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SOCIAL

ACTION

VOL. 12 · FEBRUARY 1962



Some Aspects
of

THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

Ideology — heavy industry
labour — agriculture

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SOCIAL INSTITUTE.

SOCIAL ACTION

Vol. 12 No. 2 February, 1962

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SOCIAL ACTION is published monthly by the Indian Institute of Social Order, 13 Boat Club Road, Poona 1, India. Phone 2098. The Editorial Board does not necessarily endorse the individual views of its contributors.

Subscription rates : Yearly, Rs. 6 or \$. 2 or 10 s Single copy, Re. 0.65.

Cheques should be made out in favour of the Indian Social Institute, and if not drafted on a Poona Bank should cover the clearing commission. V.P.P. charges are extra. Inland Money Orders or by Foreign Cheques are the best means of payment.

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Democracy and Socialism

Are they sociological contradictions?

J. Connor

In its series of Five Year Plans, India claims to be striving for the realization of a social order that will integrate Socialism and Democracy. This is a high-sounding objective, which undoubtedly serves to stimulate the interest and enthusiasm of many of its people. Is it a practical possibility however? Obviously the present leaders of the country believe it is. They would not be working for it if they didn't. But could they be mistaken and hence misguided in this connection?

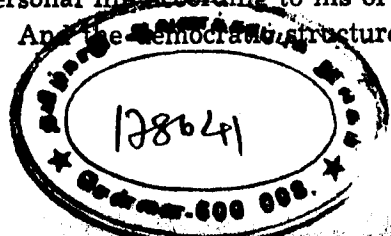
Strange Human Nature

As the history of man clearly shows, human nature is a strange thing. In its more fundamental features, especially among those that we usually classify as essential qualities, we find traces of a power and a glory that defy description. The ability to think and to make on such a scale of variety and

complexity as is evidenced by the sciences and the arts developed by man seems to convey a certain image of divinity. This fact has led some people to say that man is god, or at least a god. But there is another aspect of this picture to be glimpsed, if we are to see the whole. This relates to the more supplemental or accidental side of human nature. It is the one more directly and immediately connected with the changing features of what we call everyday affairs. Here a proneness to mistakes and misfeasance is prominently evident. So strong is this mark that it has become identified with the definition of human nature. 'To err is human' runs an age-old axiom. Furthermore, the scope and the intensity of this deviate tendency are such as to suggest an image of depravity. Therefore, not a few people say that man is a devil. Caught in the throes of these conflicting personality forces, small wonder that we find men guilty of error in thought and action in a particular situation. This is true on both the individual and the social level. The same human nature is involved in each. The history of human efforts to achieve democracy bears eloquent testimony to all this.

Recognition of the Individual

In its modern setting, which may be said to have started, or at least been more actively promoted, in the 17th century, we find this plan of social organization advocated as a supplement to a policy of individual recognition. The dignity of man and the rights of man, as an individual person, were both the highwords and the bywords of the time. Each man was, or should be, accepted as an autonomous, responsible being, capable of complete self-development, but desirous of close cooperation with his fellowmen for the sake of their common welfare. This highly independent quality of man required that each one be left free to determine and develop certain aspects of personal life according to his or her own individual preferences. And the democratic structure of society appear-



ed to be the safest and the soundest method for assuring this specialized objective.

Basic Principles

In its essential elements, the democratic system emphasized three principles of social order. First, there are certain areas of human life which society as a whole cannot ordinarily intrude upon except in a very minimal way. These are especially vital to individual freedom, and hence full personal development. The qualifying term 'ordinarily' was usually implicitly understood here in recognition of the fact that individual freedom is a relative rather than an absolute principle. It must always be kept in its proper relationship to the common good viz. the full freedom of all. For this reason, it was understood that society can sometimes place more than usual limitations upon the exercise of individual freedom. All of this first principle, however, was seen to be not so much a peculiar quality of democracy as an elementary prerequisite of any acceptable form of social control. Consequently, it is the second and third principles which really mark the democratic system as being unique from all others.

The first of these more specific points decrees that the organs of social control, or the governing processes, shall be subject to the directions of the individual members, when acting in their social capacity. The second, which may be said to be like to the first in importance, demands that the individual members of society do all in their power to cultivate an active, socially responsible way of living, since this lessens the need for public intervention in the promotion of a sound social order. The last is admittedly the hardest of all the democratic techniques to accomplish in practice. For it is the one which makes heavy demands upon the personal qualities of each individual member of society. In so doing, however, it offers the best challenge and opportunity for achieving the fully balanced and mature human personality. Strong cultural and moral

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development on a vast social scale is required to insure the adequate working of a democratic system. This implies that good educational and moral training facilities must be made available to all of society's members. These extra responsibilities that are placed upon the individual social members by the democratic system are what make it recognizable as the highest type of social organization. Therein lies its greatest weakness too, because of the frailties of human nature previously mentioned. By reason of their essential capabilities, human beings possess the fundamental power to attain to this superior social estate. Whether they actually do so or not depends upon how they exercise these powers through their supplemental outlets by which they come to grips with the practical details of daily living.

The Record of Democracy

From the social section of man's history which records the experiments in democratic living, we find that, like every other human undertaking, this too has anything but a smooth and entirely successful past. As a matter of fact, the record of its evolution in modern times seems to indicate its radical decline if not outright rejection in many societies. During most of the present century, democracy, in the highly personal and hence classical sense as described above, has been on the defensive. There has been good reason for some of this disenchantment and disavowal. None of it is due to any inherent defects in the system itself however.

Individual Autonomy

We know that the early enthusiasm for individual autonomy gradually assumed proportions of extreme glorification and even adoration. Personal independence and private interests were eventually exaggerated beyond all legitimate bounds. The law of vegetative and animative life viz. the survival of the fittest, was transported to the level of human existence. Truth, justice and charity, virtues upon which demo-

cracy must be grounded to work, were allowed to lapse. Men refused to make the effort needed to discipline themselves. Man's weakness in the use of his powers for good set them in motion against his own best interest. Inevitably, this excess slowly set in motion a process aimed at correcting the evils thus produced. The law of the conservation of the species functions on the social as well as the individual level. Thus we see a movement advocating Collectivism appearing on the social scene in the late 19th century. Its claim to acceptance was based upon a theory of affording each individual the best opportunities for full and free personal development by subjecting each to the pervasive control of all. Only in this way, it declared, could the anarchic effects of Individualism be checked.

Collectivism

This new movement early recognized and earnestly reaffirmed the social value of the democratic process. But with one outstanding and outspoken modification. It declared that this system could only be successfully achieved by subjecting individual initiative and interest to a powerful public control. The latter would largely determine what was appropriate and hence allowable for the social members. Everything and everybody was somehow to be fitted into a master plan for society's betterment. True, this new approach to democracy did allow the members of society to exercise some degree of choice in the selection of their leaders. And it further avowed its respect and restraint in the matter of basic rights and freedoms of the individual. But its radically socialistic stand on the critically significant question of the proper relationship between public and private initiative in everyday practical affairs seriously weakened the possibility of achieving that ideal balance between public and private power in society which is the heart of the democratic system. A society whose members are overly accustomed to look to their leaders for permission and approval, and oftentimes even more positive

guidance, in matters of more or less ordinary importance is not likely to find these same members acting very independently when it comes time either to choose these leaders or to question their actions regarding the protection of human rights. Instead, there would seem to be fostered a subconscious or automatic tendency to submit to directions coming from "on high." Given this inherent, initial inclination, it would not seem to require much time for the inevitable, practical weakness of human nature to stimulate still further deviations from the true pattern of democracy. And this is the very result which the history of this new approach to democratic living shows as an accomplished fact.

Stunted Personalities

In its efforts to offset the extreme assertion of individual prerogatives that plagued the earlier stages of modern democracy, this new formula of "democratic centralism" has tended to concentrate more and more power in the hands of a new "privileged few." And, while this new ruling class has claimed to be working for the good of all, the net result is that the great majority of society's members are deprived of the opportunity to exercise, and hence develop, mature social responsibility. The personalities of the latter are thereby necessarily stunted. And, as a further consequence, the accompanying social order cannot help but reflect a large degree of malformation. This is the answer to Individualism provided by the proponents of its opposite school—Socialism. It may rightly be said to be no worse than its predecessor. But can it be said to be truly better? If not, as would certainly seem to be the case, how can it be shown to be consistent with real democracy?

Integration of Opposites

In its series of Five Year Plans, India claims to be striving for the integration of Socialism and Democracy in its construction of a new, independent social order. Is it thereby

misleading itself by falling for the temptation to seek an unrealizable dream? The fundamental practical weakness of human nature certainly makes such a misfortune possible. And the elementary structural, and hence functional, weakness of Socialism would seem to indicate that such a mistake is probable. Moreover, there are already several indications of a tendency to depart from true democratic standards noticeable in these Five Year Plans. In the area that might be termed directly personal, there is the effort to launch legal prohibition on a national scale. Is this not a rather clear instance of a society's attempt to regulate even the minute aspects of its individual members' lives? By so doing of course, it tends to impede the development of a strong sense of personal discipline on the part of its members. Then there is the matter of officially backed "family planning" programmes. Here the leaders of Indian society actively enter into the family sphere, thereby seriously hampering the cultivation of a fully independent spirit of responsibility there. In the economic sector, the pointed public intervention in so much of the cooperative movement, and in the relations between labour and management seems to bode ill for the sense of independent responsibility demanded by democracy there.

No one can deny that India has tremendous practical problems to solve in its programme of social reconstruction. And the lateness of its start in this direction, together with the general lassitude and low level of literacy that characterizes the majority of its massive population, further complicates and aggravates the many special difficulties. Everything considered, it seems quite impossible for India to move ahead effectively without much rather detailed directive action by its social leaders. The individual members of this society require more than an ordinary amount of inspiration and encouragement from their chosen public officials. Hence it is to be expected that the development of democracy here will entail much more than the usual amount of centralized autho-

riety for some time to come. But, do these circumstances of the moment, which is admittedly to be a long one, require the adoption of a permanent commitment to such a system of concentrated authority? Especially when that kind of an arrangement is seen to be radically inconsistent with a truly democratic one.

" Socialisation "

It is to be hoped that India's leaders are using the lateness of their start on the path to democracy as an opportunity for learning from the mistakes of those who have travelled the path before them. If they are, they will certainly not want Socialism, any more than they desire Individualism, as the substantive foundation of their democratic system. Neither can provide the solid and permanent type of base that is needed for a lasting democratic order. Perhaps what they really have in mind, as sometimes seems to show through many of their words and deeds in explanation of their policy, is something more along the lines of the process termed "socialization" by Pope John XXIII in his recent social encyclical. This unquestionably good and necessary procedure is far removed from Socialism to be sure, sociologically, politically and economically. And it is certainly applicable to India. Here is a great challenge to the informed and articulate Catholics of India. Are you doing your best to help your countrymen, especially those who are leaders, use the light of truth to guide them along the proper course in their struggle to erect an enduring and enabling social edifice?

Heavy Industry

in the Third Plan

C. C. Clump

On August 7th, 1961, India's Third Five Year Plan was placed before Parliament. It marks yet another milestone in the journey of the country towards a fuller and better life for millions of its citizens. To the lay reader the Plan is an impressive document of the nation's social and economic effort over the past ten years, and a rather detailed picture of the likely development of the country in the coming five years.

The basic objective of the Five Year Plans is to provide sound foundations for sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improved living standards and working conditions for the masses. In these development Plans, the first priority should of necessity belong to agriculture and agricultural production has to be increased to the highest feasible levels. The first Five Year Plans provided a comprehensive and many sided effort, as witnessed by the Community Development schemes, to change the outlook and environment of peasant India. Agriculture, however, is closely linked up with industry, and the latter must provide the tools and machines needed by the farmer. Indeed, agriculture and industry must be looked upon as integral parts of the same process of development.

Heavy Industry

In this process of development the growth of industry has to be speeded up and economic progress accelerated. In particular heavy industries and industries for making machine-

tools have to be established. Owing to heavy capital demands and special technical knowledge, which private initiative and capital cannot always produce, the Government has established the public sector for the development of industries of basic and strategic importance, the public utilities services and some other industries. The private sector, on the other hand, includes not only some organized industries and agriculture, but also small industry, trade and a great deal of activity in housing and construction and in other fields. "Thus the Five Year Plans enlarge the scope for individual initiative as well as for co-operative and corporate effort. It is mainly within a limited area in the field of large scale industrial enterprise that the question arises whether in the special circumstances of the country, in accordance with the Industrial Policy Resolution of April, 1956, and in view of the social goals aimed at, particular tasks should be assigned to the public sector or to the private sector" (Third F.Y. Plan, p. 7).

India's Second Five Year Plan was completed in March 1961, and marked the first decade of the country's planned development. Table I below gives an overall picture of selected indicators of growth over this period.

Table — I

Selected indicators of growth 1950 — 1961

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Unit</i>	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	% age of increase
Population	millions	361.	397.	438.	21
National Income at 1960/61 prices	Rs. crores	10240.	12130.	14500.	42
Per capita income increase	Rupees	284.	306.	330.	16
Food grains	million tons	52.2	65.8	76.	46
Area irrigated	million acres	51.5	56.2	70.	36

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Unit</i>	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	% age of increase
Cooperative movement advance to farmers	Rs. crores	22.9	49.6	200.	773
Cloth (mill & hand made)	million yds.	4617.	6875.	7476.	62
Exports	Rs. crores	624.	609.	645.	3
Power installed	million Kw.	2.3	3.4	5.7	148
Railways, freight	million tons	91.5	114.	154.	68
Roads built	ooo miles	97.5	122.	144.	48
Shipping	lakh GRT.	3.9	4.8	9.	131
Food	Calories, per day per person	1800.	1950.	2100.	17
Cloth	Yrds per person per year	9.2	15.5	15.5	68

Table II below gives a detailed picture of the growth in production of some heavy industries over the last decade.

Table — II

Growth of some selected heavy industries, 1950 — 1961

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Unit</i>	1950-51	1960-61
Steel ingots	million tons	1.4	3.5
Aluminium	000 tons	3.7	18.5
Machine tools	Rs. crores	0.34	5.3
Diesel engines	000 numbers	5.5	40.
Electric cables	000 tons	1.7	22.
Fertilisers, Nitrogenous	000 tons	9.	110.
Phosphatic	000 tons	9.	55.
Sulphuric acid	000 tons	99.	363.
Cement	million tons	2.7	8.5
Cotton (mills)	million yds.	3720.	5127.
Sugar	million tons	1.1	3.
Paper & paper Boards	000 tons	114.	350.
Automobiles	000 numbers	16.5	53.5
Petroleum products	million tons		5.7

Thus while the over-all picture of industrial growth and in particular that of some of the basic heavy industries has been kept up during the Second Plan, "The main industrial targets" says the Third Five Year Plan "which have not been achieved are those set for iron and steel, fertilisers, certain items of industrial machinery, e.g. paper and cement, plant machinery, heavy castings and forgings, aluminium, newsprint, raw films, chemical pulp, soda ash, caustic soda, dyestuff and cement. The shortfalls have unfortunately occurred in some of the very industries which are of crucial importance and have deprived the economy of benefits reckoned on the start of the Third Plan" (p. 453-54) Table III below gives the relevant figures.

Table — III

Production targets for 1960 — 1961 and actual realisation

<i>Items</i>	<i>Units</i>	<i>Production targets</i>	<i>Actual production</i>
Finished steel	million tons	4.3	2.2
Fertilisers,			
Nitrogenous	000 tons	290.0	110.0
Phosphatic	000 tons	120.0	55.0
Textile machinery	Rs. crores	17.0	9.0
Cement machinery	Rs. crores	2.0	0.6
Paper machinery	Rs. crores	4.0	—
Aluminium	000 tons	25.0	18.5
Newsprint	000 tons	60.0	25.0
Chemical pulp	000 tons	30,000.0	—
Soda ash	000 tons	230.0	145.0
Dyestuff	million lb.	22.0	11.5
Cement	million tons	13.0	8.5

Shortfalls

As the Eastern Economist says, "The most disastrous of the failures is that, against the production target of 4.3 million tons of the finished steel, actual production was only 2.2 million tons representing nearly a 50 per cent short-fall. At the

same time the Plan points out that against a provision of Rs. 425 crores, made originally for the three public sector steel plants, the latest estimate of actual outlay on steel plants and ancillaries comes to about Rs. 620 crores. In other words, capital investment went up by about 50 per cent while performance went 50 per cent below expectations" (August, 11, 1961, p. 239). Perhaps, some indication as to the cause of these serious shortfalls may be gathered from the Third Plan's chapter on Administration and Plan implementation in which difficulties of implementation have been clearly set out. "In the last analysis" says the document, "the Plan rests on the belief that the requisite effort will be forthcoming and that, at each level in the national life, within the limits of human endeavour, an attempt will be made to implement it with the utmost efficiency. Of the many assumptions on which a Five Year Plan is based, this is not only the most important but also the most difficult" (p. 276). Commenting on the difficulties of the Administration, the Third Plan Supplement of the Eastern Economist points out the delays in "decision-making in Central and State Administrations" and strongly advocates "a radical rehaul" of the administration machinery. The comment concludes by stating that "All in all, one might look upon the current administrative apparatus with far less enthusiasm than one did at the beginning of the Second Plan. The administration is running down, and needs at once a new reorientation and framework within which to face the larger burdens of the Third Plan." (p. ix).

Objectives of the Third Plan

Precisely because the period of the Third Plan represents the first stage of a decade or more of intensive development leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy, the comments made by the Eastern Economist on problems of administration are most important. India's economy is now much larger in size and in the range of its operations, and has become both more dynamic and much more complex. Indeed, the aim of the Third Plan is nothing less than an expansion

of basic industries like steel, chemicals industries, fuel and power and the establishment of machine-building capacity, so that the requirements of further industrialisation can be met within a period of ten years or so, mainly from the country's own resources.

In detail, the Third Plan programme for the expansion of industries includes especially capital and producer goods, industries with special emphasis on machine building and the development of managerial skill, technical know-how and designing capacity. In this programme both the public and private sectors have important roles to play. The share of the public sector in the net output of organised manufacturing industries is expected to increase from less than one-tenth in 1960-61 to about one-fourth in 1965-66, and the bulk of this will comprise capital and producer goods. The cost of the public sector programme will amount to Rs. 1,520 crores while the private sector is expected to provide Rs. 150 crores to meet the areas of replacement and modernisation in certain pre-war industries.

The special emphasis throughout the Third Plan is on the development of those types of industries which will help make the economy of the country self-sustaining, such as, steel, machine-building and the manufacture of producer goods, and thus reduce, as rapidly as possible, the need for external assistance to purchase those goods and also permit a broadening of the export trade. The production of consumer goods will also be substantially expanded, and this mainly in the private sector. It is hoped that as a result of all these developments, industrial production will rise by nearly seventy per cent, but even more significant than this increase will be the development in the fields of iron and steel, machinery and chemicals. Some idea of this is given below in Table III showing the more important industrial targets included in the Third Plan.

Table — IV

Some selected targets of Industrial production of the Third Plan.

<i>Items</i>	<i>Unit</i>	1960-61	1965-66
Steel ingots	million tons	3.5	9.2
Aluminium	000 tons	18.5	80.
Diesel engines	000 numbers	40.	66.
Tractors	000 numbers	2.	10.
Electric cables	000 tons	22.	44.
Fertilisers,			
Nitrogenous	000 tons of N	110.	800.
Phosphatic	000 tons of P ₂ O ₅	55.	400.
Sulphuric acid	000 tons	363.	1500.
Caustic soda	000 tons	100.	340.
Cement	million tons	8.5	13.
Machine tools	value in Rs. lakhs	550.	3000.
Ball & roller bearings	million numbers	2.9	14.
Petroleum products	million tons	5.7	9.9
Cottons (mill)	million yds.	5127.	5800.
Sugar	million tons	3.	3.5
Paper & paper board	000 tons	350.	700.
Bicycles	000 numbers	1050.	2000.
Sewing machines	000 numbers	297.	700.
Automobiles	000 numbers	53.5	100.

Predictions as to the final results of any socio-economic scheme are always risky, but it may be hoped that with the experience gained over a decade in economic planning, many of the targets of the Third Plan may come near realisation. Indeed, despite the shortfalls already mentioned in the achievements of the Second Plan, the ground work has been laid and future development made possible.

Second Thoughts on Nationalisation

With the completion of the First and Second Plans, and the inauguration of the Third Plan, it may be useful to re-examine, briefly, the entire role of the State in economic planning, and the use of nationalisation as a means to economic betterment. The subject is not new, and yet relevant for it

is no exaggeration to say that our Plans have not yet caught the imagination of the masses. On the contrary, some even distrust the success of State planning, while they affirm that such activity can only lead to State inefficiency !

There is no need to restate the whole story of Nationalisation, and it must suffice to say that recent British "second thoughts" on Nationalisation are significant. Writing in Fabian Tract No. 300, 1956, Mr. H. Gaitskill, Leader of the British Labour Party explicitly disengaged the Party from its commitment to nationalisation. Moreover, he severely criticized aspects of the nationalized industries, and in particular the desire of some groups of workers to get more for themselves at the expense of the rest of the community ; the low standard of loyalty or esprit de corps ; the difficulty of attracting men of highest ability to accept top posts at salaries which compare unfavourably with those in private industry, and the failure to devolve sufficient discretion to the lower ranks. How much of Mr. Gaitskill's criticism of British nationalised industries is pertinent to our nationalised industries the reader may judge !

The real trouble seems to be in adjusting means to ends. While no one will deny that in the underdeveloped countries, the State has often to enter the economic field as private initiative is too weak or too shy, few will agree that the whole economic machine and for all time should be a charge on the State. In fact, it has long been acknowledged that State action should so confine itself as to direct, stimulate, co-ordinate, supply and integrate the economic activities of individuals and groups on the principle of "subsidiarity." Thus, while the State may see the necessity of entering the field of a certain industry, out of considerations of the common good, and because no private initiative is forthcoming, the ends of a sound social order will be served, not by the State continuing as an agent of production when the industry is on its feet, but

by turning the concern into a public company and encouraging the ordinary man to acquire a share in the concern. It is gratifying to note that certain Indian economists are thinking along these lines, but perhaps, it is still too early to mark off those industries in the public sector which are ready for transfer to the ownership of the small man.

Labour Policy

A. Fonseca

The Labour Policy of the Government during the third plan is a further evolution of what has been set in motion already during the two previous plans. There does not seem to be much evidence of a deeper probe into the problems of an industrialising society or an attempt to discover the causes of the slow progress of collective bargaining, the continuance of inter-trade union rivalry, the constant rise in wages, the dissatisfaction with the prevailing social security system, and the disillusion in the mind of many Government employees regarding job security and conditions of work in civil employment and the public sector. Obviously the plan need not stress only the negative aspects of the situation, but it should attempt to outline an inspiring and positive programme to enthuse both workers and management with confident hopes for better and more satisfying relationships within industry. It is only in this way that the industrial targets of the plans are likely to be realised. Perhaps too much stress is being laid on the purely technological and physical aspects of the economy while the human element is glossed over. Indeed no economic growth is possible without the active

and enthusiastic cooperation of the human factor.

The Code of Discipline

One important departure in labour-management relations in India is the development of voluntary rules of procedure in dealing with their common problems. These have been classified under what are known as the Code of Discipline and the Code of Conduct. The Code of Discipline was introduced in the middle of 1958 to secure peace in industry by the quick settlement of grievances and the use of the prescribed legal machinery to end disputes. According to the plan, the Code has been successfully implemented. Management and the unions have now been given a clear statement of their rights and obligations, and since the Code has been voluntarily accepted by both parties, it has brought about a better understanding between them. Indeed the man-days lost declined steadily and significantly from 47 lakhs during January-June 1958, the six months prior to the introduction of the Code, to 19 lakhs during July-December, 1960. This is interesting statistical information, but the use of such material

as a *post hoc, propter hoc* argument to prove the advantages of the Code of Discipline is a fallacious expedient. There may be so many other reasons besides the Code of Discipline that may have brought about the reduction in the number of man-days lost during this specific period. However the Third Plan envisages the continuance of the Code to preserve industrial peace. It is surely a step forward in the solution of labour-management problems since it has been voluntarily accepted by both the parties.

The Code of Conduct

The purpose of the Code of Conduct is to prevent the deplorable consequences of inter-union rivalry, which has plagued the labour movement in this country since its inception and has weakened union bargaining power. The Code provides that every employee is free to join the union of his choice, and that the unions should not exploit the ignorance and backwardness of the worker. Similarly, communal and caste prejudices should find no place in the union; nor should the union indulge in violence, coercion, intimidation or personal vilifi-

cation in its dealings with other unions. Unions should function in a democratic manner and company unions prevented from being formed.

How far are these Codes being observed? Are they being put into practice or is only lip-service being paid to them? The Third Plan further points out that the failure to implement awards and agreements makes the observance of the Codes a difficult matter, because much bitterness and disappointment arises on both sides when they find that one of the parties has backed out of promises to which it had previously agreed.

Lines of Advance

The Third Plan mentions what it considers to be two particular lines of advance that had occurred during the second plan. One of these was workers participation in management through the establishment of Joint Management Councils in 23 industries on a trial basis. The purpose of such participation was to give workers a sense of belonging to the establishment and to stimulate their interest in raising productivity. The experiment seems to have

succeeded as far as one can judge from the short period of its functioning. The Third Plan envisages its extension to other industrial units. The sphere of participation is restricted to obtaining information regarding the working of the undertaking, and responsibility for workers' welfare, training and other similar matters. This is a good beginning and it deserves to be encouraged because it builds up healthy attitudes and breaks down deep-seated prejudices.

Workers' education has made much progress during the last five years. Many worker administrators and teachers have been trained. And these men in their turn will carry the message to the rank and file. It is hoped that the labour force will soon be able to produce leaders from its own ranks and rid the movement of extraneous influences that have exploited it for their own selfish aims. The content of the courses should however be concentrated on teaching the worker how to bargain collectively with management. The training has to be an extremely practical one. It is only in this way that the idea of collective bar-

gaining will spread among the working class.

The Public Sector

What the Plan has to say about the public sector and the labour movement deserves quotation.

"The large expansion of the public sector which is occurring and is being envisaged will make a qualitative difference in the tasks set for the labour movement and will facilitate the transformation of the social structure on the lines of the socialist pattern in view. The implications of this approach are manifold. Economic activity has not to be conceived of solely in terms of output and return; the principal test of this would be the good of all those who are engaged in it, the quality and growth of the individual human being and the service and happiness of the entire community. The surpluses that are generated are a social product, to which neither the employer nor the working class can lay exclusive claim; their distribution has to be according to the worth of the contribution of each, subject to the requirements of further development and interests of all the sections of society, in particular, the satisfaction of the basic needs of all its members. While jobs and functions may vary, all are workers of different grades. Those of the lowest rank and their children

should be fortified in the faith that they are free to equip themselves to be able to rise to the highest positions and that the worker and management are joined in partnership to strive for common ends. Thus a new type of community is being created in which individuals and groups are moved more by a sense of mutual obligation than the spirit of acquisitiveness or the making of private gains, at the expense of the general well-being."

These are beautiful words and fine sentiments. But will the public sector from among all the variety of economic and social systems bring about such an ideal society? From the actual functioning of the public sector to date it is not easy to convince the worker that his interests will be better safeguarded in such an inflexible and rigid type of social institution. The public sector is still in a stage of evolution and should gradually adjust itself to the needs of the human individual. It has to be borne in mind that human acquisitiveness can never be eliminated, but should be effectively controlled in the interests of the common good. This is the right way to go about the matter, when trying to build up a new social institution.

Industrial Relations

Regarding the relations between management and the unions, the Third Plan is keen on the replacement of compulsory adjudication by voluntary arbitration. The recourse to voluntary arbitration is one of the obligations imposed by the Code of Discipline. In India little use is made of voluntary arbitration, and in one case at least, viz. the dispute between the employees and management of Air India International and Indian Air Lines, the arbitrator placed himself in an invidious position by accepting favours from management during the pendency of his award.

Works Committees and Joint Management Councils are another instrument to bring about better industrial relations, as prescribed by the Third Plan.

The unions in their turn are expected to adjust themselves to the new social climate, to play their part in the apparatus of industrial and economic administration of the country by a responsible discharge of their obligations, especially those outlined in the Code of Discipline and

Conduct. Unions will fall into two categories: recognised and representative. The recognised union must have at least 15% continuing membership in an establishment, and can become a representative union if it extends its membership to cover 25% of the workers in an industry within a specified locality or region. Where there are several unions in an industry or establishment, the union with the largest membership will be the recognised union. These rules are already in practice in the State of Maharashtra, and are being extended all over India through the provisions of the Code of Discipline.

Wages and Working Conditions

On the particular aspect of labour-management relations, the Third Plan admits that Minimum Wage legislation has failed due to the lack of proper inspection. But in the well organised industries, wages are sought to be fixed through the Wage Boards that cover the entire industry and work on a national level. The composition of the Boards is tripartite and unanimously agreed solutions of the amount of wages and dearness allowance have been already

worked out for the cotton textile, sugar and cement industries. Nothing further is said about any kind of consistent national wage policy although this was the place in which to say it.

The Employees' Provident Fund Scheme is to be extended to a wider area of industry. The rate of contribution to the provident fund is to be enhanced from 6½% to 8½%, a charge that will be laid only on industries and establishments capable of bearing this burden.

Although it is desirable that the social security scheme should cover other sections of the community besides wage earners in organised industries, the Third Plan leaves such assistance to be given by the family and the community. The State has not the means to relieve these wants at present.

As for working conditions and safety, there seems to be ample legislation already in force. The only trouble is that it is not being effectively applied. The Plan asks for the fuller implementation of the laws. Only the building and construction industry which

is likely to expand rapidly in the near future is to receive special consideration in regard to safety conditions.

Employment and Training

It is expected that there will be a large demand for craftsmen during the Third Plan. Training opportunities will be increased to provide an additional 58,000 seats in training institutions to the present 42,000. Thus by the end of the plan, one lakh seats will have been provided. In all 2 lakhs of craftsmen will have been trained by the end of the Third Plan. Similar arrangements are being made to compel industrial establishments to provide training to apprentices. A target of 14,000 apprentices has been set for the apprenticeship training scheme.

One hundred employment exchanges will be opened during the next five years so as to have at least one exchange in each district. What is more interesting is the Government's plan to salvage establishments on the verge of closure. It has been found that closures of establishments to a varying extent have occurred during the last few years, causing great hard-

ship to the workers who cannot find other employment and besides losing their jobs are often deprived of arrears of pay. Government will help units which are temporarily in financial difficulties, take over units for temporary management, or finance co-operative ventures of workers threatened by closures.

Productivity

"Rationalisation of effort in every direction is the true basis of productivity," says the Third Plan. Management is expected to give the lead and to bring about the maximum rationalisation in its own sphere. Similarly, the working class is warned against the fear that increased productivity means increased workloads. An increase in productivity can be brought about without detriment to the health of the worker and without large outlays. Better equipment, correct conditions and methods of work, adequate training and incentives for workers can all lead to higher productivity. Indeed it is only through an increase in productivity that higher real incomes can be secured.

One of the difficulties in the way of rationalisation is

the fear of increasing unemployment. But if the workers are re-trained and arrangements are made for transfer to other jobs, workers will respond to the call for higher productivity through rationalisation.

This section of the Plan concludes with a brief reference to the need for increasing research programmes into labour conditions in industry. Without such surveys planning becomes a hazardous proposition. A small Central Committee for co-ordinating labour research will be constituted.

Conclusion

This is in brief the Government's labour policy during the Third Plan. As has already been observed, many of the pressing problems that affect workers have not been tackled. The Plan could have taken a bold stand on the desirability of written collective agreements. To prepare the ground for such agreements, the Workers Education scheme should concentrate on training workers for effectively carrying out bargaining procedures. The present syllabus seems to be far too theoretical without any

very precise aim except information on a wide variety of subjects that concern labour. Systematic training under a few supervisors and teachers will prove to be a better method of achieving this purpose.

It is still too early to judge of the effectiveness of the Codes in conducing to and maintaining good relations between management and labour. But their voluntary acceptance by both parties reveals the growth of that sense of maturity that characterises dealings between the two parties in advanced industrial countries.

The Third Plan does not make any reference to the

inflationary tendencies in the economy that have been causing the demands for continuous wage increases. Nor does the Plan explicitly repudiate compulsory adjudication, which Mr. Giri feels is one of the root causes of stagnant industrial relations and continuous conflict.

In a word, some of the significant underlying causes of the clash between labour and management especially in the Public Sector have been overlooked or purposely neglected. Such an escapist attitude is certainly not going to lead to industrial peace, despite all the pious wishes of the Third Plan.

Agriculture

In the third plan

L. Rodricks

(A SUMMARY*)

Programmes of agricultural production lie at the base of the comprehensive approach to the reconstruction of the rural economy which is embodied in the Third Five Year Plan. In support of these development programmes, through the community development movement, the energies of each village community as a whole are sought to be harnessed and its manpower and other resources effectively mobilised. The various schemes of cooperative development which have been undertaken and will be given still greater emphasis in the Third Plan are intended to build up the necessary institutional framework for rapid economic development in rural areas such as will be of special benefit to the weaker sections of the rural population.

Progress

Before the Second Plan took final shape it was realised that the programme of economic development with special emphasis on heavy industries which the Plan embodied would demand a larger increase in agricultural production and accordingly revised targets were proposed. These were :—

Foodgrains	80.5 million tons
Oil seeds	7.6 million tons
Sugarcane (gur)	7.8 million tons
Cotton	6.5 million bales
Jute	5.5 million bales

* This summary has been made directly from the Third Five Year Plan.

The level of food production at 76 million tons is expected to reach about 78 million tons. The Second Plan target for the production of sugarcane has been exceeded ; on the other hand there has been stagnation in cotton and jute. In oilseeds also production has fallen below the target. In view of the production trends during the Second Plan, it is of the highest importance that in the Third Plan, besides achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains, substantial increases should be secured in commercial crops, especially cotton, oilseeds and jute.

The following table shows the agricultural production over the period 1956 to 1961, and is a fair indication of the steady rise in overall production.

Commodity		56-57	57-58	58-59	59-60	60-61
Rice	m. tons	28.6	24.9	30.4	29.3	32.0
Wheat	m. tons	9.3	7.7	9.8	9.7	10.0
All cereals	m. tons	57.4	53.0	62.6	60.5	64.0
Pulses	m. tons	11.4	9.5	12.9	11.2	12.0
Oil seeds	m. tons	6.3	6.1	6.9	6.4	7.1
Sugarcane	m. tons	6.8	6.9	7.1	7.6	8.0
Cotton	m. bales	4.7	4.7	4.7	3.8	5.1
Jute	m. bales	4.3	4.1	5.2	4.6	4.0

In the Second Plan, out of a total anticipated outlay under agriculture and community development of Rs. 529 crores, agricultural production programmes accounted for about Rs. 290 crores. In addition there was a total outlay of Rs. 372 crores on major and medium irrigation schemes. In the course of the plan additional resources were provided for minor irrigation. The following table summarises information received from State Government regarding progress in carrying out programmes of agricultural development :—

Programme	Unit	Estimated achievement
Major and medium irrigation	m. acres	6.9
Minor irrigation	"	9.0
Soil conservation on agricultural land	"	2.0
Land reclamation	"	1.2
Area under improved seeds (food grains)	"	55
Consumption of nitrogen	thou. tons	230
Consumption of phosphatic fertilisers	"	70
Urban compost	m. tons	3
Rural compost	"	83
Green manuring	m. acres	11.8

Increasing Agricultural Production

The principal technical programmes for increasing agricultural production, around which intensive work is to be organised, are : (1) irrigation, (2) soil conservation, dry farming and land reclamation, (3) supply of fertilisers and manure (4) seed multiplication and distribution, (5) plant protection, (6) better ploughs and improved agricultural implements, and (7) adoption of scientific agricultural practices. In all areas, and specially in the development blocks taken up under the community development programme, these programmes will need to be implemented with the largest measure of participation on the part of local communities and to reach as many families as possible. The main targets under different development programmes for agriculture are summarised below :—

Programme	Unit	Target
I. Irrigation :		
1. major and medium irrigation	m. acres	12.8
2. minor irrigation	"	12.8
(a) agriculture	"	9.5
(d) community development	"	3.3
Total	"	25.6

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II. Soil conservation, land reclamation etc.			
(a) soil conservation on agricultural lands	m. acres	11.0	
(b) dry farming	"	22.0	
(c) land reclamation	"	3.6	
(d) reclamation of saline and alkaline lands	"	0.2	
III. Additional area under improved seeds			
	"	148.0	
IV. Consumption of fertilisers :			
(a) nitrogenous	thou. tons	1000.	
(b) phosphatic	"	400.	
(c) potassic	"	200.	
(d) urban compost	m. tons	5.0	
(e) rural compost	"	150.0	
(f) green manuring	m. acres	41.0	
V. Plant protection			
	"	50.0	

Community Development

The Community Development programme now serves over 3,100 development blocks comprising about 370,000 villages. Of these, about 880 blocks have completed more than five years and entered the second stage of the community development programme. By October 1963 the programme will extend over the entire rural area of the country. The total outlay on community development in the first two Plans has been about Rs. 240 crores. The Third Plan provides for a total outlay of Rs. 294 crores, in addition to about Rs. 28 crores for Panchayats.

The second major development concerns the introduction of Panchayat Raj. For many years, the establishment of democratic institutions at the district and block levels, in addition to panchayats at the village level, was felt to be an essential and inevitable step if rural development was to proceed not only rapidly but largely on the basis of local effort and resources. This approach was broadly indicated in the First Plan.

The recommendations of the Study Team set up by the Committee on Plan Projects in favour of a system of 'democratic decentralisation' were considered by the National Development Council in January, 1958. The Council emphasised that the foundation of any democratic structure had to be democracy in the village. The two institutions which made effective village democracy possible were the village panchayat and the village cooperative. These developments are the fruition of the general approach which has been regarded for the past ten years as basic to rural development under democratic conditions and constitute a most significant step forward.

A third aspect of community development work which has assumed considerable importance is the proposal that, along with the district, the block should serve as a unit of planning and development. Within the general framework of the district plan, the block plan is intended to include all social and economic activities undertaken within the block which call for (a) planning initiated locally at the block and village levels, and (b) coordinated with the plans of various Departments which are implemented within the block.

The three aspects described above, namely, the extension functions of the community development organisation, introduction of democratic institutions, and the preparation and implementation of area and village plans, are closely related. The objective is to assist the elected representatives in preparing and implementing technically sound block and village plans on the basis of the widest possible participation on the part of local communities and the maximum use of local manpower and other resources.

Village Production Plans

The principal means for involving all cultivators in the village in the agricultural effort and mobilising effectively the resources of the local community is the village production

plan. The main elements in agricultural production programmes at the village level are :—

1. Full utilisation of irrigation facilities, including maintenance of field channels in good condition by the beneficiaries, repairs and maintenance of community irrigation works and economy in the use of water.
2. increase in the area under multiple cropping ;
3. multiplication in the village of improved seed and its distribution to all cultivators ;
4. supply of fertilisers ;
5. programme for composting and green manures ;
6. adoption of improved agricultural practices, such as soil conservation, contour bunding, dry farming, drainage, land reclamation, plant protection, etc. ;
7. programme for new minor irrigation works to be undertaken in the village, both through community participation and on an individual basis ;
8. programme for the introduction of improved agricultural implements ;
9. programme for increasing the production of vegetable and fruits ;
10. programme for the development of poultry, fish and dairy products ;
11. programme for the development of the village fuel plantations and pastures.

Panchayati Raj

The establishment of democratic institutions at the district and block levels and the role assigned to the Gram Sabha and the Village Panchayat constitute fundamental and far-reaching changes in the structure of district administration and in the pattern of rural development. Their significance lies in the fact that, subject to guidance and supervision by the State Government, the responsibility for the implementation of rural development programmes will now belong to the Block Panchayat Samiti working with Panchayats in the villages and the Zila Parishad at the district level.

The primary object of Panchayat Raj is to enable the people of each area to achieve intensive and continuous deve-

lopment in the interest of the entire population. The concept of Panchayat Raj is not limited to the non-official and democratic organisations associated with it. Representing, as it does, a distinct level of responsibility and functions within the general scheme of administration, Panchayati Raj comprehends both the democratic institutions and the extension services through which development programmes are executed.

It is also of the highest importance that there should be clear recognition of the distinct role of federal cooperative organisations functioning at the state and district levels, as in the field of banking, marketing, processing, distribution, education and training. Large obligations are undertaken by various cooperative organisations and they should be enabled to fulfil them in accordance with the approach and principles of the cooperative movement. The economic development of rural areas is still in its beginning and large possibilities lie ahead. It is the object of the new institutions and relationships now being established to help each area to realise these possibilities to the utmost limits of its resources.

Problem of Employment

From time to time evaluation reports on the community development programme have drawn attention to the fact that the benefits did not reach the less privileged section of the village community in adequate measure. The welfare of the weaker sections is closely related to that of the village community as a whole, and in a sense a large part of the village community consists of those who may be described as being economically weak.

The main weakness of the present village economy are low income, low productivity and lack of continuous employment. Without the rural economy as whole growing rapidly enough, it is difficult to solve the problem either of the community in the village or of its weaker sections. In the efforts

which have been made over the past three years to secure greater coordination between the community development and Gramdan movements, their common objectives have been emphasised. These include the acceptance by the village community of responsibility for the welfare, employment and livelihood of all its members. This of the greatest importance from the point of view of the weaker section in the village.

The programme of rural works leading to employment opportunities by the last year of the Third Plan for about 2.5 million persons, specially during the slack agricultural seasons, will be implemented to a large extent through community development organisations. This programme should afford an opportunity of the highest value not only for providing additional employment, but also for implementing the community development programme with fresh emphasis on the maximum possible utilisation of local manpower.

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PRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT TARGETS

	1960-61 estimated	1965-66 targets	Percentage increase in 60-61 over 50-51	Percentage increase in 65-66 over 60-61
<i>Agriculture and Community Development</i>				
Food grains (m. tons)	76.0	100.0	46	32
Cotton (m. bales)	5.1	7.0	76	37
Sugarcane-gur (m. tons)	8.0	10.0	43	25
Oilseeds (m. tons)	7.1	9.8	39	38
Jute (m. bales)	4.0	6.2	21	55
Tea (m. pounds)	725.0	900.0	18	24
Tobacco (.000 tons)	300.0	325.0	17	8
Fish (m. tons)	1.4	1.8	100	29
Milk (m. tons)	22.0	25.3	29	15
<i>Agricultural Services</i>				
Area irrigated (m. acres)	70.0	90.0	36	29
Fertilizer Nitrogenous (.000 tons)	230.0	1000.0	318	335
Fertilizer Phosphatic (.000 tons)	70.0	400.0	900	471
<i>Community Development</i>				
Blocks (numbers)	3110.0	5223.0	—	68
Population served (m. nos.)	204.0	359.0	—	76
<i>Co-operation</i>				
a. Credit societies ('000 num.)	210.0	230.0	100	10
b. Loans (Rs. crores)	200.0	530.0	773	165
<i>Power</i>				
<i>Electricity</i>				
a. Installed (m. kW.)	5.7	12.7	148	123
b. Generated (m. kWh.)	19850.0	45000.0	202	127
<i>Towns and villages electrified ('000 nos.)</i>				
	23.0	43.0	523	87
<i>Minerals</i>				
Iron ore (m. tons)	10.7	30.0	234	280
Coal (m. tons)	54.6	97.0	69	76

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1960-61 estimate	1965-66 target	Percentage increase in 60-61 over 50-51	Percentage increase in 65-66 over 60-61
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Large scale industries

Steel ingots (m. tons)	3.5	9.2	150	163
Finished steel (m. tons)	2.2	6.8	120	209
Pig Iron (m. tons)	0.90	1.50	157	67
Alloy, tool and spl. steel (finished — '000 tons)	40.0	200.0	—	400
Aluminium ('000 tons)	18.5	80.0	400	332
Copper ('000 tons)	8.9	20.0	—	—

*Mechanical and electrical
engineering industries*

Cement machinery (Rs. lakhs)	60	450	—	650
Sugar machinery (Rs. lakhs)	330	1000	—	203
Machine tools (Rs. lakhs)	550	3000	1518	445
Industrial boilers (Rs. lakhs)	40	2500	—	6150
Diesel engines stationary ('000 numbers)	40	66	627	65
Tractors (numbers)	2000	10000	—	400

Railway Locomotives :

Steam (numbers)	295	1175	3214	—
Diesel (numbers)	—	434	—	—
Electric (numbers)	—	232	—	—

Automobiles ('000 numbers)	53.5	100.0	224	67
Cement (m. tons)	8.5	13.0	215	53
Petroleum Products (m. tons)	5.7	9.9	—	74

INDEX NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(Base 1951 equals 100)

	Weights	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	June 1960
General Index	100	122	133	137	140	152	166.5
<i>Selected Industries</i>							
Tea	5.9	106	106	107	114	113	151.7
Sugar	4.3	143	167	186	176	187	3.1
Vanaspatti	0.6	151	148	175	171	184	185
Cotton Textiles	36.1	112	118	116	109	112	116
Jute Textiles	11.9	119	127	121	124	125	129
Chemicals	4.2	159	171	181	206	214	243
Cement	1.9	140	154	175	190	214	237
Finished steel	4.2	117	124	125	121	161	180
Engineering	4.6	183	218	241	254	283	340
Sewing Machines	0.14	228	293	377	462	567	628
Machine tools	0.04	157	254	530	795	928	1076
Automobiles	2.7	104	144	143	120	163	235
Bicycles	0.23	430	581	692	799	867	748

Aspects of Japanese Economic Development

J. Berna

Since the end of World War II the Japanese economy has been the fastest growing economy in the world. The real rate of economic growth in Japan has averaged 9% a year in the post-war period a rate higher than that achieved in West Germany, the Soviet Union or the United States. In some years, as in 1959, the rate was a spectacular 17%. Industrial production, which had recovered to the pre-War level by 1952, has more than doubled since then, showing that economic growth in Japan has not been a temporary post-War recovery phenomenon but is still continuing after sixteen years. A striking rise in consumption and general standards of living has accompanied the growth of production. Per capita income is now approaching \$400 compared with a pre-War level of approximately \$235 (and a level in India of about \$75).

In the past five years there has been a veritable consumer revolution in Japan which has brought to the masses many types of consumer goods formerly limited to the privileged few. One out of every two households in cities now possesses a television set, and one out of every four or five in rural areas. Forty-one per cent of all households have electric washing machines compared with half that number five years ago. In the past decade the number of automobiles on the roads of Japan has increased ten-fold.

Phenomenal Growth

The phenomenal growth of the Japanese economy since the War has naturally excited great interest in the underdeveloped countries of Asia and other parts of the world which are presently trying to accelerate their own rate of economic development. The study of recent developments

in Japan however, must be made in the light of the enormous economic achievements accomplished during a much earlier period of Japanese economic history when conditions in Japan were essentially similar to those which prevail today in most underdeveloped countries. This is the period immediately following the Meiji Restoration of 1867 and lasting to the end of the century.

It was during these thirty years that the critical breakthrough from conditions of a stagnant, agrarian economy to a modern, dynamic, developing one was accomplished and the foundations laid for Japan's later spectacular industrial development. This period of breakthrough is the crucial period in any nation's economic history. It is the time when traditional methods of production are displaced by modern techniques in industry and agriculture and when old habits of thought and institutions which impede economic progress are transformed or swept away.

Present day underdeveloped countries of the world are now entering or are part way through this critical break-

through period. Until it is accomplished they will not be firmly established on the road to cumulative, self-sustaining economic growth, such as was achieved by Japan after 1900 and greatly accelerated after World War II. It will be profitable, therefore, to review the means used by Japan to transform her feudal society into a modern industrial economy in the decades following 1867, an achievement even more amazing from the viewpoint of economic development than her recent achievements.

Background

The history of Japan as a modern economic nation began in 1867 with the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which had ruled the country since 1600, and the restoration of the Emperor to power. To understand the problems faced by the new regime in the efforts to create a modern economy in Japan it is necessary to review briefly the situation in the country on the eve of the revolution. In 1868 Japan was a rigid feudal society. Supreme political power was held by the Shogun (a word best translated as "military dictator") who resided at Edo

(present-day Tokyo). The Shogun, together with various branches of his family and their immediate vassals, owned between twenty and twenty-five per cent of the agricultural land of the country. The rest was held by feudal lords or *daimyo*. These local lords enjoyed considerable autonomy in the administration of their territories but were closely controlled by the Shogun through the institution of "alternate residence" according to which each important *daimyo* was required to spend part of the year in Edo and to leave hostages behind when he returned to his field. Below the *daimyo* in the feudal hierarchy were the *samurai*, an hereditary military class who acted as men-at-arms and administrators for the *daimyo*, in return for which they received an annual allowance of rice for their maintenance.

By 1867 the *samurai* were largely an impoverished and functionless class occupying a parasitic position in Japanese society. At the base of the social pyramid were the working classes, of whom the peasants formed the overwhelming majority, probably about seventy-five per cent of

the population. The peasants were subject to many of the restrictions associated with serfdom. They were forbidden to leave the land and settle in towns, and their freedom of cultivation was severely limited by the local lord as well as by the village associations to which peasants commonly belonged. They were also subjected to a heavy annual land tax, estimated at forty to fifty per cent of the crop, payable to the local lord in the form of rice. Merchants played an important role in the collection and transportation of the rice crop, and by 1867 many had become influential financiers who advanced funds to indebted *daimyo* against the future harvest.

Except for a few factories which had been established by leading *daimyo* industry was on a handicraft basis, controlled in rural areas by merchants through the putting-out system and in the more important towns by guilds which closely regulated production, conditions of apprenticeship, etc. Such in brief outline was the raw material out of which the new regime had to create a modern state: a stagnant, agrarian subsistence economy held in the

iron grip of tradition and rigidly controlled by vested interests — a situation basically similar to that which prevails in many under-developed countries today. Under the leadership of the young *samurai* who controlled the new government this ancient feudal order was swept away with amazing speed and replaced by an economic system which has made Japan the industrial leader of Asia.

Government Leadership

The government which came to power in Japan in 1868 faced the same basic problems which every under-developed country faces in its efforts to industrialize, namely, an acute shortage of entrepreneurs, lack of capital, lack of trained technicians, the problem of new markets for developing industry and the difficult question of deciding upon priorities in the development programme.

During the first decade after 1867 the government itself was the leading entrepreneur in establishing new industries and modernizing the economy. No one else was available to perform the entrepreneurial function. The interests of the merchant class

were deeply bound up with the preservation of the old feudal order. There were many progressive and able administrators among the *samurai* class but they lacked capital for investment in industry. The government, therefore, was forced to take a leading role in promotion of industry. As a first step, the factories, shipyards and mines belonging to the Shogun and leading *daimyo* were taken over and equipped with modern machinery. Construction of a railway and telegraph line was begun. A large number of new factories equipped with machinery imported from the west was built and operated by government as models designed to acquaint potential entrepreneurs with new techniques and industrial possibilities. Government factories established in the 1870s included modern cotton spinning mills, breweries, silk reeling mills, a paper mill, a tile works, a porcelain factory and many others.

There are few modern industries in Japan today which do not owe their existence to government initiative. The new factories were set up by foreign technicians hired from abroad to install the equip-

ment and train local Japanese in its operation. By 1872 there were some two hundred foreign technicians in Japan of British, French, German, Dutch, American, Swiss, Russian and Italian nationality. By 1880 the government owned and operated three ship-building yards, fifty-one merchant ships, five munition works, fifty-two other factories, ten mines, seventy-five miles of railway and a telegraph system which served all the leading towns.

In addition to establishing government enterprises, the authorities also assisted private entrepreneurs with loans and subsidies and imported foreign machinery which was then sold to private firms on easy terms. In 1879, for example, the government imported 20,000 spindles for the cotton spinning industry and sold them to private entrepreneurs on terms providing for repayment in fifteen years without interest. Under the influence of such programmes, private entrepreneurs began to appear in increasing numbers and by the 1880s private enterprise was playing a key role in the development of the country.

An interesting feature of early Japanese economic development is the fact that the government entered the industrial field more from considerations of practical necessity than motives of social philosophy. This is shown by the fact that after 1880 the government began selling most of its industrial and mining enterprises to private entrepreneurs and by the end of the century had divested itself of practically all of them. Many government enterprises were sold to private business groups at prices considerably below their initial cost and this is the period when the famous "Zaibatsu" or family controlled industrial empires came to occupy so important a place in the economic organization of the country. It is clear that although the government played a key role in developing industry in Japan there was no desire to create a "public sector" as such and in this respect Japan differs widely from most present-day underdeveloped countries.

Agricultural Development

The new government which came to power in Japan in 1869 fully appreciated the importance of developing

agriculture as well as industry and attempted to raise agricultural production by a variety of measures. Peasants were freed from the old feudal regulations and restrictions and encouraged to introduce new crops and better methods of cultivation. Agricultural schools and colleges were established and experts were sent around the countryside to give advice and guidance to farmers. Young Japanese were also sent abroad in large numbers to study agricultural methods in foreign countries. The area under cultivation was steadily expanded, a fact of great importance in a country where only approximately fifteen per cent of the land is arable. Money taxes replaced taxes payable in rice, forcing peasants to sell their surplus crop. This in turn made the surplus available for feeding the rising number of industrial workers and helped change the traditional subsistence habits of thought which prevailed in rural areas and familiarized peasants with a modern money economy.

By the middle 1880s the effect of these programmes was being felt in all parts of the country and thereafter the

results were spectacular. In the thirty years following 1885 agricultural production per person engaged in agriculture doubled, a fact which contributed enormously to the general economic development of the country. A large portion of the increase in farm incomes was taken from the peasants in the form of increased taxes and used to finance capital formation in other sectors of the economy. A striking feature of early Japanese economic development is that it was financed almost exclusively from domestic sources without reliance on foreign capital. The new government was determined to avoid incurring financial obligations to foreigners lest they lead to political interference later, and between 1868 and 1899 floated only two small loans abroad, one in 1870 and the other in 1873. Both were of an emergency nature at times of great financial distress and before the new government was fully established in power.

It was the rapid improvement of agriculture which made possible the financing of development from internal sources. One of the important lessons of the Japanese ex-

perience is that the agricultural sector can become an important source of capital for industrial development and for that reason must be given high priority in the early stages of economic development. Rising productivity in agriculture also widens the domestic market for products of a country's new industries by increasing farmers' incomes, and this fact makes agricultural development even more important today than when Japan was industrializing. The first major industries to develop in Japan, namely silk and cotton textiles, were able to rely chiefly on foreign markets for their expansion.

Present-day under-developed countries do not enjoy the relatively easy access to foreign markets which prevailed in the days before the first World War and will have to rely on an expanding domestic market if their new industries are to prosper. Textiles and other products which under-developed countries find it easy to produce have steadily declined in importance in world trade in the past fifty years. The expanding markets today are for high quality engineering products, a field in which it is extremely dif-

ficult for newly industrializing countries to compete. The conclusion is that under-developed countries must improve the economic condition of their own large rural populations as rapidly as possible if they are to achieve rapid industrial development.

Small Industry

An interesting feature of Japanese economic development is the way in which cottage and small-scale industries have been preserved and integrated into the modern economy. At the outset of the country's economic transformation almost all industry was of the cottage and handicraft type and closely connected with the agricultural economy as a supplementary source of employment for peasant families. As economic development progressed a super-structure of modern Western-style industries was built up but for many years the sub-structure of rural and small industry changed very little. This has given the Japanese economy a curious dual character which has lasted down to the present time. It is estimated that small enterprises with less than \$ 30,000 capital today account for 55% of total industrial out-

put and 71% of industrial employment in Japan.

As modern industry developed, some traditional cottage industries were of course destroyed. The first important casualty was the cottage cotton textile industry. Originally, carding, spinning and weaving were all carried out in peasants' cottages. The spinning branch of the industry was the first to disappear from the cottages, primarily because of increased imports of yarn from abroad after Japan was opened up to foreign trade, and later because of the introduction of modern mechanized spinning mills.

By 1890 the transition from cottage to factory spinning was completed. Hand-loom weaving proved to be more durable, but after 1900 steadily lost ground to the specialized weaving sheds springing up around the country. At the same time, however, new cottage industries were coming into existence or expanding as an adjunct to modern industry. One of the most important was silk-worm growing and cocoon production for the expanding silk industry. A little later many small industrial units sprang up as producers

of parts for the modern engineering and other industries. Such ancillary units are of great importance in Japan at the present time, as are small producers manufacturing for export markets.

The efficiency and competitive position of small industry have been strengthened by the formation of "business co-operatives" — that is, cooperative societies whose membership is made up of independent enterprises which continue to be owned individually but co-operate in one or several areas of business activity. Among the services performed by these cooperatives for their member enterprises are the following: joint purchase of raw materials in order to obtain more favourable prices by bulk buying; joint marketing of output to escape excessive dependence on middle-men or parent companies; operation of common production facilities (such as foundries, dyeing plants, storage facilities, etc.) in order to avoid wasteful duplication of capital; provision of cooperative credit through guarantee of loans by the cooperative society, re-lending to members of funds borrowed from banks by the society, or direct lending to

members of the society's own funds; and such miscellaneous activities as technical assistance, provision of market information, quality control of output, etc.

This ingenious adaptation of the cooperative principle combines the advantages of private initiative and enterprise with the benefits of cooperation and has done much to strengthen small industry in Japan. Another factor accounting for the durability of small industry in the Japanese economy has been the fact that inefficient and out-moded cottage industries have been allowed to disappear while attention was concentrated on types which could be modernized and adapted to the needs of a modern industrial economy. Japan has been more successful than any country in the world in adapting its traditional methods of production to the exigencies of modern economic life and present-day under-developed countries can learn much from her in this regard.

The Role of Education

By the end of the 1890s the transition from a stagnant feudal system to a modern developing economy was ac-

complished in Japan. Thereafter economic and industrial development became cumulative and the country moved rapidly ahead of her neighbours in Asia. Considering the extremely backward and rigid character of Japanese society in 1867 the transformation was accomplished with amazing speed and a minimum of social dislocation. The policies followed by the young samurai who came to power in 1867 represented a complete reversal of three centuries of Japanese history yet they were able to carry the people with them and transform the basic social and economic structure of the country within the short space of three decades. A good deal of the new government's success must be attributed to the educational policy adopted after 1870.

The new leaders discerned clearly the importance of education in creating a modern state and economic system. In 1871 a Ministry of Education was established and the country embarked on an ambitious programme of universal education. Within a few years a school system had been set up which included compulsory primary education of six years

for all children, Middle Schools or technical schools for boys according to their various aptitudes, and Higher Schools for girls. Boys' Middle Schools led to Higher Schools which in turn prepared qualified students for the Universities. The system was well adapted to the needs of the new order since it taught the general populace to read, trained a large group of technicians and produced a group of highly educated men for the professions and higher administrative positions in business and government.

At all levels of education the idea of service of the country and the need for a technically competent citizenry obedient to the government was repeatedly stressed. The result was that the bulk of the population quickly came to share the vision of the new Japan which the leaders dreamed of creating and cooperated whole-heartedly in its realization. Nationalism furnished the motive for building up the country, i.e. the determination to build a strong modern state which could deal with the Western powers on equal terms and get rid of the humiliating conditions and "unequal treaties" forced on

Japan in the final days of the Shogunate.

The importance of education for economic development is another lesson to be derived from Japan's experience. Countries are not developed merely by accumulating capital. What is needed more than anything else is development of the nation's human resources. Large numbers of persons must be trained for technical and administrative positions. Skills of all kinds must be developed. Social attitudes which impede progress and make people resistant to change must be broken down, and mental horizons broadened. And the general population must be motivated to sacrifice and work hard for the building up of the country. All this implies a massive educational effort aimed at eliminating ignorance and illiteracy and increasing receptiveness to new ideas.

The experience of Japan is a timely reminder of the vital role which education plays in economic development. This is a point which is in danger of being overlooked in present-day under-developed countries, preoccupied as they are with problems of capital formation.

Book Reviews

PRIESTS AND PEOPLE, by Conor Ward, University Press, Liverpool
1961 pp. 182. 25/- Sh.

This book is a sociological study of St. Catherine's, a small Industrial parish in Liverpool. Its author, Dr. Ward, is lecturer in Sociology at the University of Dublin. This publication, besides being a valuable contribution to the sociology of religion, possesses the rare quality of combining a very practical and useful guide for those involved in parish work. To us in India, it could in addition, serve as a reminder of the pressing need of putting sociological research at the service of religion.

In an introductory chapter the author discusses the contribution made by Catholic sociologists to the 'sociology of religion' in various countries. More recently numerous priests and laymen have made extensive studies of the religious situation prevailing in their countries. In France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and the USA special centres of religious sociology and research have been created. Many dioceses are already handling complete statistical data regarding such features

as church attendance, interrelation of socio-economic factors and religious practice, religious vocations etc. Accurate 'fact finding' methods have been developed at these centres. By and large, however, these investigations, according to the author, are not sufficiently related to up-to-date sociological theory and modern methods of social research. "... The study with which this book is concerned...", he says "...was undertaken in the attempt to transcend the limitations of the many existing sociological studies relating to religion which did not appear to exhaust the possibilities of social research nor to obtain all the information available..."

But from the pastoral point of view too this book has much to offer to the non-initiated in sociology since it deals with the various aspects that make up parish life: the place of the regular and systematic visit of the priest to families, the role of parish societies, the function of educational institutions and leisure-time organisations. Enlightening and

surprising insights into the formation of attitudes and motives of the 'live' set-up of the parish system are provided. Many priests feel frustrated over repeated efforts to break through the small circle of the 'ever same pious blokes' as one irreverently put it, that are present in every parish function and take upon themselves the responsibility of every parish activity. How to break through this unsurmountable wall that keeps the majority outside? The investigation into the motivation of non-participants and the discovery of their real interests in the parish will be an eye opener to many a pastor of souls who otherwise too rashly would blame the bad will of those who in fact do not cooperate. In St. Catherine's the best suggestions for necessary innovations to be introduced into the parish came from the otherwise passive members.

In the first and last two chapters, Dr. Ward discusses more theoretically the problems of the Sociology of Religion. But even in the other parts of the book the

standard is maintained and the results of the extensive research are always discussed in relation to a strictly sociological frame of reference. Is St. Catherine's a close-knit social group? Which are the factors that bring about social integration in the parish community? How are attitudes and motives related to the social structure of the parish and of the families that make up the parish? These and other relevant questions are answered on the basis of the data obtained from observations, questionnaires and extensive interviews.

Being a priest himself, Dr. Ward, combines in his person the required qualities of a specialist in the sociology of religion, a competence in this particular science, and an understanding of the essentially transcendent dimensions of genuine religion.

We hope that the example of some students of theology who are using "Priests and People" as a guide in a survey of a parish will be emulated by many others.

H. Volken

CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION IN BRITAIN, 1900-1960, by J. M. Cleary, Catholic Social Guild Oxford, pp. 224. 10 sh.

In the Foreword to the book, His Grace the Archbishop of Birmingham writes: "It (the book) tells the story of a group of priests and laity, men and women who succeeded in making

known among their fellow Catholics and among non-Catholics too, for that matter, the fact that the Church had something to say about the problems presented by life in the modern world". In fact, one

(there are many others, too) of the most striking aspects of the Guild is the close collaboration between priests and laity right from the day the Guild was founded.

Fifty years ago, the pioneers of the Guild could have hardly had any clear picture of the future evolution of the organisation and its many sided activities, yet Cardinal Manning, in his day, aptly summed up the general task of the Guild when, he said: "Everything, therefore, that affects the human sufferings and state of the people, it is the duty of every civilized man to note and tend, much more of every Christian man, and above all of every Catholic man and woman, and emphatically of every priest and bishop... (p. 22). The establishment of a Christian Social Order, which is so closely related to "the human sufferings and state of the people" was adopted as the general objective of the Guild. Indeed, the Guild was destined to become a bridge between a few Catholic "social" specialists and the majority of Catholics in England.

Already in 1908, Fr. Charles Plater one of the pioneers of the Guild advocated the establishment of a Catholic society for the teaching of Catholic social principles. "Had we a well-thought-out social programme" he wrote, "had we a Catholic Social platform

transcending our differences of party politics, we might do much even with our small numbers to influence the social movements of the day. Surely we could permeate public opinion to the considerable extent to which, let us say, the Fabian Society has permeated public opinion". (p.34).

The following year, in September at Manchester and under the unofficial Chairmanship of Mgr. H. Parkinson, the founders of the Guild met, and in November of the same year there appeared the statutes of what was named "the Catholic Social Guild" and the object of the new society was to "facilitate intercourse between Catholic social students and the workers". The educational aim of the Guild is seen in that it was clearly stated that the first major part of the Guild's work was to be co-operation between graduates and working-men. (p. 36).

The technique of the Guild was rehearsed as far back as 1910 when study groups were set up at Leeds, and it would be no exaggeration to say that much of the success of the Guild has come from these little centres of learning. "No formality was needed to set a study club going. The fourth edition of, *A Christian Social Crusade*, in 1924 urged the reader to get together a few friends one evening each week and discuss a chapter of this book more or less. This is a study club shaped and

in working order" (p. 98). However, long before 1924, C. S. G. study groups were in working order, and in fact, in 1914, there was a total of 117 in the country with a membership of over 900 people (p. 48).

It is interesting to note that many a busy parish priest did not wait for the so called "expert" to conduct the study club, but took up the job himself. "When the Guild's scheme began to operate, many parish priests undertook the extra duty of tutoring the workers" we are told. One such priest working in a busy coal field area has written: "Twelve to fifteen of our miners, all trade unionists and most of them married men, meet every Sunday night from 8 to 9, from October to June, with myself and my curate. We have followed Mgr. Parkison's *Primer*, which I generally read sometimes stopping to explain a point more fully or to answer a question: at the end a general discussion often very lively" (p.48). Not only did the Guild encourage, foster and develop these study clubs all over the country, but it also continually fed these little centres of learning with useful literature in the form of slim volumes, penny pamphlets and even leaflets.

The establishment of the Social Summer Schools, the Guild's Course of study for schools, and finally the founding of the Catholic Workers' College were all the

natural outcome of the study club plan. While it is true that many a study club blossomed but to die too soon, on the other hand it is no exaggeration to say that some had an unbroken history for eight or nine years (p.99) and all of them played their part in spreading the Church's social principles, and making possible a good attendance at the Social Summer Schools and the Catholic Workers' College.

It was these study clubs which helped enlighten our Catholic public on the problems of the day. In fact, they brought within the focus of the common man, matters of national and international interest by means of study club discussions. As the history of the Guild records, they X-rayed many social problems, and helped the common working man to understand the Catholic view point, in such questions as Social Credit, the Guild Social Order, Unemployment and the like, which in their day, were topics of controversy in England.

Nor were these study clubs mere centres of study. They helped to bring Catholic social principles down to earth. Knowing their own neighbourhood, the people most concerned, and the most pressing social problems of their area, they made their surveys, sought public support and often, though not always, managed to bring about some measure of social reform.

Thus in Glasgow, the Guild through its local branch promoted a scheme for the relief of the unemployed which soon spread beyond the local areas. Again, when it was the happy privilege of the writer of this review to work with the Guild, especially in East London just before the Second World War, a birth control measure offensive to Catholic morality was ruled out in a certain East London Borough thanks to the efforts of these study clubs. On another occasion, a Communist dominated Trade Union saw its supremacy questioned and then overthrown by trade union members who were also members of our East London study clubs.

Mr. Cleary has done handsome service in recording the history of

the Catholic Social Guild. His labour will not only encourage the further efforts of the Guild in England, but should help guide Catholic Social Action in many an underdeveloped country, in which the Catholic Social effort is still in the trial-and-error stage. The CSG-way with its insistence on the training of the ordinary man is a more secure way to successful social reform than plans "imposed from above". What, indeed, can be a more effective means of sound social reform than small groups of ordinary men, deeply versed in Catholic spirituality and social principles and scattered all over the country?

C. C. Clump, S.J.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Kerala and the elections

In Kerala, where the Congress, the PSP, Communists and the Muslim League have shared a fluctuating influence, and where a coalition government involving three of these parties has tried unsuccessfully to establish some form of stability, the elections are of the greatest importance and the results will be keenly followed by the rest of the country. Bearing in mind that the Communists succeeded in 1957 to hold power for 28 months in what is one of the most highly educated states in the union, the elections in Kerala should be a clear indication of the acceptability of the Congress & PSP as against the Communists in this country.

Unfortunately, as conditions now exist there, no definite policy is easily recognisable particularly in the platforms of the Congress and PSP. They are the same wine in two different bottles and obviously dominated by powerful communal groups.

The Muslim League has time and again been condemned as a communal group dabbling in politics and yet has been an accepted party in the coalition. Many feel that it is this communal feature that has helped, if not forced, these three parties to stand by each other. The confusion and disparity of views that took shape after the coalition was formed existed till Mohamed Koya resigned the speakership. The Muslim League is now an opposition party — a state of affairs brought about, not by local conditions, but due to the pressure of the All India leaders of the Congress and PSP parties. What Kerala now faces in the elections is whether the non-Communists as a whole will secure more seats than the Communists.

The index of the last mid-term elections shows that the Communist Party had the support of 42% of the voters. Had the non-Communists contested on individual merit, the Communists would have

gained the day with a very convincing majority. In spite of what is called the 'deliverance movement' that ousted the Communists in 1957, the non-Communist parties are still unable to secure the confidence and cooperation of the people. The interminable arguments and delay in the formation of the cabinet, due mainly to bargaining for ministerial chairs and the losing of the leadership of the ministry to a minor party, has in no way helped to cement the coalition. On the contrary, there were disagreeable party-level differences with competition within the cabinet itself only six months after it was formed.

Added to this internal strife, and perhaps because of it, party leaders attached themselves to powerful communal groups; groups that have constantly worked for individual predominance. Needless to say such attachments widened the differences between the top leaders of the coalition, not only on the political level, but also in their personal dealings. Then again a policy quite contrary to what had previously been agreed upon was displayed towards the Muslim League.

This promptly converted the League into a powerful opposition, of whom previously the united party might have counted on as friends.

On the other hand, although the Communists may not be able to stir up popular support to the extent achieved in the past, they have not lost very many supporters. They will undoubtedly do all they can to gain added support from disgruntled united party members left in the lurch and dissatisfied with the internal party politics. They gained a lot of lost ground when A. K. Gopalan staged his dramatic Satyagraha in Amaravathi and when the Communist sponsored Karashaka Sangh picketed Government offices. They are constantly playing host to the hungry farmers of Kerala and with their time-tested methods of subversion trying to undermine the morale, if not convert, the very people who helped to oust them. Then too, the R. S. P., though not a very strong party in Kerala, are planning to side with the Communists during the forthcoming elections.

Kerala has 18 seats in parliament. The united party

have agreed to allow 4 seats to the P.S.P. and 14 to the Congress. Of the names disclosed, however, some do not have popular backing. The Catholics are hopelessly divided among themselves. In particular the Latin Catholics are discontented with the party, due to the fact that though they are a closely knit and relatively powerful unit, they have been completely ignored. The Muslim

League plan to have their own candidates from Badagara, Kozhikode, Manjeri and Ponnani constituencies. There is every sign that they may put up a strong opposition in the other constituencies also. If at this juncture the united party (Congress and PSP) successfully bag 10 seats out of 18, it will be something commendable.

V. Verghese

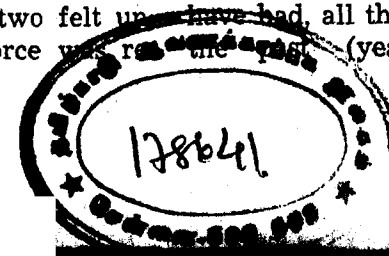
from the world of journals

GOA

'Thought' in its December 30th issue commenting on the Western reaction to the Goa issue, and while minimizing the damage done due to criticism of our policy, says that "the brief exercise in mutual recrimination however should remain to both a warning and a reminder." Analyzing in retrospect the liberation of Goa the journal feels that in respect to the United States and England in particular, "once we rule out colonialism as their motive, we would find a more rational explanation of their reaction." The article continues, "The two felt unhappy because force was resorted to by this country, the

only one to uphold consistently on every international issue the wisdom of right means for right results."

Writing in "The Economic Weekly" of January 6, 1962, Romesh Thapar says, "... whether you feel that this violent seizure of the Portuguese pockets has shattered India's moral prestige in the world, or that the linking of the operation with the Congress 'election emergency' has robbed it of some of the popular impact it would otherwise have had, all theorising about (year) and the



future will now be dominated by repercussions arising from the developments of the past few weeks.

This is clear from the last press conference held by the Prime Minister. He spoke as if he was addressing the hostile West and the tame assembly of special correspondents could not gather enough courage to probe the tensions which undoubtedly assail him. Apart from the disclosure that the Indian action was postponed twice, little else emerged. A pity, for the full story of what prompted Delhi to act decisively after so many years has still to be told.

Considerable surprise has been expressed both here and abroad in the west and in the communist capitals, that the Government was able to take such a decision knowing its repercussions abroad. The appeals of various leaders of the west urging the Prime Minister not to 'soil' his image before the peoples of the world, and all the talk about India's peaceful, non-violent approaches being in danger, were quite clearly calculated to stay the hand of the Prime Minister. So sharp

was the pressure that many acknowledged observers were prepared to entertain the possibility of a 'retreat' even after the crude and much-publicized build-up."

The article points out that the Prime Minister hopes to pacify his foreign critics by his magnanimous treatment of the captured Portuguese soldiers and keeping the new territory as a close preserve of the External Affairs Ministry for some time to come. Goa may even remain a free port, thinks the author; but this is not true as events show. But the port will certainly be developed to the benefit of its own people.

But the real trouble will stem from the internal political situation in the country. Because the Goa operation has been timed to link up with the forthcoming elections, there is no saying what might happen.

The comments of some of the foreign newspapers reveal the manner in which they have reacted to the Goa liberation. The Washington correspondent of the London 'Times' in his despatch of December 18, 1961, says,

"There is, of course, little official sympathy for Portuguese colonialism or for the claim that these overseas territories are provinces. The Administration, however, is determined not to pander to what it regards as the double standards of neutral countries..." In the House of Commons debate Mr. Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, began his statement by saying that

"Britain has long understood the natural desire of the Indian people to incorporate the Portuguese territories in the Republic of India." Mr. Gaitskell, Leader of the Opposition, in the course of the same debate called the continued existence of the Portuguese colonies on the Indian mainland an "anachronism, which should have been abandoned long ago."

COMMUNISM IN TRANSITION

The 22nd Congress of the Russian Communist Party will go down as one of the most sensational in the history of Communism. For the first time the ideological difference between Moscow and Peking was brought into the open, and still more, Khrushchev startled the world by revealing the horrors of the "personality cult" under Stalin.

Khrushchev's denunciation and hatred of Stalinism derives from the former's own temperament. Violent by nature, the long period of fear and humiliation suffered during the Stalin regime

erupted into open bitterness when Stalin was dead. But Mr. K. went beyond the mere desire for revenge; he risked the break-up of the Communist camp; he threw the Communists outside Russia into confusion and even conceded that the Czarist regime was more tolerant towards its enemies than Stalin.

It would not be correct, however, to say that Khrushchev was merely moved by an irrational emotional outburst. He read the signs of the times and realised that the past was buried with the dead Stalin. In fact, as soon as Stalin was dead, voices

long silent spoke out without fear; this made it easy for Khrushchev to dispose of the redoubtable Beria. The power of the NKVD was broken; party men and ordinary citizens wanted to live in peace. Khrushchev introduced an appearance of democracy into the party by his open sessions when he put before members difficulties and obstacles and appeared to give them a measure of responsibility.

The lower ranks seemed to have secured a measure of freedom. When for instance, a group of engineers and students demanded the right to read foreign literature, this was granted to the engineers but not to students. As a leading industrial country the technicians of the USSR had to keep abreast of industrial progress in the world.

Yet all this involves Khrushchev in a number of contradictions. He denounced the tyranny of Stalin, yet for thirty years he himself was a willing collaborator; he grants a measure of self expression among the people, yet he gives up none of the privileges of the Party; he relies on public opinion to back him against Party mem-

bers, yet he is a Partymah. While Khrushchev has reinstated many a Communist disgraced by Stalin, yet he cannot admit the wrong done to non-Communists by the Party.

Thanks to this contradiction one can understand how, while the Red regime promises never to repeat the crimes of the past, it, at the same time, tightens its penal laws, as that of May 5th, 1961. While Khrushchev eases the control over Party members, he lets loose forces over which he can have no sure control. His unbounded confidence in the final victory of his cause makes him blind to all obstacles, as witnessed by his over ambitious programme: the Party believes that in twenty years it will transform human nature and usher in the Communist millennium. In fact there is a striking difference between what the Party promises and what human nature can do. Communism, we are told, will usher in an era which will dissolve all conflict between the interests of individuals and that of society — but man is always full of selfish dreams! Again, we are assured that man will rid him-

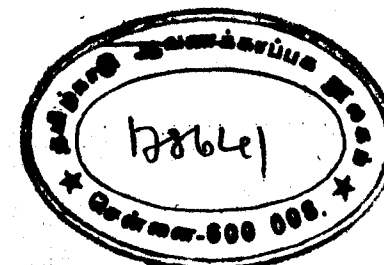
self of all religious superstition, yet the USSR has unleashed a fierce anti-God persecution. Further, just when Khrushchev assures us that Communism will soon master the world, the Socialist camp is beset with one of its most serious crises. Since the 22nd Congress, Khrushchev's authority is challenged in the international field to the dismay of his close followers. Whatever the outcome of the disagreement between Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung, the so called Popular Democracies now enjoy more freedom of action, and it is to be seen how they will use this new found liberty.

The 22nd Congress has made a clean sweep of the past, but it is too soon to say whether it has touched the foundations of the system. Soviet society is passing through a crisis of development, yet it does not seem able to give its people that which they seek in a more or less confused manner. While there is a great demand for material comfort, there are signs of spiritual unrest. Russia has always fostered a

spiritual mysticism which even the anti-God campaign has not been able to root out. Moreover, if the Party is capable of reading history, it must realise that man's deepest concern is about his future. Scientific and technological progress are used to discredit belief in God: "Gagarin and Titov moved in the heavens and found no one" say the anti-God propagandists. The USSR has discovered "scientism" a hundred years after other nations and carries it to the extreme. It is doubtful whether science can shake the faith of believers and with the destruction of the idol, Stalin, the "ersatz-religion" shows itself for what it is. The demand for security, in fact, hides an interior unrest among the people, which one day will come to the surface, and then the significance of this period of transition inaugurated by Khrushchev will stand revealed.

(A Summary of "Communism in Transition?" by Bernard Feron from *Information Catholiques Internationale* of 1-12-61).

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SOCIAL **ACTION**

VOL. 13

MARCH

1962

THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

TAX AID TO EDUCATION

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MAHILA SEVA GRAM

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SOCIAL ACTION is published monthly by the Indian Institute of Social Order, 13 Boat Club Road, Poona 1, India. Phone 2098. The Editorial Board does not necessarily endorse the individual views of its contributors.

Subscription rates : Yearly, Rs. 6 or \$. 2 or 10 s Single copy, Re. 0.65.

Cheques should be made out in favour of the Indian Social Institute, and if not drafted on a Poona Bank should cover the clearing commission. V.P.P. charges are extra. Inland Money Orders or by Foreign Cheques are the best means of payment.

SOCIAL ACTION

Vol. 12 No. 3 MARCH 1962

MINORITIES AND THEIR RIGHTS

How can they be safeguarded?

The recent judgment of a Special Bench of the Gujarat High Court on the fractious question of the medium of instruction to be employed in affiliated colleges of the Gujarat University may well mark a significant departure in educational policy in relation to the lingual and cultural rights of minorities. The Court disallowed the special provision in the Gujarat University Act by which an affiliated college of the university could be compelled to teach and examine its students only in Gujarati or Hindi, to the exclusion of English which was the medium of instruction in that college.

The purport of this decision should not be misunderstood. It is not here a question of choosing between a so-called 'foreign' language like English and a regional or national language like Gujarati or Hindi. It is rather a matter of enforcing the constitutional safeguards for the protection of the language and culture of a minority.

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The Constitution

Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution, intimately connected with the judgment of the Court, belong to Part III of the Constitution that deals with the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen.

Article 29 reads :

- (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same.
- (2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Article 30 is even more explicit :

- (1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.
- (2) The State shall not in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

Language

In a multi-lingual country like India, linguistic minorities and not only religious minorities, need protection. Language can be a medium of communication among men, but also different languages can act as effective barriers between the men who speak them. This is the problem we have to confront in our country. An easy solution would be the imposition of a single vehicle of communication within the confines

of the country. At present, at least among the educated classes, English serves this purpose. It has the added advantage that it is to a large extent an international medium of communication. But besides serving this essential purpose of enabling rational men to understand each other, language is also the cradle of culture. It is through language that our inmost thoughts and most valuable ideas are conveyed and preserved. The literature of a people is an index of the greatness or the shallowness of their culture, for their literature is a reflection of their lives, and the way in which they live them.

The makers of the Constitution were keenly aware of the literary heritage of diverse kinds that form part of our Indian culture. Many of our literatures are extremely rich and well worth developing in a united India. Unity however does not mean uniformity, and so the effort of the Constitution is both to preserve these diverse cultures and at the same time to safeguard the unity of the country. This task of securing India's oneness, not only on the geographical, political or social level, but also at the deeper, intimate cultural level has been entrusted to the Indian Parliament, in which the entire country is represented.

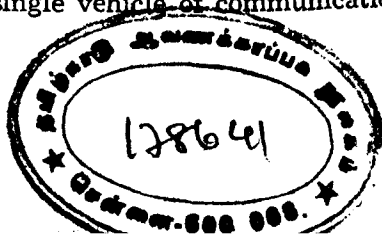
Entry 66

It is Entry 66 in List I of the Seventh Schedule that describes Parliament's obligation in this matter, in the following words under the Union List :

66. Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

Together with this Entry must be read Entry 11 of List II of the same schedule that defines the obligation of the States:

11. Education, including universities, subject to the provision of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and entry 25 of List III.



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When these Entries are juxtaposed in this manner, it is obvious that the right of the State in educational development, especially in the regional language, must be subject to the overall co-ordinating power of the Union. The judgement of the Special Bench emphasises this subordination and uses it to negate the provision in Section 4 of the Gujarat University Act, amended in 1951, by which the University was empowered to promote Gujarati and Hindi as media of instruction and examination.

Unity versus Autonomy

It has been argued that such an interpretation of the two entries is an unlawful curtailment of State autonomy. But this criticism is not to the point. The Special Bench held that the power given to the University under Section 4 of the Amended Act to promote Gujarati and Hindi as media of instruction and examination really implied that the University could lay down these languages as media of instruction and examination, but not as the only or the sole media of instruction and examination, to the exclusion of English and other languages. By pressing for such a policy of exclusion, the University was infringing the rights of the minorities, who have been guaranteed by the Constitution the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

The Court even went so far as to say that if the University had the power to make Gujarati and Hindi as the sole media of instruction and examination in its own and affiliated colleges, then the State Legislature, that had passed the amended University Act, had infringed both Articles 29 and 30 and Entry 66. It was essentially to safeguard the right to 'conserve' the language, script or culture, conferred by Article 29 (1) on any section of the citizens that the Special Bench was moved to pass judgment against the policy of the University. Such safeguards are necessary in the case of legislatures dominated by one language or religious group. Fortunately for this

country, the existence of an impartial judiciary bent on applying the Constitution in all its various aspects is the only way left to the minority to secure its fundamental rights.

New Obligations

Obviously the right of the minorities to 'establish and administer educational institutions of their choice' would mean little or nothing if they could not establish and maintain institutions of higher learning for the purpose of conserving their specific culture and have them recognised as such by the Universities. Provided standards as prescribed by the University are maintained within these institutions, they should not be subject to any discrimination at the hands of the University. On the contrary, it may even become incumbent on the State to provide these institutions with grants-in-aid and other amenities. These new burdens are a part of the price the State must pay for the multi-lingual and multi-religious community that makes up its body of citizens. Indeed the generous recognition and fulfilment of such obligations on the part of the State towards the smallest minority would infallibly pave the way to that spirit of harmony and tolerance so lacking at the present time. In the new India with the passage of time, it has become clear that both the Centre and the States, apart from the Constitutional guarantees have the obligation to provide education for children of the minorities at all levels.

A False Interpretation

It has been argued that the Special Bench has interpreted Entry 66 in too wide a sense. Is the 'co-ordinating' power of the Centre so extensive as to cover even such matters as the medium of instruction in the Universities? One would imagine that such a decision should lie within the autonomy of the University's mandate. Perhaps in other countries where one or two languages are spoken this might be possible. But in India, where language threatens to become an unhealthy source of division and separation it is essential that the Centre

should have the power to control such a disruptive element within the structure of the unified India we are trying to build. The power of the States in the field of education, even University education, has therefore been wisely limited by their subordination to the Parliament via Entry 66.

No Simple Solution

The Linguistic States based on language have not helped to solve our problem of unity, though they have helped to assuage our separatist tendencies for the time being. The future depends on how the unitary movements in the country are encouraged and developed. State Governments are often under pressure from various groups who seek to foist their own brand of beliefs and prejudices on the public. Indirectly they may be working against the interests of unity. The question of the medium of instruction at the University level is a delicate matter, a matter about which the State must proceed cautiously and without undue risks. If the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities have unanimously expressed the opinion that English is the most appropriate medium of instruction at the present time considering the prevailing circumstances, the State Governments that allow themselves to be forced into a position of insisting on the regional language or Hindi as the sole medium of instruction and examination can only be prevented from doing so by Entry 66.

A Wise Judgment

The judgment of the Special Bench is therefore a wise judgment. In a political system like ours, the judiciary is the watch-dog of the Constitution. Its power of rightly interpreting and applying the clauses of the Constitution are a crucial factor in the solid establishment and continuance of democracy. With so many disrupting factors at work in India today, any undermining of the faith of the minorities in the majority will only widen the fissures still further. But the fair and impartial judgment of the Special Bench will go far to

reassure the minorities that their rights and privileges will be respected and that they can still work for their own uplift and that of the country in harmony with the rest of their fellow citizens. We can only hope that the Supreme Court, to which an appeal has been made, will uphold the decision of the Special Bench.

The Editor

Dharmaram College, Bangalore, would gratefully receive back issues of SOCIAL ACTION, as under :-

Vol. I. Nos. 1 to 4 and 8, 9 & 10.

Vol. II. Nos. 2 and 4.

Vol. V. No. 1.

Vol. VII. Nos. 1, 3, 5 & 6.

TAX AID TO EDUCATION

(THE AMERICAN SCENE)

(A summary of an article by William J. Keneally S. J., Professor of Law, Loyola University of Chicago. Court decision and local historical background have been omitted due to lack of space, though an attempt has been made to convey in as readable a form the author's opinions).

The current controversy over federal aid to education has unfortunately obscured the real issue in many minds. Some sincere people seem to think it is a theological dispute or a philosophical debate between religions and secular and religious theories. It actually is a political debate arising out of three substantial issues i.e.:

- a) welfare of the nation
- b) the practical freedom of parental choice in education
- c) equitable distribution of tax benefits to all school children without discrimination.

and

One constitutional difficulty created by the highly controverted interpretation of the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution an-

nounced for the first time by the Supreme Court in 1947.

I. General Welfare

The only constitutional justification for any federal aid to education is the power given to Congress by the First clause of section 8, Article I of the Constitution, to provide for "general welfare of the United States." There were sharp differences of opinion as to the meaning of the clause. Only in 1937 after the *U.S. v Butler* and the *Steward Marine Co. v Davis* cases was the interpretation of the clause clarified by the ruling of the Supreme Court that the general welfare clause is a separate grant of power, distinct from those later enumerated, not to regulate, but to tax and spend for the general welfare of the nation.

Nobody, I suppose, would seriously challenge the fact

that the nation's welfare depends to a great extent upon the education of the nation's children. If Congress determines to use its legislative discretion by aiding education, the most important issue is: would the general welfare of the nation be better promoted by the education of some or all our children? It would seem reasonable to assume that the general welfare would best be served by aiding all children. However, the critical question is: how would the nation be better served? This is the main issue.

II. Parental Freedom

The Supreme Court in the *Oregon School Case* of 1925 unanimously held that "due process of law" necessarily implied the fundamental constitutional right of parents, subject to reasonable state regulation, to choose the education of their own children, public or private, secular or religious. This is not a constitutional right of any church or religion but a parental right.

Fundamental rights should not be academic obstructions or sterile legal concepts. When government taxes all parents for a school system that satis-

fies only some parents, can it truly be said to "secure" the freedom of parental choice in the practical context of life? For the wealthy, payment of taxes for the choice of others and paying again for personal choice may not be a problem. But for the poor, it is the public and effectual destruction of free choice. The critical question here is: would federal aid to all, involving no unequal tax burden on any, promote a more genuine freedom of parental choice in the practical context of life? This is the second important issue.

III. Equal Protection

The third important issue is the equitable distribution of tax benefits to all our school children without discrimination. "Equal justice under law" is the proud ideal of the Supreme Court in Washington. This is implied in the "due process" clauses of the Fifth and XIVth Amendments and is expressed in the "equal protection" clause of XIVth. The *School Segregation Cases* of 1954 have demonstrated the humility and courage of the Supreme Court in revising previous errors in pursuit of "equal justice under law."

We are no longer blind to the terrible inequalities of the

past and have caught a glimpse of a better future. Why should we, then, exclude from our ideal of equal protection and treatment the school children of the country — who constitute the most voiceless, voteless, and unorganized minority in the land?

It is not without significance that the same clause of the Constitution granting Congress power to provide for the general welfare also empowers it to "provide for the common defense." Do welfare and defense have differing relationships to our school children, or to some of them? Is there any reasonable ground for distinguishing between summoning them all some day to the common defense, and aiding them all now for the general welfare, upon which the defense may well depend. The critical question here is: would the ideal of equal protection and treatment of children be better attained by aiding the education of some only, or by aiding all without discrimination?

IV. Constitutionality

Some admit that general welfare, parental freedom, and equal treatment demand federal aid for all school children,

but think the situation is hopeless because of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment, enunciated in the Emerson Bus Case of 1947.

Constitutional law scholars, however, differ over the hopelessness of the situation. Some substantial scholars consider the interpretation a gratuitous 'obiter dictum' not necessarily determinative of future cases. Others are convinced that, obiter dictum or not, the interpretation is simply wrong; that it should be, and actually will be, distinguished and repudiated.

The Emerson Bus case is the only one of three cases dealing with an expenditure of public funds as an alleged establishment of religion. The Court decided that it was not an establishment for a New Jersey township, pursuant to a state statute, to reimburse parents for money expended by them for bus transportation of their children to and from parochial schools. Since public school children were transported to and from school at public expense, the Court upheld the New Jersey reimbursement statute as a public

welfare measure designed "to help parents get their children, regardless of their religion, safely and expeditiously to and from accredited schools."

In doing so however the Court expressly noted that "the state contributes no money to the schools. It does not support them." Justice Black concluded:—

"The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach. New Jersey has not breached it here."

The "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment means that.. "Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another.. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion..."

This is the interpretation of the establishment clause

which raises the difficulty in promoting the general welfare, parental freedom and equal treatment of children by federal aid to the education of all school children without discrimination. I subscribe to the opinion of those who claim that it is simply wrong; that it should be, and eventually will be, distinguished or repudiated.

Assuming *arguendo* that this much disputed interpretation of "establishment" is not mere obiter dictum, but that it pertains to the ratio decidendi of the case, I subscribe to the opinion of those who claim that it is simply wrong; I think it is wrong as a matter of *history*, as a matter of *logic* and as a matter of *judicial* policy.

HISTORY

The interpretation is wrong as a matter of history. The first Amendment contains two clauses concerning religion, as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The "establishment and the "free exercise" clauses should be carefully distinguished. For the moment, I am concerned with the

establishment clause alone. My thesis is that, according to the common understanding of the terms which prevailed among the thirteen original ratifying states, "an establishment of religion" meant official preferment by law of one religion over another; and that, according to the same common understanding, the clause "Congress shall make no law respecting" any such officially preferred religion was designed and intended to forestall the possibility that Congress might attempt 1) to establish an officially preferred national religion to replace or compete with the then existing state religion, or 2) to establish, dis-establish, or interfere in any way with the then existing state religions. That was the significance of the words "respecting" an establishment, federal or state.

Although the Constitution of 1789 gave the new federal government no express power over religion, there was considerable fear on the part of many that the new federal government might attempt to do some of these things under the guise of the implied powers contained in the "necessary and proper" clause of

Section 8, Article I, of the Constitution. The establishment clause guarded against this possibility. It was an express declaration of a principle of federalism which guaranteed, as against federal interference, exclusive state power over religion. This seems clear from the history of the times.

The historical evidence seems conclusive that the establishment clause of the First Amendment simply forbade a national establishment or quasi-establishment of religion. That is to say: it simply forbade the official preferment by federal law of one religion over others, and the setting up by federal law of civil disabilities based upon religious belief or worship. The second clause of the Amendment, covering the 'free exercise' of religion, obviously went further and prohibited the federal government from interfering by law with religious belief and worship, that is, the rights of conscience even in private life. The two clauses together completely removed the matter of religion from federal competence, and left it within the exclusive competence of the states. This is what the 'establish-

ment of religion' meant to those who ratified the First Amendment in 1789.

It meant then what it means today when we speak of the Established Church of England or the Established Religion of Spain. It did not forbid then, and it does not forbid now, the promotion of the nation's general welfare, the furtherance of parental freedom, or the equal treatment of children, by means of federal aid to the education of all the nation's school children without discrimination or preference — including parochial school children who study secular subjects by law, in schools regulated and accredited by law. Such aid does not prefer one religion over another. Nor does it create civil disabilities for any. It avoids disabilities and fosters freedom. As someone put it: the Supreme Court may make history, it has no mandate to re-write it.

LOGIC

The interpretation is wrong as a matter of logic. Following the Civil War, the XIVth Amendment in 1868 radically changed relationships between the federal and state governments. By that Amendment

the Federal Constitution for the first time, provided that "no state shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The XIVth Amendment therefore empowered the federal government for the first time to protect fundamental personal rights against state action. The personal rights so protected against state action are described in the Amendment by the very general terms of life, liberty, property and equal protection.

The generality of these terms, and the difficulty of specifying the particular personal rights embraced therein, engendered passionate controversies and instigated an enormous volume of constitutional litigation. The due process clause has already received long and extensive judicial attention, especially regarding property rights, whereas the equal protection clause is only beginning to come under comparable judicial scrutiny, notably in the School Segregation Cases of 1954.

Accordingly, by a long and painstaking process of judicial 'inclusion and exclusion' many personal rights have been ranked as "fundamental", and therefore protected in the XIVth Amendment against state action. Certainly the "free exercise" of religion is one of these fundamental rights.

Obviously therefore, official preferment and civil disabilities, based on religion or religious beliefs and interference with religious liberty, are forbidden by the XIVth Amendment. They are forbidden, however, not because they are establishments or quasi-establishments of religion, but precisely because and in so far as they are interferences with the fundamental rights of the free exercise of religion. The point is this: it is the free exercise of religion which is the fundamental personal right or liberty protected by the XIVth Amendment.

The Supreme Court, in determining what personal rights are "to be ranked as fundamental" has referred to "those canons of decency, and fairness which express the notions of justice of English

speaking peoples". The notions of English speaking people have a certain practical value, at least, in judging whether personal rights are fundamental or not. Now English has been spoken in England, Ireland and Canada for a considerable time. But, I dare say that Catholics in England, Jews in Ireland, and Protestants in Canada, would be somewhat surprised and mildly amused to be told, on the authority of the United States Supreme Court, that Catholicism is 'established' in England, Judaism is 'established' in Ireland and Protestantism is 'established' in Canada, because all those nations grant some form of equitable aid to "confessional" schools in accordance with the free choice of parents and the equal treatment of children.

Is such assistance a violation of "those canons of decency and fairness which express the notions of justice of English speaking peoples?" Does such help violate some fundamental right "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty?" Logic is neither truth nor justice, it could be a help in the judicious pursuit of both.

POLICY

The interpretation is wrong as a matter of judicial policy. By this I do not mean, of course, that the Supreme Court has any authority to act in the capacity of a super-legislature to determine the legislative policies of the nation or the states; quite the contrary. But there are judicial policies also. One of the important ones, known as 'judicial restraint,' is the policy of not interfering in legislative policies, which enjoy the presumption of constitutionality, unless that presumption is overcome and the Constitution clearly commands.

But the salutary policy of judicial restraint was forgotten, I submit, when the court formulated its novel concept of an "establishment of religion." One might paraphrase Justice Holmes: The XIVth Amendment does not enact Mr. James Madison's theology or Mr. Leo Pfeffer's philosophy A Constitution is not intended to embody a particular religious theory or a particular philosophy of education. I think that the word 'Liberty' in the XIVth Amendment, is perverted when it is held to prevent a

greater freedom of religion, a more practical freedom of parental choice in education, and a more equitable treatment of children without discrimination.

Another important judicial policy, which I believe the Court ignored in interpreting the "establishment" clause, is the policy of interpreting a constitutional provision or a statute according to the common understanding of its terms in the minds of those who ratified or enacted it, at the time and in the circumstances of its ratification or enactment. The private writings and even the public speeches of legislators may be of interest in showing what they personally intended a piece of legislation to mean or what they personally thought it meant. It is a pretty poor cause which cannot find some plausible support in legislative history. The technique of 'loading the legislative record' is not an unknown sophistication.

"The fundamental law," according to the Court, "enjoins the state from participating in the religious education, "selected by the parent, even to the extent of supporting the secular subjects re-

quired and regulated by law. But the Court does not bother to explain how "the same fundamental law" permits the state to participate "in the religious education," selected by the parent, to the extent of requiring and regulating by law those same secular subjects. The law makes distinctions. Some of them, because of the complexity of human life, are very subtle and refined. But the distinction between secular and religious subjects in education is a very simple and practical one. It does not overpower the legal mind. The law of every state draws this distinction in requiring and regulating the teaching and teachers of secular subjects in religious schools. What intellectual inhibition prevents the judicial mind from applying the same distinction concerning support that it applies so easily concerning regulation? What is the constitutional difference between 'participation' by support and 'participation' by regulation? Is cost accounting a stranger to the law? Or too mysterious for judicial comprehension? One thing is a mystery: how there can be an 'establishment of religion' in state or federal aid to the teaching of secular subjects in

all schools without discrimination, and yet no 'establishment of religion' in governmental regulation of the same subjects to all schools without discrimination.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Divisiveness

It is said that such aid would be 'divisive' of national unity. In view of the fact that tax aid to some, excluding others, is so obviously divisive in the sense of being discriminatory and arousing the bitterness which discrimination always engenders, it is difficult to understand the 'divisiveness' of aid to all without discrimination. Unless, of course, it rests upon an implication that religious schools are divisive per se. Unless, that is, it stems from the conviction that religious schools themselves are something less than American, to be tolerated perhaps for those who can afford them, but to be legally discouraged and economically handicapped in the interests of real Americanism. It is not easy to be patient with this relic of nineteenth century religious and political bigotry. Suffice it to say that, if religious schools are divisive per se, the divi-

siveness is a fundamental constitutional right in our pluralistic society.

Religious tensions

It is said such aid would increase religious tensions. This plea has a familiar ring. It is heard most frequently in the fight for racial justice. We have been urged to play down the racial issue because racial tensions have increased since the Supreme Court reversed itself in 1954. It is true that racial tensions have increased since the School Segregation Cases. The return to barbarism in Little Rock and New Orleans, and a few days ago in Birmingham and Montgomery, show the fact. There would be racial tensions if racists could enjoy without protest the privileges and preferences of white supremacy, and if Negroes would docilely accept the discouragements and disabilities of second-class citizenship for themselves and their children. Yet increased racial tensions, tragic and savage in some of their manifestations, are the signs and price of progress. They are the growing pains of racial justice and of eventual racial peace. I salute the courage and the heroism of the Ameri-

can Negro. It seems incredible to me to argue that, because the anger of racists is aroused, the Negro should give up his long and laudable struggle for liberty and equality for himself and his children.

And so with equal aid to all school children, Two of the basic issues are parental freedom, including religious liberty, and the equal treatment of children. These are not merely fundamental issues of justice and constitutional rights. They are also the wellsprings of profound and noble human emotions. They cannot forever be ignored by legislators, judges or the public at large.

Civil Liberties

It is said that such aid would pose a threat to civil liberties. Again, it is difficult to understand such a threat arising out of more practical religious liberty, more practical parental freedom, and more equitable treatment of children. However, an eminent law professor once said to me that, whatever the merits of the constitutional issue, he feared a danger to civil liberties in such aid to religious education.

It cannot be denied that the religious wars of 16th and 17th century Europe, and the religious bigotry of 18th and 19th century America, provide an historical background for a fear of organized religion 'kicking other people around.' History provides a background for fear of organized government making exuberant use of its feet too. Less than a hundred years ago, in the land of the free and the home of the brave, we maintained the savage abomination of human slavery.

The historical background is a compelling reason for guarding against any official preferment by law of one religion over others, against any creation of civil disabilities based upon religious belief or worship, against any infringement of the free and equal rights of conscience. The First and XIVth Amendments were ratified precisely to do this.

I can understand a certain conservative position which sees no evil and no problems of freedom, which is complacent with things as they are, which abhors change, which is afraid of rocking the boat,

which is satisfied to muddle through somehow, and which is not unappreciative of the tax advantage enjoyed at the expense of an over-burdened and out-voted minority. But the general welfare, the practical freedom of parental choice, and equal treatment of school children in clearly and obviously a liberal cause. Where are some of the liberals hiding? Surely they are not afraid of an unpopular liberal cause. Not the liberals!

* * *

While I am convinced that the Court's current interpretation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment, and its transference to the Fourteenth, in wrong as a matter of history, as a matter of logic, and as a matter of judicial policy, nevertheless I am confident that some day the Court will see fit to permit the federal government and states to provide for the general welfare, the practical freedom of parents and the equal treatment of children, by aiding the education of all children without discrimination.

MEDICAL APOSTOLATE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

H. Haas*

Together with the schools, it is medical work that is most developed among the charitable and social undertakings in modern mission work. Although the medical apostolate shows a considerable increase in our days, it must be admitted that proportionately, it has not been given as much attention by the mission agencies as has been given to the schools. Surely, one of the reasons for this relatively slow development is the financial problem, implied in modern medical work ⁽¹⁾. This is not the place to question the strategy that has ruled this development as we see it now before our eyes. Our aim is strictly to study the relation between the medical apostolate and community development, and later on to try and give a few practical suggestions in that context.

The actual average set-up of the Medical Apostolate

It is, practically, only the curative care that is the aim of the normal set-up of the medical apostolate. Where hospitals:

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(1) "Our Brothers and Sisters have done much for education. They have saved up, built schools and colleges and convents, and sacrificed their leisure and comfort in this work. But it cannot be denied that people are aware that a part of it is paid labour. Is there not some provision in your sacred Congregations to enable you to deploy a part of your activities in works of charity? You take so much trouble to qualify yourselves for educational work. Why cannot a few of your members be trained for the medical apostolate, say, in small school dispensaries and infirmaries? How impressed the children will be when they see our Brothers and Sisters, washing the wounds of their pupils, curing them and bringing them relief?"

or dispensaries are the practical means through which medical care is provided to the local population, in general it is the purely curative side of medical work that is undertaken in these institutions. The hospitals already pose a question at the very start of this study. Are they not often separate units, transportable, so to say, from one region to the other without undergoing major changes, without much organic link with the local population, and without much previous planning? Curative care which is applied by way of a treatment independent of the local circumstances, does not seem the most practical one and therefore cannot be the most efficient either. Margaret Mead has collected some striking material in connection with maternal and child care in underdeveloped countries, which should be read by all those who are planning or running hospitals in those areas ⁽²⁾. The same problem arises in regard to the set-up of dispensaries, especially in slums, out-stations and in the countryside.

It is well-known how much modern development in medical care, with the hospital as a vital centre, asks for a well functioning social-medical service, as one of the essential branches of the whole set-up. Human beings are not just bundles of physical complications when they are sick, but their whole personality, their background and their environment, their social and economic situation must be taken into account for a diagnosis of the case as well as for the treatment. Social medicine is a fast developing branch of medicine though of recent origin. Social medical workers are urgently sought for by hospitals and medical centres. It will be mostly case-work that has to be done by these medical social workers, but there is a growing understanding in social work in

⁽²⁾ Margaret Mead. — *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, New York 1956, 205 - 208.

general that community-organisation has to come into the picture as much as individual case-work ⁽³⁾.

One may call social medicine a new dimension of medicine indeed. It is a dimension, however, which has not yet been considered in many cases in the actual set-up of the medical apostolate and which is all too often even left out in the planning of new enterprises in this field.

Preventive Care

Curative care however in "underdeveloped" countries is to a certain extent less efficient than preventive care. That means, the actual situation regarding lack of hygiene, ignorance, prejudices, wrong habits, resulting in popular diseases, high death-rate and permanent ill-health, is such that curative care can only be compared with an attempt to stop floods by building a few islands. The manner in which popular diseases have been put under control or have virtually been wiped out in other regions, shows how preventive medical care is not just a scratching of the surface, but actually goes to the root of the evil and tackles it there. In fact, a tremendous effort is done in all developed countries to organise over all campaigns of preventive care and health-education, but very seldom has the medical apostolate involved itself in these undertakings. More often than not units of the social apostolate, be they hospitals or dispensaries of various kinds, are like autonomous bodies, waging their own battle against disease and sickness, without an active engagement in what is called health education. Here the social dimension of medical care is even more impressive than in the field of curative medicine, so much so that it is called "an integral part of the social process" ⁽⁴⁾.

⁽³⁾ Carlos Alberto Sequin. — *Papel de la Asistente Social en la Medicina moderna*, Servicio Social, magazine of La Escuela de Servicio Social del Peru, Lima, 10 13, July 1959.

⁽⁴⁾ Mead, 217, see the whole chapter "Public Health" 217 - 236 Margaret L. Hockin. — *Health and Clothes for the Family*. Community Development Bulletin, Vol. XII, no. 1, 12 - 13.

Medical Care and Education

The time is far behind us, when education had been narrowed down to the education of children, and education of children to the instruction of children. Adult Education and Community Education are terms that do not need introduction any more. If it is true that the greatest source of sickness in certain regions is due to ignorance and prejudices, it is more than obvious that it is through education that the battle against diseases has to be fought in the first place. Medical care that does not integrate this battle against ignorance is inefficient, unrealistic and academic. It is an overall approach alone that can tackle the problem of suffering populations of whole continents; an approach where all forces are harnessed and all possibilities exploited. Medical units therefore will have to be fully aware of the local situation regarding public health, of the moves of the governments concerning health education, of the voluntary organisations at work. They must fit themselves into the overall set-up and regard themselves as substantial elements in the complete operation. Since the medical apostolate, ideologically and practically, is only one of the aspects of mission work, it should not be too difficult to experiment at least in those fields where close co-operation can be guaranteed. If in the schools, such subjects as health and hygiene are taught, a ready field for health-campaigns, socio-medical action and first-aid training is available. Now often subjects which are taught in the schools regarding health and hygiene, are learned by heart by the pupils, and are not put into practice by themselves, and are surely not passed on to their own environment. Units of the medical apostolate could make better use of these opportunities in the schools. It will ensure for them, as a result, "better" cases and better after-care for patients already treated. It will keep out of the hospital many who will not fall sick so easily. Through the proper training of youth, health education can be extended far beyond the schools and medical institutions.

Where there are social organisations of the adults, like women's associations, rural development societies, death provident associations, health education can step right into the field of adult society. Around medical centres, on the other hand, especially out-door dispensaries, health education can be organised, by way of discussions, talks, films. The best way remains the active involvement of local leaders in such actions and campaigns. Local leaders can even be trained by way of similar operations.

The educational side of medical care offers a host of possibilities in the developing countries. But it is indispensable that these possibilities are recognised, studied and harnessed. It seems necessary that a certain specialisation takes place, in such a way that the medical centres regard it as one of their essential tasks to go in for health education, set somebody apart for such work and have people specially trained for it. This is not a luxury, but a simple basic need.

Medical Care and Community Development

Until now we have looked at the educational side of medical care strictly from the point of view of medical efficiency. There is another point of view that has to be taken into account in order to gain the full benefit of the subject we are now studying.

It may be stated that Community Development has not yet been successfully introduced in the majority of the developing countries. At the same time it is from past mistakes that one can profit, and at the moment the idea and practice of Community Development is in full growth. Catholics have, very tentatively, entered the field and in certain regions they have started special projects which tend to become pilot-projects with a broad field of direct and indirect effect. Students have caught up with this modern trend and share,

in their work-camps, the efforts of villagers to improve their living conditions and their well being ⁽⁵⁾.

Yet, one must admit that mission work, since it was the first in the field, in many instances, with the "classical" social undertakings, has not sufficiently switched over to this more communitarian and overall approach to the major problems of society in our countries.

Health, sickness, death are not only events for the individual, they are essentially social events. Popular diseases cripple the uplifting of whole areas. Undernourishment, bad diet, lack of hygiene, passivism are the many factors that handicap the sound development of our nations. Life and death are at stake, and they are typically social in their total implications. Life does not mean just not being dead, but life that provides energy and vigour enough for all members of society to lift themselves up to a degree of activity where they can satisfy their primary needs.

The great difficulty regarding Community Development is that few people are trained for this new educational service to the community and that one cannot wait till sufficient people are trained, since society is changing at revolutionary speed. The great art is to involve educationists in the process and to enlighten them on the new aspects which Community Development brings within their scope, and to involve social workers in this movement and make them educationists with the required community approach. Community Development, as it stands, is a vast educational campaign that involves not only educationists (in the widest sense of the word) but the would-be-educated, in one process of training through action. The few trained community educationists will have to concentrate on the catalizing role of inspirers, directors and mentors to the whole operation.

⁽⁵⁾ Aurelia Alva and Fanny Fernandes. — Leaders and Camps. Pax Romana Journal 1960, 3 - 4.

The case is how to find the way of approach where risks are the smallest, effects the greatest, involvement the easiest, direction the simplest. It seems that the health educational field, as we have sketched it above, offers one of the most suitable Community Development approaches that are available. The personnel to be engaged are there; the great reservoirs of the schools can be tapped, and the community at large, is already involved in the "health-sickness-death" process that is one of the aspects of human life in the developing regions that is most affected by modern change. Health-sickness-death controls the life of the family and of the clan, of the village and of the neighbourhood, of the region and of the nation. Health care and health education are immediately and necessarily related to the overall problems of clothing and nutrition ⁽⁶⁾. The problem of housing ⁽⁷⁾ leads without delay to the questions centred around settlements and neighbourhoods ⁽⁸⁾. Employment, rural development, industrialisation, leisure and entertainment easily present themselves within the context of the overall approach that evolves from the broad but partial approach of the health education programme.

It should be clear that women will have to play a great, even decisive role in this scheme. It is in the family that diseases prevail and are hidden, it is here that they are spread or stopped. Women have a strong impact on the whole of society and on Community Development. Experience proves that no such development is ever possible without women taking an active part in it. It is they who are directly involved in ques-

⁽⁶⁾ Hockin, I. c., 14 - 16

Mead, 194.

Hockin, — Food, Health and the Family, Comm. Dev. Vol. XI, no. 4, 106 ff.

⁽⁷⁾ Hockin, J, Housing and Family Well being, Comm. Dev. Bull. Vol. XI, no. 3, 58 ff.

⁽⁸⁾ Community Centres. International Review of Community Development, 1958, no. 1.

tions of sex-education and family-planning, budget-making and home-arrangements, cottage industries and marketing.

Medical care for women implies pre-natal and post-natal care, baby-care and gynaecological care in general. It will be admitted that it is women who need attention first of all, by the medical profession at large, and it is they who will be most open and responsive to health education, for the well-being of their families, and, beyond this, for Community Development. The girls, whose education, in mission countries, is for the decisive part in the hands of the nuns, will be the most active and grateful agents in the process that has been depicted. Here lies a chance which may not be lost, since it never will come back. Especially training through action, by way of active involvement in the process, by way of increasing responsibility, by way of involvement of others, especially the women, shows itself as a hitherto undreamed of means for the up-to-date medical apostolate.

Practical Suggestions

It would have been far better, at this stage, to exhibit here the result of such actions as have been described or at least suggested, or at least the set-up of such actions. We are sorry to say that we have not been able to trace, in the field of the present medical apostolate in our part of the world, actions or undertaking that correspond to this sketched ideal. If they had been put into practice, their detailed description would have been profitable for all those directly interested in the problem. This article will have achieved its main aim however if it effectively provokes discussion about the subject.

The first remark that ought to be made is one about the need of re-thinking, re-planning and re-shuffling of much of the medical apostolate. Medical work more perhaps than other charitable work escapes from the danger of routine, since it has to do with human misery in very concrete forms, but

nevertheless the danger of institutionalisation is there. To be more precise : is not there the temptation of having a hospital, a clinic, a dispensary, without looking into the real needs of the neighbourhood and the region, without fitting it into the existing medical organisation, governmental or private, without calculating the real output. The medical apostolate must be apostolate and therefore fully at the disposal of the living community ; it may never be an aim in itself, for the sake of the neat building, the exemplary lay-out, the optimal service to the happy few, the glory of an institution or person. The more perfect and extended the establishment is, the more this danger presents itself (*).

(1) The first step therefore to be taken for the realisation of a community approach in the medical apostolate is co-ordination. Hospitals, clinics, dispensaries that are existing in a town or in a region, must be linked up into a true team, with clear-cut leadership and an efficient division of work. It is here that practically all has to be done because as a rule these various medical enterprises are run by different agencies.

(2) The next step should be a survey of the possibilities of health education, in close collaboration with schools, youth and adult organisations, always within the frame-work of the government schemes. Whether these organisations and schools are catholic is a secondary question, since tackling public health is not a matter for one religious denomination but of the whole society. It will be practical, though, to start such co-operation with institutions and groups of whose collaboration one can be sure.

(3) Then comes action ; a campaign. A permanent set-up must be selected, within the reach of the local possibilities and without financial implications that will be too heavy a burden for the completion of the plan.

(*) "Are we quite sure that our institutions and our conventional welfare activities have not become petrified, have not been partly emptied of their charitable and humane character as they have extended themselves so successfully ?"
Francis Dufay and Douglas Hyde. — *Red Star versus the Cross*. London, 30.

The direction and supervision of the operation must be well defined and authoritative. Local leaders should be found, if they are not yet available, in the course of the section itself, which essentially must be educational, making the prospective leaders aware of the needs of their neighbours and giving them experience of leadership.

(4) A follow-up of two kind each, complementary to the other. The medical centres will play a role of what an academical hospital is for the varsity students: a nursing-ground of specialised personnel, that is drawn, in this case, from the local leaders and which is destined to create a circle of helpers round the institution on the one hand, and to have better trained local leaders in the neighbourhood and out-stations on the other.

(5) Realistic planning will easily find the different streams, along which the energy of the local leaders can be channelled, tackling in a progressive way the various aspects of Community Development as it is required by the situation, always taking care that the specialised medical workers will have to restrict their field of action to their own field, in order to avoid a wide scattering of forces, and soon it will be possible to define a typical medical action, within the overall approach to the socio-economic problems of the area. Even then close co-operation will be necessary and special liaison-persons and bodies must be appointed and devised for this purpose.

This sketchy drawing of a possible development of our existing set-up of the medical apostolate does not pretend to give a fully workable solution. It gives a scale of possibilities, which must be experimented upon locally. But there is a fair chance, that this will be the general outline of the policy to be followed. As for the spiritual aspects of the medical apostolate according to these new features, it can only be said here that this way of approach seems to fit in perfectly with the modern perspectives opened in Missiology and Theology, especially Ecclesiology, where the social aspects of the dogmas of our faith are worked out and placed in the contemporary history of mankind.

OBLIGATION TO BUY INDUSTRIAL STOCK

Richard M. McKeon*

This question will startle most people. It should. The writer knows no special treatise touching this subject. Yet for many years in his study of the changing economic conditions going on in the United States he has become convinced that the question is worthy of the best minds in the field of morality and ethics. He has written this article in the hope that it will excite interest and more authoritative exposition.

Let us strive to be as simple as possible. By industrial stock we mean what is known as common stock in an industrial enterprise. When an enterprise sells an interest to an investor, he receives a certificate showing the amount of his ownership. The investor becomes a capitalist. Ordinarily he may expect a dividend on his investment. Recently

about 90 per cent of the stocks bought and sold on the New York Stock Exchange paid dividends. Of course there is some risk, but risk that is inherent in any form of property.

What has common stock done for the American economy? It has provided the capital for industry to grow to its present prosperity. It has created millions of jobs. It has brought forth many wonderful products. It has established the highest standard of living in the world.

What, then, if sufficient people did not invest in stock? There would be fewer new jobs, fewer new products, and fewer new factories. Consequently a growing work force would face unemployment and all the evils attendant on the same.

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Common Stock toward the Common Good

It is evident that an obligation must fall on people to buy common stock to keep the economy strong and growing. On whom does this obligation fall? Before answering, it is well to present some fundamental Christian principles on the matter of wealth, for common stock represents wealth. With this idea in mind, let us consider the passage from Pope Pius XI's "On the Reconstruction of the Social Order":

Wealth, therefore, which is constantly being augmented by social and economic progress, must be so distributed amongst the various individuals and classes of society that the common good of all, of which Leo XIII spoke, be thereby promoted. In other words, the good of the whole community must be safeguarded. By this law of social justice one class is forbidden to exclude the other from a share in the profits. This sacred law is violated by an irresponsible wealthy class who, in the excess of their good fortune, deem it a just state of things that they should receive everything and the labourer nothing; it is violated also

by a propertyless wage-earning class who demand for themselves all the fruits of production, as being the work of their hands. (par. 57)

In America we face the fact of "wealth which is constantly being augmented by social and economic progress." If this wealth must be distributed amongst the various individuals and classes of society that the common good of all be thereby promoted, will not a healthier distribution of property be more easily effected by more people owning stock? Has the day dawned for common stock and the common good to go hand in hand? So it would appear to us. We should face the facts of policies current in many industries where stock ownership by their workers is being encouraged.

The Passing of Exaggerated Individualists

Before continuing our argument, let us recall that Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto stated that "The modern labourer... instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism de-

velops more rapidly than population and wealth." In the encyclical of Pius XI already quoted, the next paragraph aims to contradict the pessimistic view of capitalism by pointing out that "Each class, then, must receive its due share, and the distribution of created goods must be brought into conformity with the demands of the common good and social justice, for every sincere observer is conscious that the vast differences between the few who hold excessive wealth and the many who live in destitution constitute a grave evil in modern society."

In the United States in recent years the vast differences have been greatly modified. In 1953-1954 Fortune ran a series of excellent articles showing the development of the new rich middle-income class. There was solid statistical proof that 18 million families had incomes from \$4,000 to \$7,500. This group has increased 230 per cent since 1929. These families receive \$100 billion cash annually. Yet this cash income is mostly from wages and salaries. The group with \$7,500 to \$15,000 income has also shown a great increase. In a word, middle class

income is now enjoyed by over 60 per cent of our people whereas in 1900 only 25 per cent was so fixed.

It is our contention that the obligation of buying stock will fall more and more on this middle-income class. But since buying stock involves a risk, people are cautioned to see that all their immediate obligations toward a standard of living befitting their station — home, education of children, insurance and so on — are firmly established. Then comes the duty to invest for the reason which we shall set forth in our article.

In early 1956 the AFL-CIO Department of Research released a statement that a minimum of \$4,300 per year was needed to maintain a family of four. "It is the minimum necessary for a modest American level of living. Families can and do get along on less, but only by missing out on some goods, services or social needs which are a normal part of a typical scale of living in this country." There would be no obligation falling upon members of this lower-income group.

Nevertheless some may deem it wise to make a modest

investment. This no doubt, is being done through the worker stock-buying programmes. In 1955 it was estimated that some 300 companies had such programmes involving 2,000,000 workers.

Toward More and Better Capitalists

Certainly the commandment to love our neighbour is practised when a person gives to another in need or to many through the offices of the Community Chest. One simply gives and then forgets his sacrifice. Now, is not the same commandment also fulfilled when a person invests in stock not merely from a motive of individual gain, but also from the realization that his investment will create jobs through which a man and his family receive a livelihood? Moreover, goods are produced for the use of others. There is far more benefit for the community. Even if his investment failed, the money it kept in circulation did a lot of good.

It is a good thing to aid a neighbour in distress, but it is a better thing to prevent the cause of distress. Investment in industry means expansion and new jobs. These jobs will

offset the distress caused by unemployment when a sufficient number of people do not invest to keep our economy ever growing.

Accordingly we are convinced that this motive of love of neighbour should be emphasized in asking people to invest. When we were in war, we urged the sale of war bonds by reason of love of country. Should not a similar motive prompt us when we face the necessity of keeping our national economy strong in a world which is critically surveying America's defense against Communism?

The question of proper motivation is most important. If society is to be reformed, there first must come that reformation of spirit clearly stated in 'Quadragesimo Anno.' Together with this there must be a basic knowledge of the stewardship of wealth touching the present industrial economy and the duty of using superfluous wealth to promote the common good.

In treating of the just distribution of wealth in order to promote the common good, it may be well to examine the doctrine of the Church on the question of superfluous wealth.

th. Both the Old and New Testament declare that such possessors are under strict obligation to give this surplus to the needy. The Church has always proclaimed that wealth is a stewardship. Wrote St. Thomas Aquinas: 'As regards the power of acquiring and dispensing material goods, man may lawfully possess them as his own; as regards their use, however, a man ought not to look upon them as his own, but as common, so that he may readily minister to the needs of others.'

All men possessing the same nature and the same destiny in the sight of God are equal. If one with extra wealth does not aid an equal in extreme distress, then he is placing himself in danger of eternal damnation as Christ so explicitly says in the 25th chapter of St. Matthew's gospel. And Father John A. Ryan wrote in his *Distributive Justice*: 'Since the goods of this earth were intended by the Creator for the common benefit of all mankind, the possessor of a surplus is reasonably required to use it in such a way that this original purpose of all created goods shall be fulfilled' (p. 234).

Again in 'Quadragesimo Anno': At the same time a man's superfluous income is not left entirely to his own discretion. We speak of that portion of his income which he does not need in order to live as becomes his station. On the contrary, the grave obligations of charity, beneficence and liberality which rest upon the wealthy are constantly insisted upon in telling words by Holy Scripture and the Fathers of the Church. (par. 50)

In a chapter entitled "Social Justice: The Stewardship of Wealth", Father William F. Drummond, S.J. sets forth certain principles which have a bearing on the investment in common stock. Holding that social justice is the modern term for the stewardship of wealth, keeping in mind the traditional teaching of the Church, Father Drummond argues that in the inequitable distribution of wealth in the modern industrial area there is a violation not only of charity, but of justice: "There rests on the owners of superfluous goods a strict obligation, arising from the fact of superfluity, to administer their goods so that the needs of all individuals and classes in so-

ciety be thereby satisfied — this may bring profit to the investor.” an obligation which flows directly from the very notions which justify ownership.”

Almsgiving Not Enough

Besides almsgiving and other works of charity the encyclical mentions the practice of “munificence” and “expending larger incomes so that opportunity for gainful work may be abundant” as an application of this munificence. As one method of discharging the duties of ownership there is stated the investment of money in a business organization. That is exactly the point of our argument with application to people in the middle-income class who do possess superfluous wealth.

On this point hear Father C. Damen, C. Ss. R.: “For it is much better and more conducive to the common good if the number of the poor decreased by an increase in the number of those who can support themselves by their own labour. Hence it can happen that in some cases the common good requires that superfluous goods be used in founding or expanding various useful industries which will provide employment rather than in almsgiving, even though

For the purpose of our argument let us mention briefly the three classes of goods touching human life. Where one possesses only the necessities for a decent standard of living for himself and family, there is no obligation to share these goods. Where one has not only necessities but also comforts and conventional necessities as well, then there would be the obligation to help those in extreme need. But where one possesses over and above necessities and conventional goods, there does follow the obligation of distributing this class of goods in a degree determined by circumstances. It is this class to which we shall refer when it comes to the obligation of buying industrial stock.

In ‘Quadragesimo Anno’ again, Pius XI follows his statement that “a man’s superfluous income is not left entirely to his own discretion” with this comment: “However, the investment of superfluous income in searching favourable opportunities for employment, provided the labour employed produces results which are really useful,

is to be considered according to Angelic Doctor an act of real liberality particularly appropriate for the needs of our time.” And here the Vicar of Christ hits right at the heart of the matter. If superfluous wealth be invested in industrial enterprise, jobs will be created, men will be employed, and purchasing power will be available for the goods produced. He calls this “an act of real liberality particularly appropriate for the needs of our time.”

Considering private and public charity and the great extension of social security, not to mention a host of fringe benefits for workers, there has been a wonderful improvement in the relief of our most needy and in the economic stability of American labour. But constant investment in old and new enterprise is needed if the nation is adequately to meet the needs of its growing population. Direct charity to the needy is of strict obligation for those who possess extra wealth. But in the long run there is an equally strict obligation on the stewards of the wealth to help lift a man from the ranks of the needy to a decent self-respecting stan-

dard of living. This is done by investing wealth in the continual demands of the national economy. Many very wealthy people are doing this constantly for the sake of greater profit, and surely this is not to be condemned if the workers employed are receiving just wages in good working conditions. In recent years, however, changes have come to pass in regard to the ordinary sources of venture capital. It is well here to examine the present status for it will throw light on our question.

‘Propertyless Class’ Opportunity

Venture capital in past years usually came from profits re-invested in the enterprise and through the sale of new stock. Thus we discover that 31 per cent of total profits were re-invested in 1929, but in 1948 the figure became 65 per cent. Frequently sale of new stock has not risen. Many companies face debt-financing through bonds or bank loans.

What has caused this situation? A great deal of savings now goes into life-insurance, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance and saving banks. Little of this money goes into new stock. It is invested mostly in mort-

gages, government bonds and real estate. Secondly, higher taxes have hit the very wealthy so that they have not as much money or the inclination to invest as formerly.

It is only fair to add that the reinvestment of profits mentioned before has not been approved nor is it pleasant for many stockholders who depend on dividends to a great degree to maintain their current standard of living. And going into debt may run a company into bankruptcy. Debt-financing instead of equity-financing is always a dangerous thing.

Where, then, will the necessary venture capital come from? The right answer is from the expanding middle class. We have mentioned 18 million families with incomes from \$4,000 to \$7,500. There are 6.5 million families who enjoy incomes from \$7,500 to \$15,000. Surely the majority of these families could own a few shares of stock and a fair-sized minority could own many shares.

In proof of this, let us examine what has happened within less than four years. In 1952 a Brookings Institution

report stated that 6,500,000 Americans were owners of stock. Recent figures now claim that 8,000,000 own shares in the nation's 50,000 corporations. The role of the small investor is very evident. Thirty-two per cent of these share-owners have incomes of less than \$5,000 while seventy-six have less than \$10,000. Both the Monthly Investment Plan and the Investment Clubs are aiding the small investor to multiply rapidly.

In the introduction to the Brookings report we read a paragraph which is more pertinent today.

'It would be difficult to overemphasize the public interest in reliable information with respect to share ownership. It is often said that a board ownership of business and industry is the key to the problem of achieving economic stability. Those holding this view claim that a rise in the number of share owners would strengthen the private enterprise system, and at the same time deter the disproportionate expansion of the public sector. Because of this direct stake, the argument runs, the investor who supplies risk capital is almost certain to de-

velop a fuller appreciation of how our economic system operates. A steady growth of the number of share owners, according to this view, is the one most effective answer to the contention that business and industry are controlled by a small group referred to as the financial interests.'

By owning shares millions of Americans can no longer be designated as members of the "propertyless wage-earning class." It means supplementary income through dividends. It means a fuller sense of participation in the creation of wealth. It is steady progress toward a more democratic and stable enterprise system.

A Matter of Patriotism

In support of greater stock ownership it is well to quote the progressive principle stated by Pius XI in 1931:

We consider it more advisable, however, in the present condition of human society that, so far as it is possible, the work-contract be somewhat modified by a partnership-contract, as is being done in various ways and with no small gain to workers and owners. Workers and other

employees thus become sharers in ownership or management or participate in some fashion in the profits received.

Here is a plea for the worker to become a more active participant in the productive progress. A worker owning stock should be a better worker. He should feel closer to management and take a deeper interest in the company's policies. His own welfare is linked to that of the company. He develops a greater incentive to save. He feels that he has a new status more befitting his dignity as a man.

Accordingly where these programmes are in force, there has been reported a great improvement in industrial relations. This fact adds weight to the obligation of stock-buying. Speaking of the workers supplementing their wages by profits and dividends, Father John Ryan has written that this "would render our industrial system more stable by giving the workers an influential voice in the conditions of employment, and by laying the foundation of that contentment and conservatism which arise naturally out of the possession of property."

Patriotism is a moral duty. It is also a virtue of justice and love. It may call for sacrifice, even of life as happens in war. Should not patriotism be a strong motive in peace to urge support of the American industrial economy? Unless this economy remains stable and prosperous, with its benefits extended to the many and not to the few, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" will be severely handicapped. This is our concluding argument on the obligation of buying industrial stock by those citizens who can afford to do so.

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper

SOCIAL ACTION

to be published in the first issue every year
after last day of February.

FORM — IV

(SEE RULE 8)

1. Place of Publication .. Madurai — 8
2. Periodicity of its publication .. Monthly
3. Printer's Name .. Rev. Fr. A. S. Durairaj
 - Nationality .. Indian
 - Address .. Madurai — 8
4. Publisher's Name .. Rev. Fr. A. S. Durairaj
 - Nationality .. Indian
 - Address .. Madurai — 8
5. Editor's Name .. Rev. Fr. A. Fonseca, S. J.
 - Nationality .. Indian
 - Address .. Indian Institute of Social Order,
Poona — 1.
6. Names and addresses of .. Indian Institute of Social Order,
individuals who own the .. 13, Boat Club Road,
newspaper and partners .. Poona — 1.
or shareholders holding
more than one per cent of
the total capital.

I, Rev. Fr. A. S. Durairaj, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated
1st March 1962

REV. FR. A. S. DURAIRAJ,
Publisher

THE CLERGY AND WAGES

The Tanganyika Episcopal Conference

The meeting of the T.E.C. Committee on 'The Church and Wages' was held at Dar es Salaam on October 20-21, 1961, under the Chairmanship of the Right Revd. Bishop John Rudin.

While laying down the 'Terms of Reference' it was agreed that since general principles could be found in the encyclical and other documents the task given to the Committee was that of producing specific recommendations applying to Tanganyika in its present development and other concrete conditions. The Committee decided not to be deterred by the many differences existing in the various regions and the differences in the conditions of service of so many workers of various occupations.

While reviewing the question of wages the committee considered the 'Basic Requirements of Just Wages' which they felt should include :—

- a. A basic salary providing for the basic needs of the worker.
- b. A family allowance.
- c. A surplus for savings and old-age security.

Since the committee was obviously not in a position to produce its own findings as to the needs of the workers in all the various areas the Committee decided to use the Government "fixed minimum wage as a starting point for establishing the sum of money required of a just employer. Where a minimum wage had not been defined for certain types of work,

it was agreed that the amount paid by Government, e.g. in the P.W.D. projects, would be considered the equivalent of the minimum wage payable.

Before proceeding with the actual recommendations the Committee made the following 'Classification of Workers':—

- a. *Permanent employees* are those who work the whole year and are entitled to normal annual leave.
- b. *Temporary Workers* are those hired for a particular project, seasonal workers, ticket-contract workers and casual workers.
- c. *Part-time Workers* are workers who may spend some time each day working for the Church but really cannot be said to do a full day's work. This class includes those workers who share the same job, working alternate periods. (For example some parishes have two or more cooks, each of whom works for a week or a month according to a system of rotation.)
- d. *Charity Workers* this term was devised by the Committee to designate those workers who are in need of financial help and are required to do some more or less useful work in return for this help, rather than being given alms.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Rights of Employees

Minimum wage for all — The Committee agreed that the Church is bound ex justitia to pay all its workers, including temporary and part-time workers, the established minimum wage for a full day's work according to local standards. Where no minimum wage has been established the employer should consider government wages as representing the approximate minimum wage allowable within each category.

Minimum wage is not ideal — The Committee felt that the minimum wage established by Government would neces-

sarily be low since consideration would have to be taken of the level of development of the country and the need to allow a margin of profit sufficient to encourage further industrial development. This would mean that, even with a minimum wage law, the workers in Tanganyika would enjoy very few material comforts and pleasures compared to the workers of more developed countries. The Committee therefore agreed to recommend that wherever possible the Church should not hesitate to pay wages slightly higher than required by law and to encourage the gradual and steady equalisation of the standards of living throughout the country. However care should be exercised lest imprudent innovations in the wage-scale be made in individual parishes or individual projects. It would not be good to have substantial variations in the wages paid for certain projects, or at certain parishes.

The Committee based its considerations on Government regulations with the assumption that Government makes an effort to fix minimum wages as best it can according to possibilities.

Permanent employees — The Committee recognised as the teaching of the Church the proposition that the Church, like other Employers, is bound ex justitia to pay its permanent full-time employee a living, family wage. The measures recommended by the Committee to meet this obligation were:—

- a. The Church should pay basic salary equal to the minimum wage.
- b. The family allowance should be 10% to 20% of the basic salary.
(The committee rejected the idea of individual allowances for each additional child and based its recommendations on the assumption that the average family consists of six persons).
- c. When an employee has completed a period of service of ten years, provision should be made for old-age

security ; the Committee could not agree whether this should consist simply of an increase in salary, participation in a provident fund or pension scheme, but the Committee did agree to recommend that the amount to be put aside for this purpose would amount to 10% of the total salary to be received by the employee, starting after the completion of 10 years service.

Unemployment and 'Charity Workers' — In areas where there is large scale unemployment, the people at times want the Church to distribute the work which the Church is able to finance to a large number of people. To do so however, could very well force the Church to lower the wages paid out, since the resources of the Church are limited.

The committee felt that despite the Church's sympathy and concern for the unemployed, the Church has not the right to lower the established wages of its employees, permanent or otherwise.

The Committee recommended that the Church should try to provide help through such agencies as Catholic Relief Services and other charitable bodies, and co-operate with Local Government and Central Government in trying to create satisfactory employment in new fields.

The Committee also felt that it would be advisable for the Church to encourage workers in areas suffering from unemployment to expand or intensify their activities in the agricultural sphere.

The Committee also agreed that the practise of 'creating' work for poor parishioners or so-called 'charity' workers mentioned above at very low rates of employment as an alternative to direct alms-giving is dangerous because it is liable to misinterpretation by Labour Officials and justifiable only in

exceptional cases. Great care should be taken lest such a practice constitute a hazard to the payment of just wages to bona fide workers.

However, the Committee also felt that where there is a situation of widespread unemployment the Church may try, as long as that situation perdures, to spread the funds available over as many people as possible by adopting a policy of hiring workers on a very-short-term or part-time basis but at the established wage scale.

Women Workers and Children Workers — There are a number of Government regulations pertaining to women and children workers. A summary of the main points are :—

- a. A women worker means a female apparently over the age of eighteen.
- b. A young person apparently fifteen years but under eighteen.
- c. A child means a person under the apparent age of fifteen.

Although employment of 'young persons' and 'children' is permitted their employment is governed by certain conditions of work. For instance, the nature of the work and the conditions should in no way be injurious or dangerous to health. Nor are they to be held under contract. In all cases of course Labour Officers have a say in the matter of employment of children, and satisfy themselves as to the employment condition as laid down by the law.

Holidays — The committee proposed to grant a paid holiday of two or three weeks per year to permanent employees. The legal minimum is six days worked out at one day for every two months of service. The minimum working time to qualify for this entitlement is 288 days.

Medical Treatment and Sick Leave — The Committee strongly suggests that Workmen's Compensation (insurance) should be taken out at least for those workers with dangerous occupations. Where there is no Workmen's Compensation the Church should treat its employees free of charge in its hospitals and dispensaries, for a period of upto three months.

For the period of his sickness a permanent employee should be paid as follows: his full salary for the first month and half of his salary for the next two months.

Housing — The Committee felt that if housing is provided it has to be done according to Government regulations as regards size and hygiene.

B. Duties of Employees

Time of Work — The Committee felt that the salary, which is meant to be a just remuneration for the work done, corresponds to a 45 hours' week. If the contract is not being fulfilled by an employee his salary may be reduced accordingly. If employer or employee wishes a break during the day for efficiency a suitable arrangement for this should be made.

For domestic workers whose working hours may be longer special arrangements should be made for time off or for additional pay.

For overtime work Government regulations have to be followed.

Work — The Committee emphasized the fact that the employee has an obligation to develop a sense of responsibility by:—

Working efficiently and according to the instructions given to him by the employer,
taking a real interest in his work,

using materials, especially machinery and tools, correctly and treating them with proper care,
following the rules of goods workmanship,
working in harmony with the other employees and making real team-work possible,
learning new techniques wherever he has an opportunity.

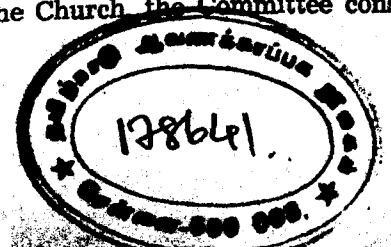
If any employee feels that there is an injustice or misunderstanding he has an obligation to approach the supervisor or the employer and must not cause unrest amongst the workers. If the matter cannot be settled satisfactorily, he may go to outside authorities such as Labour Officers and Trade Union Officials.

C. Position of the Church

Charitable Institution — The Committee felt it should be made clear that the Church is not a profit-making but a Charitable Institution using its funds and income for establishing and maintaining its religious and social projects and thus working entirely for the benefit of the country and the people. So far, a very large percentage of the money used for these Church projects has come from outside the country. Even in the few cases of profit-making undertakings run by the Church the money earned is used for the same purpose of helping country and people.

Being a charitable Institution, the Church has the right to ask its members to co-operate on a voluntary basis for the establishment and up-keep of its projects. However, when the Church does employ people for its projects a just salary, as outlined above, will be paid.

Church Support — Thinking of the problem of Church support in connection with just salaries to be paid to the employees of the Church the Committee considered this too



big a problem to be dealt with under the terms of reference of this committee. It was felt that the Board of the T.E.C. should be asked to set up a special Episcopal Committee to study this problem.

D. Church and Trade Unions

The Committee felt that the Trade Unions, being legal and recognised bodies which work for the good of the working population, should be recognised as such by the Church.

Exclusive recognition — The Committee was of the opinion that it was premature to give exclusive recognition to any particular Trade Union recognizing it as the sole and only representative of the workers' interests in the particular profession or type of work. It was felt that Trade Unions in Tanganyika were not yet well enough established and settled down for being in a position to claim such an exclusive recognition.

Diocesan Board for dealings with Trade Unions — The Committee recommended that in each Diocese a Committee be established which would be the only body in the Diocese to be approached by Trade Union officials for negotiating contracts.

Staff Committees in larger places — For places with a large number of employees the Committee suggested the establishment of Staff Committees consisting of representatives of the employer and the employee side. Such Committees would deal with labour disputes, excluding wage demands in the first instance.

MAHILA SEVA GRAM

Sumati Sant

Mahila Seva Gram, an institution run by Mahila Seva Mandal, was established in December 1940 by Miss M. K. Davis and other social workers in Poona. One of the objectives of the Mandal was to conduct a rescue home for destitute, deserted women, particularly those in moral danger.

It is a matter of common knowledge that under the present economic and social stress, problems of women are assuming greater complexities. The gradual break-up of the joint family, the shift to more individualistic tendencies, a keen desire to increase the standard of living and the consequent struggle for existence and alluring urban environments have made women more vulnerable to social pathology.

The problems of desertion, seduction, unmarried motherhood and the various ways of exploiting women are increasingly coming to the fore-

front and engaging the attention of those who have human welfare at heart.

All Castes and Communities

Right from its inception in 1940 under the able management of Miss M. K. Davis, a great pioneer social worker, the Mahila Seva Mandal has been associated with social workers of all castes and communities. Nor has the organization ever made any distinction of caste, creed or colour in respect of women seeking help. Thus the organization has been truly secular.

In spite of its favourable record of work, the institution has unfortunately no permanent place of its own. Up to 30th April 1954 Mahila Seva Gram was housed in the buildings which were kindly given for its use by the society of Saint John the Evangelist. The activities of Mahila Seva Gram had to be suspended as the same site was needed to start St. Cris-

pin's Home for women and girls under Christian management.

Thanks to the authorities of the David Sassoon Infirm Asylum in generously placing at our disposal four blocks from their buildings, Mahila Seva Gram was reopened six months later in October 1954. The Mandal carried on its work during these years in the limited accommodation. This resulted in restricting the new admissions only to such of the needy inmates who required immediate protection and shelter, and had to transfer quite a number of inmates to the Reception Centres in the state.

Donors

Fortunately, however, Shri Motichand Shah, ex-Sheriff of Bombay and a well-known philanthropist, generously donated an extensive piece of land in the Yerandavana area of Poona city for constructing suitable buildings thereon. The construction was undertaken after finalising the plans in consultation with Shri N. S. Gupchup and after observing the procedure of calling tenders with the help of the Hon. Architects and Engineers M/s. Sant, Gholing and Dongre.

The foundation-stone of the new building was laid by Maharshi Dr. D. K. alias Annasaheb Karve, Bharat Ratna, on 1st June 1958. Consequently besides its normal routine work, the Mandal was busily engaged in the collection of funds for some time. The Govt. of Bombay was kind enough to give a grant of Rs. 25,000/- for the building. It was really a memorable day for the workers of the Mandal when the building was formally opened on April 1959 by Shri N. K. Tirpude, Minister for Social Welfare, Govt. of Bombay. The Minister eulogized the efforts made by the Mandal in collecting public contributions for its building construction work and in token of his appreciation donated an additional building grant of Rs. 25,000.

The new building provided accommodation for more than 100 inmates, and it has now become possible for the institution to serve a large number of needy women and children. The Mandal is still in need of funds to construct residential quarters for the key staff of the home.

Development

It is worthy of note that the Central Social Welfare

Board, New Delhi sanctioned a scheme under the second Five Year Plan for the qualitative and quantitative development of the work of the institution. The scheme, estimated to cost Rs. 49,500, was spread over a period of five years commencing from 1956. It envisaged increase in the number of inmates by five each year and improvement in the quality of services rendered to the inmates. Under this scheme the Mandal could appoint requisite staff for the purpose both medical and administrative, and instructors for the weaving and tailoring sections.

The Central Social Welfare Board also sanctioned a building grant of Rs. 10,000 on a matching contribution basis in 1959 with the help of which Mahila Seva Mandal could complete the fourth wing of the building.

Under the third five year plan the C.S.W.B. has also sanctioned Rs. 50,000 for the same purpose — commencing from 1st April 1961.

The Govt. of Bombay in the Labour and Social Welfare department continues to pay the grant-in-aid towards the

pay of the trained superintendent; and also gives an ad hoc grant for the rescue and prevention work; for which we are thankful to them. However it comes only to 2 annas per head per day and hence Mahila Seva Mandal has to depend greatly on public charities for the expenses of rescue and prevention cases.

Activities

Mahila Seva Mandal had signed a contract with the Govt. of Bombay to admit upto 25 female beggars coming within the perview of moral welfare work. Accordingly it admits healthy adolescent girls coming within the perview of the Bombay Beggar's Act.

The types of cases which are admitted in K. M. Mahila Seva Gram can be classified as follows :—

- 1) Destitute, 2) Homeless, 3) Temporary Shelter 4) Improper Guardian, 5) Beggar Inmate, 6) Uncontrollable, 7) Broken Home, 8) Deserted by Husband, 9) Moral Danger, 10) Illegal Motherhood, 11) Unmarried Mother, 12) Illegitimate Child, 13) Rescue.

All these various cases are referred to the institution by various sources such as :—

1) Juvenile Court, 2) Adult Court, 3) Social Workers, 4) Director of Social Welfare, Bombay State, 5) Police, 6) Liaison Officer, 7) Parents or Relatives, 8) Members of the Seva Gram.

When a girl is admitted into Seva Gram there are two separate problems to be tackled. One is to solve the immediate problem and afterwards to rehabilitate her in such a way as to give her a proper place in society and to enable her to lead a moral life. In the light of this requirement the first delicate work is for the worker to take the girl into her confidence and to get from her the history of her previous life. This helps us to guide her properly if she is in the wrong. This work is done by trained and experienced case workers — which includes the supdt. — who can observe the girl through close contact. The case reviewing board, which meets once in a week helps a good deal in this work; whenever needed the relatives or the parties concerned are called before this board. The board helps in

planning and executing rehabilitation programmes in respect of the inmates. In dealing with the cases of some inmates, co-operation and help of the local Juvenile Court and District Probation and Aftercare Association and probation officers is sought.

Legal problems of varied nature are many a time involved in cases of moral welfare work. An angry parent may be up in arms against the management for rescuing his daughter; ownership of a child may be contested or a divorce may have to be obtained. All such problems require expert legal advice. Therefore a legal advisory Board has been constituted.

Malnutrition

The Mahila Seva Gram admits persons many of whom suffer from effects of malnutrition or are afflicted with various types of diseases. Therefore, arrangements for adequate medical treatment of the inmates form a very important factor in the management of a specialized institution of this nature. To pay for such assistance would cost more than the Mandal could afford. Of course there is a trained paid nurse who

stays on the premises and there is a Lady Doctor who works as the Honorary visiting medical officer. In addition to such helpers various hospitals in Poona — e.g. St. Margaret's Hospital, The Wadia Hospital, The Tarachand Ramnath Hospital and particularly the Sassoon Hospital and K. E. M. Hospital, Poona extend their cooperation and help. But the medical section in K. M. Mahila Seva Gram proper is rather deficient and the institution greatly needs this kind of service.

A special children's section has been recently started in which children below 8 years of age are admitted. At present there are about 60 child-

ren. There is a special montessori school, but much has yet to be done for the cultural education and recreation of the children.

In addition to the weaving and tailoring section the Seva Mandal has started a production centre — 'Udyog Mandi' — (to prepare Tamerind powder, chilly powder, Shikakai powder, and various sweet-meats) which serves the purpose of occupational therapy.

There are various different ways of rehabilitation which are adopted according to the individual needs and problems of the inmates. Methods of Disposal followed by the institution are as follows :—

- (1) Reconciliation between the husband and wife.
- (2) Restoration to parents — if they are prepared to take their daughter back.
- (3) Marriage — giving the girl to proper suitor after careful investigation.
- (4) Provision of Employment.
- (5) Educational programme to be provided in case of deserving inmates.
- (6) Transfer to suitable institution — but in very rare cases.
- (7) Giving the child for adoption on the advice of the Juvenile Court, Poona.

Thus for the last 20 years and over, Mahila Seva Mandal has devoted itself to the work of women's moral and social welfare. During this long period it has provided shelter in its rescue and preventive Home for nearly 5000 women

girls and children who were badly in need of such help.

Mahila Seva Gram, Poona, has been rendering yeoman service in this field for the last 20 years. The following figures concerning the different types of cases treated by the Mandal speak for themselves.

(i) Women and girls in moral danger	978
(ii) Destitutes	455
(iii) Illegitimate babies	532
(iv) Born in Mahila Seva Gram	450
(v) Victims of broken homes	510
(vi) Pregnant widows	330
(vii) Unmarried mothers	300
(viii) Unmarried pregnant girls	280
(ix) Victims of immoral traffic	215
(x) Victims of kidnapping	245
(xi) Uncontrollable	210
(xii) Abducted wives	120
(xiii) Living in brothel	91
Total	4716
No. of cases pending on 31st March 1961	81

Book Reviews

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN INDIA, by C. B. Kumar, Ph. D., Bombay, Orient Longmans Ltd., 1961, pp. 250, price Rs. 15.

India is somewhat late entering the industrial scene. While this delayed debut produces certain social problems, it likewise offers some advantages. One of these latter results is the opportunity to learn from the mistakes made by the more highly industrialized countries. India seems to be doing this in many ways. The literature it is publishing in this field serves as good examples of this practical wisdom. For far too long, progress in the human relations aspects of industrial life in Western countries was slowed by the dearth of sound studies concerned with the facts of this life. The filling-in of this gap has been a relatively recent development. India, it is encouraging to note, seems well on its way towards avoiding this handicap.

One of the latest and most helpful contributions to the proper understanding of this aspect of industrial society is the work of Dr. C. B. Kumar. Both he and Orient Longmans deserve real commendation for the interesting and eminently instructive study they have just given the public. From cover to cover, *The Development of Industrial Relations in India*

literally vibrates with social vitality. It provides a fresh and clearly marked guide post for further advances in labour-management co-operation.

Among its many good features, perhaps the more outstanding are its rather comprehensive survey of the development of the Indian labour movement, and its extended explanation of the industrial relations procedures that have grown along with this. And both of these factual pictures are made more relevant to the immediate social scene by an accompanying analysis of the psychological, economic and sociological factors which contributed to their particular design. This makes for a more fully alive portrait. The work's significance for present and future problems is further strengthened by its substantial effort to suggest programmes and projects that might be newly started or still more effectively carried on. For good measure, and very valuable practical help too, several statistical and experimental reports are included as appendices. A select bibliography also enhances the book's usefulness.

The author's effort to present both labour and management's roles in the historical evolution of industrial relations in India is especially to be commended. It was the lack of just that kind of an attitude, or accomplishment anyway, which hampered the progress of sound industrial relations in the West for so long.

The work has its weakness of course. It suffers from a scarcity and a certain antiquity of statistical information. But this reflects a deficiency in the Indian social science field more than in Dr. Kumar's contribution itself. A more serious and substantial deficiency of the book is a certain spirit of superficiality that gradually becomes impressed upon the serious reader. The author never really gets to the vital center of the industrial relations problem. Not, at least, in a clear and convincing fashion. Perhaps the best example of this appears in a statement which might be said to represent the theme of the study. "The problem of developing good industrial relations is fundamentally one of Collective Bargaining", Dr. Kumar declares. But he himself effectively refutes this principle by frequent references to the basic attitude of non-co-operation between the parties in this pro-

cess which constantly impedes its successful working. This implies something dark and disturbing deep down in the social personalities of both labour and management. But Dr. Kumar never attempts a real probe, and hence cannot offer a badly needed diagnosis and prognosis of this ailment. It is regrettable too that, in his final summary, Dr. Kumar gives no consideration to the co-management experiments, presently underway in quite a few Indian industries, as possible sources of fruitful information for future progress in industrial relations. In many ways, India offers the ideal testing ground for this most recent, and undoubtedly most radical, form of labour-management co-operation. It is therefore deserving of careful attention by such impartial observers of the industrial scene as Dr. Kumar.

For his careful restatement, at least, of the complementary roles of the two primary parties in the drama of Indian industrial development, Dr. Kumar should be warmly congratulated. And for the same reason, his book ought to be widely and thoughtfully read by all concerned with India's social progress.

J. Connor

TRUE FACTS ABOUT THE CONGO, by *Tej Narain*, Delhi, Central Press Syndicate, 1961.

Negativism, the policy of non-co-operation with, or even radical opposition to, an existing situation is always a dangerous attitude. When adopted as the basis of a practical programme of action, it can and usually does become disastrous. For it not only does not provide its proponents with a guide to constructive activity, which is a necessary first requirement for operational success. But rather does just the opposite thing. By its lack of a positive objective, it generally produces one characteristic result—confusion. Only nothing can come from nothing, as the history of life amply demonstrates. And pure opposition to something, however imperfect the latter might be, is of its essence nothing. True, such a movement does possess a certain force which stems from the energy and enthusiasm of its advocates. And this is the proximate source of its terrible danger. It unleashes power without control. This is what we call, in the language of natural science, a hurricane. Such a force badly batters whatever it sets itself against. Who can deny this patently evident fact? And, while there may often be some good in this purging effect, must we not likewise admit that there is often much of evil that accompanies the experience too? The proportion between these resultant effects is all too

readily discernable in the conditions that lie in the wake of these disturbances. We call them ruins. This is the imprint made upon the things which lie outside the confines of the storm itself. For its own part, the consequences are not much different. Dissipation and ultimate disintegration are its loss. Obvious the fate of such a force. Some of the component parts it disgorges as it disrupts may continue to exist and to function in one form or another. But they are merely fragments, isolated remnants of the original dynamic power. The latter is gone, completely, even if not forgotten. And even the memory of it lingers only so long as the havoc it wrecked remains.

Such, in a metaphorical sense, is the picture of the early days of independence in the Congo given by the Indian journalist, Mr. Tej Narain. It is simply yet sharply expressed, with startling clarity, in his little booklet titled, "True Facts About The Congo." The work is published by the Central Press Syndicate in Delhi.

A reading of this story offers two very valuable benefits for whoever undertakes to do so. One gets therefrom a rational and understandable explanation of the truly fantastic features that have marked the early days of freedom for the Congolese people.

What has perhaps hitherto appeared as an absolutely inexplicable and unpredictable nightmare here assumes clear-cut lines of casual connections. It is still a nightmare, to be sure. But it is no longer an unaccountable, and hence unavoidable, one.

There is a yet larger significance to the message Mr. Narain conveys. A sort of shadow silhouette against the more dramatic details. And it should be able to make itself known and felt most clearly in those readers who are involved with the development processes of newly independent countries. The thought thus obliquely conveyed takes the form of a warning that a policy of pure, or even predominant, anti-colonialism does not work in practice. It produces regress rather than progress. It is indeed unfortunate that, at this relatively late day in the unfolding of independence movements, such an elementary truth has to be re-emphasized. Such is the weakness of human nature, however, among new national as well as old colonial leaders.

Indian readers should derive special satisfaction from this story.

By contrast, the independence policies and programmes of their government are seen to be highly enlightened and realistic. In the same light, they can see better how much progress they have already made. Nevertheless, they can find something to be concerned about too. Some of the things Mr. Narain says about the foreign policy practices of the Indian government, in its stand on the Congo problem, are not exactly complimentary. They indicate a certain puzzling inconsistency. While following a line of reasonable restraint in its own dealings with the weakness of colonialism, it is not always as cautious in the advice and assent it gives to other new-born nations in this regard. This is regrettable. It is not the way to win friends among the family of nations.

It is regrettable too that Mr. Narain did not choose to substantiate many of his factual assertions with more source references. He writes in reportorial terms, true enough. But his work could be much more than a personal analysis, as it might be considered, if it were better documented.

J. Connor

Letters to the Editor

'.... A friend of mine handed me a copy of the January number of your 'Social Action', dealing with the General Elections 1962, and the Election Manifestos. It is an excellent publication sponsored by the Institute, very informative and didactic'

Jos. Alex Dias — Bandra.

'.... Let me congratulate you on the excellent number of 'Social Action' which you have just brought out. It is very instructive and illuminating. The encyclical 'Mater et Magistra' is a document of far reaching practical concern to people all over the world. Particularly interesting was the Papal emphasis on 'Socialisation' which seems to have aroused people into really serious thinking. We in India ought to sit up and take note of what the Holy Father has said. It is indeed significant that Prime Minister Nehru should have not only read this valuable document but should have also made a reference to it in one of his speeches in Parliament'

W. Adiseshiah — New Delhi.

'.... Just a word of appreciation for the simple but tasteful cover design as well as for the weighty but timely contents of the current number of your magazine'

Louis Gonsalvez — New Delhi

'.... Your article about the several parties and their manifestoes was extremely interesting, and just now I have here in my room a man who stands for the Bihar Assembly and got his lights from your article in making a decision as to which party to join. Several people have been using your journal this side. Please print more things like this : practical and well informed, which we can use'

G. Zwijsen — Ranchi

Labour-Management Resolutions

P. McKeon

Almighty God, we ask Thy blessing on all who work.
Let there be no harsh distinction
Between the thinking worker and the working thinker,
For both are participating in Thy creative power
And in fulfilling Thy command "Fill the earth and subdue it"
That society may prosper through the production of honest
 goods and services.
For you have made this world a workshop and proving
 ground for mankind
Where all may fulfill their destiny
By love and service, avoiding hate and greed,
In advancing the common good.

Make us ever conscious that Thy divine Son, Jesus Christ,
Bestowed honour on all honest labour
In His apprenticeship at Nazareth and in the gracious toil of
the hidden life.
Let all in industry be mindful of the lessons of the Sermon
on the Mount
Wherein He laid down principles of social action
Which guarantee for all men a sufficiency of the goods of time
And the promise of eternal reward.
Let us never forget that He is still a mediator between
Thee and men.
Through the light of Thy grace
May labour and management recognize clearly
Their respective rights and corresponding responsibilities.

For industry, to be stable and prosperous, calls for
Unity of purpose and action, of cordial collaboration,
That the fruits of Thy providence be wisely distributed
And no man lack his daily bread.
Let all be appreciative of the investment which creates jobs,
Bless those who, with this thought in mind, risk their capital ;
For a man willing to work and unemployed is shackled in
body and mind.

Let there be a stop to featherbedding at all levels of
production

And to exploitation in any form

“For what does it profit a man to gain the whole world and
to lose his soul?”

Inspire all in a worthy and constructive use of leisure time

That they may seek opportunity for self-development and
growth in sanctification

To portray the true splendour of humanity.

Dear God, in beseeching all these things we hope to see
An end to industrial discord and violence,
A fostering of justice and love that
"Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."
To this end enlighten those in authority
To avoid extreme policies of the right or left,
To reconcile individual rights with the needs of the common
good,
To aid men to be versed in the knowledge and sanctified
in the practice
Of Social justice and charity.

Through Christ Our Lord. — Amen.

FROM THE WORLD OF JOURNALS

Castro's Cuba

Paul Crane, Editor of Christian Order, analysing 'Castro's Cuba' traces the trend and final take over by the communists to the January 1959 revolt. The author first draws attention to the fact that though Castro might have had some secret agreement with Communist envoys who went out to meet him in the Sierra Maestra in 1958, there was no open evidence of Communist support to his movement. As a matter of fact, he continues 'By contrast, a strongly Christian tone was everywhere evident..... In this Castro himself gave the lead in March 1957 when he said 'I am no Communist and the Movement of July 26th has nothing in common with Communism.'

To add to this conviction Paul Crane cites the support the Catholic Church gave the Castro movement. He says 'It is unthinkable that the Church would have given Castro's movement the support it did in the early days of its triumph had it seen Castro and his men as openly connected

with Communism'. The question most naturally asked is, when did Castro decide to *permit* a communist take-over?

The greatest weakness of the revolution, says Paul Crane, was the lack of an effective ideology that threatened the ultimate success of the revolution. Linked to this was the nature of the man, Castro. Drawing a parallel with Ghana's Nkrumah the author says 'They both possess that combination of inflated, personal magnetism and brilliantly pragmatic insight, which makes the great demagogue. Neither is a Communist. Each finds a Communist set-up suitable because it provides a framework within which they will be enabled to complete their revolutions in the social field and consolidate them effectively and permanently round themselves.

It was precisely this lack of ideology and the personal ambitions of Castro that influenced him to *permit* the communist take over. The

Communist ideology lent itself admirably to the situation, at the same time safeguarding to the ultimate extent the continued power of Castro. According to Paul Crane the West had no comparable ideology to offer based as it was on liberal materialism rather than on Christian belief and principles which they normally profess to uphold. The author also warns the Western Powers that no amount of aid can effectively take the place of a strong ideology. He quotes China where through Communist ideology 'a whole nation was given the chance of being lifted up at one stroke by its own bootstraps.... Communism offered the Chinese modernity with the assistance of western technology, yet without dependence on western capitalism or acceptance of its ideology..'

Housing Co-operatives

Mr. Dhavale, Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation commenting on housing co-operatives in the 'Yojana' says that it is estimated that apart from the back-log of demand for seven to eight million houses in urban areas from the Second Five Year Plan, the additional

demand for urban houses under the Third Plan would be about 5.6 million. Besides, nearly 50 million houses in rural areas are either to be rebuilt completely or improved substantially. The problem is so large that it is necessary that people in need of housing should come forward for concerted action to mitigate the situation. Co-operative housing societies have a vital part to play in this field.

Suggestions

In order to promote the movement further, the following suggestions could be considered :—

- a. There should be a concrete programme in each State for the development of co-operative housing with necessary financial provision and physical targets.
- b. Steps should be taken to achieve effective co-ordination between the different departments in the States concerned with the development of housing.
- c. In these states where housing boards as well as house finance corporations are functioning, it is

desirable that there should be clear democratisation of the activities of these bodies in the interest of speedy disbursement of Government loans.

- d. Effective links should be established between housing societies and labour construction co-operatives.

West New Guinea

Norman Harper commenting on the West New Guinea issue from the Australian view point, makes a comprehensive study of the dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia in 'International Studies'. He has this to say.

'The Indonesian claim to West New Guinea has always been that it is an integral part of Indonesia and that the Dutch have continued illegally to occupy it since 1949, thus infringing Indonesian sovereignty. The claim is based on the definition of the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia) in a series of Dutch documents from the Constitution of 1922 to the report on the Netherlands Indies submitted to the United Nations in 1949. The geographical and political usage of the term Netherlands Indies makes it crystal clear,

they argue, that West New Guinea has always been an integral part of the Netherlands Indies although on several occasions the residency of West New Guinea has not been specifically enumerated.

Accordingly they believed that the negotiations at the Hague in 1949 were concerned with the transfer of sovereignty over the whole area of the Netherlands Indies to the Republic of Indonesia and that this was implicit in Article I of the Charter of Transfer: 'The Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and thereby recognises the said Republic of the United States of Indonesia as an independent and sovereign state.'

The Dutch view can be expressed very succinctly. As the administering authority in West New Guinea, the Netherlands government has flatly denied the Indonesian interpretation of the Charter of Transfer and of the negotiations at the Round Table Conference in 1949..... The dispute which remained related solely to the future

status of the territory which would emerge if the parties could agree on either the maintenance of the existing status or on a change in that status.

Australian concern with West New Guinea has stemmed primarily from its strategic interests in the islands of New Guinea. Indonesia is, at its nearest point, approximately 200 miles from the mainland of Australia. New Guinea has for several generations been regarded as an essential bastion for Australia's defence.

This concern with the strategic value of New Guinea as a whole has from the beginning been linked with the fear of the growing threat of communism in South East Asia. The Australian Government doubted whether in the event of a communist attack, Indonesia could preserve its independence.... Communism has not got any foothold yet in Australian New Guinea. Australia is determined in so far as it can to ensure that it will not.

Norman Harper points out that in the past Australia played a very important part

in Indonesian independence and even went so far as representing them at the Good Offices Committee and the United Nations Commission. But with the fear of communism dominant he says, 'Since the Hague Conference, Australia's official attitude towards Indonesia has remained very friendly, but has hardened over the question of the transfer of West New Guinea.'

Galbraith in India

"An amateur both at diplomacy and at public relations, he sometimes annoys the professionals of his staff. But the Indians are beginning to rate him as high as any of the four unusually competent Ambassadors who preceded him". In a nutshell, Kusum Nair gives not only an insight into the character of the man but also the atmosphere created by Ambassador Galbraith.

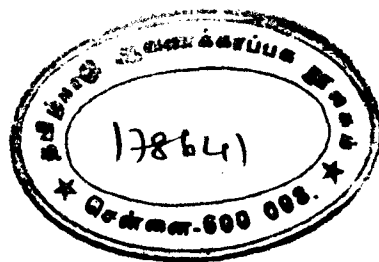
She continues "His fame as an economist and writer had of course preceded him. He is widely read in India and his views are respected and liked, mainly because his liberal economic philosophy is broadly in consonance with the dominant Indian temper. The fact that he is unorthodox, and a pungent critic of tradi-

tional economic thought and of certain aspects of the American capitalist system, adds tremendously to his prestige and popularity in this country."

Through a series of interviews with people whom the author feels 'represent different strata of Indian non-political opinion' a background is established against which Ambassador Galbraith's efforts are viewed. Kusum Nair says "He (Galbraith) has little faith in propaganda, and believes that those who are subject to persuasion are on the whole not worth persuading. He wants the U.S. Information Services to cease to be an instrument of Cold War and become one of education in the best sense." Further she gives the Ambassador's own views when he says 'The most significant and deep seated change in recent

times is that we accept India's nonaligned position in international affairs. We are not going to argue about India's choice and we see that it contributes to stability in this part of the world... Henceforth, we are not going to be concerned with debates over ideology. We recognise that India has to have a very substantial public sector and we will extend help wherever we find it contributes most to rapid development".

Kusum Nair concludes, 'Perhaps the most interesting 'if' of Galbraith's term of office in India is whether he will leave a more memorable imprint on this country or the country on him. If I were to venture a guess, the probability is that it will be the latter, though undoubtedly Galbraith will be remembered in India for a long time to come".



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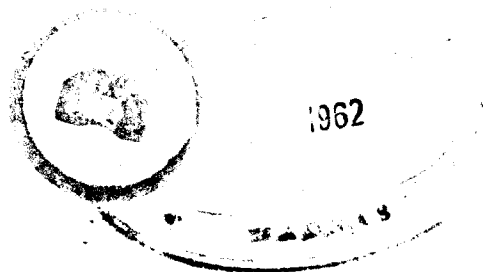
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SOCIAL **ACTION**

VOL. 12

JANUARY

1962



**THE GENERAL ELECTIONS
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SOCIAL ACTION is published monthly by the Indian Institute of Social Order, 13 Boat Club Road, Poona 1, India. Phone 2098. The Editorial Board does not necessarily endorse the individual views of its contributors.

Subscription rates: Yearly, Rs. 6 or \$. 2 or 10 s Single copy, Re. 0.65.

Cheques should be made out in favour of the Indian Social Institute, and if not drafted on a Poona Bank should cover the clearing commission. V.P.P. charges are extra. Inland Money Orders or by Foreign Cheques are the best means of payment.

SOCIAL ACTION

Vol. 12 No. 1 JANUARY 1962

THE NEW YEAR AND THE ELECTIONS

1962 is election year. Once again the largest democracy in the world will be going to the polls. The excitement of uncertainty will be lacking, for the results seem to be a foregone conclusion. There is no doubt that the Congress Party will be returned to power, after having governed the country for nearly two decades. What is in doubt however is the number of votes the Party polls and the number of seats it captures in the legislature both at the Centre and in the States. Equally important will be the structure of the Opposition. Who will come out best? The Communist Party, or the Praja Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra Party? There is ample room here for speculation. At this time of crisis when India is menaced by trouble on her borders in the North and rejoicing over the liberation of Goa, it is difficult to predict with any certainty how the Opposition Parties are likely to fare. Already there is a growing volume of opinion in favour of backing the Government in power. A time of crisis always brings the people together around leaders whom they already know.

An Opposition

It seems to be a tragic event in the history of the democratic experiment in this country that after 15 years of democracy, there is no real opposition party that can effectively challenge the ruling party. A powerful, united opposition with a clear-cut platform of its own, ready to

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step into power in case the ruling party loses the confidence of the people has always been regarded as one of the essentials of the parliamentary system. India has failed to produce an opposition of this kind and the country is suffering from this vacuum. It is sometimes said that the opposition to the Congress Party comes from within its own ranks. This may be true to some extent. All the same a vigorous opposition with a clear-cut programme around which the people can rally always remains an urgent necessity. Other reasons for the lack of an effective opposition party have been suggested. Perhaps one of the most important of them is that only a small percentage of India's millions is politically conscious enough to realise the significance of the vote, and the apathy and indifference of the masses towards matters of national importance hinders the growth of organised bodies who dare to think differently from Congress.

Confusion

Over and above such political backwardness, there is the ideological confusion that prevails in the platforms of various parties. Except the Communist Party whose policies are geared to the political dogmas of an international character, the other parties have no consistent ideologies, which do not in one way or another greatly overlap each other. Thus the electorate is faced with a difficult problem in selection. In the face of this impasse, personality will count more than principles; and to a vast mass of illiterate people, a name that is well known will conjure much more loyalty than that of some unknown antagonist.

The Relics of History

Historically, again with the exception of the Communists, every other political body had its origin or has been closely linked with the Indian National Congress, which in pre-independent days was a nationalist movement rather than a political party. This initial welding together of strong personalities and the consequent fixing of political ideas in

a revolutionary atmosphere has produced in Indian political life such complex personalities as Prime Minister Nehru, who combines in himself a deep attachment to democratic methods and the values of non-violence with a prejudice for ownership and a belief in the omniscience of the state. Similarly, there is Jai Prakash Narayan, who was once an ardent Marxist, but now dedicated to Sarvodaya. Another controversial figure is Kripalani, once an ardent socialist, but now accused of having bourgeois and rightist tendencies. Apart from the Congress, the old terrorist organisations are now mainly dominated by militant communalism and supported by a hard core of irreconcilables who still believe in Akhand Bharat as the only solution for the ills of this country.

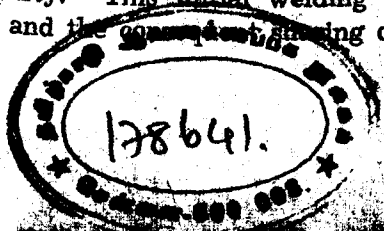
Controversial Issues

Despite the great prestige and popularity of the Congress, one of the most outstanding contests for the Lok Sabha will be that between the present Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, set up by the Congress and favoured by the Prime Minister, and Sri J. Kripalani, an Independent member, who however is being strongly canvassed by the opposition parties. Menon has been strongly attacked in the press for his leftist tendencies and his weak Chinese policy, but he has the backing of Mr. Nehru; and this does make a difference in Indian politics.* If the vote goes against Menon, it will really be a vote against the foreign policy of the Prime Minister. The constituency in which Menon stands is by no means made up of illiterate people. Quite the contrary. It is for this reason that this conflict at the polls will be watched with particular interest by the people of India.

Other interesting highlights will be the manner in which both the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra parties show up at

* The successful liberation of Goa will certainly sway the electorate in favour of Menon.

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the polls. Kerala too will be watched with marked attention, because of the growing unpopularity of the present coalition.

In This Issue

The following pages will present to the reader a brief summary of the manifestos of some of the most important political parties in the country. A word of comment on each of the programmes is also added. As far as possible, the criterion by which the contents of the programmes are judged is the social philosophy outlined in the papal encyclicals and the social teaching of the Catholic Church. It should be noted however that the principles contained in this teaching are based to a large extent on Natural Law, to which persons of whatever belief and persuasion will readily subscribe, unless they are Communists or anarchists. India is a free country and the ballot is a free ballot. It is highly desirable that the voter should exercise his vote in a responsible manner, because on every single vote depends the destiny of the nation. It is to help the voter in this task that the programmes of the parties have been examined and criticised.

The New Year

One last word. The Editor would like to take this opportunity to wish all his readers a very happy and prosperous New Year. He is deeply grateful to them for their continued support and he hopes that the issues of Social Action that will see the light of day this year will be to their entire satisfaction.

The Editor

SOCIAL ACTION

THE ELECTION MANIFESTOS

ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Since the Congress was the chief agent of India's liberation and has been guiding the destiny of the country for the last two decades, it is but natural that the manifesto should refer mainly to the great difficulties in social and political life that have been encountered and overcome successfully, and the great tasks that still lie ahead.

free nations. His policy of non-violence and his friendly and co-operative approach to both friend and foe have been the inspiration of India's domestic and foreign policy, and the manifesto emphasises the significance of the Gandhian tradition in the present and future policy of the Congress.

Referring to the past, the manifesto invokes the great name of Gandhiji, his struggle for independence and his assassination in his hour of triumph. Gandhiji's name will always be associated with the Congress, and will continue to exercise its spell over the Indian mind for generations to come. The Congress should not be grudged the privilege of this connection, for it was Gandhiji who transformed the Congress into a force for liberating the country from foreign rule, and placing India among the ranks of the

The five year plans and their objectives of building up a "social pattern of society" and the many achievements of the plans are heavily underscored, in the manifesto. At the same time, the struggle against economic stagnation, a caste and faction-ridden society, and the growth of communalism is not yet over. The increased opportunities for education have unfortunately led to greater unemployment, while the attraction of power has led to factions and numerous political groupings. Even language has become a source

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of friction. National integration is in peril. But the Congress is aware of these problems and has tried to steer the country safely through these various dangers.

The Third Five Year Plan is being built on the successes of the two previous plans, and while great poverty and unemployment still exist, statistical information shows the growth of basic and heavy industries, the marked improvement in our agricultural methods and in agricultural production, the advance of our science and technology, and the progress made by the country in a variety of fields of human activity, says the manifesto.

The manifesto proposes an all-round, balanced growth of the economy, although this is difficult to achieve in actual practice. The bright spots in the Indian picture are three. The first is the fast increase in the number of educated children. In 1950-51, 24 million boys and girls went to school and college. This figure has now gone up to 46 million. By the end of the Third Plan the figure should reach 65 million. Secondly, the expectation of life in India has

risen from about 32 years in the nineteen forties to 47.5 now. This is no doubt due to better living conditions and better food. The third is the growth of the Community Development Programme. Nearly 72 per cent of the villages have been covered by this programme which deals not only with agriculture, but also with other activities such as animal husbandry, village industries, social education, health and rural sanitation. The spread of Panchayati raj comes in for special mention, for it implies the spread of democratic methods at the lowest levels in the community.

The manifesto then makes a spirited defence of the principles of planning and the hopes and probable achievements of the Third Five Year Plan. It is intended to plan not only for short periods of five years but for longer periods of fifteen years. This becomes necessary in view of the fact that a co-ordination of the needs and development of the various sectors has to be borne in mind during the period of planning. Economic growth is a continuous process, and therefore planning must take

a long-term perspective if it is to be successfully applied.

In the industrialisation of the country, *the public sector will increasingly expand and play a dominant role*. The reason for this policy is to achieve social and economic equality, to accelerate the speed of industrialisation, and to yield additional resources for investment.

Public and private sectors should function in unison as parts of a single mechanism. The manifesto observes that during the past ten years however, the growth of the corporate private sector has raised new problems. How can economic growth be secured without the growth of monopolist tendencies and the concentration of economic power? The Congress intends to prevent this tendency by keeping the larger enterprises in the public sector, by encouraging medium-and small-scale, and co-operative industries in the private sector, and by appropriate fiscal measures.

In recent years, notes the manifesto, a number of financial and promotional institutions have been established.

In the light of experience gained, both these institutions as well as public sector enterprises should improve their organisation and administration.

Turning to agriculture, the manifesto says that the essence of progress in agriculture depends upon co-operatives. Especially where holdings are small, co-operatives are essential. Industrial growth itself depends on the growth in agriculture.

The manifesto proposes to spread service co-operatives throughout the rural areas, and wherever possible and agreed to, co-operative farming also. Training facilities for better farming techniques will be provided and rural electrification schemes implemented.

The ending of unemployment is a vital problem and rural manpower will be utilised by creating employment opportunities in national-buildings activities.

The manifesto calls for the expansion of the social services, especially health and education. Low income groups irrespective of castes and communities, should receive

special consideration. Free education up to the age of 11 is envisaged in the third five year plan.

Training of industrial workers and their progressive association in the management of enterprises is accepted in the manifesto.

Prices of essential commodities should be stabilised and trading on State Account should be undertaken wherever this is found possible. The establishment of consumers' co-operatives should be encouraged.

It is proposed to place a ceiling on land and similarly on high urban incomes, in order to secure a better distribution of wealth.

In the national set-up, based on a planned economy, *the administration* plays a vital role and should avoid delays, improve its quality, and fulfil its tasks adequately. For this purpose there should be greater decentralisation of authority, allocation of responsibility and proper appraisals of the work done.

The Congress stand for birth control and family planning to lower the growth in popula-

tion. Similarly, prohibition is to be encouraged and effectively implemented.

Finally, in foreign policy, the Congress stands for peace and friendship for all countries, non-alignment with military blocs and alliances, the ending of colonialism, and the achievement of wide-spread disarmament. Congress also pledges to the Indian people to maintain the integrity of Indian territory and to compel the China, Pakistan and Portugal to vacate territories occupied by them.

Comment

The Congress manifesto is an excellent summary of the policy, the objectives and the achievements of the Party during the last fourteen years since independence. The Congress has given the country a stable government, an economic programme, social and welfare ideals, and a leadership in world affairs. The manifesto likewise is no petty document, but a broad challenging statement and reminder of what has been achieved and what still remains to be done. Judged for breadth of vision and grasp of facts, it stands far above any other party manifesto. Obviously,

having governed the country for nearly two decades, the Congress has at its command a wealth of experience and a richness of ideology that has been worked into the manifesto.

The most telling criticism of the manifesto is pointing out the gap between the ideal as set down in this document and its actual implementation in practice. It is on this point that the opposition parties are clamorous, as will be seen in the following pages. There is therefore no need to dilate here on a critical evaluation of the Congress programme.

Still one or two points need emphasising. The Congress is wedded to the expansion of the public sector, and despite its plea for a balanced economy, the development of heavy industry takes priority over agriculture and the lighter types of industry. There is here a definite ideological clinging to a concept of development in which state monopolies are tolerated with naive satisfaction, as fulfilling the social requirements of a just distribution of wealth and economic power. Of course it is slowly being realised that

unless the public sector enterprises are made more responsible and independent of government interference the hopes of the planners are not likely to be realised. We are still in the stage of a vital experiment and the third five year plan may possibly tell us whether the experiment has been a success. That is why the third plan is a critical one. With the growth of the public sector, there is the corresponding growth of bureaucracy, and unless a new administrative ideal of efficiency is inculcated in our public sector officials, the growth of the economy will suffer despite long-term perspective planning.

Secondly, co-operative farming in agriculture, where agreed to, is to be encouraged. But considering that even in Mr. Krushchev's country the experiment has failed, why should the Congress leaders be so keen about trying it out here.

Behind these economic measures to increase material welfare, there seems to be an implicit distrust of ownership in private hands. It is not ownership, however, but the abuse of ownership, which should

be counteracted. And that is the essential work of the state. In his remarkable encyclical on the social question, Pope John XXIII insists on every individual being given opportunities for the exercise of his initiative and responsibility. The whole economic structure both in industry and agriculture should be transformed with this end in view. Will the expansion of the public sector secure this objective? Possibly, in there are fundamental changes in the structure of the sector, such as an independent and responsible management, joint consultation decentralisation of responsibility.

To curb population growth, the Congress plumps for birth control. This is a pity, because such a policy flouts Gandhiji's dearest principles of self-con-

trol and purity of means in achieving ends.

Perspective planning becoming necessary in the modern world. But perhaps we could put to good use the experience of the French in planning and not only that of the Russians and the Chinese.

Finally, the foreign policy of the Congress has come in for a good deal of criticism recently. The electorate would be satisfied if the party leaders strictly adhered to the policy outlined in the manifesto.

All in all, the Congress manifesto is a splendid document despite its shortcomings, one can only wish that its implementation will be on a level with its promises.

MANIFESTO OF THE PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY

This is an important document for more than one reason. It contains the programme of the party that stands second to the Communists in the ranks of the opposition. Though it has been deeply influenced by the recent changes in Socialist

ideology abroad, (Cf. *Social Action*, October, 1961), it still maintains its national outlook on many world problems. Nor is it marked by the extremes that are characteristic of the communal parties.

The manifesto strikes a strong note on the necessity

of preserving India's territorial integrity, whether the occupying forces be Pakistan, China or Portugal. The Indian people have risen to the defence of the country, states the manifesto, but the Government lead has been hesitant and uninspiring. It is a tragedy that while our frontiers are menaced, our national unity too should be in peril.

The manifesto notes the many failures of the Congress Party in government. There is continuous vacillation in taking decisions. Our national integration is threatened by linguistic and other minorities, who suffer from discriminatory treatment at the hands of the respective majorities. Caste and communal loyalties are still strong. The economic policies of the Government have sharpened inequalities, and the lack of employment, housing, educational facilities, etc. have coarsened men's lives and embittered mutual relations. These failures stem from the stresses and strains within the Congress Party, and the PSP believe that only a powerful opposition party can stop the rot from spreading. Indeed it is of the very essence of democracy to have a strong oppo-

sition party to criticise the government and take over when it can transform itself into a majority.

The Party in power speaks much of the Socialist pattern of society, but its understanding of the term is restricted to the adoption of modern techniques of production. On the contrary the PSP claim that they will work to ensure a social organism in which there will be equality of opportunity, reduction of inequalities of income and the participation by the people in the development of the country.

The Party feels that the next five years will indeed be a crucial one for the country. The plans have created an increase in the aggregate wealth, but the welfare of the people has not improved. Both in the agricultural as well as the industrial sectors, the rich have benefited at the expense of the poorer elements in the community. The manifesto decries the growth of oligopolies in the private sector.

The Socialist Party therefore offers the people a programme to combat class distinctions of all kinds, whether

they relate to economic position, social status or cultural advantages. The Party abhors differences in income caused by social or economic power, and accepts only those differentials which are due to differences in skill, responsibility initiative and output. Secondly, it promises the electorate economic and social security, and thirdly, participation in making decisions in economic life, which determine the direction of production and the pattern of distribution of the national product. On these three foundations, the people will tend to unify in defence of the nation.

Further, planning should be done not only at the apex but also at the lowest levels. In other words, democratically organised district administration should be the principal unit of economic planning.

Highlights: In the agricultural sphere, assistance will be weighted in favour of rehabilitating the six crores of village poor whose per capita income today hovers around 25 naya Paise per day. By providing the needed inducements and incentives the holders of dwarf holdings will be invited into co-

operatives. Through rural re-development projects, rural housing will be improved. The PSP believes it imperative to involve the rural people in the process of industrialisation.

Investment, not in capital, but in labour has to be the crucial technique of development. In totalitarian countries such investment is imposed and extracted. In democratic India it will be achieved through diffusion of equality, provision of incentives, and creation of administrative and economic institutions wherein the people share power and shape objectives.

The party is in favour of encouraging new enterprises, of compelling big industries to farm out considerable work to small producers brought together in industrial estates. In view of the acute shortage of capital, our industrial and labour equipment should be used to full capacity. There should be co-determination in industry. In general, the party favours the break-up of giant corporations in the public sector, the encouragement of competition, skilled management and a trained labour force within the sector.

Minorities. All minorities must have an equal right to participate in all spheres of social, economic and political life. Simultaneously, they will have the right to practise their religion, organise educational institutions, and cultural associations for promotion of their language, script and literature. Such institutions will be entitled to state aid. Where linguistic minorities form a suitable proportion, education would be imparted in the mother tongue, while the regional language, with the national language, will be taught side by side. *Economic Democracy.* The PSP demands the right of free association for wage and salary workers and Government employees. They believe that only strong, autonomous and democratic unions can enable the worker to be the pace-setter of economic development and social transformation. To ensure industrial peace, they would have to devise quick, inexpensive impartial and permanent negotiation and arbitration machinery, establish inviolable codes of conduct and build up social and moral pressures against misuse of strength. Mere legislation will not do. *Foreign Policy.* The PSP

has always been in favour of an independent foreign policy for the country. Non-involvement in power blocs is a good thing only so long as the vital interests of the nation are safe. But the policy of non-alignment does not mean for the PSP condoning international injustice or oppression. A firm uncompromising stand must be taken on such occasions.

Comment

As a manifesto, the PSP programme is a balanced, cautious document based on many sound principles and shrewd observations of the Indian political situation. But much of the froth and fire of former PSP manifestos is missing. Their repeated failure to make an impression on the electorate have had a dampening effect on the enthusiasm of the party leaders. Moreover the upsetting changes in the ideology of the European Socialist Parties have profoundly influenced socialist thinking in India. That is one reason why there is little talk of the Socialist millennium, or of class warfare, or of private property. Instead the party plumps for the removal of inequalities, and the guarantee

of social security and greater participation by the citizen in the policies that concern his economic and social uplift.

On the whole the manifesto is remarkably moderate in tone. It is also free from any narrow, sectional outlook that mars the programmes of the

Jan Sangh or the Hindu Mahasabha. Nor does the Party propose to win the elections. At best it hopes to form the spearhead of the opposition, although at present there are strong competitors for that honour - the Swatantra and the Communist parties.

THE C. P. I. ELECTION MANIFESTO

Released on 12th October 1961 the Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India pledges:—

1. to bring to the people of India 'happiness, prosperity and a cultural resurgence',
2. to ensure that 'the tiller of the soil must be given land, every job seeker a job and people food, clothes and other essentials necessities at cheap prices',
3. to build 'a broad national democratic front of all parties and democratic forces',
4. to strengthen 'India's nascent parliamentary system' and
5. to discharge 'with greater strength and assurance,

its responsibilities in the service of the Indian people and world peace'.

In order to fulfil this sacred pledge to the people of India, the manifesto outlines the following policies and proposals:—

Domestic Policy

Business. The elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy and the acceptance of foreign economic aid only when it helped in nation building projects. Scrapping the Managing Agency System, the levying of higher taxes on 'big business' and stronger action against profiteers, speculators and the former princes. The manifesto also recommended breaking the grip of big business on the news-paper indus-

try, and a guarantee of trade union rights unequivocally.

Agriculture. The distribution of land to the landless labourer and poor peasant, a raise in the minimum wages for them, reduction of the economic burden and a guarantee of fair prices for their produce.

Constitutionally, the Party contemplates some radical amendments to the Constitution specially annulling the many powers of the President and a curtailment of the powers of the Centre applicable to its dismissal of State Governments etc. The manifesto asks for recognition of Sindhi in the Eighth Schedule and the safeguarding of languages of linguistic minorities in different states.

At the national level. The feeling of the CPI is marked by an insistence on linguistic states, the liberation of political prisoners and the creation of Commissions to study the problems of the minorities. The manifesto asks for a greater financial allocation for education particularly in the scientific and technical field. Improving the present condition of teachers specially

primary school teachers and the launching of an all out national campaign against illiteracy. The party promises to work for equal rights of women in every sphere of life and to raise the status of women in every way possible.

At the cultural level the CPI is determined to work for the development of a people's democratic culture and to this end asks for generous and unbiased help to be given to literary and cultural bodies. It asks for the establishment of major national theatres and cultural centres, and an expansion of the Cinema Industry on progressive lines. The manifesto pleads also for the economic rehabilitation of thousands of writers, artists and workers in the various cultural fields and for rescuing our culture from the grip of profiteers and foreign and Indian reactionary influences.

Foreign Policy

The CPI stands for unilateral disarmament for the Western Powers, recognition of the East German Republic, the Algerian Provisional Government and all out assistance to them in their struggle for independence. The CPI also calls for a peace treaty

with Germany and for the creation of a de-militarised free city of West Berlin.

The U.S. is condemned as an imperialist war-monger and in particular the manifesto denounces the U.S. military aid to Pakistan as an unfriendly act towards this country. The CPI calls for arousing public opinion against the U.S. military build-up in South Vietnam, the ejection by force if necessary of the Portuguese from Goa at the same time pleading for a friendly settlement of our border dispute with China. The manifesto asks for a recognition of our frontier in the Eastern Sector along the McMahon Line, and on the Western Sector according to traditional frontiers. The manifesto demands the recognition of the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan and asks the country to work constantly for the territorial integrity of the country.

Finally the CPI manifesto says 'for the advance of all these noble objectives, the friendship and cooperation between the two great countries of the world - India and China - has become an imperative need of history.

It is with this programme and objective that the Communist Party of India has decided to approach the people for a renewal of their confidence and support in the Third General Elections to be held in 1962.

Comment

The Election Manifesto of the Communist Party cleverly masks in the usual democratic phraseology the real aims of the Party. It is clear that the Party receives its directives from Moscow and its fundamental objective is and will always remain the establishment of Communist dictatorship in India. The proposed amendments to the Constitution, and especially the curtailing of the powers of the President and the weakening of the Centre, are aimed at preserving Communist hegemony in the States where they may capture power. Their failure in Kerala still rankles in their minds.

No loyal Indian can ever subscribe to the foreign policy outlined in the Manifesto. While the Western powers and especially the USA are severely castigated for war-mongering, the Chinese, who have swallowed some 12,000

square miles of Indian territory and are busily entrenching themselves, are referred to as friends. It is strange how Indian communists can be so blind to the interests of their own country and welcome the new colonialism of Russia or China in place of the freedom they now enjoy.

There is much talk in the manifesto about the fostering of linguistic states and the promotion of the means of propaganda for developing democratic culture. It is obvious that the Communists would like to have at their disposal every possible opportunity to sow their pernicious doctrines.

They believe is using freedom to destroy freedom.

The fight for fundamental rights, for judicial enquiries, for protecting the rights of the minorities, and the backward classes are merely sops to win over these portions of the electorate who have a grievance. However, the manifesto reveals the likely tactics of the Indian Communist Party in the near future, and the ugly blots in Indian democracy that they will try to exploit. These are the privileged groups in industry and agriculture, and the aggrieved groups among the minorities and the backward classes.

THE SWATANTRA ELECTION MANIFESTO

It is only a couple of years ago that the Swatantra Party was formed. Its leaders, among whom the most outstanding is Rajaji, a former Congressman and the first Indian Governor General of the Dominion of India, have constituted the party with the essential idea of providing the country with a vocal and influential opposition to the Congress. This objective is clearly enunciated in the Manifesto. According to the Swatantra Party, both

the Communists and the Socialist parties have failed in this respect from the very nature of their ideologies. The Communists are fifth-columnists in disguise, and the Socialists have nothing new to offer to the advanced socialist ideology of the ruling party.

During the last fourteen years, the Congress government has degenerated, reads the manifesto. Our biggest problem is how to curb the

almost overwhelming powers of the bureaucracy, combined with maladministration and intrigue, nepotism, the seeking of self-interest and the growth of materialism. But the Swatantra Party places the blame for this sorry state of affairs on the indifference and lack of courage of the vast majority of those with means.

The main fault of the Congress Party at present is that it stands for a system where all real political and economic power and all responsibility is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a party in office. The Swatantra Party, on the contrary, intends "to keep the individual citizen, with his unquenchable impulse towards self-expression in the centre of the picture. All governance must subserve this end."

The means

To achieve its end, the Swatantra Party will provide the common man with food, clothing and shelter, fuller employment, more foodgrains, more schools, more small industries, clean drinking water and medical facilities and better communications both in the urban as well as the rural areas. Much of the

money that is being poured into our gigantic schemes could be profitably utilized to finance these needs. Such expenditure would also help to prevent the inflationary trends in prices. Further there should be a drastic reduction of taxation, which is a heavy burden on the poor man, and often proves a real disincentive to small industry. This is the reason why both in the villages and towns, the middle and working classes are stagnating economically. Our efforts at planning our economy have only sanctified misery in the name of progress, and attempted to build the uncertain prosperity of the future on the privations of today. These are methods borrowed from countries under totalitarian dictatorship, says the manifesto.

Hence the party proposes to give *agriculture the priority*, because the village economy needs to be vitalised. Such vitality is only possible in the basis of peasant proprietorship. The Party guarantees to respect the property rights of the peasants in their holding, big or small, and thereby remove uncertainties and provide incentives. The independent farmer will be helped

with facilities for the intensive cultivation of his land, in the form of water, tools, fertiliser, seed, credit and improved techniques. The party stands for land reforms without expropriation and is therefore against collective farms. But genuine co-operative efforts such as service, industrial, consumer, and marketing co-operatives will be encouraged. To the landless agricultural labourer, the Party promises an adequate wage, and the protection of the permanently employed labourer. Similarly, the Party favours rapid rural electrification, the abolition of taxes on land, fixation of agricultural prices in parity with those of industrial commodities and setting up an insurance fund against natural calamities.

To *Industry and Trade*, the Party promises the widest possible distribution of industrial ownership to enable employees to take shares in the concerns for which they work. The role of government should be restricted to help rather than run business, because that is not the function of government. The Party calls for a balanced development of capital goods industries, consumer goods industries and

rural industries. The present priority given to heavy industry produced a lop-sided economy. The Party is opposed to nationalisation on principle. It prefers to encourage private enterprise, but will battle against monopolies whether in the public or private sector. In its view the Planning Commission has become a kind of non-responsible super-government, and therefore the Party will seek to restore the real and effective supremacy of Parliament and people by abolishing the Commission. The Soviet type of planning must be rejected, because it calls for intolerable restrictions. The Cabinet should be responsible for planning. Foreign loans should not become a burden for the future generation of Indians.

As for *Industrial Labour*, the Party desires strong and responsible unions, free from political influence. Labour should be closely associated with management so as to develop a spirit of partnership in industry. There should be 'progress sharing' by labour on the basis of increased productivity.

The Party stands for clean administration in the Public

services, and for the preservation of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, and an independent judiciary.

In the field of *International Relations and Defence*, the Party stands for a realistic approach in these matters and firm policy of dealing with China. No political influence should be allowed to weaken the morale of the Defence Forces.

Finally, the Party will try to foster the integration of such a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-linguistic country as is India. The Minorities and Backward classes will be helped and protected. A spiritual element needs to be introduced into education in order to provide an adequate background of human values for the citizen. But the Universities should be free and independent and the media of mass communication such as the radio, and the newspapers should not be turned into government monopolies. The Swatantra Party thinks that every citizen should be free to choose his religious beliefs, and enjoy his religious freedom unrestrictedly. Hence the Party will not tax religious endowments,

or charities; on the contrary, religious observance will be given opportunities to develop, because it secures right conduct better than any government regulation.

Comment

Regarding the principles on which it is based, the manifesto of the Swatantra Party is far nearer the pattern outlined in the papal social encyclicals than any of the other parties. It shows respect for the rights of property; it demands its widest possible diffusion; it upholds the subsidiarity function of the state, and keeps the individual citizen in the centre of the picture. The priority for agriculture is a step in the right direction and planning on the Soviet model has been repudiated. Labour is to get a larger share of the prosperity of industry, and the labour contract tempered by the contract of partnership. Indeed the whole document is rather striking in its close approximation to the requirements laid down by the encyclicals. Perhaps those who drafted the manifesto are well acquainted with Catholic social philosophy.

Writing on the manifesto of the Swatantra Party, the

Eastern Economist of Nov. 10, 1961 says, "The draft election manifesto of the Swatantra Party which carries the appropriate heading "To Prosperity through Freedom" is a well argued and consistent piece of political presentation. The current abuse of the party as 'reactionary' and 'big business' dominated' is certainly unfair in the light of the presentation here of a wide area of 'sharing of prosperity', particularly in terms of the small man, agricultural labour and indeed 'progress-sharing' in general. Article 45 makes the fairly revolutionary proposal for precise provision for a progress sharing through increased wages, alongside an increase in productivity through the reduction of costs. There is here no evidence of exploitation of the poor by the rich which is part of the stock-in-trade criticism by the Congress of this new party." And the article continues, "All in all, this is an attractive theoretical document. One's disappointment with it is that it has moved a little too much to the Right for the current appetite of the Indian people."

Indeed this movement to the Right could be easily be

cured by a concentration of the social obligations of property and an admission that the State can play a very useful role in the economic development of an underdeveloped country. The modern tendency towards 'socialisation' as understood in the latest papal encyclical 'Mater et Magistra' points out to the benefits obtained from such close and active intervention of the state to provide for social security, employment, and education. Even in the use of the term 'nationalisation' distinctions have to be made. An autonomous body like the British Broadcasting Corporation is an example of a public corporation which is not a government department.

Further there can be no doubt that the five year plans have helped the country in the road to progress and that the aberrations of the previous plans are subject to rectification. One big favourable factor of the Swatantra Party manifesto is that its adherents are free from that blind adoration of the omniscient state to which many of our people, especially the intellectuals, are prone. And if the Swatantra Party does not

come out successful at the polls, the ideas that have been sown by the Manifesto will certainly influence the electo-

rate, for these ideas are a very useful corrective to the leftist tendencies in the Congress.

ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE BHARATIYA JANA SANGH

After criticising the present government for its failure to protect the country from external aggression and internal subversion and providing the people with the basic necessities of food, clothing and housing, the manifesto blames the Congress party for having fallen from its high ideals and become the resort of opportunists, bent on seeking and preserving power for themselves by unscrupulous methods.

The Jana Sangh pledges itself instead to the solution of these four main problems:

1. The defence of our frontiers and national unity
2. Efficiency and purity of administration
3. Stabilisation of prices and eradication of unemployment, and
4. Reorientation of education.

Pakistan and China have violated our territorial inte-

grity and the party will see that every inch of our land is liberated.

Corruption in administration has become chronic and contagious. The Jana Sangh will check the growing tendency towards centralisation. It will seek to give the man on the spot greater discretion and responsibility. It will also try to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth and will modify the plans accordingly.

Employment is a fundamental right of every citizen. This is a principle that the Jana Sangh strongly upholds, and will seek to implement.

Education is intimately connected with employment. The Jana Sangh will in the next five years will provide free education up to the secondary stage for every child.

In order to develop national unity, the Jana Sangh guar-

antees full freedom of faith and worship but religion should not be dragged into politics. Indeed it is wrong to divide the people of Bharat into a majority and minorities on the basis of religion. National unity can be secured by the spread of Bharatiya culture.

However, an enquiry into the conduct and working of every foreign missionary will be instituted, and those found engaged in proselytisation through objectionable methods or in political activities will be expelled from Bharat. Recommendations of the Neogi and Rege Committees will be implemented. Foreign missionaries will not be allowed to enter tribal and frontier areas.

Further, the Constitution will be amended to make India a unitary state, with provision for decentralisation of power to the lowest levels.

The Jana Sangh considers the whole of Kashmir to be an integral part of Bharat, and one of the States as defined under the Indian Constitution.

To reform the administration, the manifesto promises

to root out corruption by the appointment of a high powered commission in addition to the Anti-corruption squad. Employees in government service will be made permanent if they are temporary workers, and government servants will be allowed to form associations to protect their economic interests. Strong measures will be taken to reduce government expenditure, which in recent years has risen enormously. No minister or official will receive a salary of more than Rs. 2000 a month. Justice will be cheap, speedy and within the reach of every citizen. The State will provide for the legal defence of the poor. Displaced persons will be quickly rehabilitated.

The Jana Sangh will take steps to introduce Hindi and the other regional languages in their respective spheres within the period prescribed by the Constitution. Secondary and higher education will be through the regional language with Hindi as a compulsory second language.

As for planning, the party proposes to give the first priority to agriculture; to encourage small scale and con-

sumer goods industries; to consolidate rather than extend the public sector; to abolish the distinction between the public and the private sectors and to introduce instead the concept of the national sector; and finally, to secure maximum production, guarantee a minimum standard to all, maximise employment opportunities, and co-ordinate the development of all regions and sections of society.

The Planning Commission and the National Development Council will be re-constituted and freed from all political entanglements.

In regard to land-reforms, the Jana Sangh will make the farmer the master of his land, by stopping ejectments and restoring to the tenant all lands from which he has been illegally or improperly ejected. The Jana Sangh will encourage the formation of economic holdings, service co-operatives but considers joint co-operative farming as detrimental to democracy and unsuited to the needs of increasing production. Land to the landless will be given on an ownership basis and not in the name of a joint co-operative farming society.

The Jana Sangh will encourage animal husbandry and amend the Constitution to prohibit the slaughter of cows. Cow protection and development will form an integral part of the agricultural plan.

In regard to industry, the Jana Sangh will make small-scale and cottage industry the basis of its programme of industrialisation. Large scale industry will take second place. Defence and basic industries will be nationalised. Autonomous corporations will be set up to run public enterprise. As far as possible the country should be made independent of foreign capital, which will be welcomed in case of need, however. Labour will be co-sharers in the management and profits of the industrial concern. And a permanent wage board will be set up to fix wages. The minimum wage of the worker should be Rs. 125 a month. Finally the Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the expansion and co-ordinated development of road, rail and water transport.

Comment

Little need be said about the platform of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Like the Hindu Maha-

sabha, it is a strongly communal minded party that considers Hindu and Indian as equivalent and interchangeable terms. It is bent on promoting Bharatiya culture which will mean the extinction of the religious minorities. Its strong emphasis on Hindi will frighten many non-Hindi speaking people.

There is much talk in the manifesto about corruption in the administration, but the Jana Sangh does not propose any effective measures to reduce such a state of affairs.

Nor is the economic programme so easy of fulfilment. It is not difficult to put out a lot of fine schemes when one has never been in office and has no experience of the difficulties of implementing them.

As for our defence policy, there is a point in the criticism of the Congress vacillation. But it would be dangerous to leave the country in the hands of such an ardent group of fanatics as the leaders of the Jana Sangh, who might plunge the country into war for their own prejudices and primitive traditions.

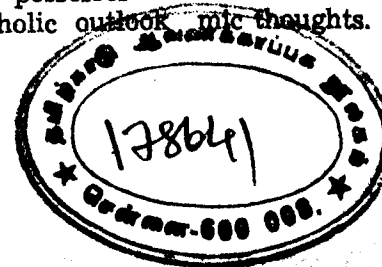
HINDU MAHASABHA ELECTION MANIFESTO

The all India Hindu Mahasabha in its election manifesto claims that the party is pledged to reestablish 'akhand Bharat' by 'all legitimate means'. "This reunification of Hindustan is an article of faith with the Hindu Mahasabha and it stands by it" says V. G. Deshpande the Sabha's Vice President.

The manifesto maintains that "The Hindu Mahasabha intends to develop Hindustan into a State based on Hindu ideology which possesses a characteristic catholic outlook

of life, with a well defined cultural background which is easily distinguishable from the cultures of other nations. Such a state alone, which may be conveniently referred to as Hindu rashtra, can keep the people of Bharat, irrespective of their religion, caste, creed and language, united for the purpose of building up a true democracy with a dynamic force and progressive conception capable of assimilating all modern scientific inventions and modern social and economic thoughts.

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The manifesto added that the Hindu Mahasabha stood for recasting the entire Constitution of India 'with a view of bringing it in consonance with the traditions and culture of the Hindus'. The present Constitution was altogether unsuited to the genius of the people of Hindustan.

The amended Constitution would declare the country as a democratic Hindu State and the study of Hinduism a compulsory subject all through the period of education. It called for changes in the nomenclature of the present States, into provinces (India being one state) taking out of the provision in regard to cow protection, from the directive principle to State policy, to guaranteeing the fullest civil liberties to all citizens of Hindustan and scrapping the Preventive Detention Act and imposing restrictions on the employment of judges of the Supreme Court, High Courts and members of the Election Commission, after their retirement.

Dealing with foreign policy the manifesto expressed the view that India should enter into 'suitable military pacts with other Powers' both

'Hindu and non-Hindu' while at the same time 'militarising the Hindu nation within the country, both in spirit as well as with arms'. It recommended that India should shed its passive neutrality and pointed that the Congress had failed to secure the implementation of its agreements entered into with foreign powers in the name of Panch Shila. The Sabha stood for the complete repudiation of the Indo-Chinese treaty of 1954 which accepted Tibet as a region of China. It also opposed the admission of Communist China into the U. N.

The Sabha gave five basic principles for India's foreign policy and stated that it should be based on the 'enlightened self-interest of the nation', with preparedness to defend its frontiers, non-involvement in the affairs of other countries like Korea, Laos and the Congo, reorientation of the country's policy towards Communist China, liberation of every inch of land from the control of all foreigners, and adoption of a policy of reciprocity towards Pakistan.

The Sabha stood for the country's withdrawal 'from the so-called British Common-

wealth of nations' particularly in view of the recent decision of the British Government to join the European Common Market.

Dealing with the economic policy of the country, the manifesto in a ten point programme stressed that all the key industries should be State owned or under State control, and the other industries whether private or under corporate ownership, must form an integral part of the national economic plan.

The primary and immediate objectives of economic policy would be to satisfy the most elementary needs of the people and avoid evils of capitalism and secure all benefits of socialism. The manifesto favoured cooperative farming and said that all agricultural improvements should be carried out to increase productivity by improved methods of agriculture.

On Industrial policy the manifesto urged the utilisation of raw materials and indigenous talent in every field to ensure utmost production and to secure equitable distribution of industrial profits between workers and entrepreneurs without detriment to the

interests of consumers. Security of employment and minimum wages for maintaining a decent standard of living should be guaranteed to workers. Cottage industries should be especially encouraged independently as well as a supplement of large scale industry.

As regards agricultural policy, the Sabha stood for the ultimate ownership of land by the State on behalf of the people.

Comment

The manifesto reveals the strong attitude of a section of the majority community. The country can never forget that it was one of the fanatical adherents of this party that put Gandhiji to death. It is the presence of such parties in India that rouses the fears and creates the antagonism of the minorities. The Hindu Mahasabhis have never understood the significance of the secular state, one of the outstanding features of the Constitution, which is so modern in its outlook. On the contrary, the Hindu Mahasabha clings to a dead tradition of the past that it hopes will live once again. But this

is hardly possible in a dynamic world.

The party would like to have the Constitution radically altered to suit its own primitive illusions. This only shows how excellent and liberal are the clauses of the Constitution, which has been framed by men with a catholic outlook, who have chosen the best political safeguards prescribed by the traditions of both East and West. If anything, every elector should undertake to preserve the Constitution in its present form. Even at this moment, amendments are too many and too frequent. The Constitution should be regarded as a sacred document that may not be tampered with to satisfy every whim of any section of the community.

On foreign policy, the Hindu Mahasabha has consistently abandoned Gandhian non-violence which is certainly a cherished Indian heritage coming down to us from the

depths of the past. It is strange that a party professing cent-per-cent orthodoxy should embrace violence with such fervour. The world admired Gandhiji precisely because of his peculiar method of achieving independence, and with the terrible destructiveness of the megaton bomb, can violence be of any avail in solving international problems? Indeed, in the context of the megaton bomb, can any war be justifiable? Fortunately, the people of India have not been attracted by hot-heads as the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, who live in a dream world of their own which is slowly crumbling with the industrial progress of the country and the unifying forces of modern civilisation.

Finally, its economic policy is based on the fallacious belief of the benefits of an omni-competent state. The sabha seemed to forget that it stands for the freedom of the citizen.

ELECTION RESULTS 1952

Table — 1

<i>Popular votes for the House of the People</i>	<i>Votes Polled</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>	<i>Seats Won</i>
Congress	47,665,875	45.0	362
Socialists	11,216,779	10.6	12
KMPP	6,156,558	5.8	9
Communists (a)	3,484,401	3.3	23
Jana Sangh	3,246,288	3.1	3
Schedule Caste Federation	2,501,964	2.3	2
Ram Rajya Parishad	2,151,603	2.0	3
Krishikar Lok	1,489,615	1.4	1
Hindu Mahasabha	1,003,034	.9	4
Independents	16,778,749	15.8	41
Other parties	10,249,629	9.8	29
	105,944,495	100.0	489

(a) The unofficial CPI vote, which includes CPI allies was 5,723,000 or 5.4% of the total vote, and the unofficial total of CPI and allied seats in the House of the People was 27. (Source Party Politics in India - Myron Weiner)

Table — 2
General Election results for the Legislative Assemblies

	Congress	Social	KMPP	Hindu (a)	CPI and Others	Ind. Total	allies
Assam	76	4	1		1	9	14 105
Bihar	240	23	1	1		52	13 330
Bombay	269	9				19	18 315
M. Pradesh	194	2	8	3		2	23 232
Madras	152	13	35		62	51	62 375
Orissa	67	10			7	35	21 140
Punjab	97	1			4	20	4 126
U. P.	390	18	1	3		3	14 429
W. Bengal	151		15	13	28	16	15 238
Hyderabad	93	11			42	15	14 175
M. Bharat	75	4		17			3 99
Mysore	74	3	8		1	2	11 99
PEPSU	26		1	2	2	21	8 60
Rajasthan	82	1	1	34		7	35 160
Saurashtra	55	2				1	2 60
T. Cochin	43	11				16	38(b) 108
Ajmer	20			3		3	4 30
Bhopal	25			1			4 30
Coorg	15						9 24
Delhi	39	2		4			3 48
H. Pradesh	24		3				8 36
V. Pradesh	41	10	3	4			2 60
	2248	124	77	85	147	273	325 3279

(a) Hindu parties include Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad.

(b) 32 of these were won by Communist dominated alliances
(Source as above)

ELECTION RESULTS 1957

Popular votes for the House of the People	Votes Polled	Percentage of total	Seats won
Congress	54,056,646	46.5	366
Praja Socialist Party	11,659,225	10.0	18
Communist Party of India	11,447,345	9.8	29
Jan Sangh	6,731,098	5.7	4
Others	30,596,260	28.0	71
	114,490,574		488

State-wise — House of the People

States	No. of Seats	Congress	PSP	CPI	JS	OP*	Ind.
Andhra Pradesh	43**	37		2		2	1
Assam	12	9	2				1
Bihar	53	40	3			9	1
Bombay	66	37	5	4	2	9	9
Kerala	18	6	1	9			2
Madhya Pradesh	36**	34				1	
Madras	41	31		2			9
Mysore	26	23	1			1	1
Orissa	20	7	2	1		7	3
Punjab	22**	20		1			
Rajasthan	22	19					3
Uttar Pradesh	86	70	4	1	2		9
West Bengal	36**	22	2	6		2	3
Jammu & Kashmir	6					6	
Delhi	5	5					
Himachal Pradesh	4	4					
Manipur	2	1					1
Tripura	2	1		1			
	500	366	20	27	4	37	42

* Other Parties

** One seat vacant

State-wise — Legislative Assemblies

States	No. of Seats	Congress	PSP	CPI	JS	OP	Ind.
Andhra Pradesh	30(1)**	213	11	12		27	37
Assam	108(3)	70	8	4			23
Bihar	318(1)	208	32	7		55	15
Bombay	396(3)	231	35	13	4	44	66
Kerala	126	43	9	60			14
Madhya Pradesh	288	232	12	2	10	12	20
Madras	205(1)	151	2	4			47
Mysore	208(1)	147	18	1		4	37
Orissa	140	56	11	9		51	13
Punjab	154(1)	119	1	6	9	5	13
Rajasthan	176(1)	119	1		6	17	32
Uttar Pradesh	430(7)	284	44	7	17		71
West Bengal	252	152	21	46		8	25
Jammu & Kashmir	75†					74	1
	3177(19)	2026	205	171	46	297	414

** Figures in brackets indicate the number of vacant seats

† 25 seats for Pakistan occupies areas kept in abeyance.

Theory to Practice

A CO-OPERATIVE VENTURE IN CALCUTTA

It is a well known fact that many young boys remain unemployed because they are not "employable" — they do not know a trade, while there is a great demand for mechanics, welders, carpenters and other technical men, the large number of school leavers possessing no other qualification but of having completed the matriculation standard or less, remain unemployed for months, nay sometimes for years together. In these days when there is so much of unemployment it is next to impossible to secure work if one is not qualified. In the labour market too, it is the worker who has experience or knowledge of some technical trade that stands a better chance to secure a job because he has something to offer, something to sell — his services which the employers are ever ready to employ.

Industry, many firms are expanding their capacities and extending their works and there is an ever increasing demand for skilled technicians. Welders are much in demand in the Docks Structural Engineering and wagon Building firms, etc. The Wagon Manufacturers are now producing a large number of "BOX" Wagons which involves extensive welding. Structural Engineering firms too are now switching over to the manufacture of welded steelwork in preference to the conventional rivetted steelwork. Hence there is a regular demand for welders.

The idea of starting a centre to train welders which was sown by the Works Manager of a leading Engineering concern in Calcutta was quickly picked up by the YCW and a letter to the Editor of the local Catholic Weekly, "The Herald" was sent by one of the Members, mentioning about the possi-

It was observed, because of the Five Year Plans and the consequent expansion in in-

lities of starting a Training Centre for Welders and requesting those interested to contact the YCW Office. Many youngsters turned up and were eager to take up the course, if started. At their Leaders Meeting held on 4th September, 1960 the YCW Boys decided to put the idea into effect. It was latter agreed to run a Co-operative Works with the assistance of Ex. YCWs and Associate Members to do business during the day by undertaking welding jobs and teach welding in the evening so that the expenses of the course could be subsidised in order that the poor may avail themselves of the opportunity.

Mr. Clifford Noronha, the General Manager of the Christian Credit Union gave every encouragement to the scheme and backed it wholeheartedly by inducing the Christian Credit Union to make a substantial donation out of its General Purpose Fund. Thanks to this donation and the encouragement given by His Grace, the Archbishop of Calcutta, two rooms were rented, a welding set, portable grinder, shearing machine and an electric drill were bought and the Training Centre made

a quiet beginning on the 1st of February, 1961. The YCW girls gave invaluable help by raising a substantial portion — more than 75% of the Share Capital subscribed so far. The Promoters of the Co-operative unanimously agreed to name the Works "Cardijn Co-Operative Works Ltd." to signify the spirit behind the Co-Operative, viz. the spirit of the YCW and its founder, Mgr. Joseph Cardijn the spirit of dedication to the cause of the Workers, of service, love, friendliness, mutual help and co-operation.

Mr. Michael Tang, a Welding Specialist was appointed as Works Manager and a staff of experienced men was recruited. Rev. Father de Steenhault, S.J., the Regional Chaplain of the YCW was appointed Superintendent of the Technical School. Classes were commenced on 1st February, 1961 and are being held every evening between 5-30 and 8-30 P.M. A nominal fee of Rs. 75/- is charged for the three months course. On the recommendation of the YCW some of the welders who passed the special test given them were able to secure employment in a leading engineering firm in Calcutta.

The first contract undertaken by the Works was for repair of welded Water Troughs for Messrs. Talbot & Co., which was followed by orders from various Catholic Institutions and individuals for Window Grills, Iron Gates, Roof Trusses, etc. which were executed to the entire satisfaction of the customers.

Membership of the Co-Operative is open to Active and Associate Members of the YCW and Members of the Christian Credit Union. Shares are offered at Rs. 5/- each to be accompanied by an application fee of Re. 1/- per memebre.

The main aims of the Co-Operative are:—

1. To make our unemployed "employable" by training welders

2. To inculcate among the workers the spirit of self-help and service to their less fortunate brethren

3. To give an opportunity to Young Workers to learn the art of running a Co-Operative, a business enterprise and a technical school.

4. To encourage among them the virtues of thrift and investment.

With faith deeper than the depths of the seas we face an unknown future, hoping that the charity that lies deep in our hearts — God's own Love for humanity, may bring rays of sunshine in the lives of at least a few of His unemployed children around.

BOOK REVIEWS

MONTESSORI METHOD by Srimathi Leelavati M'Rao, M.A., M.Ed.,
Mont Dip. (Available with the author at 'Dhammapada' Kumara
Park, West Extension, Bangalore 20).

By her timely publication, Srimati Leelavati M'Rao has rendered a distinct service not only to the Montessori Method, but also to the Child, who is 'Humanity to be.'

From the Upanishadic Philosopher who exhorts us to live in child-like simplicity of heart, and the Chinese thinker, Mencius, who states that a great man is one who has not lost the child's heart, right down to the late Dr. Montessori, who hails the child as the "Eternal Messiah continuously descending upon fallen men to lead them to the kingdom of heaven," every sound-thinking man has realized the greatness of the little one, has felt with Wordsworth that "the child is father of the man," has felt with Plato and Aristotle, therefore, that the education of children cannot start too early.

The Montessori Movement — a very practical and scientific system, based upon sound child psychology and a sincere and ardent love for children — was started in Italy about the beginning of this century and spread rapidly

throughout the western world. Dr. Montessori also visited India and established a training institute at Madras. During her stay in India, Srimati Leelavati M'Rao had the unique privileges of being instructed and guided by her. No wonder, then, that Srimati Leelavati, herself a qualified scholar and an experienced teacher, should have done such a fine job in portraying the Montessori Method.

In this book, whose style, like its printing and get-up, is as clear as it is simple, the author, after tracing the evolution of child education from the earliest times to the present day in both the east and the west, proceeds first of all to expound the psychology of the Montessori system, and then, with the aid of several charts and diagrams, to illustrate in all its details the Montessori Method. All in all, it is a very informative and practical handbook for every Montessori teacher.

In her concluding chapter, the author, while answering the main difficulties — psychological as well as practical — that may be brought up against the Montes-

sori Method, rightly remarks that "where there's a will, there's a way" and that the Montessori Method can be adopted in India too, as it has been adopted with considerable success in several western countries. But it will be a long time before we can have an adequate supply of trained Montessori teachers and good schools. It is, however, felt that if every parent strives to become a

Montessori teacher and to make every home in its little way a Montessori school, India will soon have a generation of every fine citizens.

Wherefore, we heartily commend this book not only to all teachers, but also, and especially, to every parent.

J. Rosario, S.J.

THE CULT OF VITHOBA. By G. A. Deleury, S.J., Ph.D. (Deccan College, Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona) .

In this doctoral, thesis published under the joint sponsorship of the University of Poona and the Deccan College, the author discusses the origin of Viththala, the deity of Pandharpur and its cult. A scholarly study has been made of the evidence from the etymology of the name, iconography of the image, and inscriptions. Traditionally, Viththala is believed to be an avatar of Visnu, being none other than Krsna himself who, so goes the popular legend, went to Pandharpur to watch the devotion of a certain ascetic, Pundalika for his aged parents. Traditional etymology links the word Viththala with vit, a brick, since the image stands on a brick. From an etymological study of the word, the author concludes that Viththala has no philological connection either with Visnu or with vit, but it appears to be of Kannada origin. The evidence of ins-

criptions confirms this conclusion. The author has made a thorough study of the Pandharpur image, as well as of other ancient images of Viththala. Comparison of their iconography with that of other images shows that the main features of Viththala, in particular its erect posture with arms akimbo, are unlike those of Visnu or Krsna. The only images with arms akimbo are on the one hand those of Bir Kaur, a cattle-god of West Bihar and on the other hand the figure carved on hero-stones in Maharashtra and Karnataka. Hero-stones are mostly erected in the memory of brave men killed while trying to protect or recover the cattle of their village from thieves. The statue of Viththala is probably a later development of such a hero-stone.

Apart from its value to research scholars, the book would

amply repay the effort of the general reader. It contains an account of the Varkari panth, the sect of Vithoba bhaktas that counts numerous adherents all over Maharashtra. The book also gives a first-hand description of Pandharpur, with its numerous temples and the elaborate ritual performed in the Great Temple. Those who have not witnessed the annual pilgrimages of the Varkari

to Pandharpur will read with interest an eye-witness account given by the author. An attractive feature of the book are the many English translations of poems of Maharashtra saints which will whet the appetite of many of those unacquainted with classical Marathi poetry.

John Misquitta.

FROM THE WORLD OF JOURNALS

Although India will soon undergo the democratic process of holding general election Mr. Frank Moraes, writing in Foreign Affairs has this to say about the country. "In India as in some other Asian countries where democratic forms and the apparatus of parliamentary government subsist, democracy has still to take firm roots in the people and the rulers."

Mr. Moraes devotes some space to Prime Minister Nehru and his achievements in international politics. 'Despite her lack of military power and her developing but still underdeveloped economy...' he continues, 'India exercises a moral influence in world affairs out of all proportion to her material strength. Much of the credit for this must go to Mr. Nehru.' However, Mr. Moraes goes on to point out the paradox of a Prime Minister of the internationally political stature of Mr. Nehru who has nevertheless lost much of his prestige and reputation at home. One of the reasons is that 'Tibet followed by China's territorial incursions into India (some of which, as in Ladakh, had preceded China's aggression on Tibet but were not at the time disclosed to the Indian Parliament or people), stirred public opinion

deeply and generated the first defined cohesive rumblings of criticism and opposition against the establishment."

Sometime ago Mr. Moraes had asked the Prime Minister which of our foreign missions he considered the most important and was most surprised when the answer was 'Pakistan.' Mr. Nehru explained this by saying that the success of a country's foreign policy was determined largely by the relations it evolved with its immediate neighbors. Mr. Moraes goes on to conclude that judged by this yardstick India's foreign policy had failed, for while our relations with China had deteriorated, our relations with Pakistan had not improved. Further Mr. Moraes feels that in spite of all this the vast majority of Indians still support a policy of non-alignment though there is a growing body of opinion both within and outside Parliament who feel that the scales should not always be weighted heavily in favour of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

Commenting on India's domestic policy Mr. Moraes says... 'while the shibboleths of socialism, the welfare state, planning for prosperity, and peace were initially taken at their face value by

the vast majority of the Indian people a growing minority has started to question the real purport and motivations behind these slogans. Need socialism sail so dangerously near Communism?... He further states that the linguistic rivalries and clashes, the internal strife in the Congress Party and the growing indiscipline in the country, particularly among the youth have had a demoralizing effect on the country, besides damaging the prestige of the Congress.

Mr. Moraes highlights the factionalism at the Center and draws particular attention to the unseemly controversy within the highest Congress echelons on the appointment of a deputy leader. On the appointment of Mr. Morarji Desai during Mr. Nehru's visit abroad Mr. Jagjivan Ram's party were not slow to point out that in terms of seniority the Communications Minister ranked foremost and that he had been overlooked. The Prime Minister however, with his political guile and canniness had appointed Mr. Desai on the strict understanding that all decisions would be arrived at through consultation.

Mr. Moraes then goes on to reiterate the old question — After Nehru, what and who? He believes that Mr. Nehru's reluctance to face this issue is partly a confession that he himself sees no one on whom he can

confidently bestow the mantle of leadership. Commenting on Mr. Krishna Menon's chances, Mr. Moraes quite frankly states that Mr. Menon is a person without any roots in this country and that the Prime Minister realises that '...the Congress pack will descend on Krishna Menon like hungry wolves once he himself is gone, and tear him politically apart...' Mr. Moraes himself feels that Mr. Nehru would prefer Lal Bahadur Shastri as his successor.

Reviewing the past history of the country and the factionalism now prevailing in India Mr. Moraes blames this state of affairs on the major blunder of Mr. Nehru's acceptance of Andhra State on linguistic grounds following the fast unto death ultimatum of the Telugu Congressman, Potti Sriramulu in 1953. Mr. Moraes says '...logically this generated a movement for linguistic states which at times found explosive expression, as between Maharashtra and Gujarat, and which could still erupt in the Punjab...' 'Plainly' Mr. Moraes continues '...the monolithic foundations on which the Congress Party reared its Government over the entire country are being badly shaken. The basic mistake of the Congress was to identify the party with the country in the national process of reconstruction, for once the cracks showed in its own facade and foundation they were

bound to be reflected in the country...' **NON-ALIGNMENT**

Mr. Moraes concludes '... But the Congress, already straining at the seams, is likely to burst apart with Nehru's demission from the political stage. It may then conceivably split into two main groups representing the Right and Left, for only Nehru's presence holds the two wings uneasily together. In a sense that would be an improvement on the present position of artificial unity, for it might lead to the growth of a two-party system which would stimulate the healthy development of democracy in India. But there is also the likelihood that along with it the divisive tendencies now very much to the fore will assert themselves more actively. Only the glow of battle for independence, according to Mr. Morarji Desai, controlled and concealed the disunity in the Congress ranks which was prevalent even before Independence. It is ironic that Nehru, who throughout his political career has fought to maintain the unity and stability of India, should have failed during his long years in office to ensure it. Indeed history, one fears, will indict him for not having more consciously restrained the divisive forces which after more than a decade of Independence threaten the unity and stability of India...'

* * *

Following Indian example the newly emerging nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America have lost no opportunity in making clear their non-alignment policy says the author of an article in Freedom First. The Belgrade conference of the non-aligned nations was almost a natural outcome of this political phenomenon, Yet, and in spite of their professed policy of non-alignment, many of the representative nations were sharply criticised for taking a soft line on Soviet imperialism and at the same time Prime Minister Nehru played down as far as possible the old type anti-imperialists. It becomes obvious then that non-alignment in the cold war context becomes very difficult and often dangerous.

The lessons of two fruitless world wars and the threat of a third one of total destruction have sowed the seeds of an over-riding fear, specially in the hearts of the new nations. The motivating factor behind non-alignment is this fear of being dragged into conflict while still internally insecure, weak and dependent on the richer and more powerful nations for economic progress and stability. The very dependence on others, who are themselves parties in a cold war, which at any moment may erupt into a world holocaust, leaves little or no ground for diplomatic manoeuvre.

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vering to avoid commitment on either side. Quite naturally corns are stepped on and feelings hurt. When a situation like this exists it would obviously be safer to hurt the feelings of a friend at heart and say 'sorry old chap' rather than make the mistake of offending an already offensive customer. Sometimes, however, even the friendly worm will turn and our Defense Minister came in for a lot of sharp criticism on his positively 'aligned' statements.

It is unthinkable that anyone, with the exception of the Chinese possibly, would advocate or pursue such a policy that would sacrifice the world in a nuclear war just for the sake of an ideology, or once and for all to determine the ultimate strength of either of the power blocs. Yet the balance of power is being kept so perfectly that tipping the scales either way might tempt one of the parties into forcing the issue. The world, and more so the power blocs, are fast coming to realise that it is the non-aligned nations that have the power to tip the scales. Where India is concerned how far can we tolerate overt suppression and quite often the outright aggression of Communist imperialism for the sake of non-alignment? We are accepting and begging for millions of rupees in foreign aid to help us get on our feet, and most of this comes from the 'Aid India Club' of the Western bloc. Naturally they do

expect some returns; If not a financial benefit, then at least support of their democratic policies which are so closely related to ours. The Americans cannot be blamed, therefore, for their views of Mr. Krishna Menon's controversial statements blaming both Russia and the USA as equally responsible for the megaton scare, when obviously one party was to blame. Fortunately Mr. Nehru was able to compromise and more likely forced into admitting a diplomatic blunder from purely economic considerations. He went further than he usually does by condemning Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe and added that 'it sometimes is worse from the human point of view than the other.'

To make ours a policy of true non-alignment it is not sufficient to move through devious and vague diplomatic channels, flirting with the good intentions of those who help us. We must be able to accept immediately and unequivocally the right and wrong of any given situation, not out of weakness or because we are forced to do so from outside pressure, but from moral strength and a sense of justice. If we are morally certain that Communist expansionism is a danger to world peace — and they have repeatedly admitted their aim to be world domination by the Communist ideology — then there is no other alternative but to block them,

whenever and wherever possible. We cannot possibly continue condemning the cold war atmosphere and on this condemnation build up a policy. We will have to, if not immediately, accept the situation as it is, and in a realistic manner shape our policy in the light of this fact.

Ours being a democracy, we are in spirit aligned with the nations

following a similar policy. It would be sheer folly to hurt their feelings by disregarding and sacrificing democratic principles for the sake of the immediate advantage of placating for a short while the Communists, who unfortunately are our immediate neighbours. It would be safer to keep the real and genuine friends we have at some risk than follow a policy ridden with fear.

"It is with charity as with chastity. One must be capable of being an enemy, said Nietzsche. One must be capable of it in order to go beyond it. If it was Nietzsche's madness to see goodness and virtue only under the aspects of weakness and ennui, it was in revenge against the mania of so many virtuous people have of classing everything that manifests strength, power, affirmation shock, as evil. Their conclusion is that only the emasculated man is virtuous. His conclusion is that the pitiless savage is a man. Each is as good as the other, and the two are complementary.

E. Mounier

NEWS AND COMMENT

Goa

The liberation of Goa after over 400 years of colonial rule has been well received all over the country. For many Goans in particular it will mean a relief from the suspicion associated with their dubious status of belonging to India and yet somehow being subject or loyal to Portugal. The difficulties of communicating with kinsmen in Goa and even of entering Goa will now be removed. The town of Goa will benefit from the rapid development of its industrial-wealth. Its fine harbour will now throw open to foreign trade the rich hinterlands with which it communicates. The autonomy of the government and the institutions of the city have been guaranteed by the Centre in the person of the Prime Minister. There is therefore every reason to hope that Goa will soon play a very active part in the development of

India and that its peculiar Goan charm and culture will blend with the rich diversity of Indian culture.

The only fly in the ointment at present is the angry discussion about 'means and ends'. The question whether force was necessary to liberate the Portuguese colony has to be faced. Rajaji has come out with a strong indictment of the Government's policy of using violence to gain its ends. Indian foreign policy has always been wedded to non-violence and we are expected to practise what we preach. Fortunately the actual taking of Goa from the Portuguese was practically without bloodshed. And it has given the people some relief in so far as it has brought about a resurgence of prestige so badly lost through the advance on the Chinese on our northern frontier. The Portuguese should have walked out of Goa

long ago; they should have read the signs of the times. All the same it will be difficult for our Government in future to appeal to peaceful non-violent methods to settle international problems. The liberation of Goa may well herald a change in foreign policy. But it would be a great pity if we were to give up the methods non-violent struggle so that truth may prevail.

Family Planning

It is interesting to note the advice which the Family Planning Board of the Madras State has formulated to be conveyed to every married couple. After every confinement at least three years should elapse before the next pregnancy occurs. The interval should be longer in case the wife is anemic or ill. Family planning methods, described in a special publication, are advised to prevent conception. During the last five years, nearly four and a half lakh copies of the Family Planning Manual were distributed and nearly one lakh copies in English were circulated. The demand is still

continuing and the family planners find satisfaction in the fact that the principle of family planning is being accepted more and more by the people.

Besides contraceptive methods the Manual also recommends the use of sterilisation of husband and wife, when no more children are desired. This is stated to be the most efficacious method of contraception. However during the first decade of married life only spacing of children is to be recommended. After that period, sterilisation may become necessary.

Experience seems to show that by the bare use of 'appliance methods,' it is unlikely that family planning would spread beyond at best a third of the population. Similarly, 'natural' methods have only a limited acceptability. 'Surgical' methods are the best and can be made acceptable to the vast majority of the people, among whom it would be vain to propagate the other methods.

Sterilisation in the Madras State is rapidly gaining

ground as an effective method of limiting the population. The number of sterilisations performed was 695 in 1956, 1804 in 1957, 2850 in 1958, 3343 in 1959 and 7856 in 1960. During the first ten months of 1961, the number has risen to 19,388, which exceeds the combined total of the five preceding years quite substantially.

In Madras City, it is calculated that if the number of sterilisations which will be reached this year be maintained year after year, there will be a definite fall in the population of the City. The experience of Japan is quoted in support. Japan is stated to have succeeded in reducing its birth rate over a ten year period mainly as a result of a large-scale resort to induced abortion. Similarly it is intended that the birth rate of Madras City will be halved mainly as a result of sterilisation.

Another important result of experience is the superiority of vasectomy or Husband-Sterilisation over Salpingectomy or Wife-Sterilisation. It is found easier to sterilise the

husband. The operation is simpler can be performed at any time and the husband walks off from the table at the end of the operation. It is significant that during the year 1961, the number of vasectomies was six times of salpingectomies.

Comment

It is obvious that the propaganda for family planning is achieving singular success and gaining momentum each year. There is much to admire in the great zeal with which the movement is carried on by many well meaning persons. But it is tragic that the ethical and human consequences of family planning through contraceptives and sterilisation are blindly glossed over. Only the immediate advantages are contemplated; the possible breakdown of morality and the serious consequences for the children and the family are passed over in silence. It is time that those who deplore such unwholesome methods of limiting the family should bestir themselves and make their voice heard among the millions of our countrymen who

are often seduced into this vice through sheer ignorance and deceit.

Education and Emotional Integration

The Emotional Integration Committee, headed by Dr. Sampurnanand has emphasised that the three language formula recommended by the Chief Ministers' Conference should be clearly understood to mean that all students beyond the primary stage should learn both Hindi and English. The Committee regretted that the formula had been misapplied in various ways by certain States.

The variations result in either the three language formula operating in practice as a two-language formula or in ignoring the need to study the two 'link languages' Hindi and English. The Committee have made certain preliminary suggestions for the next academic year which have been circulated to the State Governments prior to discussion by the Central Advisory Board of Education on January 1st and 2nd.

In the main report, which

the Committee expects to submit within the next few months, a more detailed study is made of the various problems facing the country and discusses schemes for the promotion of emotional integration. For this purpose it was suggested that a World Seminar be held as part of the United Nations Day Programme in October 1962.

Rather than confine itself to immediately available data and information the Committee began work by issuing more than 9,000 copies of a questionnaire to all heads of schools, colleges, and other educational officials. The replies that came in were closely analysed as a basis for the recommendations of the Committee. Readers of Social Action are referred to the December Issue wherein the reply to the questionnaire by H. E. Valerian Cardinal Gracias appears. His Eminence had very strongly stressed the need to develop a genuine love for the country. He says '.... the love of the land is a sure foundation and source of patriotism This opinion is reflected in the Committee's recommended pledge

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that 'India is my country. All Indians are my brothers and sisters. I love my country and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it. I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect and treat everyone with courtesy. I shall be kind to animals. To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.

The Committee has also recommended a mass meeting of students before the commencement of classes for short talks and singing of the national anthem. One important point stressed was that children should not only know how to sing the anthem but should be made aware of the full meaning of the words.

In its preliminary report, the committee reiterates the view of the national integration conference held in New Delhi in September this year that education properly orientated could prove the great

test cohesive force in the country.

The members of the committee have also suggested the institution of an all-India award for the best general essay in each state from high school and college students on any other state in India. A free all-India tour for the winner or each award has been suggested.

The Committee repeated what was said by the Prime Minister that "All over the world we see strange things happening and there are not many countries which can be considered to have real stability.... In spite of our failings and weaknesses and difficulties we are a stable country going ahead, which can compare favourably with any other country. But the fact also remains that the problems that face us are of a giant stature. I have no doubt that we have the capacity to solve them.... by faith in ourselves, faith in our people, faith in our capacity to work together."

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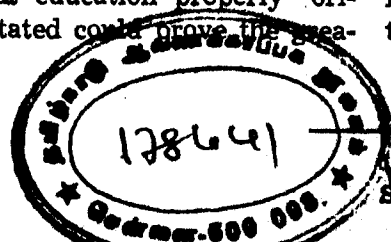
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Edited by A. FONSECA, INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER, Poona 1.
Printed and published at De Nobili Press, Madurai-8.