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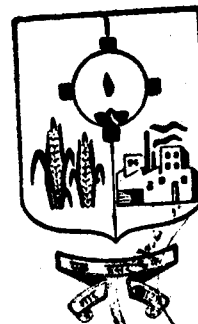
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SOCIAL ACTION¹⁹¹

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FEBRUARY 1957

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This Side and That

Community Projects

Among the meetings which marked the winter season, one of the most interesting was the Third Inter-state Regional Seminar held at Ranchi. There was none of the academic atmosphere which stifles so many social conferences, and the discussions recalled the realism of a Board of Company directors. There was a review of the work actually done in the Community Projects and a spate of proposals for future improvement. Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Orissa, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Nefra had sent delegates, but West Bengal was conspicuous by its absence. The Seminar was enlivened with a speech of Mr. S. K. Dey, Central Minister of Community Development, and dexterously handled by Mr. Raman, the chairman of the Bihar Public Services Commission.

Deficiencies

One main deficiency which was repeatedly singled out with emphasis is the poor quality of the recruits at various levels. The Government feels in a hurry

to carry out its schemes and to modernise Indian agriculture and industry, but the deficiency and paucity of the material to be got into shape for administrative efficiency offer unexpected resistance to rapid training, even if results are better than pessimists prophesied five years ago. Special difficulties are met in recruiting and mobilizing the talents of women social workers, most particularly in tribal areas. Possibly this last question should have been discussed more thoroughly and psychological factors analysed more explicitly. With the tradition of reserve which dominates feminine mentality in the countryside, it would be unrealistic to expect educated tribal women to venture into other villages all alone and devote themselves to public activities.

Another deficiency which hampers the National Extension Service is the apathy many tribals feel towards the projects. They are allergic to *shramdan* which too often reminds them of the days when native states had recourse to *beth* and *begar*; too often they are diffident and suspicious of undertakings directed by officials and volunteers belonging to races and castes who exploited them from time immemorial. Here and there one hears complaints that development works are entrusted to outside contractors who bring in outside labour whilst the development officials constrain the villagers themselves to pay wages and salaries. Even sunny projects have their black spots!

Planning Plans

Fresh plans are afoot to correct deficiencies and hasten the community development, as the Central

Minister informed the Seminar. Non-officials will be drawn into the programme by entrusting them with increasing larger responsibilities, both in its formulation and its execution. Human sentiments will be activated to provide the motive force for community work; such is the supreme need of all development programme. "There is no substitute for man". A committee of forty-five M. P.'s has been set up; more committees of officials and non-officials are planned at various levels. Technical training will be bettered in the near future. The Projects Administration will be articulated with the Central Board of Social Welfare particularly for child and woman welfare; the administrative friction between the various departments will be studied and remedied. The administration of the community projects itself will be gingered up with monthly meetings, study circles and seminars.

Posers

All such measures are welcome. Two posers remain. Mr. S. K. Dey himself singled them out. Circulars, pamphlets, and manuals are generously distributed throughout the development blocks; alas! they are unread, and are buried under the dust which the countryside supplies liberally. How is Government going to enforce the reading of its precious material?

Another puzzle is still more aggravating. How to rally the assistance of volunteer agencies and good-willed citizens, whether for the training of younger officials or the execution of the plans? The mobilizing of voluntary assistance will be the test of the vitality of the community movement. Yet officialdom is re-

gularly shy of outside influence and allergic to volunteering civilians. Private agencies which offer their services in building up the morale of the trainees and have a fair record in education are stultified in their good will; social service leagues receive little beyond verbal acknowledgment. Yet the Community Projects administration is out to create a new type of official, men who will not concentrate on law and order, but who will help people to help themselves. That way lies the road to real democracy.

Discordant Harmonics

Mr. J. P. Narayan entered into the spirit of the season, and was prompt to suggest a way of reaching the goal of community development along his favourite path, a path he would readily call the voluntary socialist way. Let us shed the philosophy of individualism which the eighteenth century left us and which was responsible for all social evils. Let us beware of governmental initiative and compulsion; the Hungarian experiment is enough to prove that in spite of government indoctrination the people reject Communism as a solution. The hope of the country lies in a peaceful voluntary movement like Bhoodan. The pledge to reach the target of Bhoodan (fifty million acres to be gifted by 1957) was a national (was it really national?) pledge. Mr. Nehru should close all universities during 1957 and conscript the students for Bhoodan work, and if he did not do so, students should in any case abandon their studies for the time being and secure the success of Bhoodan.

An advice which ministers, educators, community-projects officers will readily counter!

A. L.

The Election Manifestoes

With the rapid approach of the elections, the electoral platforms of the various important parties in the country have already been widely publicised. To the electors, who have the arduous duty of making either the best possible selection or, perhaps to their minds, the least damaging one from among the various candidates, a critical appraisal of the different policy statements of the contending parties should not be out of place. An enlightened electorate, keenly interested in the prosperity of the country and determined to choose the right persons in whose safe hands the future of the country might be entrusted, is one of the most essential safeguards of democracy. Unfortunately in India, where the vast mass of the people are illiterate, and more concerned with the acute problem of finding the wherewithal to live, the elections may degenerate into a mere counting of votes blindly surrendered to economic or political pressures. In this situation it becomes necessary for the educated elite to guide the masses to use their votes properly in the choice of their representatives. Much of the enlightenment will have to be done by the party machinery and party propagandists, who will however seek to boost their programmes and run down those of their adversaries. In the following pages, an attempt is made to describe and discuss the various party programmes in the light of social justice and social need.

The Congress Manifesto

As the party with the largest following in the country and with the experience of having ruled the

people for the last five years, the Indian National Congress knows what it wants and has worded its policy statement in view of the objectives set out elaborately in the Second Five Year Plan. The final goal of Congress policy will be the achievement of the 'Socialist pattern of Society', so dear to the heart of Mr. Nehru, or as the Manifesto prefers to put it, 'a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth'. From the speeches of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Dhebar at the recent Calcutta and Laxmibai-Nagar Congress sessions one can arrive at some concrete idea of what the term 'Socialism' connotes to India's leading Congressmen. According to Panditji, India is trying to evolve a Socialist society which will be different from that which exists either in Communist or Capitalist countries. In seeking this goal, India is forging a middle path benefiting from the mistakes made by either classes of countries, and avoiding the bad points of the two systems. Such a society envisages equal opportunity for all and an equitable distribution of the national wealth.

At Calcutta, Mr. Dhebar, the Congress President, described the 'socialist pattern of society' as one in which the complexion of society implied the ideal of a cluster of villages slowly reaching urban standards, in the matter of social amenities; higher productivity both of raw materials and industrial goods resulting in higher living standards at all levels; thus reducing economic tension and making room for speedy liquidation more or less automatically of artificial barriers of caste and creed. On the economic plane, the struggle in India was not between the rich and the poor, or

between the rich and the richer, but a struggle for better living by a large body of persons living under sub-human conditions and denied even the minimum opportunities for a decent life. At Laxmibai Nagar, Mr. Dhebar came back to the point and argued the need for Socialism in India because the country has to provide for a transition from the colonial cum-feudal economy to a modern country. He wanted the spirit of Socialism to enter into the minds of India's millions, and felt that both economic and social planning for this purpose was an essential responsibility of Congress leadership. But in this case where exactly does one draw the line between imposition from above and the natural growth of new social attitudes from below? This answer is by no means clear in the Congress Manifesto, which certainly displays an attitude of impatience in the minds of the Congress leaders, who find democratic procedure and individual initiative too slow for their purpose, of bringing about economic and social change.

The Congress Manifesto describes the Congress as part of the historical tradition of modern India. Some space is devoted to emphasising its role in winning and consolidating the political revolution. The rest of the document sets out the mission of the party to complete the economic and social revolution. The economic revolution is being achieved by means of the Second Five Year Plan, which aims at rapidly industrializing the country especially through the public sector of the economy. The success of the economic revolution will make possible the social revolution which implies the destruction of the caste system,

and the formation of new social attitudes of equality and respect for all.

Side by side however with increased industrial production, the Congress programme lays stress on stepping up agricultural production in the country through the organisation of agrarian co-operatives covering all aspects of agricultural production. At the same time the people are warned to conserve the country's foreign exchange resources by restricting the import of non-essential goods. Similarly the rate of savings should be increased for further investments in nation-building projects. For this purpose the Congress government will keep current consumption within limits so that savings may be increased progressively. The threat of inflation and the maintaining of a reasonable price level is to be secured through government control.

The Congress Statement makes pointed reference to the grave international situation that confronts the world and India today. It asks the people to be prepared for any emergencies and to practise austerity and mutual help if ever a shrinkage of supplies occurs. As for the acute problem of unemployment, the Congress Government will try to solve it by stepping up agricultural and industrial production as soon as possible. Greater production must lead to greater employment facilities, believes Shriman Narayan, the Congress General Secretary. But this will depend greatly on the methods of production to be utilized. Gandhiji laid stress on the development of small-scale, village and cottage industries, not because he was

obsessed by a particular 'fad', but because the prevailing economic circumstances in India convinced him that the decentralized method alone could help the people in producing more by utilizing idle man-power. In place of mass production through factories he recommended production by the masses. A particular aspect of Congress policy will be the encouragement of small-scale and intensive farming in preference to large-scale and mechanised farming, where it is maintained, the yield per unit of labour increases, but not the yield per acre. Moreover, India hasn't the necessary capital to invest in agricultural machinery.

In a word, the Congress economic policy will be to aim at greater production, *plus* maximum employment, *plus* equitable distribution. This goal will be achieved by peaceful and democratic methods, and not by totalitarian and violent methods. In the sphere of international politics too, India will stand by the Panchshila, and the policy of non-alignment between the two blocks will be continued, so as consistently to seek and foster peaceful methods of preserving the peace of the world. At home the Congress will fight revivalism, as signified in the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh and the Ram Rajya Parishad. On the other hand, it will oppose the ideology of the economic man, a tool like any other tool or machine, so dear to the hearts of the Communists.

Briefly, the Congress platform is intimately linked up with the Second Five Year Plan, the objectives of which coincide with the aims of Congress policy. The Congress party will direct its efforts to removing disparities in income and wealth; wiping out regional

differences in economic, industrial and other departments; raising the status of the underprivileged sections of the community; pursuing social and agrarian reforms like the total suppression of the Zemindari system; solving the unemployment problem, improving labour conditions, and developing rural areas.

Evaluation

For one thing, the Congress programme is realistic enough and sufficiently constructive, however much its critics may deny the achievements it boasts of having achieved in the past five years. The First Five Year Plan has served to raise agricultural production, while the Second seeks to increase the industrial potential of the country. Of course there are very grave problems that the party has failed to tackle, such as unemployment, technical education, and agricultural labour. Moreover its blind belief in nationalisation has frightened foreign capital and has not led to increased efficiency or savings wherever recourse has been had to this drastic measure in industrial life. A new ideological battle within the party is likely to be waged around the agrarian co-operatives of the Chinese variety, which is alleged to be functioning so successfully in China. Whether this denial of property rights which is implied in the setting up of such farms will raise production is a moot question, since even in China the agrarian co-operative is still in the stage of experimentation.

Nor has the recent international policy of the government helped to preserve its prestige with large

section of the people. Its bipartisan attitude in regard to the Suez as against the Hungarian crisis roused a fierce wave of anger amongst the people, who were only placated by Mr. Nehru's belated denunciation of Russian interference in Hungarian affairs.

On the other hand, the Party is not tied down too rigidly to any particular ideology, except a fairly strong attachment to Gandhiji's inspiration and outlook. Gandhiji believed in spiritual freedom and the values of human worth and dignity on which democracy is founded, and for that reason much preferred as little as possible of government interference. However so long as the Party restricts its nationalising fervour to public utilities and monopolies, the freedom of the individual is still secure and the common good will be more efficiently achieved. Finally the realism of the Congress Party is shown in its determination to raise the levels of living of the people by every means in its power. No one can question the great efforts that have been made by the Congress High Command during the last five years to improve the country. No party is perfect, and the white cap has its dark spots, but on the whole, the Congress has still the confidence of the majority on its side.

The P. S. P. Election Manifesto

Among the various so-called Socialist parties in the country, the Praja Socialist Party can claim the largest following and the most influential leaders, men of the calibre of Jai Prakash Narayan and Asoka Mehta. Unfortunately while there is no dearth of talent in the party, there is definitely a serious lack

of organisational genius, which accounts in large measure for the weakness of the party. Dissidents within the party fold have weakened it still further. Dr. Lohia has now started the Socialist Party of India, while in the South of India, there are the Revolutionary Socialist Party and other similar organisations which follow their own interpretations of Socialism.

The recent Asian Socialist Conference held in Bombay revealed the popularity of Socialism in South East Asia. The Prime-ministers of Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia are Socialists and it was remarkable that at the meetings, the vast majority of the audience were young people. The Socialist Conference condemned the aggression in Egypt and was as strong in its condemnation of aggression in Hungary, unlike the attitude of the Congress leaders at the time. Jai Prakash Narayan pleaded for the voluntary limitation of wants and freedom in the interests of the community. It was only under such circumstances that equality, freedom and fellowship could become realities. He rightly stressed the need for the moral evolution of the individual who must learn the lesson of self-control and adopt a new life based on such control, so as to prevent strife between man and man and between his groups, classes and nations. What was needed was a dynamics based not on a conflict of interests but on the values of the society they wished to create. The Asian Socialist Conference condemned every form of colonialism and imperialism, especially in Egypt and Hungary. Its delegates rejoiced over the moral victory of the U. N. over brute force as displayed by the U. K. and France in their attack on Egypt.

On the economic plane, the Socialists were convinced that private enterprise and private capital could not be expected to undertake the urgent task of raising the standard of living of the majority of Asians, who were living below the poverty level. The State had to step in to the rescue for delay in this project would sweep away in a tidal wave any slow-paced development.

In the present context of atomic fission and fusion, war was inconceivable, and so to establish a new society, patience, tolerance and a certain measure of mutual understanding must be exercised to solve the difficulties and problems afflicting the world. Specially in regard to Asia, the Socialists wanted the U. N. to recognize the People's Republic of China, and to bring about the unification of Viet-Nam and Korea. Goa had to be merged with India, Singapore given its independence, Egypt's complete sovereignty over the Suez should be recognised and all military bases and military alliances in Asia should be ended.

It is obviously against this background that the Manifesto of the Praja Socialist Party was written. Obviously Socialism is the goal for India, yet this Socialism is not of the Communist quality, where freedom is completely suppressed, but of the more liberal type, where freedom co-exists with social control. The Praja Socialists would like India to break her ties with the Commonwealth, since in their opinion, the Commonwealth has not been of much service to the country. They agree with the Panchshila of Pandit Nehru up to a point, though in foreign affairs

they are as keen on keeping out of the two blocs, whether Capitalist or Communist. On the economic plane, they are for the redistribution of land as widely as possible and recommend ceilings for property. They are not too clear about compensation to be paid for expropriated property, but like the Congress, they are keenly interested in raising standards of living and providing employment for all. They also recommend that the worker be given a share in the management of the factory and enjoy its profits. They are anxious that small scale industries be started in the countryside to allay the acute unemployment problem in the villages, provide the villager with a sufficient income to live decently. Finally, they are keener than the Congress on the process of nationalisation of almost every industry, since to their minds the system of private enterprise is inherently profit-seeking and cannot but exploit the workingman.

Evaluation

This is very briefly the Praja Socialist position. They have not changed much from the platform they adopted during the last elections. Private property has always been the Socialist bugbear, and nationalisation of land and industry the panacea for all our economic and social ills. In spite of the tragic experience of collective property in the Eastern European countries behind the Iron Curtain, where collectivisation has failed miserably, the Praja Socialists are slow to realise that the desire to possess private property within limits is instinctive in every human person and has proved to be the last bulwark against State tyranny. Nor are they quite clear as to how nationali-

sation of industry can go hand in hand with decentralisation of the economy. They have bitterly accused the Congress of borrowing their ideas without acknowledgment and working them into the Congress Manifesto. But in the modern world it often happens that the opposition parties do not differ radically from the majority party, and the line of distinction between them runs thin. This seems to be the case with the Congress and the Praja Socialists, many of whom are dissident Congress members. But this fact does not necessarily deny the possibility of a strong opposition party.

The other Socialist Parties have neither the prestige nor the popularity of the Praja Socialist Party. Most of them go much further to the left and are akin to the Communist party many of whose dogmas they accept. They are not likely to capture the imagination or the loyalty of the electorate and so are not worth further consideration.

The Communist Manifesto

The recent denigration of Stalin and the brutal suppression of liberty in Hungary that aroused the revulsion of almost the entire Indian people has considerably weakened the prestige of the party. Moreover there is a split within the party ranks; there are some Communist leaders who still cling to the monolithic conception of a single party directed from Moscow, while there are others who would prefer the nationalist brand commonly named 'Titoism'. In recent months it is the second group that became more popular at the last Communist rally at Phalghat.

The Communist Manifesto is filled with the usual clichés and promises of a socialist proletarian society in which the capitalist will be no more. Strange to say however, the Manifesto has some kind words for the smaller capitalist of the middle class. He is to be preserved and not liquidated and his talents used for the common good. The workers of course will own the factories and similarly land will go to the tiller of the soil, though how this situation will be brought about is anybody's guess, since the means of production will be transferred into the hands of the state, which will be run solely by the Communist Party members. India's ties with the Commonwealth will be broken and her foreign policy re-orientated in favour of the Communist bloc. Collective farming will be encouraged and over-all planning will become the set purpose of the state.

Evaluation

The Communist pattern cannot change, and if there appear to be any changes in the language of their Manifesto, these are only apparent, not real. The Communist purpose is always the same; to press the country, by any and every method, fair or foul, within the Communist orbit. In recent months, Communism has failed miserably as a system for the preservation and nourishment of the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. Many of its own most loyal followers have left the Party, others, though remaining staunch Communists, have deviated from the Party line; while thousands of others, who had some sympathy for the Communist cause, have expressed themselves greatly disillusioned by its

excesses and have abandoned the Communist creed in disgust.

At the moment the Communists are very busy forging electoral pacts with the Praja-Socialist and other opposition parties to gain a stronger foothold in the Legislative Assemblies. Unfortunately in India, because of the woolly thinking of our political leaders, the real danger of Communism has not been perceived nor its dogmas energetically repudiated. The electoral pacts might place the Communists in a better position to achieve their ends and if they ever come to power, they will be ruthless in destroying all semblance of opposition. It is good that the electorate should bear this in mind.

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha

In its draft election manifesto this party has demanded India's session from the Commonwealth, because as a member of the Commonwealth India has gained very little and has only been caught up in undesirable entanglements. Further in their attack on Egypt, the British imperialists had come out in their true colours. They had helped the formation of a Muslim bloc inimical to India. Neither on the Kashmir nor on the Goa issue had England stood by India. Instead, Indians in South Africa were singled out for racial discrimination and persecution. This was true of other countries of the Commonwealth.

Referring to India's foreign policy the Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that India should maintain an attitude of strict adherence to basic principles

of morality and never kow-tow to the machinations of either powerful bloc. Unless this was done, Panchshila would be looked upon as a crude attempt to cover up the cruelties and vagaries of a totalitarian power determined to crush the freedom movement in Hungary. If Panchshila really has any meaning, and was intended to embody the dynamic principles of India's civilisation, there must be no question of peaceful co-existence with naked aggression of blatant vandalism.

The manifesto draws the attention of the people to the recent statements of the Pakistani politicians, and maintains that Pakistan is arming herself with the "colossal aid given by the most powerful military power in the world" and there was risk of aggression against India and Kashmir. The Mahasabha therefore demanded that military training should be immediately introduced in schools and colleges in the country.

Dealing with the economic programme of the Sabha, the manifesto said that the Sabha stood for a progressive and dynamic economic policy. In its view the State should undertake as its first responsibility the complete liquidation of unemployment, and every able-bodied person should be guaranteed employment and in default of providing such employment, the State should undertake the responsibility of affording minimum subsistence to the citizen.

The Mahasabha also stood for large-scale co-operative farming and the elimination of uneconomic holdings. It has no faith in the artificial fixation of

ceilings of land holdings, while giving complete licence to capitalists to own any number of properties in urban areas without the fixation of any maximum.

The Mahasabha will be fighting the elections in a concentrated manner in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Bengal, where it will form alliances with the Jan Sangh and the Ram Rajya Parishad.

Its policy at home would be characterised by the protection and restoration of civil liberties in India and the repeal of the Preventive Detention Act; the country was to be rapidly armed and compulsory military training for the students introduced. There was to be a ban on cow slaughter, and total prohibition extended all over the country. The Hindu Code would be repealed, and foreign pockets like Goa eliminated. Similarly the bi-lingual state of Bombay would disappear, and the Bengali and Oriya speaking contiguous areas integrated. The national language would be promoted and the study of Sanskrit encouraged. Finally the agrarian policy of the present government would be radically reformed and the recommendations of the Niyogi Committee's Report enforced by acts of law. The right of propagation of religion would be given only to citizens of India and conversion by fraud or force would not be allowed.

Evaluation

Essentially a party of Hindu revivalism, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha fails to keep in touch with the times. Were the Mahasabha to come into power, there would be no hope for the minorities. It cannot

appreciate the fact that any particular brand of religion need not prevent its adherents from being utterly patriotic to their country, support its policies, and even lay down their lives in its defence. India's present-day culture is the result of many influences, Hindu, Muslim, Christian and the industrial civilisation in which we live. But the Hindu Mahasabha, like the Jan Sangh and the Ram Rajya Parishad, are reactionary forces in a progressive India. Much of their strength will vary with the integrity and the sincerity and determination of the majority party to achieve its promises and its goals.

The Bhartiya Jan Sangh

Like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Bhartiya Jan Sangh is essentially a movement of Hindu revivalism that views the division of India into Bharat and Pakistan as the source of the evils rampant in the Peninsula, which can only be cured through the unity of the two States and the supremacy of Hindu culture and law over the whole country. Born of a military tradition among the Rajputs in Northern India, the Jan Sangh places military training and preparedness for war as the most important objective in its manifesto. Weakness only invites domination from stronger neighbours, as is manifest in the case of Egypt and Hungary. The Jan Sangh is determined to liberate occupied Kashmir and Goa. It is against a separate Constitution for Kashmir.

With regard to the governance of the country, the Jan Sangh is in favour of complete unity and centralisation, though local government is to be carried on

by the Panchayats. Legislative Councils will be abolished.

On the economic side, the Jan Sangh is opposed to large-scale mechanisation of agricultural processes. The land revenue will be decreased and land distributed among the landless. Land holdings will be subject to a ceiling of 30 acres and a floor of 5 acres. Full compensation will be paid to refugees, and industrial workers will be made partners along with management and share in the profits of the firm. The Sangh will do all it can to abolish unemployment. The unemployed will be supported by the State. There will be retrenchment unless alternative employment is forthcoming.

Finally, the Sangh will attempt to re-introduce the ancient social conventions of Bharat, and repeal the Hindu Marriage and Succession Acts. It will uphold the institutions of the Joint Family and indissoluble marriage, without which Hindu society will disintegrate. In the same spirit of orthodox Hinduism, the Sangh will develop Hindi as the national language within five years, ban cow-slaughter and introduce prohibition all over the country.

Evaluation

There is not much to be said for the Sangh's programme. The accent on violence and orthodox Hindu tradition will scare the minorities away from the party. To plan for violence in a technically backward country like India shows how unaware the Sangh's leaders are of developments in the modern world and their ex-

perience of government. They are merely building on the frustrated hopes and fears of people who have gone through the blood bath involved in the partition. There is nothing constructive in their policy, and they are not fit to govern the country.

Conclusion

There are quite a few other parties in the country that have put out party platforms. Some of them are closely linked with either the P. S. P. or the Communist Party, according to their ideological prejudices. Others like the Maha Gujerat Parishad or the Sanyukta Maharashtra are parties functioning within a particular state and are likely to disappear once the immediate cause of their formation vanishes. The elections will really be fought between the three major parties in the country, the Congress, the Socialist and the Communist Parties. There will be quite a fair number of independents, each of whom will have his own ideological axe to grind. Some of the smaller parties are likely to gain a few seats in the State Legislatures. But the future policy of the country as a whole will be determined by the principles outlined in either the Congress, P.S.P. or Communist Manifestoes. If the Communists win, it will mean the end of freedom in India ; but there is not much chance of their victory. It therefore appears that Socialism of the P. S. P. or the Congress variety, (and there is not so very much difference between the two) will shape our economic endeavours and inspire the ideals of our society.

A. F.

Indian Conference of Social Work

9th Annual Session—Jaipur—from 28-12-56 to 1-1-57

This year some 400 and odd social workers, social scientists, government officials in charge of social welfare departments and persons running voluntary welfare agencies, met at Jaipur to hold the 9th Annual Session of the Indian Conference of Social Work (ICSW).

Though the ICSW caters more to the westernised and scientifically trained social workers, living mainly in the bigger cities of India, than to the Gandhian social reformers, who fix their attention on the social and economic problems of the rural areas, still, there is no doubt that the ICSW is at present a fairly authoritative body to speak on social matters and to shape the social policies for the establishment of a Welfare State. The ICSW is not a government-sponsored body, but many high-level officials take part in its meetings and lend an attentive ear to the criticisms and suggestions which social scientists and voluntary workers have to make about the policies of the government, and there is no doubt that government will seriously consider their recommendations.

The ICSW is therefore, as it were, the social barometer of the country ; it both reflects the ideas prevalent at present in the world of social welfare and shapes the future social development of the country.

One can not possibly mention all the resolutions and recommendations which have been passed by the Conference, but the mere mention of the questions which were discussed, will illustrate the wide variety of problems which India is trying to solve in this field. After the Inaugural Session in the evening of the first day, in which the Presidential Address by Smt. Hansa Mehta set the tone to the whole conference, the delegates broke up into a number of workshops, sectional meetings and subcommittees, to fix their attention on specific social problems. The last day they all came together again to hear the reports and the resolutions submitted for general approval at the plenary session. The delegates had to make a choice among these discussion groups, and it is no wonder that those groups, which treated with highly technical and specialised subjects drew but a small audience of pandits in the field, while those sections that tackled questions of a wider scope were attended by a large crowd of laymen. There were five workshop-meetings dealing respectively with: Correctional Administration, Labour Welfare, Tribal Welfare, Family and Child Welfare, and Community Development. The three Sectional meetings, however, on: Urban Community Development, Social Welfare through CPA and NES, and Planning and Administration of Aftercare Services, drew more attention. Besides these, you had two Panel discussion groups on, Mobilizing the Community for Social Action, and The Rehabilitation and Aftercare of TB and Leprosy Patients. Finally there were three subcommittees, consisting of selected delegates only, to deal with the following topics: A Charter for Youth Welfare, Principles of Grants-in-aid or financial aid to Voluntary

agencies, and Application of Case Work in various fields of social work in India.

General Trends

Some definite general trends with regard to Social Welfare can be discovered underlying the discussions and practical resolutions of the ICSW. Now that the First Five Year Plan is over and that the Second has started, the time has come to leave behind all improvised and inexperienced enthusiasm, to think critically of the way that has been covered on the road towards the Welfare State, and to view social welfare with a more realistic eye and from a more scientific angle. The following conclusions point indeed in that direction:

(1) The Community Projects have no doubt brought about certain material improvements in the village communities, but the work has largely been limited to the spending of generous budgets on the implementation of material and economic targets, which is but the first and lowest step of development. Very little has been achieved in improving or calling to life the spirit of the community itself. Schools have been built, wells have been sunk, land has been reclaimed and brought under cultivation, but the village community remains in general as apathetic and little progressive as ever. If today the CDP administration and its financial assistance is withdrawn — as will have to be done at a future time — the villages would fall back into the old evils, for no leadership, self-reliance, initiative or desire for self-improvement has been permanently established as a result of the CDP activities. Therefore the ICSW concluded that much

more stress must be laid on the development of the existing local institutions and the contributions which voluntary organisations can make towards true *Community Development*. The educational and human aspects of the CDP namely should receive as much attention as the economic and technical ones.

(2) But this training of the community towards full self-reliance and emancipation will be a very difficult process. Therefore the second general conclusion which the ICSW arrived at is that the training of CDP officers should be longer and more thorough. In general, the need for a good scientific training of *all* social workers, researchers, and labour welfare officers, employed either by State agencies or voluntary associations, was strongly recommended.

(3) Another great weakness of Social Welfare in India is the absence of proper surveying, scientific research, thoughtful planning and continual assessment of the execution of the programmes, both of private and state agencies. This need is vividly illustrated in the field of Tribal Welfare, where large sums of money and much energy have been wasted on hastily improvised plans which did not keep account of the economic structure of the tribal areas and the social background of the people inhabiting them, and therefore did not achieve any lasting improvement. In this and in the other domains of social welfare, pilot schemes should precede large-scale action and expenditure. Social workers must once for all realize that no lasting success can be attained unless serious surveying and proper planning are recognised as matter-of-course routines and essential parts of any plan.

(4) While the government has to admit that it has only been partially successful in executing social welfare programmes, and while the importance of local institutions and voluntary agencies in building up the community is less doubted than ever, it is to be expected that the government will intensify its control over the voluntary agencies and local institutions, which it subsidizes, and that it will demand certain minimum standards of efficiency, as well as that the staff of these agencies should consist of trained personnel, and that they should offer their services to all irrespective of caste, creed or race. Thus the voluntary agencies and local institutions will gain in thoroughness and will be able to counterbalance and complete the state efforts in social welfare.

(5) Urban Community Development is one of the other major problems which were touched upon for the first time by the Conference. Though this problem is daily gaining in importance, now that India is fast industrializing itself, few people seemed to be in a position to see the difficulties clearly or to offer practical suggestions. The Conference will therefore organise in the course of the year a Seminar on City Development and Slum Clearance. Spade work will have to be done and pilot projects will have to be launched, if India wants to avoid the evils ensuing from unplanned city-growth in the West, which are disgracing the face of our towns already.

(6) The importance given to the more specialised, and individual-centered problems, such as the rehabilitation and aftercare of TB and Leprosy patients, Correctional administration and the application of case

work in various fields of social work in India, prove that the social workers and sociologists do not allow their attention to be exclusively taken up by the common problems which concern the uplift of the whole country, which however are of a passing nature, but that they keep an eye on the problems of those unfortunate fellow-beings, whom we will always have with us, and who will always require special care on the part of the welfare state. In as far therefore as this specialised attention is indicative of the value which is attached to the human person as such, it is to be welcomed.

There may be nothing very new or revolutionary in these general ideas, as they are enunciated above, but in order to appreciate their full impact one would have to read the scores of practical recommendations made by the Conference, of which, one may hope, at least a small fraction will be implemented. But it is at least comforting to see that these ideas point in the right direction. Every action has at its root an idea, and it is better that an idea is at least once enunciated and scattered to the four winds so that it may fructify, than that one tries to act without clear thinking at all.

Conclusion

It is a benefit for the country to have a non-governmental agency like the ICSW, which is like a big social engineering plant, where voluntary social workers and scientists freely meet government officials and hammer out the social policies of the country. The atmosphere reigning in Jaipur was one of mutual

understanding and friendliness, not only between state and voluntary workers, but between westernised scientists and social reformers of the more traditional type, and between the representatives of the various racial and religious groups in the country. They all appeared to agree on the bulk of the practical resolutions passed by the Conference.

What seems at present to be the biggest drawback in the field of Social Welfare, is the absence of a solid social philosophy, which is the indispensable basis of all social planning. One rarely heard the name of God mentioned in any of the speeches or resolutions, and very few speakers dared to touch on the moral or religious implications of social problems. The atmosphere in Jaipur was strictly secularist and even materialistic, not that the existence of God was denied, but that He was ignored and left out of the picture. Yet, how can we ever build a solid house — or rather a ten-storied concrete building, for the Welfare State will look more like that than like an ordinary house —, if we do not bother or agree about its foundations? In this respect the Gandhians have a great advantage over the delegates that met at Jaipur. But who of the westernised social scientists and who among the social workers living in the cities do accept Gandhianism integrally? The latter seems to lack a basis broad enough for an industrial society or a welfare state to rest upon.

It is a pity that the social scientists and workers who have been trained in Europe and the USA have usually not gone beyond the study of the material

techniques of the art, or have been content with some of the more recent materialistic or utilitarian philosophical systems to base their science upon, systems, which are no longer accepted in Europe itself.

At present there seems to be only one religious leader in the world, who dares to speak with authority on the religious and philosophical bases and implications of today's social problems and their possible solutions. It is the Pope, whose statements and encyclical letters are accepted as having authority by many non-Christians, who take the trouble of studying them more closely. Our social scientists might well deign to study these documents with more interest, and see whether they do not furnish the foundation stones for the building up of a social philosophy.

However, the lack of agreement or the indifference with regard to fundamental principles is not to be taken too tragically. If we admit that there is something like true principles in this field also, then men with an open mind will slowly but surely discover them. Our agreement on ultimate practical applications in the social field may lead us towards the agreement about their primary principles as well.

M. Van den Bogaert

Documentation

EMPLOYERS and WORKERS

LETTER OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL
TO MGR. LIENART, BISHOP OF LILLE.

This Sacred Congregation of the Council, having duly received the appeal of M. Eugene Mathon, in the name of the Federation of Employers of the Roubaix-Tourcoing district, and having been petitioned to pronounce judgment concerning the conflict that has arisen between the said Federation and the Christian Workers' Unions of the same district, has arrived, after a closed and prolonged examination of this grave and delicate question, at the following conclusions, which it hereby communicates to Your Lordship in the hope that, having been conveyed to the parties concerned, they will remove controversy and effect the concentration of all the forces of religion and social order.

Above all, the Sacred Congregation considers the moment opportune for recalling that no question can arise concerning the competency of the Church in this matter, under the pretext that it is one of purely economic interests. Leo XIII proclaimed this competency when, in the Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, with reference to the relation of employers and employed, he declared: "We approach the subject with confidence, and in the exercise of rights which fully appertain to US". So also, Pius X wrote in the Encyclical, *Singulari Quadam* (September 24th, 1912): "The social question and the controversies connected with it regarding the nature and duration of work, the fixing of wages and strikes, are not purely economic or capable of solution without reference to the authority of the Church."

It is therefore useful and even necessary to recall to both parties the chief points of Catholic social doctrine, and of the practical instructions (in the moral order) of the supreme Authority in the Church, with reference to the organisation and activity of Christian Trade Associations.

- I. *The Church recognizes and affirms the right of employers and workers to form industrial associations, whether separately or together, and sees in them an efficacious means towards the solution of the social question.*

"Employers and workmen can themselves effect much in the matter we are treating, by all the institutions suitable for the relief of indigence and for drawing the two classes more closely together. . . . The most important of all are Working-men's Unions, which comprise almost all these institutions. . . . Such Unions should be suited to the requirements of this our age — an age of wider education, of different habits, and of far more numerous requirements in daily life. It is gratifying to know that there are actually in existence not a few associations of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone, or of workmen and employers together; but it were greatly to be desired that they should become more numerous and more efficient." (Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, May 15th, 1891.)

"When there is question of forming associations, care must be taken not to fall into error. And here We wish to speak specially of the workers, who certainly have the right to unite in associations for the promotion of their interests: to this the Church agrees and nature is not opposed." (Leo XIII, *Longinqua Oceani*, January 6th, 1895).

- II. *The Church, under existing circumstances, considers the formation of these industrial associations morally necessary.*

"Associations of every kind, and especially those of working-men, are now far more common than heretofore. As regards many of these there is no need at present to enquire whence they spring, what are their objects, or what the means they employ. There is a good deal of evidence, however, which goes to prove that many of these societies are in the hands of secret leaders, and are managed on principles ill-according with Christianity and the public well-being;

and that they do their utmost to get within their grasp the whole field of labour, and force working-men either to join them or starve. Under such circumstances Christian working-men must do one of the two things: either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril, or form associations among themselves — unite their forces and shake off courageously the yoke of so unrighteous and intolerable an oppression. No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme risk will for a moment hesitate to say that the second alternative should be all means be adopted." (*Rerum Novarum*.)

III. *The Church urges the formation of industrial associations.*

"In the first place We urge the formation among Catholics of these Societies which are developing in all directions in order to safeguard their interests in the social sphere. For such Societies are well adapted to our day: they provide facilities for their members to consult together both for the defence of their interests and for the protection of their faith and morals." (Pius X, to the Archbishops and Bishops of Brazil, January 6th, 1911.)

The same Pontiff exhorted Count Medolago Albani in the following terms in a letter of March 19th, 1904:

"Continue then, as in the past, to promote and direct, not only institutions of a purely economic character, but also others of a similar nature, i.e., professional Unions for employers and employed, which promote a good understanding between them, as well as popular bureaux which give both legal and technical advice. . . . In these directions you will not lack the warmest encouragements."

And to the directors of the Italian Economic Union he wrote: "What institutions ought you preferably to promote within the sphere of your Union? Your neverfailing charity will be the best judge. But for Ourselves, industrial associations appear to Us the most opportune."

Benedict XV wrote to Canon Mury, of Autun, through the Cardinal Secretary of State (May 7th, 1919), that "he desires to see encouraged the growth of definitely professional Unions, so that there may be found throughout French territory really powerful Unions inspired with a Christian spirit and embracing in wide organizations workers of both sexes in fraternal unity. He is well aware that in offering these encouragements he is serving the deepest interests not only of the working-classes, but also of social peace, of which he is the supreme guardian, as well as those of the noble French nation which lies so close to his heart."

On December 31st, 1922, the present Pontiff, Pius XI, instructed the Cardinal Secretary of State to write as follows to M. Zirnheld, President of the French Confederation of Christian Workers:

"It is with the greatest pleasure that the Holy Father has learnt of the progress of this federation which aims at the betterment of the working-classes by the application of the principles of the Gospel, in the spirit in which the Church has always applied them to the solution of social problems.

"The Holy Father expresses the ardent hope that the Catholic members of your Confederation will always be fervent in maintaining their faith and piety by the frequent practice of their religious duties, through which they will acquire, not only the means of personal sanctification, but the zeal and devotion needful in their industrial organizations."

IV. *It is the desire of the Church that industrial organizations should be founded and conducted in accordance with the principles of Christian faith and morals.*

"We may lay it down as a general and lasting law, that working-men's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in

body, mind and property. But it is clear that they should first and foremost aim at their principal object, viz., religious and moral perfection, and that their administration should be in harmony with this object; otherwise they would wholly lose their special character, and end by becoming little better than those societies which take no account whatever of religion." (Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*.)

"That is the reason why We have never encouraged Catholics to form associations to better the lot of the working-class, or introduce other schemes of the kind, without at the same time warning them that such institutions ought to have religion as their source of inspiration, companion and support." (Leo XIII, *Graves de Communi*, January 18th, 1901.)

"In none of his actions, even in the sphere of temporal concerns, has the Christian the right to leave supernatural interests out of account: nay more, the precepts of Christianity oblige him to direct everything he does to the Sovereign Good, as his last end." (Pius X, *Singulari Quadam*, September 24th, 1912.)

V. *It is the desire of the Church that industrial organizations should be instruments of peace and concord, and with this object in view she suggests the institution of joint committees as a bond of union between them.*

"Those who glory in the title "Christian", whether individuals or groups, must not, if aware of their duties, foster enmity and opposition between social classes, but rather peace and mutual friendship." (Pius X, *Singulari Quadam*.)

"Catholic writers, when they defend the cause of the poor and the proletariat, should be careful not to employ language that may inspire in the people a hatred for the upper classes of society..... They must remember that Jesus Christ desired to unite all men in the bonds of reciprocal love, which is the perfection of justice, and which entails the

obligation of mutual labour for mutual good." (Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, January 27th, 1902.)

"Those who preside over this class of institutions, the aim of which is to promote the welfare of the worker, must remember that nothing is more certain to bring about the general good than concord and harmony between all classes, and that Christian charity is its best cement. Those, therefore, would do an ill service to the worker who, on the pretence of improving his conditions of life, would help him merely to acquire the fragile and transitory goods of this world, and would neglect to dispose his mind to charity by recalling to him his Christian duties: nay more, would even excite still further his animosity against the rich by giving vent to those bitter and violent declamations by which men, not of our faith, are in the habit of inciting the masses to revolutionary action." (Benedict XV to the Bishop of Bergamo, March 11th, 1920.)

"The rights and duties of the employers, as compared with the rights and duties of the employed, ought to be the subject of careful consideration. Should it happen that either a master or a workman believes himself injured, nothing would be more desirable than that a committee should be appointed composed of reliable and capable members of the association whose duty it would be, conformably with the rules of the association, to settle the dispute." (Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*.)

"Catholic associations should not only avoid, but also combat class war as being essentially opposed to Christian principles. . . . It is most opportune, useful and in conformity with Christian principles, to continue as far as may be practicable, the simultaneous establishment of separate Unions for employers and for workers, while creating, as a point of contact between them, joint committees entrusted with the duty of discussing and settling in a peaceful manner, in accordance with justice and charity, the disagreements that

may spring up between the members of the respective Unions." (Letter of Cardinal Gasparri to the Union Economique Sociale, February 25th, 1915.)

VI. *It is the desire of the Church that industrial associations organized by Catholics for Catholics, should be constituted among Catholics, while recognizing that special circumstances may necessitate another course.*

"Catholics should preferably associate with other Catholics, unless necessity compels them to act differently. That is a very important point for the safeguarding of the faith." (Leo XIII to the Bishops of the United States, January 6th, 1895.)

"Now with reference to working-men's societies, although their object is to secure temporal advantages for their members, those who are to be regarded as worthy of the highest approval, and as the best fitted to promote the real and solid utility of their members, which are founded chiefly on the bases of the Catholic religion and openly follow the leadership of the Church. This We have Ourselves several times declared for different nations, as occasion offered. Hence it follows that such Catholic associations should be established and favoured in every way, certainly in Catholic countries, and in all other places where it appears that through them provision can be made for the various needs of their members." (Pius X, *Singulari Quadam*.)

(To be concluded)

Social Legislation

Immoral Traffic

Among the many new laws enacted during the winter session of Parliament is the *Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956*. The Bill was originally introduced in 1954 to provide in pursuance of the International Convention signed in New York on the 9th day of May, 1950 for the suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls. It was referred to a Select Committee of Parliament in August 1956 and was approved by both Houses of Parliament in December.

"Woman" in this enactment means a female who has completed the age of twenty one years.

"Girl" means a female who has not completed the age of twenty one years.

The law is not meant for the suppression of prostitution but only to put an end to the exploitation of women and girls for evil purposes. But there are a number of provisions in the law which, if rigorously enforced, will curb to a great extent the activities of women of ill fame, afford protection to citizens and save many a youth from moral and physical ruin. But because of the very fact that stringent measures are provided for to restrict prostitution the business might go underground and cause more harm than good. Time will show.

Certain actions are prohibited under severe penalties. Provision is made for the establishment of protective homes to house women and girls rescued from houses of ill fame and from the clutches of traffickers. We shall here give some of the more important provisions of the new law.

The following actions are prohibited and any person convicted of violation of the law may get from one to five years in jail and a fine which might extend to two thousand rupees :

(i) Keeping or managing or in any way acting or assisting in the keeping or management of brothels ;

(ii) Using, letting, or permitting the use of premises for the purpose of prostitution ;

(iii) Living on the earnings of prostitutes. A person who lives with a prostitute or is habitually in the company of a prostitute, or exercises control over her or serves as pimp or tout is presumed to live on the earnings of a prostitute ;

(iv) Procuring or attempting to procure a woman or girl, with or without her consent, or inducing a woman or girl to practise prostitution ;

(v) Detaining a woman or girl in a brothel or in any other place, with or without her consent, so that she may practise or be forced to practise prostitution. A person is presumed to detain a woman or girl if that person withholds from her jewellery, apparel, money or other property belonging to her, or threatens her with legal proceedings if she takes away any of the above mentioned articles.

(vi) Carrying on prostitution within a distance of two hundred yards of a public place so declared by an appropriate authority. A place of public worship, educational institution, hostel, hospital, nursing home, etc., may be declared a public place. When prostitution is practised in such a public place both the woman and her client may be punished.

(vii) Permitting prostitutes to carry on their trade in a public place by a person responsible for such a public place. A "public place" is defined as any place intended for use by, or accessible to, the public and includes a public conveyance.

(viii) Soliciting or tempting or attempting to tempt from a public place, or within sight of, and in such manner as to be seen or heard from, any public place, whether from within or without any building or house, by word, gesture, wilful exposure of her person (by sitting by a window or on the balcony of a building or house or in any other way), or attracting or attempting to attract the attention of any person for the purpose of prostitution;

(ix) Soliciting or molesting any person, or loitering or acting in such manner as to cause obstruction or annoyance to persons residing nearby or passing by any public place or offending against public decency, for the purpose of the trade;

(x) Causing, or aiding or abetting the seduction for the purpose of prostitution of a woman or girl by a person who has charge of her.

Special police officers of a specified rank or to be appointed in every State for the purpose of this Act.

They will be given special powers. In certain cases they are empowered to enter premises to carry out searches and to arrest and detain persons. Magistrates too have been given extensive powers to enforce the provisions of this law. They may detain persons in protective homes if they are satisfied that such a course is called for in the interests of the women or girl or the public. They may order a person to remove herself from a particular place.

In lieu of imprisonment a court may order the detention of a woman or girl in a house of protection.

Protective homes for the detention, rehabilitation, education and care of women and girls rescued from brothels and from dangerous situations, are to be established in every State. No person may establish such a home without obtaining a licence from the State Government.

Institutions for Women and Children

The Women's and Children's Institutions Licensing Act, 1956 is another law that had an easy passage through both Houses of Parliament during the last session. The law provides for the licensing of homes which care for women and children.

A Bill for the purpose of the law was introduced in 1954 but was referred to a Select Committee only in August 1956. The Select Committee redrafted the law making considerable alterations of very great importance.

The Act applies to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The bringing into force

of the legislation is left to each State. The States will not only appoint a day for it to come into force but also will make rules for carrying out the purposes of the Act. If we are to judge from past experience it may take a very long time for some States to make up their minds as to the enforcement. Some State authorities will have a free hand in framing rules to stifle opponents.

A "child" in the Act means a boy or girl who has not completed the age of eighteen years.

An "institution" means an institution established and maintained for the reception, care, protection and welfare of women and children.

The main provision of the Act is that after the commencement of the Act no person may establish or maintain an institution for the care of women and children except under and in accordance with the conditions of a licence granted by a duly constituted authority under the Act.

Any person desiring to establish a home for the care of women and children must make an application, in the prescribed form, to a licensing authority. Existing establishments must obtain a licence to continue to operate the house within three months from the commencement of the Act.

To run a home without a licence is an offence punishable with imprisonment or fine or with both.

The licensing authority has the right of rejecting an application. The authority also may modify or revoke a licence already granted. When a licence is

revoked the appointed authority is required to give an opportunity to the holder of the licence to show why the licence should not be revoked. A licence may be revoked for the breach of any of the stipulated conditions by the licence holder, his agent or servant.

The licensing authority may demand that the home be managed entirely by women.

The Act does not apply to hostels, boarding houses attached to or controlled by recognised educational institutions. It does not apply to homes established under the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956. A special licence is needed to establish these latter homes.

The State Government has the power to make rules for the carrying out the purposes of this Act. It may make rules to provide for the conditions for licensing, the management of the institution, reception, care, protection, welfare and education of the inmates, the inspection of the institution, the keeping of registers and the submission of accounts.

These wide powers given to the State if wisely used will help in eradicating abominable abuses in certain existing institutions as shown by the report of the Advisory Committee on Social and Moral Hygiene. But it is hoped that prejudice and hatred may not play a part in restricting the work of certain agencies so highly commended by the above mentioned report.

From the commencement of the Act all State Acts corresponding to this Act will cease to have force.

F. C. Rodrigues

Social Survey

Banking Companies

The Banking Companies Act, 1949 has been further amended with a view to check certain undesirable tendencies in the administration of banking companies which might affect the soundness of the companies or not be in the public interest or in the interest of the depositors.

The amending Bill was rushed through Parliament in great haste even a plea for reference to a Select Committee having been rejected by the Finance Minister. Though the law is of very great importance and might seriously affect the development of banking business in the country the Lok Sabha took just five hours to pass the law. If the guillotine had not been applied the discussion might have continued for some time more but that would have made little difference.

We shall give here some of the more important provisions of the amending Act.

Banking companies may not employ or be managed by a managing agent or may employ or continue the employment of any person who is, or at any time has been adjudicated insolvent, or has suspended payment or has compounded with his creditors, or who is or has been, convicted by a criminal court of an offence involving moral turpitude; or whose remuneration is, in the opinion of the Reserve Bank, excessive.

A person who is a director of any other bank or company not being a subsidiary company of the banking company, or who is engaged in any other business or vocation may not also be employed as a manager.

No banking company may carry on business in India unless the subscribed capital of the company is not less than one-half of the authorised capital, and the paid-up capital is not less than one-half of the subscribed capital. The capital of the company should consist of ordinary shares only

or of ordinary shares or equity shares and such preferential shares as may have been issued prior to the 1st day of July, 1944.

Voting rights are restricted. No person holding shares in a banking company may, in respect of any shares held by him, exercise voting rights in excess of five per cent of the total voting rights of all the shareholders of the banking company.

The Reserve Bank has been given great powers over banking companies. Every chairman, managing director or chief executive officer by whatever name called of a banking company is required to furnish to the Reserve Bank full particulars of the extent and value of his holdings of shares, whether directly or indirectly, in the banking company and of any change in the extent of such holding or any variation of the rights attaching thereto and such other information as the Reserve Bank may require.

The Reserve Bank may order any banking company to call a general meeting of the shareholders of the company to elect in accordance with the voting rights permissible under this Act fresh directors, and the banking company is bound to comply with the order.

The Reserve Bank may at any time direct a banking company to furnish it within a specified time statements and information relating to the business of affairs of the banking company.

When the Reserve Bank is of the opinion that the national interests, or the interests of the depositors or the banking company itself so require it, it may issue directions to the banking companies or the banking company and these will be bound to comply with the directions. The Reserve Bank is empowered to modify or cancel such directions or impose conditions.

No amendment of any provision relating to the appointment or reappointment of a managing or whole-time director can have effect unless approved by the Reserve Bank. The approval of the Reserve Bank is necessary for all higher appointments or reappointments to become effective.

During the course of or after the completion of an inspection of a banking company the Reserve Bank may require the company to hold a meeting of the directors to discuss the affairs of the company. Officers of the Reserve Bank may be deputed to watch the proceedings of these meetings. These officers must be heard if they decide to say something.

The Reserve Bank may require the Board of Directors to notify it of all meetings of the Board or of committees. The Bank has a right to send observers to study the working of the banking companies and keep an eye on them. It may further order changes in the management of the company.

Every Chairman, director, auditor, liquidator, manager and any other employee of a banking company is deemed to be a public servant for the purpose of Chapter IX of the Indian Penal Code. This provision has been made for the purpose of bringing them under the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947, so that action can be taken against them in cases where illegal gratifications are taken.

This amending Act seems to be the forerunner of nationalisation of the banking business in the country. Another step in the achievement of the socialistic pattern of society.

Films

A Bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha seeks to establish a National Film Board for the purpose of promoting the development of films as a medium of culture, education and healthy entertainment and for the regulation of exhibitions by means of cinematographs.

The National Film Board to be set up under the Cinematograph Act will consist of three constituent units: the Film Certification Bureau, the Film Production Bureau and the Film Institute.

The Board will be made up of official and non-official members all of whom, however, are to be appointed by Government. Among the non-officials there will be film producers, educationists and persons having special knowledge or experience in respect of education, science, art, culture and social services. In all there are to be twelve members one

of whom will be chairman. The chairman is to be appointed by Government.

The object of the Board being the promotion of the development of films as medium of culture, education and healthy entertainment it is empowered to perform the following functions:

- (i) lay down the policy for, and coordinate and supervise the activities of the three subsidiary units;
- (ii) recognise and recommend for grants institutions and associations connected with films;
- (iii) coordinate the activities of film societies;
- (iv) determine the principles for the classification of films;
- (v) recommend films to be exhibited at international festivals;
- (vi) recommend films for State awards; and
- (vii) maintain a national film library.

The Film Certification Bureau will take over the functions of the present Board of Film Censors. There will be a Chief Examiner of films for the whole country and such number of regional examiners as the Government deems necessary. The film examiners will be given a panel of advisors selected by the Government. The certification of films will be done at various centres to be appointed by Government.

Every film for public exhibition must obtain a certificate of worthiness from the Bureau. Certificates to be issued will be of three types, "U" for unrestricted exhibition, "A" restricted for adults only and "S" restricted for certain specified classes of persons. An *adult* means, for the purpose of this law, any person who has completed eighteen years of age.

The exhibitor must faithfully observe the conditions laid down by the Bureau. To show films without a certification or to contravene any of the conditions is a punishable offence. Persons below the age of eighteen may not be allowed when a "A" class film is exhibited. But children below the age of three in the company of their parents may be permitted.

In examining films the authorities making the examination must generally keep in view the effect the film is likely to have on the public and, in particular, ought to consider whether the film or any part of it is likely to :

- (i) impair the moral standards of the public ;
- (ii) depreciate social values or offend against the standard of public taste ;
- (iii) affect friendly relations of India with foreign nations ;
- (iv) affect public order or security of the State ; and
- (v) involve defamation or contempt of court, or cause incitement to offence.

Not only films have to be certified for public exhibition but also the film posters.

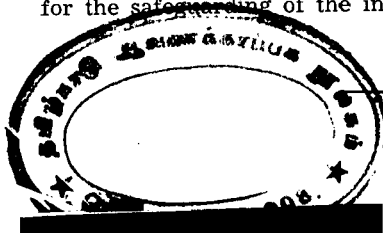
A certificate issued by the Bureau is valid for the whole of India. But the Central Government reserves to itself the right to cancel or modify any certificate issued by the Bureau.

The function of the Film Production Bureau is purely advisory. It is a voluntary body. It will scrutinise and give advice in respect of scripts or visual material connected therewith and render any assistance sought for by the producer.

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F. C. R.



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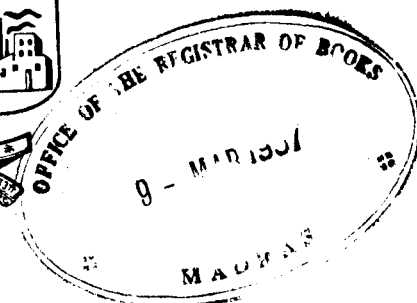
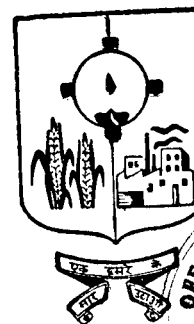
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This Side and That

Choosing Representatives

The election campaign is at its climax. The party flags run from pale pink to blood-red ; the labels read : socialistic, socialist, more socialist, more than socialist. Manifestos are dumped in every village and marathon speeches delivered with push-button ease. One would like to see a green flag with the motto : " liberty ". But the present mood is all centred on group-life with little thought of guaranteeing the rights and liberties of each individual citizen.

The group-sense is evidenced by another factor which is most striking in this campaign ; the struggle between parties and within parties is largely dominated by caste loyalty, as was denounced by Prof. Srinivas at the Indian Science Congress of Calcutta. Untouchability has been erased in the text of the Constitution, but the caste spirit is as strong as ever, even if secondary customs have been given up. Instances are glaring : Bumihars, Rajputs and Kayasthas in Bihar ; Kammass and Reddys in Andhra ; Okkalingas and Lin-

gayats in Mysore; Brahmins and non-Brahmins in Maharashtra; in the same line Christians and non-Christians in Kerala as well as landlords and tenants in Northern India. Caste has a large vote-catching power and caste is tacitly and completely accepted, even by those who denounce it. Caste is used to establish a casteless society!

It is needless to detail and discuss once more programmes, proposals and promises of the parties. All promise the moon and free tickets to the moon. What is more important, and this is a task of each citizen, is the duty of making a balanced estimate of each candidate, his living principles, his integrity, his records: a tantalizing job for one who votes according to his conscience. Let every voter study each candidate and choose the best among them, or.... the least unsatisfactory!

Economic Progress

In the meantime the gigantic work of economic modernization is going on apace; everywhere new factories, new roads, new community projects, with the Hirakud dam and the Bombay atomic nymph heading the list. The transport problems remains a headache, but the initiative of the U.S.A. in offering food surpluses on cheap terms revives the hope that the second Five-Year plan will not be lagging very much.

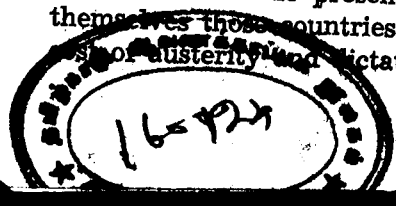
An economically underdeveloped country like India has to choose between consumption and investment, between the present and the future. Left to themselves these countries could progress only at the cost of austerity and dictatorship to-day; their actual

consumption should be restricted and the savings invested for future abundant production, a measure which could not be successful without severe control and dictatorship. The sole way of avoiding austerity and dictatorship lies in benevolent assistance from rich countries.

Maintaining Independence

Assistance from an individual country has psychological drawbacks; it readily fosters envy rather than gratitude and, more readily still, it gives rise to apprehensions of political dependency. It would be highly preferable, though hardly feasible in the present international situation, to organise assistance; an international organisation collecting and distributing food surpluses would remove the suspicion of ulterior motives and signify social justice and solidarity.

Experts of the U. N. O. have proved that it is possible and relatively easy, economically speaking, to organise such international assistance. Were it proposed to double the national income of all underdeveloped countries within ten years (the yearly increase being 7.2%), it would imply an investment of some eighteen billion dollars (about 18%) out of the 100 billion dollars they produce annually (with 1949 taken as a normal year). But all underdeveloped countries can hardly save up more than five billion dollars, and the complementary investment, namely 13 billion dollars, should be had from the international organisation; this should come from the richer countries which had a total income of 400 billion dollars in 1949; it would mean only some three per cent of their income, a none too harsh sacrifice for the sake of



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sists in his own self-realisation. The way to self-realisation, however, is achieved through actions perfected in the service of humanity. But what did Gandhiji mean by self-realisation?

Gandhiji was not a metaphysician. He was not an originator of new ideas, nor could his ideas be regarded as constituting a system of philosophy in the academic sense of the term. The fact is that Gandhiji, brought up on the Hindu scriptures, selected out of the innumerable doctrines of the Hindu tradition, those that appealed to him as sound and worthy of application in life and combined them in his own way in the light of his own experience. This led to a kind of new philosophical outlook, though the elements that went into its composition were old.

Self-realisation is one of the traditional concepts with which the Hindu mind is well acquainted. It means the depending of that original intuition by which a man knows himself as himself. Self-realisation implies the knowledge of the Absolute Reality. However, as the interpretation of what the Absolute Reality is, varies from sect to sect, self-realisation has acquired different meanings. We may reduce all these meanings to two, namely the 'Advaita' or the monistic understanding of the term and the 'Vaishnava' or the theistic interpretation.

For the Hindu monist the human self is identically one with Absolute Reality; consequently, by means of self-realization, man recognises his identity with the Absolute Reality. For the Hindu theist, on the other

hand, the human self is distinct from the Absolute Reality or God, though absolutely dependent on Him. Hence self-realization, by discovering to man his own nothingness and revealing to him his absolute dependence upon God, leads him to the knowledge of God.

Renunciation

As self-realisation is not discursive but intuitive, it is not distinct from its object. This is a fact upon which both monists and theists are in full agreement. We may also note here the nature of the means used by the two groups for the acquisition of self-realization. The chief means — renunciation — is common to all, but the immediate means vary in conformity with the meaning accorded to the word *renunciation*. In fact, while the monist contends that the only immediate means to acquire self-realisation is the very understanding of it (jnana), the theist, in his ardent longing for God, relies upon love and self-surrender. (bhakti).

Since he belonged to the 'Vaishnava' sect of Hinduism, Gandhiji naturally followed the theistic interpretation of self-realisation. This fact explains his sympathetic attitude towards Moslems and Christians from whose religious terminology he borrowed many concepts in order to explain his ideas. Indeed, in the introductory chapter of his book 'The Story of My Experiments with Truth', Gandhiji writes: "What I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain 'Moksha'. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking

and writing, and all my ventures in the political field are directed to this same end." The very same idea has been more fully expressed in 'Harijan' of August 29th, 1946. "Man's ultimate aim," wrote Gandhiji, "is the realization of God, and all his activities social, political and religious, have to be guided by this ultimate aim of the vision of God."

God-realisation

Thought for the Vaishnavas or theists, self-realization implies a double object viz. the realization of one's nothingness and the consequent knowledge of God, Gandhiji agrees with the 'Vaishnava' sages in identifying self-realisation with the second object rather than with the first which he found too negative in character. But Gandhiji holds that this identification between self-realization and knowing God is not adequate. God gives man light, strength and freedom to know his own nothingness, his absolute dependence on the Infinite and through this knowledge man is enabled to realise God. However this full and complete realization of God is not possible in this life. A living Faith is all that is possible.

Truth

Since according to the Vaishnava sect, the work of human salvation belongs entirely to God, and it is He who moves man from within, each step in this inner progress is followed by a deeper insight in man's conscious advance towards God. Man's explicit knowledge of God Gandhiji calls Truth which is the intellectual result from God's inner action. Gandhiji prefers to describe God as Truth and not Love, because

the word 'love' in the English language is used to cover a variety of senses, including base passion. But the word 'Truth' can never be used in any equivocal meaning. Even the atheist dare not deny the meaning of the word or use it in a contradictory or broad sense, and is therefore compelled to deny the existence of God Himself than quibble about Truth. And so Gandhiji concludes that instead of saying that God is Truth, it would be better to say that Truth is God.

Process of Self-realisation

Gandhiji finds that man is always conscious of God. But this consciousness is for the most part implicit in man's mind. The process by which this implicit consciousness of God is made explicit is what Gandhiji calls the path to self-realisation. There are four stages in the process.

In the first stage, man's consciousness of God is manifested in the hunger of the scientist, of the philosopher and of the artist to know, and to understand, and to idealise according to their capacity the eternal mystery of Nature and Life.

The second stage is what Gandhiji calls 'conscience', the 'small inner voice' which Gandhiji also calls the Voice of God, of Conscience, of Truth. Conscience, explains Gandhiji, is God within man guiding his life. Conscience urges man to be truthful, not only in words and in actions, but also in thought and feelings. Gandhiji never placed any faith on external sanctions, but depended solely on the inner voice of conscience for regulating man's conduct. A truthful thought is

a thought conceived according to the dictates of one's conscience. However, Gandhiji designated such thoughts as 'relative truths', since no man in this life can attain the Absolute Truth. But a man must hold by the relative truth as he conceives it. He must cling to it, 'this light from within', even in face of hostile opinion, or else he would never be able to know right from wrong, and in the end lose all distinction between the two. For Gandhiji, the highest freedom is the freedom to follow the voice of one's conscience.

The third stage in the journey to self-realisation is Faith, a living wide awake consciousness of God within, a certitude of man with regard to God. Faith urges man to control himself. It detaches man from the exterior world, makes him strong and free and urges him incessantly towards self-realisation.

The step to achieving self-realisation is the practice of renunciation. Hindu tradition has always been unanimous in maintaining that 'renunciation is the chief means to know the Supreme Being. In its primitive meaning, renunciation connotes the surrender of the objective world, and the embracing of a life of severe austerity. The Buddhists, however, laid stress of the subjective aspect of renunciation, viz. the renunciation of the will to live. But the Bhagawad Gita declares renunciation to mean the outward performance of actions with inward renunciation of the fruits of such action. Action for the Gita is nothing else but the carrying out of the dictates enjoined by the caste-system.

Renunciation and Gandhiji

While accepting the interpretation of the Bhagawad Gita, Gandhiji desired his followers to act not only dispassionately but also in a spirit of self-sacrifice. Their activities must proceed from the impulses of the heart and from other self-chosen responsibilities, never from the blind impositions of the caste-system. Gandhiji terms such action 'selfless action'. He does not accept the Gita as a historical narrative, but finds the wisdom of the sacred book condensed in its metaphysics of selfless action. For Gandhiji the feud between the two conflicting families described in the Gita, represent the two conflicting elements waging everlasting war in the human breast, viz. the 'I' and the knower of the 'I'. From the 'I', the beast in man, arises the distinction of 'mine and thine', of 'likes and dislikes', of 'attachments and aversions', preferences, expectations and anxieties; in fine, everything that leads to violence. The knower of the 'I', the spirit of man, is distressed to contemplate the course of violence to which it is bound, for no man can live without action (and by action, Gandhiji means all human activity, whether physical or mental) and every action carries in itself the seeds of violence, since every action is produced by the 'I'. In its anguish the spirit of man turns towards the consciousness of God, the Inner Dweller, ever present in the depths of the human heart and receives a clear answer: 'Every action leads to violence save that done for sacrifice'. This is, according to Gandhiji, the great message of the Gita. Selfless action of this type brings about complete self-realization.

Non-Violence

Is this selfless action possible? In discussing the matter, Gandhiji equates all selfless action with non-violence. By non-violence Gandhiji means 'the absence of ill-will against all that lives!... In its active form, non-violence is goodwill towards all life'. But Gandhiji finds that non-violence in this complete and absolute form is not possible in this world. The very fact of living involves the destruction of some creatures and therefore violence. On the other hand, neither can selflessness be the attribute of every action. For man is so constituted that some of his actions are incapable of being selfless, while others are only partially selfless. The perfect action is the one that has for its object the greatest good of all, (Sarvodaya), viz. the greatest good of the world and the greatest good of the one who performs the action. There is only one thing that can be the object of such an action viz. self-realization, for self-realization is the goal of all. However in the present state of human existence, the performance of the action for the greatest good of all can only result in the greatest good of the subject who performs it.

In this case what happens to 'selfless action'? Gandhiji solves the dilemma by declaring that self-realization is after all the work of God, who had inserted in the human heart the divine spark of love which made human progress possible. Indeed he considered love as the law of man and self-realization its necessary fulfilment. In his doctrine of Means and Ends' however, he maintains that love has two natures; and though its outward nature expresses itself in an indefinite

progress, its inner nature, the tension itself, is characterised by a super-human and everlasting achievement. This double nature of love makes human struggle unavoidable. It gives man faith in the ideal and presses him forward towards its realization. Neither is there any fear of missing the goal for though outwardly the goal seems ever receding from him, inwardly it is already achieved. "Satisfaction therefore lies in this effort, not in the attainment. Full effort is full victory," says Gandhiji in his 'Means and Ends'.

Social Philosophy

In what does this effort consist? It consists, answers Gandhiji in his "Non-violence in Peace and War", in creating in the world circumstances and conditions in which every being can work for its self-realization. For self-realization acquires a wider meaning. It means the full actualisation of the potentialities of every nature. Though the effort must extend far beyond humanity, it is man who is its primary object; that is why Gandhiji designates it by the name of 'service of humanity'. In fact as soon as the idea of service is fully understood, even if we limit it to human beings we arrive at an ethic of boundless duties and responsibilities not only with regard to human beings as such but with regard to every living creature. This natural expansion of sympathy and love leads to a necessary inward realization that life is nothing but self-sacrifice.

In the Harijan of July 8th, 1933, Gandhiji wrote, 'I do want to think in terms of the whole world. My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general.

Therefore my service of Indian includes the service of humanity..... The whole scheme for the liberation of India is based on the development of inward strength. It is a plan of self-purification towards self-realization'. Though India was the immediate object of this purification, it was not in relation to India's destiny alone that it had significance, as Gandhiji understood it. Its effect was supposed to extend to the whole of humanity and, through humanity, to the whole of creation.

In the Harijan of November 17th, 1933, Gandhiji wrote, "My mission is not merely service of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But through realization of the freedom of India I hope to realize and carry on the mission of the brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I would reject the patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always, in every case without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large. Not only that, but my religion and my patriotism derived from my religion embrace all life."

Freedom

Gandhiji considered freedom the essential condition for self-realization. Freedom for him meant self-determination and he believed that the greatest act of self-determination was the following of one's own conscience.

The capacity to appreciate freedom, thought Gandhiji, in an equal proportion with regard to oneself and to others, postulates a certain amount of social and economic self-sufficiency. This is the reason why Gandhiji in the middle of his political preoccupations plunged himself into an extensive social and economic programme based on the Charka (spinning wheel). He believed that the country which has least government is best governed. His ideal was a land of self-governing, self-supporting villages, knit together by the very minimum of control. His deep faith in the innate goodness of man and his spontaneous progress naturally led him to insist that 'plain living and high thinking' was the only road to freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi is the man who contributed more than anyone else to the political liberation of nearly one-sixth of the population of the world. Indeed it is a cause for astonishment to learn that this gigantic enterprise was brought to a victorious triumph by a 'half-naked wisp of a man' whose merciless and protracted fasts bewildered the intellectual elite of the world. What was that 'inner voice' which impelled and often compelled Gandhiji to such frightful periods of self starvation? Is austerity an efficacious means of social and political emancipation? These and other questions disturbed many throughout the world. Indeed, the aetiology of Gandhiji's fasts remains inscrutable; yet, who will scorn the innermost promptings of a man whose life was completely dedicated to his fellow-beings? "My fasts I want to throw in the scales of justice", he declared during his fast of

September, 1932. "If I had anything more to give, I would throw in that also ; but I have nothing more than my life." The intensity of feeling which lies hidden in these few words makes one almost speechless.

It is only the study of Gandhiji's inner mind that can reveal to us the secret of his method and also the deep source of that colossal strength which he displayed in the course of his political life. Truly, the profound origins of his social and political activity are briefly summed up in those memorable words with which he closes his book 'The Story of My Experiments with Truth': "To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth 'face to face' one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics ; and I can say without the slightest hesitation and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."

A. de Mendonca

Agricultural Planning and Co-operative Farming in China

The speeding up of agricultural production is one of the greatest problems which India is facing at present. This problem has two aspects : produce more food and secure a better living standard for the rural masses. There is no doubt that the Community Development Projects have already achieved some progress in this line, but many of us realise that, unlike our industrial problem in which indeed much headway has been made, our agricultural problem has not yet been tackled at the roots and that much remains to be done in such fields as land reform, economic and technical assistance to agriculture, social reforms, cooperative movement and others. The crux of the agricultural problem is this : how to make the land yield more, how to solve the problems of uneconomic holdings, of rural underemployment and of population pressure on the land ? Is Cooperative farming going to do it ?

China which had to face situations very similar to those of India, claims not only to have made great progress, but to have built up such conditions as will allow a still more spectacular progress in the near future. Of late two Indian delegations have gone there to study these problems, the first delegation, under the leadership of Shri M. V. Krishnappa, Deputy Minister For Food and Agriculture, concentrated its attention on Agricultural Planning and Techniques and has published its report (the Krishnappa Report) in

November 1956. The other delegation under the direction of Shri Patil, studied cooperative institutions. Though this delegation has not yet published its report, the main ideas of the latter, one may hazard a guess from comments in the press, will not be very different from those of the Krishnappa Report,* and we are therefore already in a position to discuss the problem of agricultural planning and cooperative farming.

* We will take the liberty of paying less attention to those parts of the Krishnappa Report which deal with the economic, administrative and technical aspects of agricultural planning in China and pay more attention to its social sections viz. to the collectivisation of land, which, it is claimed, accounts for no less than 15 % of the progress made in China. Co-operative farming is a point of very actual importance. It has been included as an item on the programme for land reform and agrarian reorganisation in the second Five Year Plan, and on the basis of the Krishnappa Report the government is said to be planning the establishment of pilot cooperative farming societies, in order to try out whether in India too, they would prove to be the solution to our land problem. The Patil Report, we are sure, will but strengthen this conviction of the government and will cause a wave of enthusiasm about Cooperative Farming to spread among the intelligentsia of this country. The Congress

(*) Cfr. F. M. Rama "Chinese Co-operatives Constitute the Culmination of Their Sweeping Land-Reform Programme," *Eastern Cooperation*, 6 Jan. '57.

party, in its turn, in its election manifesto has pledged itself to cooperative farming at the village level, both as the means of raising food production, and as a solution of the land problem.

On the other hand, the Indian Cooperative Union, which has itself been promoting cooperative farming since the past eight years, in a critical report on co-operative farming, submitted to the Government and the Planning Commission, has warned the country against 'unthinking enthusiasm for agricultural co-operativisation'.† So what have we finally to think about this question ?

1. *Physical Achievements in China*

When carefully reading the Krishnappa Report, one gets the impression that in China the attention has been exclusively centred on the economic and technical progress of agriculture, on production namely, and much less on the human aspects of improved rural living, that is, on the social, educational, sanitary and recreational facilities of village life, as is the case with the CDP's in India. Now, it is a well-known fact that totalitarian countries can afford to sweat their citizens, for the sake of increasing their basic production and to make them wait for improved living conditions till these basic targets have been reached. In democracies like India, this is not the case, the approach of planning must needs be more humanitarian, more person-centred. The fundamental difference between both

(†) Cfr. "Rapid Expansion of Coop. Farming," *Times of India*, 31 Dec. 1956.

countries lies in fact in the very philosophy of approach and accordingly of the methods to be used, in order to achieve national progress. China with its totalitarian regime can regiment its people into working-brigades — Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin have done that also —, and thus reach its ambitious targets in a shorter time and in a more spectacular way, than will ever be possible in India, that has pledged itself to democracy and to non-violent methods and that has to keep account of the free will of its citizens. It remains to be seen, however, which of the two approaches proves right in the long run!

Let us compare the economic progress of both countries.

	CHINA				INDIA	
	1949	1953	1955	1957 (target)	1949	1955
Cultivated area in million acres	242	—	272	—	283	315
		Increase 12.4 per cent			increase 11.3 p.c.	
Irrigated area in million acres	50	—	64.5	—	49.8	54.4
		Increase 29 per cent			increase 9.2 p.c.	
Multiple cropping	—	349	373	—	310	326
Gross-sown area as compared to cultivated area		(1952)	134. percent		101.6 p.c.	103 p.c.
		130. per cent of cultiv. area			of cultivated area	
Total production of food crops in million tons	106	154	172	17.6 per cent increase over base-year 1952		
Paddy in million tons	48	70	77	19.4 percent increase over base-year, 1952		

	CHINA				INDIA
Wheat in million tons	13.6	18	22.6	30.9 per cent increase over base-year, 1952	
Cotton in thousand tons	437	1,156	1,494	25.4 per cent increase over base-year, 1952	
Paddy Yield per acre in lbs.	1,689 but prewar-yield (1922) was 3,425 of paddy	2,245	2,387	2,425 of glutinous paddy	1,100
Wheat Yield per acre in lbs.	573 but prewar yield was 863	637	766	780	713
Ginned Cotton per acre in lbs.	145 but prewar yield was 162	202	235		89

Spectacular as this progress may seem, some remarks have to be made. The Chinese farmer has always been a harder worker and a better producer than his Indian colleague. Moreover the prewar figures show that China has to travel still a good way before attaining these prewar targets, the progress made till now being but the recovery of lost ground. Again, the base-year, 1952, was a bad year, due to the very troubled conditions in which the country found itself as a result of the war which had just ended and of the sweeping land reforms, accompanied by much cruel repression and murdering of 'capitalists'.

If the figures mentioned below of the best farms in India do compare favourably with the Chinese figures, they are unfortunately but all too rare excep-

tions with us. The paddy yield in the Malahalli NES block, Mysore, was as follows :

1952 — 53	1953 — 54	1954 — 55
2,500 lbs. per acre	4,500 lbs. per acre	5,500 lbs. per acre

In the Ramnagar NES Block, the average yield of paddy was 3,000 to 3,200 lbs. per acre (as compared to the Indian average of 1,100 lbs. per acre) but the Japanese method fetched not less than 6,600 lbs. per acre, showing once more the almost unlimited scope for improvement in our agriculture.

The Krishnappa Report itself warns us that we should be somewhat sceptical about the way in which these figures have been collected in China. (6.17) (*) Figures, it will be remembered, form part of Communist propaganda, and we must regret that our delegation has so docilely copied the official figures supplied by the Chinese authorities and has not ventured to make some sample surveys off-the-road, and to meet individual farmers, who had not been brain-washed. Their report would have been the more valuable and realistic for it. But such indiscretions are perhaps against the rules of diplomatic hospitality and etiquette.

We can, now, quickly go through the various administrative, financial, economic and technical

(*) The numbers between brackets refer to the paragraphs of the Krishnappa Report.

measures, which are responsible for this spectacular progress, and then finally fix all our attention on 'co-operative' farming.

2. Administration and Planning

About this subject, which is treated in the fourth chapter of the Krishnappa Report we will say only this. Unlike in India, which is a federal and democratic country, allowing a maximum scope to local initiative, representative government and personal contribution to the common good by each citizen, China is a strongly centralized and totalitarian state, where all the policies are planned and ordered from above down to the individual citizen, both through the administrative machinery and the Communist party, which identifies itself with and uses this machinery as a means to force its programmes on the population, and leaves no place for democratic opposition or personal criticism. (4.1 — 4.2) The Report notices that the parliament in China is nothing more but a 'decision-recording' body, that meets only once a year. (4.4) It is the central government that takes all the decisions and has them carried out. (4.5) The omnipresence and missionary zeal of the Communist party may give the impression that the people respond whole-heartedly to the efforts of the government and that China is becoming a little heaven, where the community spirit is alive, but we doubt very much whether that is the case. Woe to the country where the people do not dare any longer to criticize and to be discontented with their government!

A second point that has to be noted in the administration is that in China the Central Government is

a still more intricate and huge machinery and counts many more ministers dealing with economic affairs, than is the case in India. (4.7) Again, this is but normal in a totalitarian state, where the government is the great capitalist, the main producer and consumer of national wealth. Besides, since in China the whole economy is not only state-dominated but since no private enterprise or free market exists, which could function as counter-balance and a check on the state dominated field of economics, planning and checking of the work done are very difficult. By carrying on planning through two different channels, it is hoped that the necessary efficiency will be maintained. It would have been interesting to hear something about the red-tapism, bottle-necks and wasteful expenditure which necessarily go along with such a dinosauric bureaucracy, but the Krishnappa Report is extremely euphemistic about the little defects of its kind hosts.

The Report has a whole chapter on the Techniques of Agricultural Planning, but we cannot go into details. Be it sufficient to stress at this juncture, that the regime has built up a strongly centralised but far-reaching administrative machinery, flanked by an omnipresent Communist party, through which it is able to carry out effectively its ambitious programmes, without meeting any real democratic opposition. No wonder therefore that this system will accomplish faster progress than ours in India—at least for the next few years. But again, what about long term results?

3. Economic and Financial Measures

To be brief, all these measures can be summarised under one word : state-monopoly of trade in food products and agricultural goods, either in the form of direct government control or through state-cum-co-operative trade. Private trade has been practically entirely eliminated, everything falls under government planning. This is shown in the following phenomena :

- (1) Nationalisation of purchase and distribution of food grains, and other farm-products, fixation namely of the kinds and quantities to be produced and sold. (8.3—8.11)
- (2) Fixation of agricultural prices, so as to favour agricultural production and secure improved incomes to the farmers. (8.12—8.14)
- (3) Supply of goods to rural areas, under state control, through a pyramidal structure of supply and marketing co-op. societies. (8.15—8.16)
- (4) Increased State investment in Agriculture, Rs. 1,680 crores against Rs. 758 crores in India.
- (5) Easy and Quick availability of agricultural credit for long term and short term loans through the Agricultural Bank and Credit Cooperatives, as follows :

1950 — Rs. 40 crores	1955 — Rs. 200 crores
1952 — Rs. 214 crores	1956 — Rs. 640 crores
1954 — Rs. 168 crores	(8.18—8.23)
- (6) Building up of a net-work of Credit Cooperatives at the local or hsiang level (this is the lowest administrative unit consisting of 500 to 1000 families). (8.24)

While it is up to our economists to study in greater detail what is good in these measures and in how far they carry a lesson for our planned economy, we can go over to the consideration of the technical measures.

in which, it seems, India has definitely to learn a lesson from China.

4. Technical Reforms

Here China seems to have done real pioneering work and it is here too, that the efficiency of a strongly centralised administration and the determined will of a totalitarian power, on the improvements of the technical aspects of agriculture comes to the fore.

The Report very rightly remarks that the agrarian reorganisation, which we shall discuss later, and the administrative and economic measures, which we mentioned above, merely created the conditions conducive to agricultural development, while this development itself could be brought about only by technical reforms. (9.1)

Though this chapter of the Krishnappa Report makes very interesting reading indeed, even to laymen in agricultural engineering, here again we will limit ourselves to a mere enumeration :

- (1) Introduction of 'Technique Popularisation Stations' in the rural areas, which educate the farmers in improved techniques and pass on to them the results of research. (9.3—9.5)
- (2) Intensive use of manures, night-soil and fertilisers. (9.6—9.19)
- (3) Soil improvement, through terracing, strip-cropping, soil conservation and crop-rotation. (9.20—9.21)
- (4) Intercropping and multiple cropping. (9.22—9.23 and 9.26—9.27)
- (5) Multiplication and distribution of improved seeds. (9.24—9.25)

- (6) Substitution of low-yielding grain crops by high-yielding crops. (9.28)
- (7) Control of insects, pests and plant-diseases. (9.36)
- (8) Introduction of improved agricultural implements. (9.37—9.39)
- (9) State Farms and Machine Tractor Stations. (9.40—9.42)
- (10) Water and Soil conservancy schemes. (9.43—9.47)
- (11) Reclamation of virgin and waste lands. (9.50)

To these must be added the great importance which in China is being given to Agricultural Research, Education and Training. (Ch. x) An army of trained personnel and cadres are thus being prepared—who are not allowed to remain unemployed once they finish their training — and who will form the framework for a still more spectacular agricultural progress within the next years. In comparison to them the technical knowledge of our Village Level Workers makes a poor figure, and our agricultural training, though being quite up to the mark, does not get sufficient attention and importance, and it remains too much aloof from the work that is going on in the villages.

The recommendations on technical measures at the end of the Report seem to be quite reasonable and deserve full attention on the part of the government. At least in this field we can follow the lead given by China.

In the next issue of *Social Action*, the crux of the whole problem 'Co-operative Farming' will be discussed in detail.

Anupdev Bhagat

Documentation

LETTER OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL
TO MGR. LIENART, BISHOP OF LILLE.

(continued)

VII. *The Church recommends the union of all Catholics for combined work in the bonds of Christian charity.*

"Brave hearts and united forces are imperatively demanded by the situation. Widespread indeed are the miseries that we see, and formidable too the impending danger of fatal disturbances, due to the ever-growing forces of Socialism." (Leo XIII, *Graves de Communi.*)

"Every minister of holy religion must bring to the struggle the full energy of his mind and all his power of endurance. Moved by your authority, Venerable Brethren, and quickened by your example, they should never cease to urge upon men of every class, upon the high-placed as well as the lowly, the Gospel doctrines of Christian life; by every means in their power they must strive to secure the good of the people; and above all must earnestly cherish in themselves, and try to arouse in others, charity, the mistress and queen of virtues. For the happy results we all long for must be chiefly brought about by the plenteous outpouring of charity; of that true Christian charity which is the fulfilling of the whole Gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for others' sake, and is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self; that charity whose office is described and whose Godlike features are outlined by the Apostle St. Paul in these words: Charity is patient, is kind.... seeketh not her own.... suffereth all things.... endureth all things." (Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum.*)

In the light of these principles and directions, the way is clear for arriving at an equitable judgment in the matter before us.

In the first place, as regards Trade Unions, it is impossible to deny to Christian workers the right to constitute their own Unions, distinct from those of the employers, although not antagonistic to them. This is specially true when, as in the present case, these Unions have been desired and encouraged by the competent ecclesiastical authority, in accordance with the rules of Catholic social teaching, the observance of which is obligatory on the members, according to their rules, and in their various Union activities, for which they must seek inspiration more especially in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.

Moreover, it is obvious that the constitution of such Union, distinct from those of the employers, is not incompatible with social peace, as, on the one hand, they repudiate on principle the class war, together with collectivism in all its forms, and on the other, they admit the use of collective contracts in order to establish peaceful relations between capital and labour.

And industrial employers must not regard these unions as an act of mistrust, especially under present circumstances, when the need is obvious for promoting and encouraging, in opposition to Socialist and Communist trade unionism, Unions in which the Christian workers can discuss their legitimate economic and temporal interests without any danger to their spiritual and eternal welfare.

On this point there does not appear to exist any divergence between the two associations engaged in the present dispute. Indeed, M. Mathon, in his Second Report, declares that the Federation of Employers' Associations "ardently desires the formation of truly Christian Unions, defending the interests of the workers, comparing these interests with those of employers, discussing freely and independently with the employers' organisations, who equally with the Unions have the duty to study all matters under dispute in a spirit of justice and equity and without prejudice to the sentiments of Christian charity which should animate them all."

The dispute arises from the fact that the Federation considers that up till now the so-called Christian Unions have not been truly Christian; in other words, it considers that, in the exercise of their activities, they have not been thoroughly faithful to the principles of Christian social teaching, and, in support of this assertion, the Federation brings a number of allegations.

While accepting the intentions and the good faith of the petitioners, it is easy to see the gravity of the accusation. Hence the Sacred Congregation, before pronouncing judgment, made a number of careful enquiries; it collected, from the most authoritative sources, wholly reliable information in order to form a correct appreciation of the justice of so serious a charge.

This having been done, the Sacred Congregation feels bound to declare that in accordance with incontestable documents and the proofs it has collected, certain of the allegations made are exaggerated, while others, the most grave, attributing a Marxist and State Socialist spirit to the Trade Unions, are unjust and wholly devoid of foundation.

Nevertheless the Sacred Congregation does not deny that the Christian Unions may have been guilty of some tactical errors and that certain of their members may have made use of expressions in public not wholly in conformity with Catholic doctrine.

For this reason the Congregation expresses the wish that the directors (of the Unions) should be exhorted to provide more effectively for the Christian social education of all their members, by making use of the various methods which, to their credit, are already in existence: secretariates, industrial "weeks", study-circles, propaganda meetings, and spiritual retreats, in order that their Union activities may be impregnated with a Christian spirit of charity, justice and moderation. And on this subject, in view of a more thorough Christian social formation, and one more adapted to youth, the Sacred Congregation suggests that, in the various clubs

for young men and boys and educational institutes, some social education suitable to the capacities of young people should be given (as is already done with excellent results in certain dioceses); the result of such instruction will be not only to protect the young from the errors to which they are exposed but also to make them realize the beneficent activity of the Church in the social sphere.

Moreover, special care should be taken that all, particularly the leaders of the Unions, should possess an adequate practical knowledge of technical, professional and economic questions.

As regards the constitution, in exceptional cases, of what has been termed a *carte intersyndicale*, or inter-union alliance, between Christian Unions and non-religious or even Socialist Unions for the defence of their legitimate interests, it must always be remembered that such an alliance is only permissible when made in certain special cases, when the cause to be defended is a just one, when it is a question of merely temporary co-operation and when all precautions have been taken to avoid the perils that such co-operation may entail.

To sum up: the Sacred Congregation views with satisfaction the founding of Trade Unions that are truly Catholic in spirit and in action, and expresses the wish that they may grow in number and in quality, so that, by their means, the good results hoped for by Pope Leo XIII may be achieved, viz., the provision of a refuge for those workmen who are members of anti-Christian Unions and who feel the need and the duty of freeing themselves from bonds which enslave the conscience for purely economic interests.

"To (workmen) such as these, Catholic associations are of incalculable service, by helping them out of their difficulties, inviting them to companionship and receiving the returning wanderers to a haven where they may securely find repose." (Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*).

Turning now to matters that directly concern the members of the Federation, the Sacred Congregation has noted with keen pleasure all that the Federation has done for the relief of the suffering of the workers, as well as the splendid and beneficent work that they have already organized, especially through the development of family allowances, a work of the highest charity as well as of social justice. Nevertheless, in speaking to Catholics, the Sacred Congregation cannot refrain from inviting them to reflect that in the relations between employers and employed, in order to retain peace and concord, it is not sufficient to appeal to "professional solidarity", and to multiply beneficent works inspired by a purely human philanthropy. True concord and true peace can only be won by the adhesion of all to the luminous principles of Christian morality.

Further, the Sacred Congregation congratulates the employers on having felt and understood the need of constituting themselves into an organisation in order to arrive more effectively at social peace.

Nevertheless, the Congregation is not able to refrain from noting that although individually the directors of the Federation make open profession of Catholicism, in point of fact they have formed their association on an undenominational basis. In this connection it is well to recall what Leo XIII wrote: "Catholics ought, by preference, to form associations with Catholics, unless necessity forces them to act otherwise. This is a very important point for the safeguarding of their faith." (Leo XIII, *Longinqua Oceani*, January 6th, 1895.)

If for the moment it is not possible to form Catholic Unions for employers, the Sacred Congregation nevertheless considers it necessary to call the attention of Catholic manufacturers, especially those who are members of the Christian Association of Employers in the north, to their personal responsibility for the resolutions that may be adopted, in order that these may conform to the laws of Catholic morality and that the religious and moral interests of the workers may be guaranteed, or at least not injured. They must take particular

care to ensure, as regards their inter-federation Commission, that every consideration, demanded by equity, should be given to the Christian Unions so as to assure them conditions of labour if not better than, at least as favourable as, those of other organizations which are frankly irreligious and revolutionary.

Having made the above observations concerning the two kinds of Union, the Sacred Congregation desires that all mistrust should disappear and all differences cease, and that just and peaceable relations in accordance with Christian principles should be maintained henceforth between the two Unions. Let the members of each remember their own great social responsibilities as Catholics, for both the associations should set an example of that collaboration of classes demanded by the morality they profess.

Bearing in mind that the Federation has declared itself ready to discuss all likely causes of disagreement, with full liberty and mutual independence, in the light of the principles of equity and justice, the Sacred Congregation would see with satisfaction the setting-up of a regular method of communication between the two associations by means of a permanent joint committee. Such a committee would have for its aim to discuss mutual interests at periodical meetings in order that the associations should no longer be organs of conflict and antagonism, but rather, in harmony with the Christian conception, means of mutual comprehension, of friendly discussion and of peace.

The Sacred Congregation cannot refrain from praising the right reverend Bishops of the Northern district for having confided to zealous and competent priests the duty of assisting the directors and members of the associations in spiritual matters as well as in questions involving the principles of morality; and it expresses the wish that in other industrial districts the Bishops, should nominate priests to be "Missionaries of Labour", as they are called, whose apostolate, besides protecting the people against the evil of religious indifference and the Socialist and Communist peril, would also

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be a witness to the material solicitude with which the Church embraces the workers.

Benedict XV showed to what extent such a scheme is not only opportune but necessary, when he declared, in his letter already quoted to the Bishop of Bergamo:

"Let no member of the clergy imagine that such activity is outside his priestly ministry on the grounds that it lies in the economic sphere; for it is precisely in that sphere that the salvation of souls is in peril. Hence it is Our desire that priests regard it as one of their obligations to devote themselves as far as possible to social theory and action by study, observation and work, and to support in all ways those who, in this sphere, exercise a wholesome influence for the good of Catholics."

In conclusion, the Sacred Congregation invites both parties, employers and employed, to rise to thoughts and feelings of a higher order. The remarkable progress of Socialism and Communism, and the loss of faith among the working classes, are undeniable facts that give rise to serious thought. Taking advantage of the real sufferings of the workers, Socialism and Communism have succeeded in making them believe that these doctrines alone are capable of promoting effectively their industrial, political and social interests, and have established trade unions for them. Thus it has become urgent for all Catholics to unite their forces in opposition to so great an evil, which draws so many souls on to the road of eternal perdition, and saps the bases of social order, thus preparing the ruin of nations and of States.

Let then all discord be put aside; so that, with mutual concord, reciprocal confidence and above all with great charity, institutions may be established which draw their inspiration from Catholic principles and assure to the workers, together with their economic interests, the liberty to declare themselves Christians and the power to fulfil all their duties as such.

I beg your Lordship, when carrying out the decisions contained in this letter, to make use of the most efficacious

means that your tact and prudence may suggest, in order to attain more easily the end that the Sacred Congregation has had in view for the greater good of all. I shall be grateful if your Lordship will inform us of everything that takes place.

D. CARDINAL SBARRETTI,
Bishop of Sabina.

June 5th, 1929.

BOOK REVIEWS

NEW APOLOGETICS by A. Rehm, S. J., 4th ed.
Catholic Press, Ranchi, 1956. pp. vi+92. Price 8 as.

WHO WILL TELL US THE TRUTH by Pereira, S. J.,
translated from the German by A. Rehm. Catholic
Press, Ranchi. 1956. pp. 34. Price: 4 as.

Here are two little precious books for the guidance and training of youth. Both have been written by men who have spent the better part of their lives among teen-agers and hence are thoroughly conversant with their problems and the methods of dealing with them. Curiosity is the manifestation of an active mind. Youth moves in a forest of interrogation marks. As boys and girls grow they realise that after all they have not the explanations for all that they see, feel and observe in and around them. They ask questions and want answers. We cannot, unless we want to inflict irreparable damage on them, fool them with stork stories or, by dogmatic statements, suppress the urge for knowledge. We must give them rational explanations.

Fr. Rehm's book deals with problems of religion. Though for the Communists religion is the opium of the people, an evil thing to be eradicated root and branch, and for the agnostic a meaningless remnant of the Dark Ages, yet for the generality of mankind religion is a matter of vital importance. Because it is so important we must make a systematic study of it. In this little book under review the student will find a list of 256 questions on matters of religion formulated in clear, precise terms and answered concisely but fully. Abstruse questions like the existence of God, the nature of the human soul, resurrection of the body, the problem of evil and a host of others are treated with a simplicity that is admirable. While teachers entrusted with the difficult task of teaching religion in high schools will find this book a boon companion it will be a god-send as well to sincere enquirers after truth. The only regret is that the work is so small. It is to be ardently hoped that the author will find time to prepare a more exhaustive work on the same lines.

Fr. Pereira, a renowned German educationist, treats the vital problem of sex education. All agree that sex education must be imparted to the growing child. But how much and in what manner, educationists still differ. The teen-ager conscious of changes in and around him seeks an explanation and unless someone is willing to give him he will go to sources which might well ruin him for good. Most parents, the natural educators, cannot or will not do their duty. The author, in four short chapters, plainly and clearly discusses with the more mature boys the problem of sex and gives them, in so doing, sound principles to

guide them in their future life. Not only boys in their teens but parents too who are faced with the problems of the adolescent child will find in these pages a sure guide. The style is simple, direct and has a homely atmosphere about it. The translation is superbly done.
F. C. R.

LIGHT OF INDIA is a monthly review published by the Anti-Communist Front of Kerala. The Annual subscription is Rs. 3—12—0 for India and Rs. 7—0—0 for foreign countries. Balarampuram P.O., Kerala.

The Communist menace in India is nowhere so threatening as in Kerala. Owing to several causes chief among which are high literacy, low earning power and a deep sense of frustration, Communism has been progressing in the State with great vigour. Elections will soon be held. It is not likely that the Reds will obtain a majority to be able to form a government by themselves, but with the help of the leftist parties they will be able to smother democracy. Hence those who see the danger are working feverishly to avert the evil threatening Kerala. This little magazine, which contains many interesting articles on social problems prevalent in the State, is meant to counter the danger of Communist penetration. We wish it every success.

F. C. R.

Proceedings of the All-Malabar Catholic Social Conference (April 9th—11th, 1956) pp. 98.

From April 9th to 11th last year, over a hundred and sixty delegates from the various dioceses of Kerala assembled at Kottayam for the Second Session of the

All-Malabar Catholic Social Conference, under the Chairmanship of His Grace Archbishop Joseph Attipetty, Director of Catholic Social Action in India. The present volume is a record of the proceedings and resolutions of the Conference. It also contains an account of the Labour Leaders' Training Course, held at Alwaye from October 11th to November 30th, 1956.

Like its predecessor of 1955, this Regional Conference was held to discuss the application of the general directives of the All-India Social Conferences which have been held at various times since 1951, and to find solutions for local problems.

Despite the regional nature of the Conference, there is much in these *Proceedings* which will interest anyone concerned with the Catholic social apostolate in India. Four main subjects were discussed at the Conference: (1) The Lay Apostolate, (2) The Training and Organization of Youth, (3) The Christianization of Workers' Organizations, and (4) the Catholic Social Centre. A number of papers also dealt with very practical aspects of the social apostolate, for example the problem of improving health and sanitation in villages, and of bettering the economic condition of the people through the establishment of co-operative societies and cottage industries in the parishes.

Of particular interest is the proposal that a Malabar Catholic Centre be established, which would, among other things, publish a magazine and various kinds of Manuals necessary for Catholic work in Malabar, as well as retain a permanent Board of specialists

for the study of theoretical and practical socio-economic problems of the region. Such a Centre could well serve as an inspiration and guide for other groups of Catholics in India. There can be no doubt as to the value of a regional approach, as recognized by the All-India Catholic Social Conference held at Ernakulam in May, 1954, and the progress of the proposed Malabar Centre will doubtless be watched with great interest.

J. Berna.

Social Survey

Bicycles

The production of bicycles in India in 1956 is estimated at 615,000 as against 491,000 in 1955, and 372,000 in 1954. These figures do not include production of the small-scale sector. Considerable progress has been made in the last six years in the bicycle industry which is one of the youngest in the country. In 1951 there were only two units engaged in the manufacture of the machines with a rated capacity of 120,000 and actual production of 101,000 per year. There are now 63 large and small factories producing bicycles in the country. Of these 16 are in the Punjab, 13 in Delhi, 9 in Bombay, 7 in U.P., 6 in West Bengal, 5 in Madhya Pradesh, 4 in Rajasthan, 2 in Madras and one in Bihar.

The average daily employment in the large-scale sector of the industry was 8,158 in 1956 as against 6,493 in 1955 and 5,077 in 1954. It is estimated that about 6,500 persons are employed in the small-scale sector.

Most of the components are made in the country. Some of the raw material used is obtained indigenously but some is

imported. Imports of cycles from foreign countries is strictly restricted. Government has been helping the industry in many ways. A finishing and testing centre in Ludhiana, provision for expert technical advice, introduction of quality control scheme, financial assistance and help in importing raw material are some of the ways in which government is assisting the industry. Government is also encouraging the tube manufacturing industry. The Engineering Export Promotion Council has carried out extensive market surveys in many Afro-Asian countries.

With the increase in home production and also with the improvement in quality there has been a rapid decline in imports. Besides Indian made bicycles cost considerably less. The bicycle industry in India has a very bright future.

Bidis

In 1954--55 India exported 2,900,000 lbs of "Bidis" to foreign countries, notably to Ceylon and Pakistan. Since then however exports have been steadily falling. In the six months, April--September, 1956 exports amounted only to 1,100,000 lbs. as against 1,200,000 lbs. in the corresponding period of the previous year.

With the signing of the three-year Trade Agreement between India and Pakistan in January of this year the exports to that country are expected to go up.

A Bill to regulate the working conditions of the Bidi workers in the country was introduced in the winter session of the Lok Sabha. With the dissolution of Parliament the Bill might lapse. It is hoped that the Bill will come up again in the new Parliament and will be passed. Bidi workers, in many places, are subjected to very inhuman conditions of labour.

Paper

The Government of India has granted permission for the setting up of 22 new paper mills in the country. There are

already 22 mills producing paper only. By the end of the Second Five Year Plan period the production of paper is expected to rise from 210,000 to 540,000 tons per year.

Besides the Nepa Newsprint Factory in Madhya Pradesh Government is setting up another factory in Andhra Pradesh to produce 30,000 tons of newsprint per annum. The private sector is invited to establish two more factories so as to meet the country's requirement of 120,000 tons per year. With the opening of the Hirakud Project news paper mills are likely to be established in Orissa and the existing ones expanded. Raw material and power is there available in abundance.

A factory is to be set up in Assam to manufacture chemical pulp, required for paper manufacture, at the rate of 30,000 tons per year. A proposal to set up two rayon pulp factories with a total capacity of 50,000 tons per annum is under consideration.

The consumption of paper has gone up from 209,000 tons per year in 1950--51 to 317,000 tons in 1955--56. In the same period indigenous production has gone up from 114,000 to 202,000 tons per year — a rise of 80 per cent.

In spite of this phenomenal rise in production India still imports annually 49,000 tons of paper, 80,000 tons of newsprint and 12,000 tons of rayon grade pulp valued at Rs. 150,000,000.

At the end of the second Five Year Plan period, 1960-61, the consumption of paper and paper products is expected to be 350,000 tons of paper, 120,000 tons of newsprint and 50,000 tons of rayon grade pulp. This would mean that, in terms of value, as against our total consumption of about Rs. 290 million worth of these products at present the annual consumption by 1960--61 is expected to be of the tune of Rs. 600 million per annum. It is imperative to save foreign currency for other nation building works. Hence the need to expand the paper industry in the country.

An *ad hoc* committee has been set up under the chairmanship of the Inspector General of Forests to study the cellulose raw material resources of the country, like bamboo, spruce, bagasse, sabai grass and other grasses. The present consumption of bamboo is estimated roughly at 300,000 tons per year and this is likely to go up to 600,000 tons during the Second Plan period. The present resources of bamboo is estimated at 1,800,000 tons on a felling cycle of four years. This will have to be doubled to meet the requirements of the industry.

Bagasse which is plentifully available is at present wasted away. The 143 existing sugar factories together with the 57 new factories to be set up soon, will produce 3.75 million tons of bagasse which in itself is enough to produce over a million tons of paper. At present most of this valuable material is used as fuel when it could be saved by using coal which is readily available.

About 50 per cent of the imported paper products consist of cheap wrapping paper and boards. The small scale industry in the country can easily manufacture this given both abundant raw material and generous Government assistance.

At present large sums of money are spent in importing the machinery required for the paper industry. Most of it can be manufactured in the country. Government is planning on establishing factories in the country to manufacture this machinery and thus save the Rs. 300 to 400 million now spent on it.

The expansion of the paper industry in India, besides making the country self-sufficient, will provide large scale employment to people both in the manufacturing process as well as in the production of raw material.

Jobs

Stenographers, fast typists, trained teachers, overseers, draughtsmen, compounders and nurses fell far short of demand all over the country according to a review of man-

power situation by Employment Exchanges in India. Employment Exchanges also recorded fairly widespread shortage in respect of physical training instructors, sanitary inspectors, health visitors, midwives and turners. There was dearth of boiler attendants, surveyors, electricians and road roller drivers at a number of centres. Difficulty was experienced in finding accountants at many places. There is also an acute shortage of skilled mechanics.

But all Exchanges report a huge surplus of clerks, unskilled office workers and, in general, unskilled labourers. Many seekers for jobs remain unemployed for long periods for lack of character. Some of the persons knocking at Employment Exchanges are men of worthless character, dishonest, lazy and unreliable. The people find it difficulty to secure jobs and if they do succeed they do not keep the jobs for long.

This survey shows the need to re-orientate our educational system. Our schools and colleges should aim at not only developing the mind of our students but also developing their character, instilling into them a sense of duty. They should also be given a solid training to fit them for life. A technical bias should be given to our educational system.

Public Libraries

An amendment to the Delivery of Books (Public Libraries) Act, 1954 requires "the publisher of every newspaper, published in the territories to which the Act extends, to deliver at his own expense one copy of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published to each of the public libraries declared to be such by the Central Government."

For the purpose of this Act "newspaper means any printed periodical work containing public news or comments on public news published in conformity with the provisions of section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867."

The Act extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Oilseeds

During the first Five Year Plan period the acreage of five major oilseed crops in India rose from 26.5 million acres in 1950-51 to 29.5 million acres in 1955-56. The production correspondingly increased from 5.1 million tons to 5.6 million tons. The target for the Second Plan has been fixed at 7.6 million tons. As it is impossible to increase appreciably the acreage it is proposed to intensify the cultivation by using more scientific methods.

The value from the produce from the five major oilseed crops in India during 1955-56 is estimated at Rs. 343.4 crores. The production of oil from these oilseeds is estimated at about 1.39 million tons, valued at Rs. 184.9 crores. India is the largest producer of groundnuts in the world accounting for 3.4 million tons out of the total world production of 10.3 million tons. Though she occupies the first place in production, the yield per acre is only 639 lbs., compared with 1,519 lbs. obtained in China and 887 lbs. in U.S.A. As regards the production of castor, sesamum and rape-mustard, India occupies the second rank.

Hirakud

Hirakud ten years ago was an unknown place. Today it is throbbing with life. A colossal dam has been built across one of India's mighty rivers, the Mahanadi, which will control the floods which used to devastate vast tracts of the country, irrigate hundred of thousands of arid fields, generate huge quantities of power and bring peace and plenty not only to Orissa but to the country as a whole.

Hirakud is a great achievement indeed. It is the longest dam in the world, sixteen miles from end to end. Although a certain amount of help was received from foreign experts in designing the dam the work itself was entirely done by Indian engineers.

The dam consists of a 15,748-ft. long earth-cum-masonry-cum-concrete dam built between two hills, flanked by earthen

dykes 32,275-ft. in length in five gaps spanning hillocks on the left and 35,500-ft. on the right in one stretch. The maximum height of the dam in the masonry portion is 200 feet and in the earth portion 195 feet. In the power dam, which is 948 feet long, there are seven penstocks 23 to 25 feet in diameter, the largest in Asia and in the Far East. There are 64 sluices each closed with vertical slide gates $12' \times 20.33'$, each shutter weighing 26 tons. The weight of steel used in each gate, including the embedded part, is 45.8 tons. These gates are operated by 8 cranes, each gate being operated individually. Each crane is of 50-ton capacity. The hoisting speed of the gate is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. per minute. To meet the contingency of any sluice gate going out of order, two emergency gates in each spillway are provided. These gates, each $16' \times 28.3'$ and weighing 44.6 tons, is operated by a 100-ton crane from the top of the dam. The weight of steel used in these gates is 307 tons.

The power house located close to the dam entailed a colossal job. Its foundations are 71 feet deep and the height of the building from the foundations is 148 feet. It will house all the seven units which have been planned. At present four units, two British and two German have been commissioned. The British are of 37,000 kw each and the German of 24,000 kw each. Each of the three future units to be installed will have a capacity of 37,000 kws.

The area of the reservoir created by the dam is 288 sq. miles with a total capacity of 6.6 million acre-ft. Of these 1.38 million acre-ft. will form a permanent pool and act as a silt-control basin. The remaining 4.72 million acre-ft. will provide water for irrigation, power generation and flood control. The water flowing out of the power plant will be used to irrigate the Mahanadi delta.

A net work of canals will carry waters from the reservoir to irrigate annually 671,000 acres in the districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir. There will be 116 miles of main and branch canals and 473 miles of distributories and minors. One of the

canals, the Bargarh, will be 55 miles long, with a bed width of 150 feet and depth of 10 feet.

The Mahanadi is not navigable for the greater part of the year. From November to June the flow of water in the river is only 300 cusecs. The flow of water from the reservoir will be regulated to discharge from 8,000 to 12,000 cusecs to make the river navigable right up to the Dam.

The abundant power made available by the Dam is being utilized to boost up the industrial potential of Orissa. The State is rich in minerals and other raw materials. Here are some of the industries which are either being expanded or being newly established:— a cement factory at Rajgangpur with capacity of 2000 tons per day, an iron and steel mill at Rourkela planned to produce 1,000,000 tons per annum, a fertilizer factory at Rourkela to produce 442,000 tons per year, a factory at Rajgangpur to make 88,000 tons of refractories, an aluminium plant at Hirakud with a capacity of 20,000 tons of ingots per year, two manganese factories of 21,000 tons each, a ferrochrome factory to produce 12,000 tons, a factory to manufacture 60,000 tons of tubes for water and gas, and finally several paper mills with a total capacity of over 80,000 tons per annum. Besides these major industries a very large number of small scale industries have already been started or are being planned.

The Hirakud Dam is expected to cost a little over Rs. 100 crores. So far over half that amount has been spent. A great deal of work still remains to be done.

In building the Dam 123,302 acres of agricultural land and 17,536 acres of forest were submerged. 20,000 families were rendered homeless and had to be provided for. They all have been found new homes and have been rehabilitated.

Scholarships

The Government of India has sanctioned an additional grant of Rs. 3.65 millions for scholarships to scheduled castes

and scheduled tribes and other backward classes for their post-matriculation studies. The total funds available for this purpose during 1956-7 now stand at Rs. 18.65 millions.

An official press note says that with the increase in the grant, it will now be possible to renew the scholarships of all eligible candidates belonging to the "other backward classes" who were awarded scholarships last year.

Besides, it will be possible to award fresh scholarships to the candidates belonging to those classes pursuing undergraduate courses of studies who having passed their last diploma certificate examination with 50% or above marks in case of those pursuing post-graduate courses of studies.

Women candidates securing 5% less marks in each case will also be eligible for selection. All eligible scheduled castes and scheduled tribes candidates have already been awarded scholarship for 1956-57, the release adds.

The Madras Government has ruled that scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward class students irrespective of their religion, are eligible to educational grants. This ruling has brought to christian converts benefits which their non-christian brethren only so far enjoyed. It is to be earnestly hoped that other State Governments, which still continue to flout the clear directions of the Constitution will follow suit.

Free Education

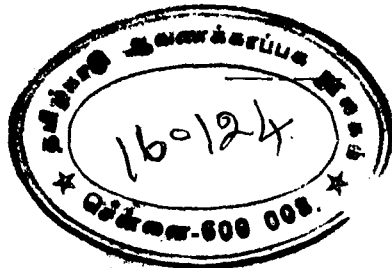
Free education will be imparted to all children in Andhra up to the III form (VIII class). Free education for all will take effect from 158-59. From this year girls will be free. This scheme will not benefit the Anglo-Indian schools in the State. Government will pay compensation to schools for the loss of income from school fees at the standard rate of Rs. 2-12-0 a month for ten months in the year.

Bhoodan

Bhoodan movement is gaining momentum. While Acharya Vinoba Bhave is coaxing the Tamil landowners to give away land to those who have none or have too little various other workers are touring different parts of the country to sell the idea of Bhoodan to the masses. Recently high praise for the movement has come from certain foreign visitors. Vinoba Bhave is reported to have told an audience in the South to hurry up and part with their land before the Government takes it all and distributes it. Speaking at Avalur the Acharya is reported to have said: "I wish that this village be converted into a Grama-Rajya. There should be no separate ownership of land: it should be owned by the community as a whole. Separate ownership of land is against the Law of God. It was during the days of the British regime that separate ownership came into existence in India...." It is further reported that Vinobaji put questions to a little lad and elicited answers from him to the effect that just as the love of the mother was enjoyed equally by all her children, the earth, which was the mother of all people, should be shared by all equally.

We wonder whether the Acharya Vinoba Bhave has been correctly reported.

F. C. R.



"Optimists rule the world; pessimists watch it going round".

(Paul Bourget)

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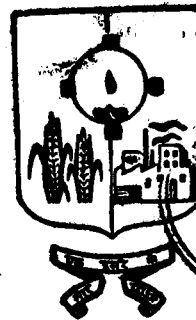
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This Side and That

Back to Work

With the bout of electoral fever being abated, and the Congress party back in power, the country faces the national task assigned to all in the Second Five Year Plan, which has been taken in hand last year but which now demands final practical measures. Experts have dilated on the ambitious dimensions of the plan and singled out a few weak points : transport, deficit financing, foreign exchange, private investments, balance of public and private sectors. If the Plan is to succeed in five or in six years, the effort should be on a national scale, and social workers should direct their attention to Community Projects, Labour education, thrift campaigns, co-operative organisations, etc. When criticising the tendency of the Plan to absorb private undertakings, one should, remember the vast sums of money the Government devotes to encourage cottage industries and all manner of cooperatives. Possibly it might in general be more generous in its legislation and its regulations on small concerns.

Small Business

In countries which have developed on the basis of freedom, and freedom is basic in the socialist pattern the Congress government wants to evolve, small business plays a vital part in the national economy without raising the apprehensions of the labouring classes. In France the concerns which employ less than fifty workmen make up some ninety per cent of the industries. In the U.S.A. small business occupies about ninety-five per cent of the total business population and accounts for one third of the total national output of goods and services (1956). What is worthy of note in the U.S.A. is that Big Business does not threaten small business, but Big Government does. Federal taxes prevent small concerns from ploughing back profits into the undertaking. The steeply progressive taxes on income and estate have decimated the benevolent bankers that formerly advanced loans to small factories. Many government orders go to small concerns, but they are not of any long-range terms; they are mostly yearly orders. The mass of rules and regulations are enough to swamp concerns which cannot afford the extra staff needed to read, digest and apply them, and in any case force them to take in new hands to collect the taxes on employees and customers and hand them over to the Government without being paid a cent for that work. Finally the hottest grouse of small business is that the Government operates some twenty thousand commercial activities in competition with private industry, and competes with free citizens in such basic activities as laundries, and even (o supreme insult!) ice-cream plants.

On the other hand the large labour unions are endangering and damaging the position of the small concerns. Their wage policy can hit the small producers very badly; higher wages mean higher cost in running business. The small businessman is a marginal producer, who is much less able than large factories to pass the increased cost on to the consumer through higher selling prices and yet they have to follow suit with wages and benefits. This may explain that so many small concerns are wound up year after year or merged into larger combines. Were it not for the ever resourceful pioneering spirit of the American citizen, the U.S.A. society would eventually be divided into Big Management and Big Labour with the Government the uneasy arbitrator. What of our small business man in India?

Belated Wisdom

With the new legislature and the new state governments, it is expected that Ministers will comply with the instructions of the Union Minister and refrain from patronising pro-Communist cultural and social organisations like the All-India Peace Council, the Indian People's Theatre Association the All-India Students' Federation, the All-India Kisan Sabha, the National Federation of Indian Women, the All-India Progressive Writers' Association, the All-India Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Youth League, the Indo-Soviet and the Indo-China Cultural Societies.

Ministers will possibly plead a ready-made excuse for past negligence. Have not Communist institutions been officially patronised, like the Bulganin-Krushchev Duet, the Zukow Drummer, and the Chou-en-lai Per-

cussion Band? Are not people tired of all those public receptions to delegations, commissions, and committees, with our officials being taken away from their normal jobs, the police on tenter-hooks for days on end and the school children mobilised for public functions

Academic Freedom

On the eve of his retirement, Dr. John Mathai, vice-chancellor of the Bombay University, threw a pregnant suggestion to our future Government: "Why appoint State Governors as University Chancellors?" The Vice-chancellor is in law responsible to the Chancellor; it means in practice that he is responsible to the Ministers, and ministers are politicians.

Is it wise to make official allowance for the interference of politicians in University life? Rare are the technicians of politics who are sound and safe in academic work. Non-academic influence and bureaucratic dictation should be resisted by University men; Culture and science do not easily blossom in an atmosphere of party-strife. In the very best situation, such party influence will be present; Governors and their Ministers have financial powers and they easily succumb to the temptation of measuring grants to the university's subservience. In some universities the Chief Justice has been appointed as Chancellor and this precedent is a pointer to future nominations. What is expected from a Chancellor is vision, ability and independence, qualities which do not demand a political soil and a bureaucratic climate.

A. L.

Social Justice

It would be, perhaps, difficult to read any popular pronouncement in our Press today, without meeting the expression 'social justice' and yet as Fr. Drummond writes in his *Social Justice*,** "The number of opinions with regard to the nature of social justice is legion." (p. 19).

This is hardly surprising when it is remembered that the term 'social justice' is, comparatively speaking, of fairly recent origin. "Social Justice," says Fr. Drummond, "is a concept still evolving as the whole modern social complex where justice must be applied is evolving" (ibid). Like the expressions 'social service', 'social work' and 'social responsibility', the term 'social justice' has come into use with the growing consciousness of all peoples of their collective responsibility for the conditions which obtain in modern society. Social Justice has received further prominence especially since the social disorganisation which followed two world wars shocked the conscience of the world into realising that despite Cain's denial man is still his brother's keeper!

The Foundations of Social Justice

Fr. Drummond does not spend much time discussing the traditional scholastic doctrine which distinguishes three categories of justice, legal, distributive and commutative. Basing the whole concept of justice

** By William F. Drummond, S.J., The Bruce Publishing Co. price \$ 2.

on the dignity of the human person, he immediately points out that "man has other obligations from nature towards his fellow men besides that of not violating individual rights. He has a positive obligation of working with others for the common good of all. He is by nature a social being." (p. 11). That is, indeed, the key to the understanding of the whole question of social justice. The social order, like social justice derives from man's social nature.

To begin with "man's natural instinct moves him to live in civil society, for he cannot, if dwelling apart, provide himself with the necessary requirements of life, nor procure the means of developing his mental and moral faculties. Hence it is divinely ordained that he should lead his life — be it family, social or civil, — with his fellow men, amongst whom alone his several wants can be adequately supplied." (Leo XIII *Immortale Dei*). For better or for worse man is a social being, and must live with his fellow men.

It follows, therefore, that "Society is for man, not man for society," that is to say, "that by means of an organic union with society and by mutual collaboration the attainment of earthly welfare is placed within the reach of all." (p. 11). This is, indeed, a far cry from the Liberal principles of enlightened self interest, as the sole motive of social progress! In fact, precisely because the welfare of the individual is so closely bound up with the welfare of all, man cannot escape doing his share for the common well being, by social cooperation.

Social cooperation which is the law of man's social nature demands a two-way traffic: on the one hand, society must afford man all the means for his natural development, and on the other man is bound to co-operate and work for the common well being. Pope Pius XI in his *Atheistic Communism* puts the whole idea very succinctly. He writes: "Man cannot be exempt from his divinely-imposed obligations towards civil society, and the representatives of authority have the right to coerce him when he refuses without reason to do his duty. Society, on the other hand, cannot defraud man of his God-granted rights.... or make their use impossible." (sec. 30). It needs no deep reflection to understand that social cooperation demands the safeguard of the rights of the individual. Now just as individual justice protects the individual rights of men, so also, social justice protects the social rights of the individual.

The Nature and Scope of Social Justice

Social cooperation, as we have seen, is the outcome of man's social nature, and this cooperation aims at securing the common good. Now it is of the very essence of social justice to demand for each individual all that is necessary to make possible his cooperation for the common good. Just as, in the living body or organism, the health of the whole organism demands that each single part be healthy and sound, so also, in human society, the health of the whole community demands that each single individual be supplied with all those opportunities necessary for the exercise of his social functions. In this way, when social justice is satisfied, there necessarily follows an intense econo-

mic activity carried out in peace and harmony. In this way, also, the fruits of social cooperation such as, increased productivity and prosperity which are the outcome of economic activity, technical science and social organisation, will be put at the service of all men.

According to Fr. Drummond, the "common good", referred to in the Papal documents he examines, concerns only the "economic common good". He writes: "The common good here spoken of, in so far as it is the end of social justice, is not the *complete* order of society in which every member enjoys the possibility of realizing his true self. It does not comprehend all those values of human life such as peace, freedom, cultural opportunities which the end of legal justice includes. It is given a restricted meaning: the common good of the economic order — the common good which comes from such a division of wealth that all may share in the benefit of the socioeconomic process." (p. 24).

It must follow, therefore, as Fr. Drummond argues, that "the subjects of this virtue are not men as citizens but men as members of the economic order — the two groups, capital and labour, with whom the whole section (of the encyclical) is concerned. Violators of the "law of social justice" are all those who would impede others from sharing in the benefit of economic development. The wealthy who claim everything for themselves; the outraged non-owning workers who demand that everything should go to labour alone" (ibid).

As a further proof that social justice is concerned with the economic order, Fr. Drummond considers the question of wages. "In this question of wages" he writes, "social justice does not immediately regulate the contract between individual employer and employee. That is a matter of 'natural' justice, of giving the laborer the strict worth of his hire, of the "strictest justice" — commutative justice as it is called. Social justice is to regulate the economic order as a whole. It looks to the common good, but again of the economic order, so regulating that order that all may be able to obtain from it a family wage." (ibid. p. 25).

Now while a study of the encyclical does reveal that in them social justice is primarily concerned with the economic order, there is nothing to show that it completely excludes the entire common good, that is, "that order of society in which every member enjoys the possibility of realizing his true self by participating in the effects of the cooperation of all." (J. Messner. Social Ethics. p. 124). In fact, because the socioeconomic order (of labour, wages, capital, etc.) is, for the majority of men, the means whereby they can secure other necessities of life (such as health, education, etc.) social justice would seem to be directly concerned with the socio-economic order and then, indirectly with the non-economic order or common good of society.

"The end of social justice", writes Fr. Drummond, "is the common economic good, the common good of that area of human activity which looks to the adaptation of useful material goods to the attainment of the

temporal prosperity of the human person." (p. 40). From this special concern of social justice, the obvious connection between social justice and the institution of private property becomes clear. One of the foundations of the modern economic system is precisely, productive private property.

The principle of social justice that material goods (even private property) are destined to serve the needs of all men, both justifies and controls the institution of private property. Property, in fact, is not something which is prescribed for its own sake and absolutely by the natural law. What, indeed, is prescribed as social justice demands, is that all men may use goods and services for their human perfection. If, therefore, private property is in existence at all, that is so merely because by the method of private ownership is secured the initiative and care which are needed so that property may be put to the best use for the benefit of the individual and the common good. In this sense, therefore, private property is really only a means for securing the best social use of property. While commutative justice protects the property rights of the individual, and demands respect of these rights, social justice protects the social rights of property and demands the social use of private ownership.

A Definition

This concern of social justice with the institution of private property is "another reason for asserting a difference between 'social' justice and 'legal' justice", according to Fr. Drummond. In fact, Messner, in his

book already quoted, is careful to make several distinctions between legal justice and social justice. To begin with, legal justice, he holds, "suggests positive law and the obligation to enact it and to obey it; obligations of social justice are chiefly obligations of natural justice, whereas those of legal justice have their basis chiefly in the positive law.

In fact, just as the principle of authority is natural to human society even before men come together in State, so also, the principle of social justice is natural to society and an essential factor of social progress whether men are organised into a political set up like a State or not. It follows, therefore, that social justice operates independently of any political organisation. Legal justice regulates the citizen-State relationship; social justice, on the other hand, does not necessarily suppose membership in any organised political body. It imposes its obligations on all men and groups and institutions by virtue of the ordination of the goods and services of the world for the use of all men.

"Social justice can, therefore," as Fr. Drummond writes, "be defined as: a species of justice, distinct from commutative, legal and distributive, which requires that material goods, even privately owned, shall serve the common use of all men." (p. 55).

Social Justice and the Economic Order

Because social justice aims at restoring to material goods their natural destiny, that is, the service of all men, its operations concern any organisation or regime which engages in the distribution of goods and

services for the satisfaction of human needs. This is the economic regime. Under Laissez faire economic, the guiding principle of all economic activity is, as is well known, enlightened self-interest and unrestricted competition. In business terms this is known as profits. Goods are produced only to the extent to which they yield profits, or promise to minimise costs of production. Methods of production are used only in the measure in which they yield profits. The resources of society are employed in production according to the greater or lesser profits they bring in.

Social justice, however, rejects the principle of unlimited self-interest as the guiding principle of all economic activity. Instead of the principle of self-interest, social justice would demand the operation of the principle of the economic good. In the whole complicated net-work of the economic order, — wages, labour, capital, and economic institutions, like, banking, business corporations, etc., — social justice demands the placing of the common good in the forefront of every type of economic activity. In this way, only, can the natural destiny of the resources of the earth fulfil their end and purpose.

Fr. Drummond has added a valuable contribution to the literature on this all important subject of social justice, and while the practical application of social justice is still far from easy, he points the way to a possible solution.

C. C. Clump

Co-operative Farming in China and India

The question before us is this: does cooperative farming create those conditions in which it is possible not only to implement the technical improvements necessary to increase most efficiently the yield of the land, but also to solve the problems of rural under-employment, landless labourers, uneconomic holdings and to improve the standards of living in the rural areas? The Chinese pretend that it does.

But let us study what they mean by the word 'Cooperative' farming, and then compare it to what we mean by Cooperative farming.⁽¹⁾

A. Fundamental ideas behind their 'Cooperative' Farming

It is good to insist on the ideas behind the land reforms in China. These ideas are of a double nature: expediency and Communist dogma.

(1) The land reform in China, which had wiped out the class of big land-owners and had rendered the land to the tiller, resulted in the scattering of land into small holdings which could not be economically cultivated by individual farmers, especially not in view of the increasing demands of industry on agriculture, for both more foodstuffs and for the growing of specialised industrial crops according to new

(1) Our notes have received unexpected confirmation from the B. J. Patel and F. N. Rama Minute of Dissent to the K. B. Patil Report.

techniques. Thus, for the Chinese Communists the pattern of industrialization influenced to no small extent the pattern of agricultural development and the structure of the rural economy. Up to this point we can follow the Chinese, and we too accept that in theory Cooperative farming might be a good solution to solve the agricultural problem by introducing more rationalised and cheaper ways of cultivation.

(2) At the back of their minds, however, the Communist leaders had other ideas and plans. It is because peasant-landownership and Communism can not possibly go together that they wanted to do away with this possible bastion of future resistance to the regime, as has been amply shown by the experiences in Russia, Poland, Hungary and other satellite countries. The Krishnappa Report says: "..... the Communist party leaders held that a Socialist society could not be built up unless cooperative farming took the place of peasant proprietorship and step by step all vestiges of individual ownership in land was discarded.... or, in the words of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, 'if positions in the country-side are not held by Socialism, Capitalism will assurdely occupy them.' (7.5) We understand this jargon, that does not leave space for any dubious interpretation. It is of capital importance to understand once for all that 'Cooperative' farming in China does *not* mean cooperative farming as we understand it, but is nothing else than a Communist synonym for collective farming of the most genuine type, that leaves no place whatever for private ownership. The Communists have said it themselves: The aim of the 'cooperative' movement is to lead

about 110 million peasant households from individual to collective farming.... it is to eliminate the last vestiges of 'capitalist' exploitation in the rural areas and establish 'Socialism.....' (7.5). On the irony of words covering different meanings, in which so many simple people have been trapped by Communist propaganda! For them 'cooperative' means collective, 'Capitalism' means private ownership and 'Socialism' stands for Communism of the purest kind!

In other words, they are reducing 110 Chinese peasant families, into an army of landless coolies — would slaves be too strong a word? — who, this time are not in the service of their previous landlords, whom at least they knew and could deal with in a personal way, but are at the mercy of an impersonal, omniscient, omnipresent totalitarian regime.

B. Stages in the Collectivisation of the land

To illustrate what was said above, we shall consider the various steps through which the collective farms were imposed in China.

1st Step — landreforms. The land was taken away from the big landlords (this was a good thing, that is gradually and peacefully being done in India also) and distributed to the tillers. This meant an extraordinary wide distribution of land ownership. 118 million acres of land were distributed to 300 million peasants, at the rate of 1/3 acre per head. This is ridiculously little, but at least the people owned some land which they could call their own. This gigantic and drastic land reform enhanced no doubt the

prestige of the party with the people, and they found a good occasion to strengthen their grip on the rural masses. The Report very euphemistically mentions 'the enthusiasm and hatred aroused in the people, being turned into a social weapon...' (7.6) and with this simple phrase disposes of the millions of people who were ruthlessly executed or jailed on that occasion, — in the best Hitlerite or Bolshevik fashion, — a thing which the millions of now silent and frightened Chinese peasants still remember. But again, irony of fate, those peasants themselves would not be owners of the land for long! The Communists knew very well what they did, when allotting such uneconomic small plots to the land-hungry masses. This was but the first step on the road to collectivisation.

2nd Step — The peasants were forced into 'voluntary' mutual aid teams, 'voluntary' organized for their mutual benefit, using collective labour but on the basis of private ownership of property. (7.7).

3rd Step — These mutual aid teams were converted into semi-socialist agricultural producers' cooperatives or cooperatives of the elementary type, wherein labour was collective, the use of land and implements in common, and the management sivol, but where ownership was still private, and where the farmers next to a wage got dividends paid according to their share of land. (This is what we mean with Cooperative Farms in India). At the same time the State monopolised the purchase of foodgrains and other farm products and speeded up the organisation of credit cooperatives. Through the organisation of

marketing and supply cooperatives it quickly eliminated the rural trader, the urban merchant and the big or medium peasants who had not been touched by previous land reforms.

4th Step — Is the conversion of these agricultural producers' cooperatives of the basic type into farming cooperatives of the advanced type, meaning nothing else than collectivisation pure and simple. In these 'cooperatives' the peasants are organized into working brigades and get nothing else than a wage, which is paid on the basis of the work they accomplish. However a tiny plot of land is given for private cultivation. With this fourth step the process of collectivisation is accomplished, and the poor peasants who for a couple of years owned a small plot of land, have once more — with the exception of a toy garden — become as landless and, we may add, as land-hungry as ever.

The Communists will claim that the peasants have voluntarily joined these 'cooperatives', and that they can withdraw of their own accord, but we know what this means in reality. When the state has all the strings of trade, credit and supply in hand it can without difficulty oblige the people to do all sorts of things 'voluntary'.

The figures below show the astronomical growth of those producers' 'cooperatives'.

1950 —	19	producers' cooperatives	with	219	members
1952 —	3,644	"	"	—	
1953 —	15,068	"	"	—	

1954 —	114,366	"	"	2.3 million
1955 —	633,742	"	"	members
1956 —	10,010,000	"	"	(out of which 529 of the advanced type)
				covering 91.2% of the rural population out of which 61.9% coop. of the advanced type; out of which 38.1% coop. of the elementary type.

These colossal numbers in such a short space of time show that the introduction of 'cooperatives' has been an artificial and forced process, manoeuvred by the Government and the party, not a spontaneous growth from within the community, as every genuine cooperative movement ought to be.

C. Organisation of the Collective Farms

We shall only touch a few points.

(1) The emphasis in rural development and collectivisation of agriculture is on production, not on the welfare of the people, which will have to wait till a latter period. This policy is based indeed on the fundamental tenet of Communism that the person is for the state. In India we hold the contrary principle, namely, that the state is for the welfare of the citizens both in common and in private.

(2) Every year production plans, containing very detailed instructions and targets to be implemented during the next 12 months, are issued by the government to the collective farms. In this way the available man power is put to work in constructive efforts such

as intensive cultivation, irrigation, use of manure, multiple cropping, and others, items which, it can be readily understood, can be implemented by backward villagers, only if they are banded together into working brigades and work under a strong authority and competent supervision.

(3) Organisation of Labour Force: A collective farm usually covers several villages, it has even a tendency to grow in size and therefore the number of collectives will be reduced in the next years. The villagers are organized into production brigades, subdivided into a number of working teams. The result is that within those huge enterprises, the personal face-to-face relations become impossible and the farmers become mere numbers. A management committee is elected by the members and the farmer in turn appoints the leaders of the production brigades and working teams; a supervisory committee is also elected to countercheck the activities of the management committee and to audit the accounts of the collective farm.

(4) Incentives and remunerations: The problem of incentives for work is a difficult one since it implies the finding of a substitute for the traditional motive of private ownership and private cultivation. (7.15). It has become clear now that a collective farm cannot function efficiently without a piece-work system, functioning on the principle: to each according to his work, that is, more work, more pay, a practice to which most workers in other countries strongly object, as leading to overstrain and as debasing the worker

into a mere tool. In order to put the piece-work system into practice a set of norms for various jobs and fixed payment rates are established. We can easily imagine how this system may lead to gross abuses and how it reduces work to a sheer slavery. The amount of money and produce allotted for each work-day depends on the annual income of the collective as a whole. Again, it is a pity, that our Delegation has not studied this question of incentives and remuneration more deeply, because it might well prove to be THE weak point of the whole system. (7.20). Work is divided among the brigades and teams. Those brigades who overfulfil their output norms are credited with additional remuneration while those who fulfil less than 90% of their norms are penalised.

In this way the whole population has been mobilized and regimented and by these means most is got out of the available labour power, even up to the breaking capacity. What will be the outcome of all this, it is still too early to say, the Chinese themselves know that great difficulties are ahead. We too, let us wait and see, and not compromise ourselves too easily in the same risky experiments!

(5) Resources, Technical Assistance and Supplies are readily supplied to the collective farms, and we can well understand that, seen from the technical and material point of view, the organisation of agriculture on collective lines has opened the way for great technical improvements and better production at a cheaper rate.

(6) Local leadership: In how far have all these changes, imposed from outside on the Chinese peasants,

met with active response on their part? Is a real community spirit growing amongst them, are they awakening from their age-old lethargy, are they becoming progressive? These last years, the Chinese peasants have suffered very much from the war and from internal troubles. The Communist party, on the other hand, has always been fundamentally agrarian in character and the early land reforms have gained for it the sympathy of the poor peasants. But the cruelties committed on that occasion are still fresh in the minds of all, and even now fear of the iron fist of the party is the dominant sentiment in China, — and one which is quite justified too, — but fear cannot possibly lead to the establishment of normal social relationships and to the normal budding of personalities. But the peasants have been submitted to such intensive propaganda and thorough brain-washing, that we should not be surprised if at present they prefer to give their dumb allegiance to the party and thus save their skin. The party has deeply established itself in the rural areas and the zealous activities of the local Communists may give the impression that in China, the peasants have indeed become progressive and that local leadership is developing. An official delegation such as the Krishnappa Delegation, which has to keep to an official route, entirely prearranged by its hosts, could not possibly come to know what is really going on in the mind of the majority of Chinese peasants who are not members of the Communist party. Anyhow in paragraph 7.24 the Report hints very discretely at such and similar difficulties, which pose great interrogation marks about the future of collective farming in China.

For the moment, larger numbers of people are being given work, than was ever the case before. Thus rural poverty has been reduced. There is, however, doubt that this will remain so, whether, namely, the collective farms will be able to go on expanding their activities so as to give continued employment to this large army of rural labourers? Rationalisation of techniques and gradual mechanisation will necessarily throw many people out of work. Those people would have to be employed in non-agricultural work, but no cottage industries seem to be existent in China, to assimilate this labour force. (7.24).

In the beginning of this article we put the question: is cooperative farming the Solution to the agricultural problem? To this we can now venture to answer:

— It definitely creates conditions for the technical and material improvement of agriculture and therefore for greater production within a short time.

— It offers but a temporal solution to rural underemployment and population pressure on the land. The only definitive solution to this problem lies in rural industrialisation and cottage industries.

— It is doubtful whether collectivisation has not ably improved the standard of living of the peasants, because in China production is the main object, human welfare is but secondary.

— Collective farming is no solution whatever to the landhunger of landless labourers, because it makes them more landless than ever.

Moreover we must not forget that agricultural improvement in China is due to many other factors. Newspapers and enthusiasts of collective farming in India are prone to forget this.

VI. COOPERATIVE FARMING IN INDIA (*)

Cooperative farming in this country must be seen against the background both of democracy to which India has pledged itself, and which implies a fundamental respect for the free will and the basic rights and freedoms of every person, as well as in the light of the methods which a democratic government can use in bringing about social justice, democratic legislation, namely, and moral conviction. The regimes in India and China are diametrically opposed and therefore offer quite different backgrounds upon which this experiment of cooperative farming must be seen. China has a Communist totalitarian regime which puts the progress of the state first and uses — sacrifices, if need be — the individual's welfare for that purpose. India has a democratic regime which aims at raising the levels of living of its people and see to it that every citizen gets a just share of the common good. The report on cooperative farming, submitted to the Government by the Indian Cooperative Union, needs therefore as much attention, if not more, as the

(*) cfr. "Rapid Expansion of Cooperative Farming", TIMES OF INDIA, Dec., 31st, 1956.

"Cooperative Farming", TIMES OF INDIA, Jan., 10th, 1957, (Editorial).

"Land-Hungry Indian Peasantry will ever resist Cooperative Agriculture", EASTERN COOPERATOR, Jan., 13th, 1957.

Krishnappa Report and the recently published Patil Report.

Cooperative Farming in India the free pooling of land and joint management, usually at the village level, but in such a way that the peasants remain the owners of their land and that dividends are paid to them for the land and equipment they contribute. It is *not* collectivisation of land, because this would mean the suppression of private property, which is recognised as one of the fundamental rights of man both by the Indian Constitution and by the Charter of Human Rights of the UN. Indian cooperative farming corresponds therefore to the Chinese agricultural producers' cooperatives of the elementary type.

In theory no argument can be brought against cooperative farming on the ground of social ethics, provided of course, it be not forced upon the people. It is however on practical grounds that the Report of the Indian Cooperative Union warns us against undue enthusiasm about cooperative farming, because it brings along very serious psychological and economic difficulties. Let us enumerate them, because they show the other side of the picture.

(1) *Economic difficulties*: Cooperative farming comes practically down to large-scale farming. But it is a doubtful policy to favour large-scale farming in countries where land is scarce and the population pressure on land great. It will indeed lead to rationalisation and to the introduction of labour saving devices which will bring down the cost of production but will

also cause rural unemployment. On the contrary co-operation should raise the output per acre by supplying seeds fertilizers, credit, implements etc. to the farmers, and by marketing their agricultural goods serve the small farmers instead of supplanting them as they do in China and Russia. Cooperation should allow a greater number of farmers to make a better living out of small family holdings. In connection with this point, we might suggest to the government to send more delegations, this time not to 'people's democracies' but to democracies, *tout court*, such as Japan, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, where such multipurpose farmers' cooperatives (not farming cooperatives) have solved this problem, without going to the extent of cooperativising the land.

(2) *Psychological Difficulties*: The sense of private ownership and of family cultivation is so strongly embedded in the minds of farmer of this world, that any proposal which deprives him of independent rights of cultivation and cropping arouses his hostility. This hostility can be over-come at times of great distress and poverty only, by the following means, either by coercion and propaganda-cum-brainwashing as has been done in China, or by very intense religious idealism, as is the case in Israel. But once some standard of welfare has been reached the fissiparous tendencies will take again the upperhand and the farming cooperatives will tend to break up. In a democracy like India we have not such great poverty, nor can we appeal to force or muster such a sustained religious idealism, as is necessary to keep farming cooperatives going. The Report rightly asks whether it

is possible for a large number of unrelated families to pool their lands together, if even the members of a joint family, which is a natural cooperative seldom keep the holding together. Therefore, even if our government or some few devotees of cooperation are convinced about cooperative farming, that does not yet mean that our farmers will ever accept it.

(3) *Practical Experience* : The Indian Cooperative Union has itself been promoting and experimenting in cooperative farming in the last 8 years, but in most cases it has had to close them down and to revert to individual farming. Factionalism among the members, disputes about the relative intensity of work put in by the different members, mistrust, regarding the use of funds, poor discipline, inefficiency, these spell the doom of the cooperative farms, in spite of the consistent guidance of the Union itself and the presence of strong leaders. One may deplore that human nature is so selfish, but we must take it as it is. In a democracy people can disagree amongst themselves; this is democracy's greatest weakness, but it is also its greatest glory.

Positive suggestions

The Report shows that in most countries only those forms of cooperation have succeeded which have enabled the peasant proprietors to buy their farm requisites and sell their produce on more favourable terms than they could individually do, without affecting their rights of ownership in land or produce.

Cooperatives, per se, cannot solve the problem of population pressure on the land, this problem can be solved through expansion of industrial employment opportunities only.

What the supply and marketing or multipurpose farmers' cooperatives can do is to increase the produce and hence the income from small holdings. And they will do it more efficiently than cooperative or collective farming will ever be able to achieve in the same acreage. For the farmers will always give more attention to tiny plots and crops, which they can truly call their own, than if they have to work on the huge fields of a farm in which they may have a share with another 500 or 1000 farmers. In agriculture, unlike in industry, productivity depends on the personal interest and care of the worker, and less on the technical means used. Therefore what might be gained in cooperative or collective farming, by greater rationalisation and cheaper large-scale techniques, is outweighed by the socio-psychological disadvantages of the peasants' indifference, sloth, dissension and bureaucratic waste of money.

Conclusion

Much loose talk and undue enthusiasm is given to cooperative farming by newspapers and enthusiasts who have not carefully read the various important reports which have been of late published or will be published on this question, viz. the Krishnappa Report, the Indian Cooperative Union Report, and the Patil Report.

This question of cooperative farming is ultimately but an illustration of the deeper fundamental differences of philosophy and of approach methods, which are at stake in the race between the biggest democracy of the world and the biggest Communistic state of the world, India and China, for the attainment of self-sufficiency and the leadership of Asia. China is going to achieve a spectacular progress within the next few years, and many people will start doubting whether after all, their methods are not better, but let us wait and see, 20 or 50 years if need be, and let us not too readily sell our birthright for a mere plate of lentils.

I firmly believe that India has the right solution, Our progress may be slower and more painful, but it will be a lasting one, because it is democratic and built on a healthy and realistic understanding of what human nature is.

Totalitarianism may achieve great material and technical progress — it was the slaves of Egypt, who built the Pyramids — but ultimately it cannot build up a real community of men; it must break down, as every totalitarian regime has broken down in the course of history. It can never vanquish the noblest thing on earth, the free will of man.

Anupdev Bhagat

APPENDIX — THE GOMULKA REPORT

Here follow some of the remarks about collective and cooperative farming in Poland, which the new Polish Communist leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka made in his speech to the eighth plenum of the Polish Communist Party Central Committee on October 20, 1956. They should make us think, before embarking on Co-operative Farming.

'Beginning in 1949, that is, in the course of the past 6 years, the Party began the campaign for the collectivisation of agricultural production. During that period, some 10,000 cooperative farms were set up, affiliating some 6% of peasants farmsteads.

'Let us see what is the value of the overall product, calculated in constant prices per one hectare of land in all sectors of our agricultural economy, that is, in individual economy, on cooperative farms, and on state farms under the Ministry of State Farms. All data quoted pertain to 1955.

	<i>Individual Farms</i>	<i>Coop. Farms</i>	<i>State Farms</i>
Percentage of Farmland	78.8%	8.6%	12.6%
Overall produce	83.9%	7.7%	8.4%
Livestock Production	91 %	4 %	5 %
Overall production per hectare in units of money value	621.1 zlotys	517.3 zlotys	393.7 zlotys
		Coop. F. = 16.7%	
	i.e. difference between Individual F. <		State F. = 37.2%

'When comparing the obligations of individual and cooperative farms from the point of view of the quota deliveries for the state and of land tax, we find that these obligations, estimated per hectare, are smaller on cooperative farms than on individual farms, particularly with regard to land tax. The difference in these obligations to the advantage of the cooperative farms constitutes an actual state grant for cooperative farms.

'Another item is represented by the additional payments for services given by the state machine stations to cooperative farms. The total of these additional payments in the years 1952 to 1955 amounts to about 1.7 billion zlotys.....

'It can be added that the cooperative farms availed themselves of preferential treatment also in the purchase of artificial fertilizers. This is in brief an outline of the economic picture of cooperative farms. It is a sad picture. In spite of great outlays, they had smaller results and greater costs of production. I do not mention the political aspect of the problem....

Coming back again to Cooperative Farms, Mr. Gomulka adds:

'I see prospects for the development of the cooperative farm movement only under the follows conditions:

(1) The joining of cooperative farms is voluntary. This means that not only threats of psychological compulsion but economic compulsion as well are excluded.

Tax assessments and the establishment of the size of quota deliveries could also be an instrument of compulsion.

(2) The members of the cooperatives govern themselves. The cooperative is nothing but a self-governing agricultural production enterprise. The board is elected by the free will of the members. The management of the resources of the coop. should be also according to the will of the members....

'If as a result of the abolition of various forms of grants the development of the cooperative farms is perhaps slowed down, we shall not lose anything as a result, either economically or politically. We can only gain, both at present and in the future.

'The abolition of grants removes the unhealthy, uneconomic, impermanent foundation, which is constantly threatening to collapse, on which producers cooperation has been based....

'If the effects achieved so far in the campaign we set up for cooperative farms in the countryside are what they are today, then the causes of this state of affairs should not be sought in the idea of cooperation itself, which is a good one, correct and just, but which has been distorted as a result of bad policy, bad methods, and by people incapable of sound economic thinking.

'Cooperative farming in the countryside will be effective when the deeply human sense of the community of all working people is widely stimulated among the peasants....

'In order to build cooperative farms we need creative and progressive thinking, which is the monopoly of no party and of no single man.... It is a poor idea to maintain that only Communists can build socialism, only people holding materialist social views.

'A quantitative development of producer cooperation cannot be planned because, on the basis of voluntary entry to a cooperative, this would amount to planning the growth in human consciousness, and that cannot be planned. There are not a few facts in our present state of cooperative farms which repel the peasant masses from the cooperative farms, such facts must be established....

'Another page of the defeat of the thoughtless agricultural policy in the past period is the economic ruin of a great number of peasant farms listed in the category of kulak holdings. Equally thoughtless is the idea still heard today that the positive effect of the agricultural policy pursued in the past is the surrender of the ruined kulak to the people's power. This kind of surrender could have been achieved at any time and there was no need for the years of the policy of so-called restricting the kulak, which in reality was not a policy of restricting exploitation but a policy of ruining the kulak farms. After all, even today it would be possible to achieve the wholesale surrender of all remaining prosperous peasants farms not yet ruined. There is nothing easier than to achieve such surrender, such a cheap, or rather costly victory, bearing in mind how much we are paying for the import of grain.

Mr. Gomulka ends his reference to agricultural policies by the following passage:

'There are considerable possibilities in our country of raising agricultural production by the three types of farms. These possibilities depend, first, on a correct and long term agricultural policy; second, on deliveries of appropriate agricultural machines to each type of farm by industry — and, first of all, of artificial fertilizers — and third, on raising the qualifications of each peasant. And it is on this that we must concentrate our attention if we want to catch up with such countries as Czechoslovakia, and especially Germany, in so important a field of the national economy as agriculture.

A. B.

BOOK REVIEWS

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CERTAIN ASPECTS
OF INDIAN ECONOMY — III. Pp. 176. New
Delhi: International Labour Office, India Branch,
1956. Price : Rs. 1.50.

The present volume, priced in up-to-date decimals, contains an objective review on recent developments : industry, wages, collective bargaining and co-operative marketing. The review on industry covers the nineteenth century till the outbreak of the First Great War, and the progress till Independence as well as the after-independence period and the First Five-Year Plan. It also includes the forecast developments expected from the Second Plan.

The second point taken up is the matter of industrial wages with special emphasis on the period following the Second World War. A question should here single out for special praise the study on real wages ; in spite of the increase in money earnings there has been little improvement in real earnings, the standard of living remains low, and the worker's earnings are insufficient to meet his needs, especially if one takes into account debts and sickness and other incidentals. The present policy of the government aims at abolishing malpractices and abuses in wage payments, setting minimum wages, obtaining for workers a share in economic development and adjusting wages to differential talents and results. The recent stress on labour participation in industry is expected to raise wage level and levels of living.

Already a number of collective agreements which are reviewed show the way to be followed. The fourth chapter tells in detail the activities and progress of cooperative marketing Societies in India, and surveys their organisation and work, financing and storage facilities as well as the training programmes.

What calls for attention is the sober and objective style of reviewing facts and conditions, which is a relief from the hot and blasting style to which political economists have accustomed the public. The Indian branch of the International Labour Office is well set in the great tradition of the Geneva headquarters, and is making its most important contribution to the great work of this realistic and crucial international institution. Economists, sociologists and political leaders should have the present book within easy reach.

A. Lallemand

SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN— Some Suggestions.
1955. pp. 146. Price Rs. 3/6. By Mohanlal
Saksena, M. P. (Metropolitan Book Co, Ltd.,
1 Faiz. Bazar, Delhi).

In order to make a correct estimate of Mr. Saksena's "suggestions" it is important to remember the soil in which they are rooted. A close friend of Mahatma Gandhi, and a devoted follower of the Gandhian way of life, he views with deep concern, shared with so many others, the deviation from those principles of life taught us by the Father of the Nation, in the building of India's economic life.

Perhaps this concern is best illustrated in a passage in which Mr. Saksena discusses the importance of cottage and small scale industries which were so dear to the Mahatma in the rural reconstruction of the country. "The Plan Frame" he writes, "proposes to take the country in a direction counter to that indicated by Gandhiji..... The cottage industries can only thrive if their sphere is defined and no encroachment is allowed thereon by machines run by power." (p. 12). Again, further on in his book, he asks: "What will be the position of cottage and small scale industries in the economy of the country? Will they function as a stop-gap arrangement as envisaged in the Plan Frame or will they be developed as an essential part of our economy as advocated by the Indian National Congress under the inspiration of the Father of the Nation for the last thirty years and more? It is a fundamental question of policy and unless firm and unequivocal decisions are taken on this and other important questions like nationalisation, taxation, public borrowing, education and health, etc., I am afraid we shall not be able to make much headway towards our objectives of fuller employment or Socialistic Pattern of Society." (p. 96).

Now, while most people would agree with Mr. Saksena that our economic development is far removed from that outlined by the Mahatma (alas! so many of Gandhiji's ideas have already been discarded, to take but one: his refusal to encourage birth-control), few would be ready to admit that the Gandhian way equates the Socialistic Pattern of Society! If, indeed, the essence of economic Socialism means a strong

central control and a planning body, Gandhiji, on the other hand, insisted on the economic and political freedom of the smallest unit in Indian life — the village! It is common knowledge that the craze for a Socialistic Pattern of Society (whatever it may mean) is of a later date to the Gandhian economics of Sarvodaya. Surely, Mr. Saksena does not believe that Gandhian economics and Socialistic economics are one and the same thing?

Even though the controversy between the supporters of large-scale industries and the supporters of cottage industries does not appear to be settled in the country, it would be wrong to suppose that the Government is not interested in encouraging cottage and small-scale industries. In fact, the establishment of Small Industries Services Institutes in many centres like Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and some other places is sufficient proof of the interest of the Government. These Institutes provide free information and free technical help to small industrialists, while the working capital for such enterprises may be borrowed from the State Finance Corporations which have been set up in most of the bigger States of the Indian Union.

Unfortunately, the success of the scheme is defeated by the same reasons which, in Mr. Saksena's opinion, defeat the purpose of the Low Income Group Housing scheme — the bureaucratic approach of the departments concerned! He shows how there is no uniformity in the prescribed procedure of the departments dealing with loans, and, he writes, "Another

State insisted on every application under the system being accompanied by the house plan sanctioned by the local authority." (pp. 26, 27). He might have added that for the ordinary low income wage-earner who is usually completely ignorant of the formalities of red tape, a complicated procedure which often means running from one official to another, generally ends in complete frustration!

Moreover, in the case of loans granted under the State Aid to Industries Act, the nature of the security demanded is such, that in most cases just those people who may benefit by such loans find it impossible to produce these securities. In fact, it is almost ridiculous to expect these wage-earners who, for the most part, are casual agricultural labourers, to be able to offer any security by way of lands or buildings or gold! If, therefore, these are the people who are supposed to benefit under the scheme, so that they may have both some form of employment and also an income, then it is necessary that some system be devised so that securities for loans be within their reach.

It is while discussing nationalisation that Mr. Saksena touches the core of the country's difficulty in following out a programme of social and economic progress. He deplores the want of "a clear cut policy" regarding nationalisation, but welcomes the decision of the Congress to go slow due to lack of finance and trained personnel. He continues: "I agree with this decision for another very important reason, i.e. we lack the social outlook which is essential for the success of nationalised enterprise. While we would not

knowingly take a pice from another person's pocket without his consent and still less even mention it to others, we have no compunction in evading the payment of State dues whether it be payment for taxes or railway fares.... in most States and State controlled concerns, the management has been far from efficient and businesslike, resulting in considerable loss of public money, chiefly due to the inexperience, carelessness and sometimes lack of social outlook and sense of public duty amongst officials put in their charge." (pp. 96, 97) —

That is just the difficulty, and it bedevils every sector of the country! Does it not explain the many shortcomings, Mr. Saksena sees in the country? The "irresponsible" action and "grabbing mentality" displayed by "an officer holding the highest post in the Finance Ministry" (p. 46); the enormous amounts spent on entertainment by various Ministries (p. 48); the "considerable corruption and nepotism in the matter of appointments" (p. 62); the attitude of those in Government service who feel "secure if they can keep their boss in good humour irrespective of the success or failure of the particular work in their charge" (p. 63). and so the story goes on!

In his conclusions (p. 108) Mr. Saksena writes about the need "to infuse in the people a national outlook and a sense of solidarity, as also a new spirit of selfless service and cooperation." Unfortunately he does not tell us how to bring about this great change among our peoples. To those who believe that social workers may be helpful to this end, he rightly replies

that "social workers will not carry much influence with the public unless there is some element of sacrifice on their part in carrying out the work." (p. 103). He then goes on to make this surprising statement: "For the proper type of social worker, we shall have to look to Rama Krishna Mission...." Doubtless, this Mission is doing fine work in the social field, but one wonders whether Mr. Saksena, with all his experience and knowledge has never met other social workers whose selfless devotion to social work has already received rightful praise from some of India's leading statesmen? These workers have shown that "element of sacrifice" which Mr. Saksena demands as an essential part of social work. It is a pity that he has not met such workers during his public life.

To the literature on the Second Five Year Plan, this little book is a valuable contribution. It touches almost every aspect of the Plan, and must prove a most useful aid to study circles and other groups anxious to understand the problems involved and how they may be solved for the economic and social prosperity of the country.

C. C. C.

Social Survey

Orphanages

A Bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha by a private member has been circulated by Government for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. It is likely to be taken up during the course of this year and pushed through. The proposed law seeks to provide for the more efficient maintenance of orphanages and widows' homes. We shall first give the main provisions of the Bill and after that point out some of the defects in it which need remedying.

The proposed Act is to be called the Orphanages and Widows' Homes Act, 1956. It will be applicable to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and will come into force on such date and in such areas as the State Governments may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different areas.

An "orphan" is defined as a boy or girl, under eighteen years of age, who has lost his or her parents or has been abandoned or is not claimed by his or her parents or guardian or is voluntarily surrendered by his or her parents or guardian on account of their inability to bring up the child.

An "orphanage" means an institution by whatever name it may be called, where orphans are kept or intended to be kept for care and education.

A "widow" means a woman who has no husband or anybody to look after her and may include a married woman who has been abandoned by her husband and neglected by other relations.

A "widows' home" means an institution, by whatever name it may be called, where widows or females of any age are kept or are intended to be kept for care.

Kinds of Institutions. There are to be three categories of orphanages and widows' homes : (1) State-managed, State-aided, and (3) Private. Every district town of a State is to have at least one such institution of any one of the three categories.

No orphanage or widows' home may be established or maintained which is not recognised by a competent authority and no such institution will be recognised which does not conform to the conditions laid down by this Act.

Orphanages and widows' homes functioning at the time of the commencement of the Act shall be given six months to obtain recognition.

A recognition once granted may be withdrawn if :—

(i) there is contravention of any of the provisions of this Act or of the rules thereunder or any condition subject to which the recognition was granted or renewed ; or

(ii) in the opinion of the Board, the condition, management or superintendence of the orphanage or widows' home was not satisfactory.

When a recognition is withdrawn the institution must close its doors.

The managing committee of an orphanage or widows' home may give notice to the Board of Control of its intention to close down.

Machinery. Every orphanage and widows' home is to have a managing committee elected by the registered members of the institution. Who these members are is not quite clear from the wording of the law. Sub-section (i) of section 2 defines a "registered member" as a member of an orphanage or widows' home whose name occurs in the roll of subscribers' register maintained by the managing committee and who pays

a prescribed annual subscription to enable himself or herself to vote in the matter of management of the orphanage or widows' home under the rules framed by each orphanage or widows' home and election of the managing committee.

Are these members the inmates of the orphanage or widows' home ? If they are where are they going to get the funds to pay the subscription ? Besides is it not a bit odd to require orphans or widows to elect a committee to manage the affairs of the institution !

The function of the managing committee is the management of the institution which includes the care and education of the inmates. It will make suitable arrangements for the lodging, clothing, feeding, training and education of the inmates until they are rehabilitated, or in the case of orphans, an inmate attains the age of 18 years.

The managing committee shall provide for the education of the inmates of the orphanage or widows' home, and with this end in view may open and finance a technical school or a school for general education.

There shall be a Board of Control for the maintenance and supervision of orphanages and widows' homes in every State with its head office at the capital of the State.

The Board will consist of one representative from each of the district orphanage and widows' homes from within the State existing at the time of the constitution of the first Board and thereafter as prescribed.

There will be a Chairman elected by the members of the Board and approved by the State Government.

Under the Chairman will be an Executive Officer who will also act as the Chief Inspector of orphanages and widows' homes in the State.

The Chairman will grant recognition or withdraw recognition granted, subject to the approval of the Board. He will also, by himself or through another duly authorised person, inspect every institution at least once every six months. He has power to transfer an inmate of one institution to another or to assign an orphan or widow or female to any institution he deems fit.

Discharge of Inmates. If at any time, the committee of management is satisfied that an inmate has become fit to earn his or her living or otherwise fit to be discharged from the orphanage or widows' home it may discharge such an inmate.

But to discharge, give in marriage or entrust a female inmate to any person the consent of the inmate given in writing before a Magistrate is essential.

If the female in question happens to be a minor the prior approval of the District Magistrate, or when he is not available, of the Sub-divisional Magistrate, is necessary.

All changes of personnel and all deaths should be notified to the Chairman in writing within a fortnight. Sudden deaths, however, are to be notified immediately.

Inspection. Besides the routine inspection conducted by the Chief Inspector or other authorised person, the District Magistrate has the right to inspect an orphanage or widows' home by himself or through another duly authorised person. Those in charge of the institution must afford him all facilities to carry out the inspection.

When the District Magistrate or another Magistrate authorise by him, has reason to believe that any cognizable offence is committed or is likely to be committed he may enter the institution by day or night and no one may prevent him.

The Board of Control shall also appoint a panel of visitors, among whom at least one should be a woman, who shall visit an orphanage or widows' home at stated times for the purpose of inspection and those in charge must afford them every facility and make available to them all documents, accounts and whatever they need for the purpose of the inspection.

Appeals and Prosecutions. Any person aggrieved by a refusal or recognition, withdrawal of same or admission or any other matter may appeal within thirty days to the State Government whose decision will be final.

Those who contravene any provision of this Act may be prosecuted, with the approval of the State Government. On conviction a person may receive a fine which may amount to rupees five hundred. For a second offence a prison sentence up to six months may be imposed.

Grants. While State-managed orphanages and widows' homes will be maintained entirely by the State, State-aided and Private institutions will receive financial aid from the State. But if Private institutions impart religious education to the inmates the grant will be withdrawn.

State-managed and State-aided institutions may impart moral lessons culled from all important religious precepts of the world on the model of Mahatma Gandhi's prayer.

Criticism. There are many orphanages and widows' homes in India mostly conducted by private agencies. Some of them are entirely communal in character while others, although maintained by particular religious denominations, are open to all irrespective of caste and creed. While most of these institutions are operated efficiently giving to the unfortunate inmates the best that can be done under the circumstances, there are some which are a disgrace. Certain very obnoxious practices prevail in some so-called orphanages and widows' homes. These unhealthy institutions must be

severely dealt with and those in charge brought to book. But it may be asked whether a new law is necessary for this. Have we not enough provisions in the Penal Code to take effective measures against all such criminal activities? We have a real epidemic of new laws. And the pity of it is that not only the new laws but many provisions of existing laws are not enforced with that rigour which a law demands. What is needed is not a new law but more intense education of the public on its social obligations. The majority of our orphanages and widows' homes are maintained by devoted men and women who have dedicated their lives to the cause of the poor and forsaken. What these people demand is not new restrictions but a little more sympathetic cooperation from those in authority. It is a notorious fact that the vast majority of the institutions caring for the poor find it difficult to give to their charges the barest of necessities.

What does this proposed new law bring to the managements of orphanages and widows' homes? Endless trips to offices to obtain licences and recognitions, innumerable forms to be filled in, reports to be submitted in and out of season and harassment from various categories of inspection parties. No orphanage or widows' home is afraid of inspections, in fact it welcome them. But why give a handle to some hostile official to unnecessarily complicate the work of those in charge of these benevolent institutions?

Section four of the Bill, to say the least, is in very bad taste. This section lays down that if a Private orphanage or widows' home imparts religious education to its inmates it will be refused financial aid by the Government. One may well ask by what right such thing can be done. What has a secular State to do with religion? One can understand if it is said that grant will be refused if the institution is run purely as a communal organisation or that religion is forced down the throats of every individual irrespective of caste and creed. But when those who believe that no education

is complete unless the child is given a thorough religious formation are penalised for exercising their right to freedom of conscience Article 25 of the Constitution becomes a sheer mockery. Section 4 of the Bill is unconstitutional and must be thrown out lock stock and barrel.

Finally now that the Women's and Children's Institutions Licensing Act, 1956 (No. 105 of 1956) has been placed on the Statute Book the present Bill is entirely superfluous. What the country needs is not more laws and regulations but the better enforcement of existing ones.

Cantonment Lands

The century-old system of land tenures in cantonment areas will be radically changed when the recent decisions arrived at by the Government are implemented.

Although the ownership of the land situated in civil areas will continue to vest in the Government of India, Cantonment Boards will be authorized to dispose of such land on behalf of the Government of India. All income arising out of such disposal will be credited to the Cantonment Fund, subject to the condition that the amount thus realised shall only be utilized on approved development schemes. The Government reserves however the right to use vacant land which has neither been sold nor leased for military purposes.

All occupancy holders of old grant sites in the civil areas may convert their rights over the land under the building, together with such unbuilt area in the holding which is too small for further construction, into freehold on payment of five times the current standard table of rent. In regard to the area in excess of the above, a payment of 25 times the standard table of rent is prescribed. Moreover, all holders of sites under the various leases situated in the civil areas may now convert their rights into freehold rights on payment of 20 times the current standard table of rent.

if they have paid premium at the time of taking the lease, and 25 times in the case of those who had not paid any premium.

Persons who do not acquire freehold rights, but who are desirous of taking a long lease may be permitted to obtain a fresh lease for 99 years. Such leases will be granted initially for a period of 33 years, renewable at the option of the lessee, for successive periods of 33 years.

Regarding bungalow areas the Government has further decided the holder of old grant sites, not likely to be required by the Government of India in the foreseeable future, may acquire freehold rights in respect of land covered by the main building, on payment of ten times the current standard table of rent. In addition such holders may also be permitted to acquire, on the same terms, similar freehold rights in respect of such additional area out of his existing holdings as could conveniently be spared by the Government, provided the total area, including the built up area covered by the main building, does not exceed one acre in extent.

It has since been decided not to permit the acquisition of freehold rights in respect of lands covered by the existing leases in bungalow areas. Unless the resumption of land in any such case is necessary to meet the requirements of the Government, the last holder of leases which have just expired may be permitted to take a fresh, but short term lease for a period not exceeding 30 years, on terms normally applicable to such leases provided also the arrears of lease rent, if any, up to the date of fresh lease are paid.

F. C. Rodrigues



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