugees. At the time of partition there were about 12,500,000 non-muslims in E. Pakistan of these nearly 4,000,000 have migrated into India. India Government has settled about 2½ lakh families on land, provided 1.6 lakh families with rural occupations, put up about 3.5 lakh houses and formed employment for at least 2 lakh persons.

Penicillin Factory

The State-owned Pencillin factory at Pimpri, near Poona, which has been gradually stepping up its output, has now exceeded the target rate of production. The factory produced 889,000 mega units of Penicillin last month giving an average of 10.7 million mega units per year, well above the target of 9.0 million mega units per year envisaged when the factory was planned. The factory, which is the first and the only one of its kind in India, began trial production last year with an output of nearly 67,000 mega units for the first month. Regular production began in August 1955 when the production stood at nearly 480,000 mega units. Till the end of February, 1956, the factory's total production was nearly 5.6 million mega units of penicillin. The factory will produce Streptomycin within a year or two. Eventually it is to produce all the anti-biotics in use.

Village Oil Industry

The Government of India has sanctioned grants and loans totaling several lakhs of rupees for the further development of the village oil industry. The funds will be used to supply better machinery and to teach more economical methods. Government is also helping State Governments to develop further the gur industry, especially using palm juice.

Educated Unemployment

The Study Group on Educated Unemployed has recommended special schemes which are likely to provide employment to 240,000 of educated unemployed. The corresponding investment required would be of the order of Rs. 130 crores. The Planning Commission has asked the Study Group to work out details of pilot projects for which financial provision of Rs. 5 crores has been made. If pilot projects are successful, the question of adequate allocations for special schemes will be considered.

Employees' State Insurance

The Employees' State Insurance Scheme is now in force in about 30 industrial areas and covers nearly a million workers.

The Government of Madras will soon extend it to industrial areas in and around Madurai.

Documentation

ASIAN NATIONALISM

Pastoral Letter of the Indonesian Hierarchy

The last half century has seen the rise and growth of a nationalist movement among the peoples of Asia. In some places, Indonesia included, the movement has led to various kinds of confusion and unrest. Nevertheless, this nationalist upheaval has been in reality but the outburst of a secret craving long vibrating in the souls of the peoples of Asia. To the utmost of their power they desired to realize national independence, political democracy and needed social reform. This is legitimate and lawful and deserves the support of all those over the world who think and feel like Catholics.

The New Imperialism

In its essence this nationalist movement of the peoples of Asia aimed at putting an end to an outdated colonialism which sought to bend the prosperity and development of Asia's millions to its own ends. Because of these nationalist efforts the greater part of Asia has already been freed of the burden of the old fashioned colonialism which reigned supreme.

Legitimate nationalism, however, must now be on its guard lest it come under the influence of a new form of colonialism which wishes to subject the entire world to its monopolistic ideology. Just as the peoples of Asia vigorously protested against plutocratic, colonial imperialism, so now they must repudiate the efforts of international, Marxist Communism to pervert Asia's liberating movement to its own sinister purposes. Marxism would mean the destruction of the age-old spiritual treasures which are inseparably linked to the soul of the peoples of Asia.

The Pantjasila*

The true and pure meaning of the Pantjasila, such as it exists in the depths of our consciousness, can halt the spread of Marxist materialism. A philosophy of life based on the Pantjasila accepts God as the centre of the life of the individual, the life of the family, the

* The Pantjasila is the set of five basic principles which inspired the Indonesian Nationalist movement. They are: Belief in one God, a non Chauvinistic nationalism, internationalism or humanitarianism, representative government and social justice. The Pantjasila has obviously not the same meaning as the Panchshila of Mr. Nehru. (Ed.)

life of the nation and the life of international society. With the Pantjasila as their foundation both national and international society will shape themselves according to the demands of justice and charity. Moreover, man will be valued according to the lofty position and dignity granted him by God at his creation.

In all social reform, therefore, let the Government, in the first place, stress the common good of the people who are, for the most part, peasants, labourers and employees. The Government is obliged to promote the well-being of the family, of society, of the villages and of the kampongs. Excessive and unbalanced industrialization would create a proletariat of peasants. On the other hand, an anti-social capitalism, which only makes the labourer a slave, must also be resisted. The Government must protect private property and the free disposal of the fruits of one's labour. Every initiative of co-operative teamwork, of craft and cottage industries, small factories and retail trade should be encouraged by the Government. The State should always be ready to grant credit or subsidy for the clearing of land, the drainage of swamps and the construction of irrigation works and power projects. The Government should direct the initiative of the people and not disregard it.

Mutual Assistance

The peoples of Asia ought to foster that spirit of mutual assistance and brotherhood which is characteristic of the Indonesian community and to work for the common good by co-operative effort. This spirit needs depending in order to cleanse it from the motives of

self-profit. Employees, labourers, and peasants have the right to form unions in order that they may discuss their common interests, defend those rights that are endangered or violated and put pressure on those who remain obstinate in denying them to the workers. The gains of labour should, as far as possible, be divided among all that all may enjoy a standard of living in accordance with the dignity of the human person.

Sound social relations and private property for every citizen can only be secured in a spirit of solidarity and collaboration between all classes of society. Every form of enmity, every incitement and sharpening of conflicts are crimes which undermine the well-being of the people, damage national interests and upset social economy. The proper authorities ought to arrange meetings between employers and workers to consider the interests of both sides and of the business concerned and to settle conflicts according to the demands of justice and charity in an atmosphere of trust and brotherhood. The interests of the urban and rural populations should be properly co-ordinated.

Nationalism not an Idol

Everyone who does not deceive himself can see that the nationalist movement of the peoples of Asia which has so far succeeded is not only threatened by the remnants of former capitalism as well as Communist imperialism but is also endangered by incipient national antagonisms among the Asian nations themselves. If the lofty ideals which inspired complete independence and national sovereignty were to deteriorate into an exaggerated nationalism in which the

more powerful Asian nation sought to dominate the smaller and weaker ones, thus bringing on a terrible war, Asia's millions would find themselves wickedly betrayed. The statesmen and leaders of all Asian nations must therefore be fully conscious of their responsibilities. Take care that legitimate nationalism is not corrupted and become an extreme and harmful imperialism.

Love God, the Creator of all the world,
Love God, the Father of all peoples and tribes,
Love your neighbour as your brother in God,
Love your country and your people, for God
gave you life and, through your people
and your country, has tended it.

BOOK REVIEWS

Family Handbook by William Lawson S.J., Catholic Social Guild, Oxford, England, 1956 Pg. 127 Price: 2 sh. 6d.

While this book is meant especially for newly married couples and couples about to be married, it contains very useful instruction on the family which will be of use to the public at large. The problems it treats of are some of the most topical and hotly discussed questions of our age. Fr. Lawson gives a clear, rational account of the Church's teaching on such controversial subjects like the place of sex in marriage, family planning, parents and children, the family and the state. He has taken the trouble to quote amply from the recent papal documents. The section on family

256.6-1-6
 planning is worth perusal, especially by those who imagine that the Church blindly maintains its opposition to all forms of spacing of births and is not concerned with the serious economic and social consequences of an increasing population. The book is particularly to be recommended for its conciseness and clarity.

A. F.

7/2, 251
The Trade Union Movement in India by C. A. Saldanha M.A. Codialbail Press, Mangalore, 1956 pg. 27 Price : Re. 1.

This brief historical sketch of the Trade Union Movement in India is interesting for the pleasant way in which the significant events in the labour movement are chosen and related. At the same time, there is some shrewd criticism of why the Trade Union Movement in this country has not succeeded as well as elsewhere. However not everyone will accept some of the conclusions of the author. It is hard to believe that there is no room for Trade Unionism in a Welfare State. And even the successful working of the Works Committees and Joint Consultative Boards do not preclude the possibility of certain areas of the relations between employers and employees being left to Collective Bargaining by Trade Unions and Managements. Indeed the new trend of Management Councils would require a more enlightened Trade Union leadership to cope with the new responsibilities to be entrusted to labour. In short the great need of the hour is the training of labour leaders from the rank and file. This is the only way that the Trade Union Movement will grow and prosper in this country.

A. F.

PRACTICAL CITIZENSHIP

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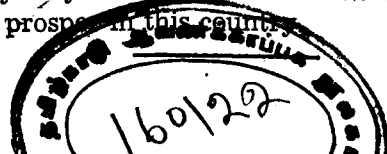
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