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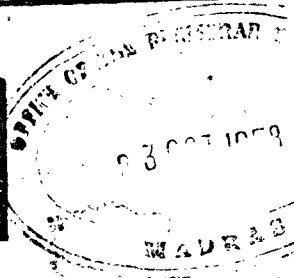
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The Religious Crisis

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In This Issue

One of the most serious consequences of rapid industrialisation on an ancient culture like India's is the developing crisis in the religious sphere. Not only in India, but all over the world, the crisis in religious values and standards has been forced upon the attention of mankind by the mental anguish and conflict induced through a widespread rejection of religious precepts and traditions that fail to measure up to the novel requirements of an industrial civilisation. Mechanisation has indeed not merely transformed the economy of every country, but has profoundly affected the social institutions and the culture patterns of human society. Technology spells a new way of life. It is a civilisation that stems from an absolute belief in the omnipotence and infallibility of science and the machine to solve every human problem. It gives birth to a blind irrational faith in the efficacy of material progress. It proclaims man's self-sufficiency to master the universe and shape his life according to his material needs and conveniences. The end result of such a process is to substitute every religious or spiritual ideal by a thorough-going materialism that ignores the demands of man's spiritual nature for the supernatural and the divine.

The Crisis

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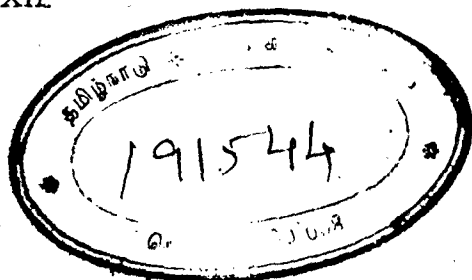
An attempt has been made in these pages to outline the development of the religious crisis from the sociological angle insofar as it affects other countries and especially our own. A discussion of the causes that have produced the crisis has been included and some of the fortunate effects resulting from our new way of life have also been noted. In India, it will take some time before we can see all the causes at work as in the advanced industrialised countries, but they have already attracted the attention of our social scientists.

The Alternative

In the wake of the growing rejection of religious values comes Communism to fill the vacuum, since much of the technological spirit is the inspiration of Communist ideology. In a second article, *Why Communism*, the author, who is well acquainted with Marxian theory and has been a keen observer of Communist policy for years, endeavours to explain why the nations which were least industrialised went Communist.

Prisoners

An age old problem of every society has been the punishment and the rehabilitation of the prisoner. Much thought is being given to the matter at present in India. We reproduce a recent address on the subject by Pope Pius XII.

*The Editor**This Side and That**Modern Tempo*

Possibly the most striking way of realizing the speeding up of mankind's tempo was given by A. Doerr. Suppose we reduce to 365 days the period stretching from man's origin to the second world-war, we would find that the first couple Adam and Eve, appeared on January 1st at zero hour ; then the iron age would begin in mid-October, the Christian era on December 8, the first steam-engine on December 30 at 0.hr. 18 minutes and the first world-war on December 31st at 4.14 p.m. After that date the technical advance has been stupendous, invention succeeding invention in torrential rapidity. And J. Duboin would conclude that it had taken 364 days to double the energy available to man, twenty-four hours to have it multiplied eight times and only five hours to increase it sixty times thanks to machines. At the turn of this century, we were to some extent living pretty much as in the leisurely old days of Asoka, but to-day we have grown keen on conquering interplanetary spaces. Who knows what will happen in the next five minutes ? For long the dumb atom kept its Victorian respectability and remained true to its name and never broke up. But now it is going to pieces on apparently the least provocation, and puts at our disposal enormous energies and possibilities. New possibilities imply new responsibilities which challenge our thinking resources. Man is rushing ahead ; let him make sure whither he is going.

Bovine Catalyst

The country is getting into the modern tempo. That is how it occasionally offers its Prime Minister sensational surprises. Was he not surprised on his last visit to the Khanpur villages ? There the Ford Foundation had devised a contrivance that could harness bullock power to pump water and generate electricity. Our good old bullocks had

been stimulated to irrigate some one hundred acres of land and to supply electric light and power to some fifty cottages, a revolutionary device that might stir up our agriculture and industry in the slumbering countryside. The enthusiasm was great and the speeches plentiful, with eloquence attuned to the modern tempo.

Alas, if we admit the realistic calculations of the ever realist *Eastern Economist*, it took some forty thousand rupees to prepare the well and machinery (15,000 if produced on a pass-scale and some ten thousand rupees to cover the costs of working the contrivance). How many peasants have the required land or capital, or how much time would it take to organise the co-operatives needed to work out the project? How many will be bold enough to take to this manner of tilling and harvesting? Our bullocks are willing enough to be promoted to a status above that of manure and fuel producers, and to catalyse the dormant energy of the countryside; but what of the men? One is afraid of seeing the solitary pair of Khanpur bullocks sending their unique contrivance to rejoin the solitary solar cooker which once upon a time cooked a cabbage for the edification of our Prime Minister.

Diet Production

Yet despair should not be allowed entrance into our hearts. Our peasants are willing enough, but they will need time to get rid of the conservatism which centuries of sad experience has rooted deep in them. The problem of food production is immense, more difficult than the Prime Minister confessed he fancied last year, and far more important than some members of the Planning Commission ever considered. Apparently they fancied our peasants would grow enthused about statistics and about technical suggestions but farmers are slow to take to novelties all the world over, the more so when little educated, and very

resigned to the misery their ancestors have handed down to them. In any case, a little more food and better shelter would have stirred them whilst new large-scale industries left them apathetic. Community Development Projects did well in stressing the use of panchayats and recreation centres; they would have done more effective work had they shunted their efforts to food production and general agricultural progress.

Not that technological improvements are unnecessary; irrigation schemes are welcome, but they would have proved fully beneficial if the peasants had been urged and trained to make use of all the dammed waters. In a like manner, increased food production is an urgent need, but why not try to direct it to securing a more scientific diet? Why should not full attention be paid to the production of non-cereal foods, like bananas or potatoes? It is calculated that the production of bananas per acre amounts to 86 lakhs. calories whilst that of rice reaches only 11.4 lakhs and wheat 10.3 lakhs. Putting it in another way, it is estimated that the production of 100 million calories would occupy 88 acres of rice-land but only 12 acres of banana-land. Hence the suggestion of cutting down rice-consumption, and changing over to potatoes, sweet potatoes, papaya, tapioca, bananas which have a higher caloric content than the cereal foods actually monopolising the common diet. This again would take years and years to educate rural and urban people to a new diet. It is all right to harp on the constitutional right of voting once every four years, but why give no time on the right to strengthen our constitution with a balanced diet two or three times every day?

It would be unfair to omit that recently contracts have been arranged with outside firms for the processing of milk foods. So the hope of a balanced diet is rosy for the coming generation. We ourselves are resigned to the old thing; we were born too early.

Students on Strike

Of old it was taken for granted that the first right of students is the right to study. Apparently with the development, we do not say, the progress of democracy, our students have come to stress other rights, particularly the right to strike, but well-thinking citizens are growing alarmed at the epidemic of strikes in our universities, even in our high schools, and are discussing the ethics of this new problem.

So it will not be out of place to re-state the general principles deciding the legitimate character of strikes. Any strike, and for that matter any lock out, to be morally justifiable should not directly violate the rights of anybody, either by involving a breach of contract, claiming unjust advantages or resorting to unfair means like violence, libel, or threats to persons or properties. It should also be motivated by causes proportionate to the evil consequences attending such a move, material losses to strikers, employers or third persons, deterioration in relations between the various parties, habits of sloth, and other evils. Finally it should be resorted to only when all other means of settlement have been attempted and failed ; it is the last weapon of self-defence.

From which it follows that under certain circumstances students may be forced to have recourse to strikes. But in their case a special point calls for attention ; students are normally under the authority and guidance of parents or guardians. Parents and guardians are the people who pass an educational contract with university or school authorities, and therefore they are the first that have to decide whether the rights of their wards have been violated and to seek or advise proper means of redress. Yet it is not impossible to fancy situations in which the immediate personal rights of school children or students are involved, like the right to freedom of conscience, freedom of vocational choice, etc.

It is not because states pass solemn laws about the age of majority that minors should be considered as without the rights going with the very dignity of human persons.

From the above it is clear that students or school children are not at liberty to indulge in absenteeism, or rowdyism about matters of extra-curricular activities, and it is also a clear dereliction of duty on the part of parents or leaders to distract youths into Party interests and political demonstrations. Students must first of all prepare their future and qualify for their career in society, and, considering the stupendous advance of knowledge and science as well as the ideological turmoil in the world, they normally have no time to do anything beside the vital task of learning and training.

The principles mentioned above are possibly hard to handle when dealing with practical cases. Happily nowadays strikes can easily be avoided as the modern machinery of settling disputes is sufficiently elaborate and comprehensive to permit redress in a peaceful manner. Conciliation, arbitration and adjudication are methods which are flexible enough to arrive at solutions which respect justice and preserve peace. These modern methods are, however, excluded from the democracy of the peoples' democracies in which the legal right to strike is taken away from all citizens on the plea that the individual person is a mere zero in the national magma.

Our Comrades

In their Amritsar session, the committee of the Communist Party of India had proclaimed their solemn resolve to observe the national Constitution, to eschew all violence and to seek victory with the peaceful methods of our democracy. Unhappily nothing of the sort happened. Witness various troubles in Kerala, witness the Jamshedpur

strike, witness the repeated disorders in Ahmedabad. What is becoming aggravating is that regularly newspaper reports betray a bias against the guardians of law and order; the tear-gas shells are counted, the bullets numbered, and inquiries into police discipline are clamoured for, but little or nothing is said against the violence of the crowds, the assaults against the police, the cases of arson or damage to property, the harassment to casual passers by, and the harm to our production and national well-being.

The case against them is strongly made in jottings which the Prime Minister wrote for the Independence issue of Economic Review, and which, among other points, severely condemns Communism: "Its suppression of individual freedom brings about powerful reactions. Its contempt for what might be called the moral and spiritual side of life not only ignores something that is basic in man, but also deprives human behaviour of standards and values. Its unfortunate association with violence encourages a certain evil tendency in human beings.... Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence. Even if it does not normally indulge in physical violence, its language is of violence, its thought is violent, and it does not seek to change by persuasion or peaceful democratic pressure, but by coercion and indeed by destruction and extermination".

Those words hold good, whatever be the proclamations of the C.P.I. No sane man should be hypnotized by their sugar-coated declarations nor can we expect their conversion. In fact what is most distressing about trained communist party-men is that they have recourse to violence not in fits of passion but out of conviction; they are not ordinary criminals; they are much more dangerous, they are philosophers that have gone astray. There lies the

secret of the massacres in Leninist Russia, the mass deportations of villages and communities, the concentration camps with their millions of political prisoners, and the slavery in which they hold their own labouring classes and the nations they have colonized forcibly. With its atheistic materialism as a basis, Communism is intrinsically wrong and evil.

A. L.

From the Japanese experience it would appear that promoting the growth of small enterprises not only requires government measures to bring them into existence but calls for sustained government effort to assist them in raising productive efficiency and in facing up to the large enterprises and to improve the labour standards in this sector through legislation and effective labour inspection. Because of the very large number of firms involved the task of the government is likely to be much more difficult in this sector than in the large-scale sector.

(International Labour Review)

The Religious Crisis in the Modern World

In recent years, many sociologists, while leaving aside a discussion on the truth of religion itself, have come to the conclusion that what modern society is lacking most, is religion. R. Guardini, in his latest book *The End of The Modern World*, has these words: "Without Religion, life becomes like a machine without oil, it runs hot; even if it functions, some part of it, is always burning out. One after another its varied parts, which ought to fit together exactly are immobilised. Just as the centre of action is lost, its cohesion is prevented. Existence has lost its order." (p. 119). At the present moment, when anxious voices have raised a warning concerning the loss of religion in India, the sociological findings of western scholars may not be without interest for us.*

Some facts about the Religious Crisis

While on the one hand, Christianity, for instance, is expanding and establishing itself in many parts of the world, on the other hand it is quite obvious that it is going through a grave crisis in the traditional Christian countries of the West. This crisis seems to be of recent origin. The phenomenon of an individual losing his religious moorings and no longer practising his religion has become apparent only since the 16th Century. But it is only during the decades preceding the French Revolution that atheism becomes a common occurrence amongst the higher classes of Western Europe. By the end of the 19th Century this godlessness begins to percolate into the masses of the people, and through a snowballing process, this phenomenon has taken

* Cf. *La Crise Religieuse des Temps Nouveaux*, by A. Desqueyrat, Spes, 2nd Ed. Paris, 1955.

on frightful proportions in recent years. Will it end only when the last sign of religious life is wiped out? What is tragic in this crisis, is that by its very nature, most people remain indifferent towards this decline of religion. Or rather they do not speak about it, and this fact is very telling indeed. For does it not lie in the nature of man that he silently regresses in years, in wealth, in health, in mental power? By the fact, then, that most people keep quiet about religion, they confess that they are leaving it behind.

Mankind does not seem to have ever undergone such a crisis, the decline of religion is a totally new phenomenon. History, it is true, has witnessed the fall of many gods, Jupiter and the Greek gods have given way to the Christian, God. North Africa has in succession been pagan, Christian, and then Mahomedan. Today, people do not pass from one religion to another, they become simply a-religious.

Nor has the crisis progressed everywhere equally far. There are various stages of religiosity in which a man can be situated, ranging from the devout person, who does more than what is strictly required by his religion, down to the militant atheist. The religious crisis proceeds, however, slowly. If in the 16th Century, people discussed Theology in the market square, and were ready to cut one another's throats for their religious convictions, today this is no longer the case. God is absent from social life. Sports and politics have taken the place of religion in the interests of the masses.

Another characteristic that has been noted, is that the religious crisis follows on the heels of modern civilisation. As soon as a factory is established in the neighbourhood of a village, one can be sure that within a short time, the number of those who practise their religion will steadily

go down. The same happens in underdeveloped countries, which are being thrown open to modern technique and civilisation.

Finally, the crisis is never alone. Where religion goes down, there Neo-Malthusianism reigns supreme. Death takes the upperhand over life. The generation that does not want God, does neither want children. And in the measure that it forsakes God, it forsakes its duty to replace itself. Maps of France show that in the districts where the religious crisis is most acute, there too the population does not replace itself any longer. This parallelism is so true that differences can even be established from parish to parish. There is parallelism between the two phenomena, not necessarily a relation of causality. Both are but the manifestation of a crisis that affects mankind at its very roots.

It would therefore, appear that the religious crisis is not only limited to the West, it is general and universal. It is not only the working classes that have fallen away from the Church. They have been preceded by the higher and middle classes. In France it was first the Bourgeoisie that became atheist, the peasantry and the proletariat merely followed suit. The religious crisis affects equally much, the Protestants, the Jews, the Muslims and the other religions of the world, Hinduism not excluded. That India is, in fact, on the threshold of a religious crisis, which will but grow intenser as industrialization and urbanization proceed, is obvious to all. It is partly the theme of Sardar K. M. Panikkar's book significantly entitled: *Hindu Society at the Cross Roads*. Those who feel concern for the future of India's traditional religion, are aware of the great effort that Hinduism will have to make to evolve a Social Ethic, adapted to present-day conditions. How great a dilemma this poses for modern Vedantins, who on the one hand

believe in the ultimate unreality of this world, and on the other see the need of evolving a Hindu Social Doctrine, is expressed in a recent article by Shri Raj Krishna, entitled *Vedanta and Social Reform, a Contemporary Challenge* * The crisis is world-wide, it affects all classes of society. The picture seems therefore to be quite dismal. There are, however, some rays of light.

Signs of Religious Renewal

In the midst and in spite of this general apostasy, a religious renewal is taking place, a renewal that is no longer at its first steps, but makes itself felt in public life at large. To mention but one sign of this renewal, take the ready market which the huge amount of religious books finds in Western Europe. Booksellers would surely not stock them, if they weren't sure they could sell them.

We seem to be in the presence here, neither of an artificially created revival, nor of the last signs of life in a dying body, but of a genuine renewal. Those persons, whom it touches, have realised for themselves that religious faith is something that has invaded their lives, has totally transformed them, and urges them to communicate and share their treasure with others. They realize only too well that whilst they have to fight against the current of general apostasy, they belong to a movement not of the past but of the future, a movement that one day is going to be strong enough to reverse the current of apostasy in the direction back to God.

This religious elite feels the need of doing something about the apostasy of the masses, they realise that religious teaching and worship have to be adapted to modern conditions. The persons from whom this renewal proceeds, are

* *Human Person, Society and State*, Committee for Literature on Social Concerns, Bangalore, 1957.

a genuine elite, intellectually, morally, religiously. They have brought religion into the very core of their life, it means to them an intense and exigant spiritual life.

And yet, after all is said and done, this group picked people does not yet succeed in giving the lead to the masses. Their number rapidly reaches a ceiling, while the milieu in which they live, seems to remain impervious to their example. There are no mass conversions, the masses do not follow suit. As a result, there is a danger that this elite, instead of being a drop of oil that spreads over the water, remains a tiny closed community, a Noah's ark, floating on the waters of the deluge.

This religious renewal has been noticed not only in France but everywhere in Christendom. It affects the intellectuals, the university students, as well as rural youth and the young workers. A similar renewal, it is said, has been traced among Protestants and Muslims. Nobody in India can doubt that there is a similar renewal taking place in Hinduism. But the question immediately arises, why does this renewal not succeed in getting hold of the masses. This leads us to an enquiry into the causes of the religious crisis in the modern world.

Causes of the Religious Crisis

Since the religious crisis seems to be of such a basic nature, and so intimately linked up with modern civilisation itself, we must postulate that its causes must be of an equally fundamental nature. Besides the faults of omission on the part of the Christians themselves, which have drawn a lot of attention, and on which much has already been written, there must be more fundamental causes at work. It is to these causes that we will immediately direct our attention.

It is a common place in the social sciences that the milieu and the social structures which surround an individual, exert a profound influence on him and therefore on his religious life. If a man is to get a fair chance of practising his religion, the social structures must be adapted to the Gospel and the Gospel in turn must be adapted to the milieu. However, instead of limiting ourselves to a study of the mosaic of social structures, in which modern man lives, such as the family, the economic institutions, the cultural and recreational institutions, etc., it is better to investigate at once the general currents of human thought, that influence and underlie all these institutions and pervade them with their own spirit. The most general causes, then, that seem to account for the decline of religion today, are: (a) The Progress of the Human Mind, (b) The Universal uprooting of mankind, (c) Its growing crisis, (d) The degrading structures of modern civilisation. While leaving the three last points for a later article, we will limit our attention to a discussion of the first cause.

The Progress of the Human Mind

On careful investigation it becomes clear that the religious crisis follows the progress of the human spirit. This can be shown to be true both on the individual as well as the collective plane. Let us give an illustration of the first point, in order to make the second clear.

(1) *Individual Plane.* Let us take the case of a boy, brought up in a Christian family. In his tender childhood he will be taught the essential dogmas of his religion and he will have a childlike but nonetheless genuine grasp of the truths of his Faith. If at the age of 12 our boy happens to go to a school where the teacher may be a-religious, who tells the boy of the 'scientific' arguments that indirectly disprove the existence of God, the boy's faith is sure to be shaken and he will get doubts. The

answers, that he gets from his parents or from his religious mentor, to these questions, will not satisfy him, for his mind is still too immature to grasp the full bearing of a rational demonstration of the existence of God. And yet he is already too critical to believe merely upon the authority of others, even though they be his elders. These doubts, together with the puberty crisis in the adolescent may, and in fact often do, bring about the loss of his religious beliefs. If others in his social surroundings, do not practise their religion, he will give up going to church, as soon as he feels strong enough to assert himself as an adult. By the age of 15 or there about, he will have cut himself loose of his religious moorings, and will be adrift in a world full of godlessness.

This danger is always present, but particularly so when there is a 'culture-lag' between the profane and the religious instruction which a person gets. For most persons, religious instruction does not go beyond the primary standard, while their profane training may reach up to the university level. How, then, would one not expect such a person to suffer from religious doubts, when he has to find answers to modern moral and social problems, with a faith that has remained undeveloped?

(2) *Collective Plane.* Something similar happens with the whole of mankind. We are going through a growing crisis, similar to the one of the boy, mentioned above. Modern civilization is built on an ever increasing progress of the human spirit. If religion shows positive signs of being able to weather the crisis through which it is passing the positivists like Comte and Durkheim, were partly right when they pointed out the close relation between the modern decline of religion and the progress of the human spirit.

To believe, in the religious sense of the word, is to admit the existence of invisible realities, and to order one's

life accordingly. History shows that the contents of belief have changed very considerably in the course of time. Our primitive forebears hardly distinguished between the sacred and the profane. Everything for them was, to a certain extent, divine: the sun, the chiefs, animals, plants. They lived in a sacred world. The early efforts in philosophical thought however, caused the first cracks to appear in this monolithic sacred universe. The gods were no longer identified with things, they got their own name, but remained a multiplicity. With the Revelation of the God of Abraham, the idea of God makes a tremendous leap forward. God is the Unique, he is a person, the Creator of the Universe, the God not only of Israel but of the Gentiles as well, His commandments apply to everybody. It is only during the modern era that the scientific quest separates itself from philosophical reflection, to the great harm of both. Science and Faith, the profane and the sacred are not only more clearly distinguished, they are also more sharply separated. With the result that today everything happens as if the profane and the sacred were really two distinct universes, instead of being two points of view of the same reality. God has been chased from our universe into his own. The profane seems to be growing continually at the expense of the sacred. There is no place any more in this world for mystery. Durkheim was convinced that one day God would be totally eliminated from society.

The progress of reason means a critical progress. As was the case with the individual boy, mentioned above, modern man in general does not only want to know, he wants to understand and to verify his reasons for belief. His belief becomes reflexive and reasoned out. Criticism in itself is good, it is a proof of progress towards maturity and reflection. But as long as it has not reached this maturity it is bound to be destructive. Criticism has invaded

man's religious beliefs. He does not adhere any longer to his faith in a spontaneous manner, he wants to know why he should believe at all, he wants to make his own choice. It is but natural that in this growth of the critical faculty of man the unenlightened and underdeveloped religious beliefs of many, give way.

A Social Fact

Belief is at the same time a social fact. For primitives this is particularly so. They believe what their tribe or clan believes. The religion of modern man, on the contrary tends to be less gregarious, but more personal and communal. Mass conversions occur only among primitives. If modern man holds a religious belief at all, it is one that he has acquired or rediscovered (with God's grace of course) for himself.

This evolution of religious psychology, of which much more could be said, marks an undeniable progress. If in the course of this progress religion has gained in quality and depth, it has lost in quantity and extension. Fewer people are religious, but those who do have a faith, have it in a more intense and more enlightened manner.

Religious beliefs have been purified thanks to Revelation and to the progress of science and philosophy. It is less formalistic, less magical, but more exacting and all-pervading. We do no longer believe in exterior and legal impurities, in involuntary sin, in mere exterior rites. We realize better the evil of sin, even though it be a sin in thought or in desire. We do no longer adore stones, or plants, or animals or other men, we no longer believe in Jupiter or Venus. He who adores today, adores the One, True God, the Unique, the Holy.

On the debit side there is this: while the primitive lived as it were, in a religious universe where God's pre-

sence was almost sensibly felt, modern man no longer perceives this divine presence except at the expense of a real effort of the mind and of an intense spiritual training. God is absent from our universe. If science and religion in themselves, do not contradict but on the contrary complete one another, as great scientists themselves have asserted, in reality the modern way of looking at creation, irrationally restricts itself to the empirical, and blinds itself to any meta-empirical reality. Such a science has cut for many the bridges that lead from the creatures to the Creator. Science chases away superstitions and rectifies the view of the universe. But it has not the last word to say, if it arrogantly and selfcomplacently relies upon itself, it expels from many an untrained soul, God himself. It is sometimes said that an inverse relation could be established between peasants who pray for rain and those who use modern means of irrigation. What the example shows in fact is that for the mass of humanity an extensive interrelation between the sacred and the profane is an indispensable condition for religious belief. Their religious life is not strong and enlightened enough to thrive without exterior helps. If God is removed from their profane world, they are bound to loose their religion.

Division

The progress of philosophy and science, thus breaks up mankind into two parts: the masses who apostatize and the few who succeed in breaking through the scientifico-empirical world view and climb from creation to its Creator. The religious life of such a person, was strong enough to overcome victoriously the onslaught of the growing critical faculty. His faith becomes deeper, more reflected, more personal. But here again the qualitative gain is at the expense of quantitative loss. The elite of believers remains small.

Religion is becoming less and less a matter of social constraint, but more of a free and personal choice. Man revolts against an act of worship which would be the result of economic or social pressure or of 'forced conversion', aware as he is that such an act commits the whole responsibility of the person. To call religion a matter of custom, sounds to many, sacrilegious. The gregarious form of practising one's religion is therefore being replaced by the communal or rather community way of living one's faith. The former was the result of social constraint, the latter is the fruit of a mutual gift of individual to individual. This replacement of social pressure by love, evidently marks a spiritual progress, showing that religion effects a double 'rapprochement', one between man and God, and the other between person and person. He who pretends to love God and hates his brother is a liar.

From what was said above, it appears that the religious crisis which we are witnessing, is intimately bound up with the growth of the critical faculty in man. The human spirit is going through a growing crisis, similar to the one of a boy in his teens. As long as the critical faculty has not attained its full maturity, it is bound to be destructive especially with regard to the religious beliefs that one held in an earlier period. Science is easily believed in as providing the ultimate explanation of everything.

This is but one explanation of the modern religious crisis. We have to delve deeper, we have to see how the universal uprooting of mankind, the degrading social structures of modern civilisation and other causes exert their influence on this crisis. Only when having investigated thoroughly into the causes, will it be possible to point out possible solutions.

M. Bogaert

Why Communism?

"That's an easy one to answer", replies the enthusiastic orthodox Marxist, and before one has time to think, all the mysticism of "dialectical materialism", "economic determinism", "the internal contradiction of Capitalism" and "the inevitable revolution of the proletariat" is trotted out! All this is still repeated by the modern exponents of Marxism, and indeed, isn't Mr. Khrushchev constantly reminding the Free World, that do what they like, "Communism must come"? While it would be difficult to know on what facts or theory the Red Dictator bases his prophetic vision — unless it be on the hopes of the final victory of his far flung imperialistic forces which operate in all countries, as Communist Parties — it is a matter of history that Marx's vision of the coming of Communism in all industrially advanced countries has not come true.

Dialectical Materialism is no explanation

What Marx failed to see — and he failed because of his false theory of man and human society — was that the positive forces of human nature could be roused to meet the impending danger. In other words, he did not see or understand that even the so-called bourgeois society could be aroused to launch a social policy which would lessen the threatening peril; neither could Marx, despite his much lauded 'Scientific Socialism' foresee that the working classes would not be content to sit by passively while their social conditions became worse, but would take their fate into their own hands and organize the labour-market and various labour movements to control their own interests. Moreover, isn't the success of the Red Revolution in Mr. Khrushchev's own country, and Mr. Mao Tse-tung's Red China ample proof that Marx's pre-requisites for the success of a Communist Revolution were woefully wrong? By no

stretch of the imagination could Russia or China be said to be industrialized on the eve of the Communist Revolution!

Nor are internal social conditions by themselves, a sufficient explanation.

To go on with our quiz. If then, the Marxian explanation concerning the coming of Communism can hardly be admitted, there are other theories which tend to explain the rise of Communism in any country as being due to internal social distress, such as poverty, starvation, unemployment and so on. This is, perhaps, the most popular explanation for the spread of Communism, and one which is still believed by those who should know better! However, in the light of historic experience, this explanation does not appear to be any more correct than that which is offered by orthodox Marxism. Even a rapid survey of the spread of Communism in Europe and Asia does not seem to bear out this view. Before the capture of Czechoslovakia by a Red Government, the country had a large Communist party despite its relative wealth; on the other hand, Bulgaria, perhaps, the poorest country in Eastern Europe had the smallest Communist Party. So also, France which is relatively a rich country has a large and very active Communist Party, while Turkey, a relatively poor country, counts hardly any Communists among its people. It would, therefore, appear that in the light of historic experience, internal social distress, such as poverty and unemployment, do not, of themselves, make for the fall of a country to Red Totalitarianism.

Internal social distress and external aggression help Communism

How then to explain the spread of the Red Evil? The rise of Communism within the last few years, its classical victories in Russia and China, its deceit and treachery exer-

cised against its own allies of the second world war, now afford sufficient material for the discovery of a theory which fits the facts of Communist aggression.

An analysis of the classical victories of Communism would appear to prove that such victories are due to both internal social conditions in a country, and at the same time, to external aggression against the country. In fact, while the internal social difficulties of a country would not by themselves turn the country Communist, these difficulties certainly pave the way for such a regime. Indeed, the whole situation becomes explosive in proportion to the weakness of the government to deal with these internal difficulties firmly and speedily. This is especially true, when, added to these internal social difficulties there is, at the same time, external aggressiveness used against the country and operated by a political party. Now this is precisely where our Liberal Democracies have, so often, shown their weakness! On the one hand, they have often failed to deal firmly and quickly with social distress, and on the other, they have allowed anti-national forces to operate under the guise of a *bona fides* political party. One need not be a student of the history of Communism to understand that a Communist Party does not owe its allegiance to the country in which it operates but to Moscow.

*How China fell **

Perhaps, the best illustration of the fact that both internal and external factors tend to set the stage for a Communist victory comes from China. It is common knowledge that Chiang Kai-Shek faced formidable internal difficulties when the Japanese war was over. To begin with there was urgent need to rebuild the country which

* For the facts mentioned in this section I am indebted to the excellent book "The Enemy Within" by R. J. De Jaegher & I. C. Kuhn. (St. Paul Publications, Bombay).

had been devastated by a long drawn out war and the land needed major agricultural reforms; next, there was, already at that time, the 'problem of Communism'. So much for those internal factors which paved the way to a Communist victory. As for the external factor which hastened the fall of China, that was the Soviet blueprint. The persistent help given to the Chinese Communists by Soviet Russia, and the Soviet violation of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of August 14th, 1945, constitute the greatest aggression against free China by Soviet Russia.

Even a superficial examination of Communist treachery in free China, before its fall to Communism, reveals interesting and instructive examples of their strategy. Their whole aim and purpose, at that time in the country, was to stir up confusion and social disorder on every side, and out of the chaos to seize upon every factor which would further their own ends. Thus, their propaganda was well planned and perfectly timed to meet every situation. It was directed towards all social classes; to the unlettered in the country, as well as to the intellectuals both within and outside China. It deceived top-ranking Western military officials, politicians, the clergy and even the honest Chinese peasants. Perhaps, the best, though little known instance of Chinese Communist deceit practised on Western intellectuals was that concerning the Marshall aid mission to China soon after the end of the war against Japan. Not only did the Red Chinese convince many an American military official that the Red Army was responsible for the defeat of Japan, but they even succeeded in securing the over-all direction of the Marshall aid programme in many regions of the country. Indeed, so convincing was their show of loyalty to the country, that they nearly succeeded in having the American establish a "little West Point" for the express purpose of training Communist Staff Officers! To-day, when to a great extent — but not nearly enough — the

treachery and deceit of the Chinese Communists are better known, the failure of Marshall aid in what was then Free China is not hard to explain — the Red Chinese had managed to place their Comrades in several key positions in the two missions of General Marshall and General Wedemeyer!

Communist treachery in China, at that time, however, would not have achieved much, had not the Nationalists under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek to contend with the still greater treachery of Soviet Russia. It was this external force which hastened the fall of Free China. Long practised in the art of deceit and treachery, the Red Rulers of Russia, made 'a scrap of paper' of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of August 14th, 1945. But that was not all. In the following January, after the Chinese Communists had signed a truce agreement with the Nationalist forces, Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communists signed a secret agreement whereby the Red Chinese offensive in the country was to be reinforced by thousands of Russians! But at that time how were the Americans in China to know all this? How was General Marshall to know that his pressure on Chiang Kai-Shek to cease fire and allow the Red Army to keep that part of Manchuria which they had occupied would, in the long run, mean the complete occupation of China by Communists? Clever propaganda by the Communists had painted the Red Army as true "liberal agrarian reformers", and this was believed even by those who should have known better!

The masses are betrayed by the Chinese Communists

The betrayal of the masses in China by the Communists ran true to type. It was the standard performance which has been witnessed in so many countries which have fallen victims to Communism. The Red Army in China, as Party members in many another country, opened their offensive against the common people by "creating a good impression

and even by doing odd jobs for the rural population". Then in friendly conversations with the unsuspecting people they worm out all the information they need concerning persons and happenings in the villages or towns. This is carefully collected and sent back to the Party Centre. In China, and during the early days of the Red Revolution, soldiers of the Red Army were carefully instructed to go out of their way to help the Chinese peasants in their daily tasks and on the farms. In fact, these soldiers often showed themselves models of virtue and good behaviour! In some regions of the Indian sub-continent, our Red Comrades are playing the same game, and have already established a reputation of being "the most obliging of neighbours"! Perhaps, the most dastardly deceit which the Communists in China practised on the ignorant masses was their pretext to wage an all-out war against the Japanese. By means of such propaganda they forced millions of loyal Chinese who were anxious to rid the country of the invader, into the Red Army, exposed them to the bullets of their own Nationalists forces and destroyed the unity of the country! Are not our own Indian Comrades, on the one side, shouting their loyalty to the India's Five Year Plans and schemes of industrialisation, and on the other, doing everything to foster industrial disorder which they well know will cripple the country's industrial development? But that is Communism!

The betrayal of the moral and religious lives of the people

Once upon a time it was universally believed that the peoples of China were too religiously minded to fall victims to atheistic Communism. The recent happenings in that unfortunate country have amply proved the hallowness of such a view! Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Mahomedanism and Christianity have all been caught and engulfed in the red tide. To be sure, this does not mean that religion has been wiped out in China, but it does

mean that organized religion now faces a ruthless persecution and has suffered a severe set back. Perhaps, religious leaders, ministers of churches and priests are not suspicious by nature; but the fact is, that they have been repeatedly tricked and deceived by the charming politeness and show of kindness displayed by advancing Communist forces! Red cells were established beneath the very eyes of many unsuspecting Catholic authorities in Catholic institutions! The normal practice of this treachery has been to win over priests and missionaries, leave church property and buildings intact and in the possession of their rightful owners till the Red forces were firmly established in the locality.

When once established in a town or village, Communist methods to change the whole character of the people are as ruthless as they are efficient. Every inhabitant is listed in some category, such as a worker, a peasant and so on. Then, the indoctrination begins. A local newspaper is published in every region and every family has to turn out to hear the news which is read out by a Party Member. Of course, the news and reports are always 'doctored', so all Communist activity is presented in the best light possible. The Communist employ a primitive system of broadcasting, but it is extremely efficient and gives results!

No compromise with Communism

If then, as in the case of so many victims of Communism, it is true that both internal and external factors force a country into the Red Empire, then it is obvious that any sound resistance to the Red Evil must reckon with both these factors. While this conclusion may be obvious it is by no means easy to carry out, especially in the democratic way. In fact, the democratic way to settle any issue is time-consuming and long-drawn out, and this becomes worse when rival political parties tend to place party-interests above those of the nation. Of course, the delay in dealing

quickly and firmly with social distress becomes still more impossible, when Communists, under the guise of patriotic political parties operate in the country. It is common knowledge that under the freedom enjoyed in democratic countries, Communist Parties all over the world, have consistently used that freedom to destroy the rights and liberties of all who refuse to adopt their way of life. Communism gives no quarter and knows no spirit of compromise. Its modern show of peaceful co-existence can fool only those who will not see! The Communist pattern of co-existence is merely a "tactical zig-zag" in its unchanging aggressive policy.

Communism is anti-national

The confusion which stems from a situation in which the Communist Party poses as a truly nationalist political party is enormous. It confuses the mind of the ordinary citizen in the country. It is well known that the Indian Communist Party has, time and again, pledged its support to see the Welfare State and the Socialistic pattern of society established in this sub-continent. But it is useful to remember that so did the Chinese Communist Party pledge its support for the unity of China and the policy of the Nationalist Government of that country! Of course, pledges and promises mean little to our Communist friends because of such stuff is made up of the technique of Communist co-existence! Did they not sign that wonderful document which was hatched at the Bandung Conference and which was hailed as the formula for the solution of all wars and all imperialistic aggression? And what respect did the Communists have for this document? Almost immediately after signing the Panchila agreement, the Red Dictator ordered his tanks and guns to crush and slaughter the brave freedom fighters of Hungary! Indeed, the recent execution of the late Hungarian Premier, Mr. Imre Nagy is ample proof, if, indeed, proof is still needed, that the Red

Dictator of Soviet Russia is determined to impose, by force, that evil regime upon all countries, despite all treaties and agreements!

Exposing Communism

No lie, no treachery, no deceit is beyond Communism! Such means, in fact, have always been the most powerful weapons in the armoury of Totalitarian States. It is, indeed, such means which make Totalitarianism the hateful thing it is, and a thing hard to counter and even understand! Obviously, the only way to meet such a foe is by uncovering his lies, deceptions and treachery, especially against the unsuspecting masses. Unfortunately, in most democratic countries, Communism gets away with its lies and treachery usually because those who should know better and can do something are often under the impression that 'no one can believe such lies....' But history has proved, again and again, that the unsuspecting masses often do believe such things, and when no answer is forthcoming to uncover such lies, when the truth is not put before the people, the Communist lies have fit their way! In one of the larger towns of the Bombay State is a small bookshop in the busy marketplace. The shop is owned by a fine old Moslem gentleman with a fiery beard. In all sincerity, he will tell you that there is complete religious freedom in the Soviet Union! And if you seek to know the source of his information he will point to the Soviet literature displayed in his shop. Much of this literature is given away free to the many shoppers who daily pass the bookshop. Just outside the metropolitan city of another Indian State there is a "Farmers' Union". Its President appears an easy-going, happy Comrade and thanks to him and his other Comrades all the locality knows that the rural aid coming to India is "the gift of the USSR alone!" And so the Communist lie snowballs and gains momentum.... while good men stand by idly!

Set the Truth before the people

The masses must be enlightened. In the past, it has often been said that the simple-minded masses should not be disturbed. This attitude has played directly into the hands of the Communists and their effective technique of "opening up the minds of the people". The lie which is Communism must be exposed, and the truth must be set out in a fashion which the masses can understand. The tragedy is that, in this field, the Free Countries have done very little. The output of such literature is pitifully small, and what has appeared, often does not appeal to the masses. The Communist lie must be exploded by means of leaflets and pamphlets written in a style and language and set out in a form which goes to the heart of the people. They must be told of fraud and deceit practised by Communism on the people of China, Russia and every country where, today, the Communists are in power. They must be helped to realize that no true Indian national can, at the same time, be a Communist. The people must be told that the Communist resolution, discarding violence in their methods, adopted at their Amritsar Conference, last April, is but another Communist lie. The masses must see that this is just another move to confuse the minds of ordinary people. "By their fruits, you shall know them...." Surely, the Communists have done enough all the world over to be judged by their actions?

C. C. Clump

The Pope Speaks**PRISONERS, PUNISHMENT, AND PARDON**

(*An Address of Pope Pius XII delivered during an audience granted to a large group of leading Italian Catholic jurists and members of various prisoners' aid societies. May 26, 1957*).

Beloved Sons, as representatives of the "Union of Italian Catholic Jurists," and of the "Christian Fraternal Aid Society," the "Friends of the Prisoners of Sulmona," you have decided to come to ask Us to extend a father's thoughts to that pitiful world of deliberately inflicted suffering, which has been created by the severity of justice not to crush men but ultimately to redeem them.

There, amid the shadows of silent prison cells, agonizing interior dramas are unfolding, and only the Christian light of resignation and trust, supported by the warmth of charity, can change them into a process of serene redemption. So it is with all Our heart that We welcome you and gratefully accept your display of devotion and these tangible signs of your zeal: the report on your activities and the parchment signed by some two hundred inmates of the Penitentiary of Badia Celestina at Sulmona.

You have also asked Us for a word of instruction on the aims which should inspire your activities, and on the best ways of attaining them. We have no intention of taking up particular problems; your publications have already set up guiding norms in these matters, and your discussions, along with the experience gained from personal contact with the prisoners, have added many details to them. Instead We will take up some points of a more general application which deserve the attention of all those

who are playing an active role in directing the work of assistance to prisoners, and of those who are the objects of this help — the prisoners themselves.

We have had occasion to take up the problem of crime and punishment in a number of Audiences in the past; at the moment, We need only recall the directions offered to the "Sixth National Study Convention of the Union of Italian Catholic Jurists" on December 5, 1954, and February 5, 1955. Right now, We would prefer to deal with a number of problems that refer more to your personal qualities and attitude and your field of labour.

Prerequisites for the Job of Helping Prisoners

It would seem that anyone who holds a position of authority and influence in this work of helping prisoners must be possessed of sound knowledge, a firm will, and a carefully thought out manner of acting or deciding not to act. This is all the more true since the people to whom your efforts are being dedicated are not living under normal conditions.

Today We will concentrate on a consideration of the intellectual qualifications for your office. In the case of subordinates and those who simply carry out orders, ordinary knowledge and average commonsense is enough, but much more can be demanded of those in charge. It is especially important for the latter to have correct ideas on the three following points:

- (1) the fact that punishment necessarily depends on guilt;
- (2) the meaning of suffering in punishment;
- (3) the sense and purpose of punishment.

Punishment's dependence on guilt

The first thing required is a clear realization of the fact that punishment depends on guilt, for only a firm conviction that the prisoner is a guilty person can provide the sure and indispensable basis for all further considerations. Paying the penalty has no objective meaning in itself and is unintelligible to the one who is undergoing it unless we keep in mind this intrinsic relationship to the guilt which brought it on. There may be cases where two acts are externally identical, and yet one is a completely culpable fault while the other involves no responsibility on the part of the person who performed it. The result is that judgment and treatment of the two cases and of the persons involved will have to be essentially different from the psychological, juridical, ethical, and religious points of view.

At present there are two different tendencies in this matter of determining guilt: one — which is not prevalent at the moment — is inclined to admit it too readily; the other denies it without sufficient reason, and this attitude is now in fashion in a number of places to an extent that is sometimes disturbing.

Of course, in applying penalties, it is not your job to re-open to discussion the whole question of guilt involved; that was the work of the court which conducted the trial. At the same time, those who dedicate themselves to helping the imprisoned cannot afford to ignore it completely for it will determine their attitude and the success or failure of their efforts. With regard to the two currents of ideas that we have just mentioned, you should maintain an impartial and critical attitude.

Those who are inclined to hasty judgments of guilt are forgetting that nowadays it is not enough to take into

account the "traditional" attenuating circumstances which are laid down by jurisprudence and by the natural and the Christian moral laws. They must also give some thought to the points established by recent studies in scientific psychology; in some cases, this helps us to recognize a considerable reduction in the degree of responsibility involved.

The other tendency uses these very findings of modern psychology as the basis for affirming that the practical possibilities of making a free decision, and hence the real responsibility, of a great number of men are reduced to a bare minimum. In dealing with this unfounded generalization, We can, on the basis of everyday living and of scientific experience, in the fields of law and morals, assert that most men — and We might say the vast majority — have not merely a natural capacity but also a real power in practice, to make their own independent decisions and govern their own conduct, except for individual cases where you can prove the opposite. And so, they are in a position to assume obligations and responsibilities. This means that morals and law are not frozen in an out-of-date attitude when they say that the burden of proof must lie in establishing where freedom ends rather than where it begins. Sound reason and commonsense rise up against the kind of practical determinism that would reduce liberty and responsibility to a minimum; and they can find ample support in the practice of law, in social life, and in the revelation of the Old and the New Testament.

Meaning of suffering in punishment

In the second place, you must have a good understanding of the meaning of the suffering to which the guilty party is subjected because of his crime.

Even though the sufferings of someone who is sick or of an innocent man and those of a condemned criminal

may resemble each other in externals, they have a very different meaning. The sick man is not under any obligation to suffer and so We do everything We possibly can to relieve his pain; the condemned man, on the other hand — sad to say — has to suffer, and punishment is deliberately inflicted on him to achieve certain definite results. It is easy to understand that those who come to help and support prisoners may want to see them relieved of the sufferings involved in paying the penalty; but this desire will not meet with ready support from the authorities who have the responsibility for seeing that the sentence is carried out, or from those who are responsible for assistance offered to the prisoners.

In this matter, a closer acquaintance with the whole question can be very helpful. It is not a question of adopting a cold and heartless attitude, but rather of finding the happy mean and avoiding deviations in one direction or the other. As a matter of fact, the mere act of showing the condemned man that you are interested in the punishment he is suffering, and hence that society is not his irreconcilable enemy, helps to soothe his afflictions.

Meaning and purpose of punishment

Last of all, you must know the meaning and the purpose of punishment. This is a question that We have taken up at length in earlier talks. Without going back over all that We said then, We should like you to give some thought to the fact that "God punishes," as is clear from revelation, from history, and from life. What is the meaning of this divine affliction? The Apostle Paul gives us an explanation when he exclaims: "A man will reap what he sows" (Gal. 6,8). The man who sows guilt reaps punishment. The punishment of God is His answer to the sins of men.

You may say that you are well aware of and accept the teachings of religion and morality in this matter, but that you have to look at punishment under a different light and discuss it on a different place — that is, insofar as it is a measure adopted by public authority for dealing with someone who has broken positive law through his own fault, with the express purpose of the state's safeguarding good order in the life of the community. And this is true: the positive, juridical aspect has a character all its own that is distinct from the religious and moral ones. Without a doubt, punishment can be considered as a function of human law or of divine law; but it is just as true or even more so that this juridical aspect is never a purely abstract concept, completely cut off from any relationship to the moral aspect. As a matter of fact, any human law which really deserves the name finds its true basis in divine law, and this neither lessens nor limits, but rather increases its force and stability.

So what is the meaning and purpose of punishment inflicted by God? First of all and essentially, it is intended to make reparation for the guilty act and to bring about a restoration of the order which has been violated. In committing sin, man withdraws himself from the divine precepts and opposes his own will to that of God. In this personal encounter, man prefers himself and rejects God. In punishment, we have an encounter between the same two wills; but now God imposes suffering on the will of the rebel and thus forces him to submit to His will, to the laws and rights of the Creator, and thus to restore the order which has been shattered.

This aspect does not exhaust the meaning of divine punishment at least not in this world during the time of our present lives. There are other purposes which are,

at least in part, even more important. Often, in fact, the punishments decreed by God are a remedy rather than a means of expiation, "*Poenae medicinales*" rather than "*poenae vindicativae*." They serve as a warning to the guilty party to give some thought to his guilt and to the disorder of his actions, and they lead him to draw away from them and to be converted.

In this way, by undergoing the punishment inflicted by God, man is purified deep within, and strengthens his renewed resolutions toward what is good and just. In the social field, acceptance of punishment contributes toward the re-education of the guilty man and makes him better fitted to rejoin human society (which he had opposed by his crime) as a useful member.

The only thing left to consider here would be the parallel functions of punishment in human law, through analogy with what we have said of divine punishment. But this last step is one that you can easily take yourselves, since you are jurists, and quite familiar with matters of this kind. Besides, we have already spent enough time in drawing your attention to the relationships which necessarily exist between the two orders.

(To be continued)

Social Survey

Industrial Disputes

During 1957, there were 1,630 disputes involving 889,371 workers with a time-loss of 6,429,319 man-days. There were more disputes in 1957 than in the previous year but the number of workers involved and the consequent loss of man-days was smaller. The number of disputes increased by 3.7 per cent but the loss in man-days decreased by 28.7 per cent. The average duration of disputes also declined, being 7.8 days in 1957 as against 9.8 days in 1956.

Bombay, Madras West-Bengal and Kerala accounted for a major portion of the industrial disputes. In 1957, 64.2 per cent of the total number of disputes occurred in these four states (319, 247, 231 and 250 respectively), involving 68.7 per cent of the total number of workers-affected in all industrial disputes in the country. The time-loss in these States accounted for 61.4 per cent of the total. The time-loss was the highest in West Bengal being about 21 per cent of the total. Next in order came Kerala accounting for 16 per cent of the total time-loss. The average time-loss per dispute was 5,807 man-days in West Bengal and 4,018 man-days in Kerala. The average time-loss in Bihar too was very high being 8,295 man-days. Andaman and Nicobar Islands had three disputes which accounted for a time loss of 14,350 man-days.

In 1957, there were 152 lockouts involving 187,525 workers. 2,664,248 man-days were lost, the average time loss per lock-out being 17,528. Here again the largest number of lock-outs occurred in the States of Bombay, Madras, West Bengal and Kerala, 15, 25, 47 and 25 respectively. Compared with the previous year the number of lock-outs increased but the time loss showed a slight decrease. In 1956 there were 88 lock-outs involving the loss of 2,685,755 man-days.

The largest number of disputes were in the manufacturing sector (946 out of the total of 1,630). These disputes accounted for 61 per cent of the total time loss for the year.

From the point of duration two thirds of the disputes did not last more than five days and even here there was a heavy concentration in the group lasting for "a day or less". Only 7.1 per cent of the disputes lasted for more than 30 days.

As usual among the causes of the labour disputes "wages and allowances" and "personnel" accounted for a high percentage of the disputes. Out of the 1,630 disputes, 460 were due to "wages and allowances," 432 to "personnel" and 211 to "bonus". In 1957 "bonus" attracted 237,087 workers, the highest number for any category.

Out of the 1,588 disputes for which figures are available, 479 were successful, 520 were unsuccessful and 234 were partially successful. Thus nearly 30 per cent of the disputes were unsuccessful from the point of view of workers, 30 per cent were decided in their favour and another 15 per cent resulted in their favour partially. In a little over 20 per cent disputes workers resumed work without any final decision having been reached. In this case the disputes might have been referred to an Industrial Tribunal or may be under negotiation. The percentages in 1957 increased considerably in case of successful or partially successful disputes when compared to the year 1956.

The largest number of disputes terminated as a result of intervention by Government, a great majority being through conciliation with mediation coming next. The number of disputes settled through mutual settlement was the lowest. In many cases the workers resumed work voluntarily but in these cases they were mostly unsuccessful as regards their dispute.

In May 1958 the number of disputes current at any time was 160 including 21 lockouts. Of these 123 were fresh disputes. The maximum number of workers involved in 110 of the fresh disputes was 37,198 involving a time-loss of 167,478 man-days. The maximum number of workers affected in 144 of the disputes current at any time during the month was 58,785 involving a time-loss of 560,459 man-days.

The time-loss due to industrial disputes increased by 30,297 man-days in May over the previous month. (Labour Gazette)

Reward for Evil

We are taking this item of news from the Government of India publication *Yojana* which, apparently to emphasise its importance, prints it in bold type.

"The Madras Government has set apart one lakh of rupees this year for a novel campaign to popularise family planning.

Under the scheme all public employees (men) in Madras city will be given an advance of Rs. 15 when they have fixed an appointment with a family planning surgeon for vasectomy operation. In the case of women employees or wives of the public employees who wish to undergo the operation a cash grant of Rs. 25 will be sanctioned. In addition, they will be given a special casual leave of one week. While these grants will be applicable to all public servants, they are restricted only to persons who have attained the age of 32 in the case of men, and 26 in the case of women and who have not less than three children.

The immediate object of the scheme is to promote the family welfare of the public employees in Madras city. The Government hope that if the scheme is implemented successfully, family planning surgery will become the normal feature of hospital services. (Italics ours).

Comments are superfluous.

Education

While in some quarters there is a cry that there are too many degree colleges the number of colleges in Madhya Pradesh has been doubled, from 28 to 56, during the last 20 months. 50 per cent of the total expenditure in upgrading private intermediate colleges was borne by the Central Government, 25 per cent by the State and the rest by private agencies. It costs Rs. 120,000 to upgrade one intermediate college.

Prisoners

The Uttar Pradesh Government have come out with another startling prison reform. Fifty long term prisoners with a good record, working in the open air camp at the Terai Agricultural Farm have been allowed to call their families to live with them. These prisoners have completed half the term of their sentences.

Mercy

During 1957 the Union President received 200 mercy petitions from condemned prisoners and he granted pardon to 80 of them. The previous year the number of petitions received were 192 and pardons granted were 68.

Workmen

A Bill introduced in Parliament seeks to amend the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 to bring in individual workmen under the scope of the Act. In certain cases the Courts have held that individual disputes are not industrial disputes with the result that individual workers have not been able to secure redressal of their grievances. The difficulty is all the greater because about 75 per cent of the workers are not organised. The Bill, therefore, aims at elaborating the definition of the term "industrial dispute" by adding these words: "whether the dispute is taken up by an individual worker or a group of workers or workmen, in general."

Electric Fans

India has made considerable progress in the manufacture of fans in India. While in 1955 the country had produced 282,000 electric fans the production in the month of April, 1958 alone amounted to 53,400. In the previous month India produced 50,200 fans. The total number of fans produced in the first four months of the current year was 205,400 as against 165,300 in the corresponding period of 1957.

India produced 10.1 million electric lamps in the first four months of the year. The production of lamps too has shown considerable progress from 23.2 million in 1955 to 33.7 million in 1957. Both fans and lamps are of high standard.

Rubber

At the end of October 1957 there were 37,293 rubber estates in India covering an area of 23,811,512 acres. In 1957 the production of raw rubber amounted to 24,000 tons. Formerly most of the raw rubber produced in the country used to be exported. During the year under review India used 31,000 tons of raw rubber. Part of this demand had to be met from imports.

The Kerala Government has decided to establish a rubber estate at a cost of a lakh of rupees.

The Union Government is studying a report on prospective rubber areas in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Gram Sahayaks

Since the programme of training of functional leaders launched on October 2, 1957 up to 31 March 1958, more than 222,300 villagers,

drawn from 2220 village level workers' circles have undergone training as Gram Sahayaks in 5,210 camps all over the country.

The tempo of the training is being stepped up so as to complete the programme of training over a million Gram Sahayaks by the end of September 1958.

In view of the urgency of agricultural production, the training programme has so far been concerned with the agricultural group of subjects.

The trained Gram Sahayak, on his return to his village, is supposed to introduce improved agricultural practices, rear pedigree animals, prepare compost and green manure and raise kitchen gardens. They are also supposed to be models to other villagers and leaders and tutors. Great expectations indeed!

Medical Colleges

While in 1956 the number of admissions to medical institutions in the country was 1,200, it had gone up to 4,100 in 1957. Since the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan, the strength of 13 existing medical colleges has been expanded and seven new medical colleges have been established. The All-India Institute of Medical Sciences in Delhi is taking shape. When fully established it will have a medical college, a dental college, a post-graduate teaching centre and 650-bed hospital. It will serve as a top research centre as well. The Ford Foundation has granted a sum of 100,000 dollars to this Institute for teaching and research equipment.

Dock Workers

The Government of India have published a comprehensive resolution embodying their decisions on the recommendations made by the Chauduri Commission on dock labour. The report runs to 55 pages and is expected, according to the Minister for Transport to give "the maximum satisfaction to the workers." But the workers' leaders have expressed their dissatisfaction and are threatening further action unless the Government change their mind on a number of issues. They admit, however, that the resolution meets some of their demands.

The Government has generally accepted the pay scales recommended by the Chauduri Report for Class III and Class IV employees

of major ports. The scales of pay, already announced, cover the categories of workers drawing between Rs. 30 and Rs. 300. Scales rising above Rs. 300 up to Rs. 500 are to be indicated later. It is estimated that this decision will increase the wage bill by Rs. 25 lakhs.

The following are some of the major decisions:

1. In agreement with the unions of the port and dock workers, a committee will be set up to undertake the work of categorization and classification of workers and fitting them into the new pay scales. The Committee is to consist of a chairman, two representatives of labour and two officers familiar with the working of ports and railways. The decision of the committee are to be binding on the port authorities and labour.

2. The revised pay scales that may be recommended by the committee will be brought into force with retrospective effect from October, 1957. Employees put on revised scales will receive an increase in pay not less than the last increment drawn. Where scales of pay are higher than those recommended by the committee the higher scales will continue to apply.

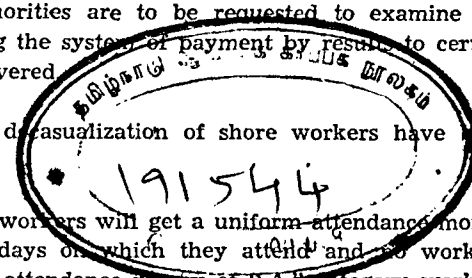
3. The port authorities are to be requested to examine the feasibility of extending the system of payment by results to certain categories not now covered.

4. The rules for casualization of shore workers have been liberalized.

5. "B" category workers will get a uniform attendance money of Re. 1 per day on days on which they attend and no work is offered to them. The attendance money for "A" category workers has been fixed at Rs. 1-8 at all the ports, except that where they are higher, the higher rates will continue to remain.

6. The recommendation regarding equalization of wage rates of "A", "B" and "C" categories of workers has been accepted.

7. The enhancement of the rate of contribution to provident fund and gratuity has not yet been decided. This will be done after the report of the Second Pay Commission is accepted. Any betterment of the retirement benefits that the Government may



decide upon for its employees on the recommendation of the Second Pay Commission will be extended to the port and dock workers as well.

As an interim measure however, it has been decided that workers coming under the piece-rate schemes should be given improved retirement benefits in the shape of counting the "processing allowance" admissible to workers under the piece-rate scheme for contribution to both provident fund and gratuity. This will improve the benefits admissible to these workers by about 25 per cent.

8. The Government are recommending to the port trusts the appointment of a committee, including a labour trustee, to advise on all cases in which proposals for withholding employer's contribution to provident fund or gratuity may come up for any reason whatsoever.

9. Excepting those workers whose work is of an intermittent character, employees in the ports of Cochin, Visakapatnam and Kandla will, hereafter, receive payment for overtime work at double the ordinary rates of wages in the same manner as corresponding employees in the port trusts of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

10. Equalization of leave benefits of class III and Class IV staff are to be given retrospective effect from July 1, 1957, which is the date on which it was applied in the port of Bombay. The modification accepted in regard to leave also includes the grant of 21 days of casual leave and paid holidays taken together to certain categories to whom such benefits are not now available.

Population Control

Determined efforts are being made by various agencies to keep the population under control. Besides the family planners who are everywhere, the railways, the police and dacoits have been doing good work. The latest amenity provided for travellers by the Railway is a quick trip to the land of the forefathers and that for no extra payment. Though this amenity is provided mainly for third class passengers the higher class patrons are not entirely left out. The police too have been blazing away at mobs determined to exterminate the police force once and for all. Lest the people of Kerala, who are currently enjoying the pleasures of the Com-

munist Paradise, feel that they have been left out the police even there have made use of their rifles. At this time of the year nature too is a great ally of the family planners. House collapses and swollen rivers which overflow their embankments afford easy means.

Mysore

Mr. Gorwala, who had been appointed by the Government of Mysore to study the working of the Government machinery and suggest measures to improve the same, has now submitted his report to the Government. One thing is quite clear and beyond all doubt, that all is not well the way the Government machinery runs. There is colossal wastage of public money. The Government is said to borrow money freely and spend it lavishly without a thought as to the repayment of the loan. He considers that prohibition is a blunder and suggests that it be scrapped forthwith. He has made a number of suggestions, which if put into effect will improve the administration and give a fair deal to the poor man whose money it is that the powers waste. But will those who are in authority have the courage to act. A report by a special committee which inquired into the construction of the Vidhana Soudha was presented to the Government in December 1956. Up-to-date nothing more has been heard about it. We are afraid Mr. Gorwala's courageous report also will find a safe resting place in the Government archives.

Second Plan

In spite of financial difficulties, lack of proper trained personnel, international upheavals our Second Plan has achieved striking results in many spheres of activity. The three new steel mills are slowly but steadily taking shape and are due to start production before long. The Bhakra dam is rising daily and has already started functioning to some extent. The various irrigation projects in various parts of the country are nearing completion and will soon supply abundant water to agricultural land.

But all is not quite well. First our present resources are not sufficient to meet the demands of the various projects. The Plan has been cut down by Rs. 300 crores. More generous help is expected from the Western countries. If it materialises we should be able to tackle most of the schemes.

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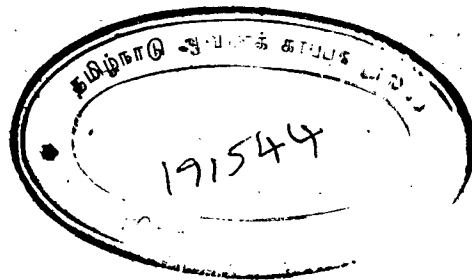
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fire and killed a few and injured a few more. There was an outcry over the land and the police were condemned outright for their atrocities and for killing innocent people who were only peacefully expressing their anger at the action of the Government which had removed a "martyrs" monument.

In Madras there was a strike in the offices of the well-known daily, the HINDU. The strikers who were joined by outsiders took to violent means to enforce their will and in so doing prevented loyal workers from going to work, damaged property and forced the office to close down. It is alleged that during the violence the police stood by and watched the fun. For this lapse they have been roundly condemned. Public meetings have been held, resolutions passed and messages sent to the authorities on the failure of the police, the custodians of law and order, to safeguard the interests of the people and protect lives and private property.

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