

SOCIAL ACTION

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DICTATED

THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

TAX AID TO EDUCATION

MEDICAL APOSTOLATE

MAHILA SEVA GRAM

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SOCIAL ACTION

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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.

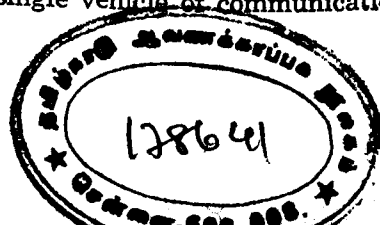
Entry 66

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 impenetrable. 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:

* Fr. Henry Haas is the chaplain of St. Anne's Nursing Home Marawila, Ceylon.

- (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 catalyzing 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 cold 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.

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.

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

Dated
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REV. FR. A. S. DURAIRAJ,
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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 basic salary providing for the basic needs of the worker.
- A family allowance.
- 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.

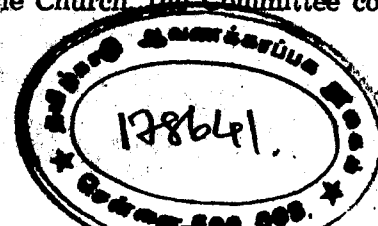
If any employee feels that there is an injustice or misunderstanding he has an obligation to approach the supervisor or the employer and must not cause unrest amongst the workers. If the matter cannot be settled satisfactorily, he may go to outside authorities such as Labour Officers and Trade Union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

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 Tamarind 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 silhouetted 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. Adisesiah — 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
To aid men to be versed in the knowledge and sanctified good,
Of Social justice and charity. in the practice

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.

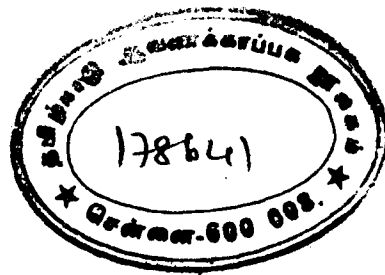
She continues "His fame as an economist and writer had of course preceded him. He is widely read in India and his views are respected and liked, mainly because his liberal economic philosophy is broadly in consonance with the dominant Indian temper. The fact that he is unorthodox, and a pungent critic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