

SOCIAL **ACTION**

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SEX EDUCATION
ST. CATHERINE'S HOME
RESEARCH AND RELIGION
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SOCIAL ACTION

VOL. 12 Nos. 5 & 6 MAY & JUNE 1962

SEX EDUCATION

J. M. Fuster*

Psychological background

Child Psychology has made great strides during the present century. It has evolved out of the keen interest shown in our age in the welfare of the young. Modern research has brought about a greater realization of childhood's importance by revealing that many aspects of an individual's personality depend upon learning during his early years. Thus motor skills, language habits, emotional response and social adjustments are greatly influenced by the nature of the child's training and by the success or failure of his early reaction to difficulties.

Freud has made several major contributions to our present knowledge of personality development. Some of them which bear more directly on the present subject will be outlined here :

a. *The dynamic unconscious.* That is, one's behaviour is influenced by mental forces of which one is not aware.

b. *The discovery of connections between personality development and childhood experiences,* particularly in the area of parent-child relationships.

* The author is at present Head of the Department of Psychology and student's Counsellor at St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

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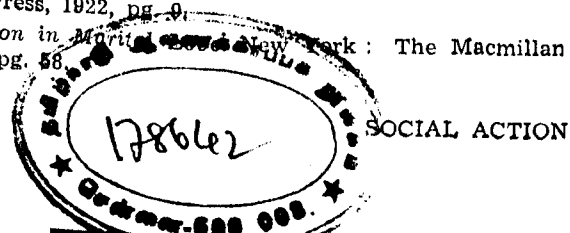
c. *Insistence on the major role that sex plays in the personality development of the child.* Freud maintained that it is only through an adequate solution of the oedipus-complex by a process of identification that personality can evolve in a normal and effective way. Failure to identify causes repression of the libido, and this repression develops into mental illness.

Present child psychology owes much to Freud no doubt, but this does not mean that everything that Freud wrote was correct. Freud himself expressly said that he had thrown out many suggestions and that he did not know how far he believed in his own views (1).

Freud's weak point was to base his formulations on data secured from a few patients and to apply his conclusions to all men, both normal and abnormal. Again, Freud used a faulty empirical procedure and placed too much weight on heredity and too little on the socially acquired features of personality.

However, discarding Freudian exaggerations and broad generalisations, the fact remains that sex and one's attitudes towards sex are very important factors in achieving personal and social adjustment. For as Marc Oraison says: "Sex is not just a certain physical, anatomical and functional conformation. It is a condition involving and influencing the entire person in the emotions, in the ways of thinking and judging, in the whole frame of reference within which the person chooses to view the world and life" (2). Sex is with one 24 hours a day, and thus a knowledge of what sex stands for and of how to direct it is vital to a human being. And therefore, just as a child is taught to walk, to speak and to behave in

- (1) Freud, S. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, London: International Psychoanalytic Press, 1922, pg. 9.
(2) Oraison, M. *Union in Morality*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958, pg. 58.



society, so too he must be taught what sex is for, and be helped to acquire correct habits. The adult's attitudes and habits regarding sex depend on the training he received during his childhood. That is why the child needs instruction suitable to its age and needs, as well as training in proper habits.

Present position

It is amazing to find so many parents who are totally ignorant of these truths. Most parents love their children and go through a great deal of trouble to provide them with the good things of life: good food, good medical care, good schooling. And yet, many such parents fail to enlighten the child as to what sex is for, how it should be directed, and how to build up the correct attitude. They overlook the fact that the child's growing curiosity demands a suitable explanation. And as such explanation is not forthcoming, the child gets it from vicious sources. Thus the child forms a false and distorted idea of sex, is led into incorrect ways of behaving, and loses courage to approach its parents on this subject.

For the sake of clarity, let us present the problem of sex education in three questions:

1. Should sex education be given to children or not?
2. Should sex education be given by the parents or by whom?
3. How should it be given?

Let us answer these questions one by one.

1. Should sex education be given to children or not?

Let parents answer this question first. Under the auspices of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, and as chairman of the Sex Education Committee, the present writer has conducted discussion meetings with parents at St. Ann's High School, St. Xavier's High School, Fort Convent School, the Bombay State Women's Council, and at various seminars.

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In all, over 600 parents were contacted. With the exception of very few, they all agreed that sex education should be given to children.

Let big children or College students answer it also. In 1959 the present writer conducted a sex education survey of boys and girls at St. Xavier's College, Bombay (3). The questionnaire for boys had six questions, and that for girls nine questions. 376 boys and 319 girls answered the questions. They were asked not to write down their names so that the answers remained anonymous. The boys age-range was from 14 years to 25 years with a very large majority between 16 and 19. The girls age-range was 15 years to 27 years with a very large majority between 16 and 19. They belonged to all communities and were in different classes, from the First Year to the Senior B.A. and B.Sc.

The boys were asked : "Did your parents teach you about sex ?" 34 boys or 9% said 'Yes,' and 334 boys or 88% said "No". The others did not answer.

The girls were asked : "Did your mother teach you about sex ?" 137 girls or 42% said 'Yes', and 188 girls or 58% said 'No'. Further, the girls were asked : "Were you informed of the monthly period before your first experience ?" 131 girls or 41% answered, "No".

Another question put to them was : "If your parents did not teach you about sex, did you learn about sex from a friend, a book, a teacher, etc. ?"

- (3) Cf. The articles on "Sex Education" published by the author in
- (a) Report of the second Bombay State Vocational Guidance Conference, December, 1958, No. 16, pp. 22-30.
 - (b) Journal of Education and Psychology, Baroda, 1959, No. 17, pp. 31-36.
 - (c) Indian Journal of Dermatology and Venereology, Bombay, 1961, No. 27, pp. 31-34.

187 boys or 49% said 'from a friend'.

159 " " 42% " 'from a book'.

Thus friends and books were by far the main sources of information for boys.

Of the 188 girls who had not been taught about sex from their mothers 48% said 'from a friend', and 13% said 'from a book'.

Further, the boys and the girls were asked : "Do you think that a timely sex instruction would have helped you ?"

200 boys or 53% and 233 girls or 73% said 'Yes'.

122 " " 32% " 30 " " 9% " 'No'.

The others did not answer.

If we compare the answer of parents with the answer of children, we find that both by a large majority agree that sex education should be imparted to children. With a few exceptions all the parents said 'Yes', and 53% vs. 32% of the boys, and 73% vs. 9% of the girls said that "a timely sex instruction would have helped them".

However, although parents and children agree in principle, that sex education should be given, the survey reveals that in practice this is not done. For 88% vs. 9% of the boys, and 58% vs. 42% of the girls stated that they had not received any sex instruction from their parents. This discrepancy between theory and practice prompts the second question :

2. Should sex education be given by the parents or by whom ?

Again, the parents discussed this question and here opinion was divided. Considering the nature of sex education, namely, that it requires great intimacy with another, and that it has to be given when occasion demands it, and that it is a very lengthy process running throughout childhood, many parents

agreed at least in principle that it should be given by the parents. However, many of them hastened to state that generally parents do not know how to go about it. They are afraid of doing more harm than good, they feel embarrassed and they are not sufficiently equipped to do it well. For these reasons many suggested that the school should fulfil this duty to children. Although this was not the unanimous opinion of parents, yet many of them agreed on this point namely, that the school should supplement, on a scientific basis, the sex education given by the parents.

Let children also answer this question. We find their views in the survey : "Would you have liked to receive sex instruction from your parents, or from a teacher, or from a doctor, or from a book, or from whom?" Here are the answers in percentages :

	Parents	Doctor	Book	Teacher
Boys	24%	37%	36%	34%
Girls	65%	19%	8%	5%

On this question girls differ widely from boys. 65% of the girls would have liked to receive sex instruction from their mothers, while 24% of the boys said 'from parents'. This difference is not at all surprising for it is a well known fact that girls are more inclined to confide in a mother than boys are in a father.

If we compare this answer of the girls with their previous answers, we find that only 42% of them did receive sex education from mother while 65% would have liked to receive it from her. This desire of the great majority of the girls used in this survey should encourage mothers to do their duty. They should get rid of unreasonable fears and embarrassment and treat of sex as something put in us by God for a purpose and therefore something noble and wonderful. The following extracts of the answers of the girls will confirm what is said

here. A girl wrote this : "Fortunately, I did receive a timely sex instruction, and it has helped me to look at life in a proper, normal and sensible manner". Another girl answered, "definitely it helps towards a clean and clear attitude towards everything concerning sex". A third girl said, "it gives a balanced attitude towards life and the opposite sex. It teaches that there is nothing dirty or frightening about sex, and prepares you for later on".

Here is a message to mothers from a girl in distress. She felt very dissatisfied with herself, she would not attend lectures, would withdraw to her room and planned to give up her studies. She had acquired a bad habit of self-abuse and felt frustrated at her failure to get rid of it. In that condition she said in tears, "I wish my mother had instructed me clearly in sex matters. Then, I would not have contracted this habit".

3. *How should sex education be given?*

This is the most difficult question because it is the most practical and the one that requires a more detailed answer. We cannot be expected to give a satisfactory answer in this paper.

Most of the parents referred to above, agreed to certain general rules as follows :

- answer what is asked and satisfy present curiosity without arousing morbid curiosity about something else.
- speak the truth according to the level of the inquirer, and never tell lies or fairy tales. This would jeopardize the trust the child should have in its parents.
- common sense will prompt one to give the needed information gradually in proportion to the child's capacity for understanding. But in this gradual process, the information

is given to a child at five must be in harmony with the information which is given to the same child at twelve.

At the discussion meetings, parents agreed that young children put questions regarding the sex organs, regarding where the baby came from, how it got there and how it got out. Simple and straight answers were discussed such as "Mummy, from where did I come?" The answer agreed upon was, "from my tummy, close to my heart, and that is why I love you so very much".

Listen to what Pope Pius XII told a group of mothers on this subject: "The day will come when the child's heart will feel new impulses stirring within it; new desires will disturb the serenity of those early years..... In that time of trial.... you will have a task of the highest importance to fill..... With the discretion of a mother and teacher, and thanks to the open-hearted confidence with which you have been able to inspire your children, you will not fail to watch for and to discern the moment in which unspoken questions have occurred to their minds and are troubling their senses. It will then be your duty to your daughters, the father's duty to your sons, carefully and delicately to unveil the truth as far as it appears necessary, to give a prudent, true answer those questions, and set their minds at ease".

Concluding Remarks

Today, more and more people began to realize the need of sex education. Yet, when their views and suggestions are examined, it all boils down to sex information. They say that since most parents are ill equipped to fulfil this duty, the school is their best substitute. And, therefore, they propose that a team of experts give a series of lectures on sex physiology, the facts of life and on venereal diseases, etc. And thus they maintain that young people will get clear ideas about sex, and in particular girls will be spared some shameful consequences.

Such schemes fall short of the target of sex education. One point should be driven home to parents and educators, and it is this, that *sex education is not just sex information*. Information is just one item in a sex education programme. An adequate biological knowledge on sex should be had by every one, but that does not constitute what is meant here by sex education. *Sex education means the formation of healthy attitudes towards sex in the minds of young people together with the creation of habits of self control and self sacrifice*. Such habits cannot last long unless they rest on deep convictions rooted in the understanding of the real purpose of sex and a knowledge of what is right and wrong, as well as on an unswerving loyalty to God, our Lord and Master.

To stand faithful to God in the midst of temptation is not an easy task. Unless one worships God to the best of one's ability and humbly prays to Him, one will easily yield to one's passions and evil desires. The child must be taught the real meaning of sex and to build good habits by exercising his will power and by praying to God for assistance.

It may be suggested here that school and college counsellors, a feature of the near future in India, who deal with the same students for a number of years, might prove the best substitute for parents. Yet, one can hope that the future generations of parents will be more enlightened on the importance of this subject, and one must insist on the fact that *it is the parents' important duty to educate their children in what concerns sex*.

Further, sex education does not mean stressing the negative side of sex, speaking only of self control and avoiding danger. Such negativism may produce disastrous results. A person brought up in this atmosphere will see red lights everywhere, and will be incapable of facing life as it is. He may try to suppress all interest in sex and thus he will read a

vicious meaning into wholesome occurrences. He will never learn to deal with the opposite sex with ease and comfort, and will feel threatened at every step. Sex education must stress the positive and noble side of sex.

Sex is God's idea. It is not something superimposed upon man's personality. It is a part of an integrated whole. Man is not only a body but also a spirit, and sex has a spiritual and psychic, as well as a physical and somatic implication. Vanderveldt says: "*One cannot really love a body; one must love a person. Perfect love is consummated not by a physical union alone but by a harmony and a oneness of the spirit*" (4). Sex is a creative function. It is the power given to man and woman by God to render them co-workers with Him in the creation of a human being. It is sacred and wonderful when used for the purpose intended by God.

In this light, sex education is inspiring and ennobling. However, it should not be unduly stressed and isolated but should be integrated in the larger pattern of total education. This type of sex education will help young people to become normal and efficient human beings. It is very much needed today.

Any sex education that does away with God as the Creator of man, and with His plan of procreation, and our obligations to Him as our supreme Lord, does not deserve the name of education and should not be accepted by the parents.

(4) Vanderveldt, J. H. and Odenwald, R. P. *Psychiatry and Catholicism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952 pp. 405-407.

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2. Love, Sex and the Teen-Agers, by Fr. Daniel A. Lord, S. J., 1947.
3. You & Your Children, by the Association for Moral & Social Hygiene, 41, Queen's Barracks, Foreshore Road, Bombay 1.
4. The Difficult Commandment, by Fr. C. C. Martindale, S. J. Indian Edition.
5. Answer Your Child's Questions, by P. Dufoyer, Indian Edition 1960.
6. How to give Sex Instruction, by Fr. P. J. Bruckner, S. J. 1952.
7. The Guidance of Youth, by Fr. Daniel A. Lord, S. J. Indian Edition 1960.

All these books except No. 3 are available from Examiner Press Book Shop, Meadows Street, Bombay 1, and from Sodality House, Victoria Garden Road, Byculla Bombay 8. No. 3 is available from the address given above.

By the same Author

YOUR MARRIAGE HAS A PURPOSE

by

J. M. FUSTER S. J.,

St. Paul's Publications

Available at the Examiner Press Bookshop

IMPRESSION OF SAINT CATHERINE'S HOME

Susan Weaver

The afternoon sun shines through wide open doors and windows on the long blue-stone floor. Sparrows fly to the high ceiling. Kneeling at the back of the chapel, I hear the approach of many children, followed by older girls, and young Indian women. Soon the chapel is full; young mothers hold infants in their arms, tiny children climb up to sit beside the Sisters, while a blind Indian woman is led to the chapel by a young girl. Looking in front of me at these children, a feeling of deep joy and gratitude comes to me. There are five hundred here together, as a family in peace and security.

A family

This family, Saint Catherine's Home, was started almost forty years ago in an outlying region of Bombay. From its beginning in a few mud huts, Saint Catherine's has grown to consist of six

well constructed cottages, a hospital, a school building, and a house for the Sisters.

The school, which was recently completed, takes care of over two hundred children, one hundred of whom are day-students, coming from the very poor working families of the surrounding areas near Saint Catherine's Home. The school has a staff of seven lay teachers and three teacher-trained Sisters. As well as the usual primary school subjects, there are classes in tailoring, needle work, typing, childcare, cooking, drawing, and music. Hindi and Marathi are taught by an outside master, the children, later, having the opportunity to take Government Hindi exams, which award recognized Government Certificates.

For the smaller children, too young for school, there is a playground with big sand-

boxes, a slide, and a wading pool. As in any large family, the older girls take the responsibility of watching and caring for the little ones at play.

Aside from their school work, the children and older girls are busy with many other activities. The children, themselves, take care of a small farm, which includes two hundred chickens, some rabbits and pigs, and a large vegetable garden. Recently Saint Catherine's has purchased several acres of additional land directly behind the former property lines. It is planned that this land be used for an orchard and for more extensive farming. An important purpose of the larger farm will be as an educational area wherein the girls may learn how to become more self-sufficient for the time after they leave Saint Catherine's Home.

Family-Care

But I began this story from the chapel; and it continues from there. For again, as I look before me, I reflect on the lives of these gentle children. And I realize that every thing at Saint Catherine's Home is here for the purpose of build-

ing or rebuilding the lives of these Indian children, most of whom have come from near tragic conditions. Rather than speaking of case histories, perhaps it is enough to say that these little children and older girls have, in almost every instance, been truly rescued from a future, which could mean only the most dire poverty, beggary, or prostitution. If these children have not already been made victims of their former circumstances, it is difficult to imagine how they could long escape the tragedy their past environments provided. Thus it is at Saint Catherine's Home, that, first of all, there is a constant care and attention to make each child feel loved and feel part of the family here. There is no thought nor mention of "fallen girls," no set, prescribed methods of rehabilitation and after-care. No one sits down to interview and take notes about a girl. No one subscribes to the statement made by a visiting social worker, who complained, "I interrogated the child for forty-five minutes with no results." No child is ever interrogated; rather she is taken into a family, where the only "method" followed is an effort and desire to love each

child as a mother loves her children. This desire to love, which comes, of course, first from the inspiring force of God's own love, seeks to raise the personal dignity of these children, who have never before known themselves to be loved as individuals. To help bring about a sense of each one's own importance, every child is given responsibilities in keeping with her abilities; thus, every child justifiably feels herself important and even necessary to the workings of her big family. An illustration of this is seen whenever an infant is left as an orphan at Saint Catherine's. The children, all of whom live, as smaller families, in the different cottages, are eager that the new baby become part of their family. This, of course, means that the children must, and will, take on many new duties to care for "their baby." It seems no exaggeration to say that the successful running of Saint Catherine's Home depends upon the help and co-operation of the children here. Since there are only eleven Sisters at Saint Catherine's, the children must assume many responsibilities, which is in turn, psychologically and morally very good for the children, for

they become givers and not just receivers of help.

Although some of the girls at Saint Catherine's are court-committed children, there are no locked doors, nor watchful matrons. Because the children are really happy here, it is extremely rare that anyone runs away or makes an effort to leave.

Birthday

There is, at Saint Catherine's, the ordinary discipline of a regular daily schedule of school, work, and play. This schedule, however, may be interrupted for times of feasts and holidays. Even with five hundred children, here, as in any family, each child has her own birthday celebration. This birthday is a special day for the child; she dresses in her nicest clothes, receives congratulations from everyone, and has a little party, to which she invites her friends and playmates from her cottage.

Development

Apart from the enjoyment of feasts and holidays, the Sisters use these occasions as another way to build each child's sense of her own personal dignity. The children learn to sing and to dance;

they make their own dance costumes. These things stimulate the children's imaginations and help to make them aware of joy and beauty, which had, in the past, been so remote from their lives. Once a year the children and Sisters at Saint Catherine's go on extraordinary picnic; this picnic shows very well the combination of concepts of responsibility, fun and freedom. Divided into several small groups, each under the care of one of the Sisters, the children spend a day of preparation for their picnic. Over outdoor fires, the girls cook basketsful of food for their long hike and picnic. Then, early the following morning, the children set out hiking to a destination either undecided, until the moment they leave Saint Catherine's door, or known only to the Sister in charge of a particular group of children. With food and money, probably neither of which will be needed, the Sisters and children walk and sing until they reach a village. Here they make friends with the people of the village by helping an old woman, or doing whatever presents itself as a kindness or service at the moment. Usually, the children

are so welcomed that the villagers feed them and send them off laden with other provisions. Before returning to Saint Catherine's, the children also find their way to needy persons, to whom they give articles of clothing that they have made themselves during the year. The groups, who made these gifts of clothing, had worked, sewing and singing together, many hours previous to the picnic. Thus, when the children come back in the evening to Saint Catherine's, they have made new friends and helped others; they have shared, received and given. They come home overjoyed.

Liberty

The girls at Saint Catherine's Home are of many religions, chiefly Christian, Hindu, and Moslem. There is no influence exerted to urge the children to change their religion or to adopt beliefs or customs foreign to their own faith. The chapel, to the Hindu and Moslem girls, is their house of prayer. It is God's love for each of these children that is the first teaching.

Love

In reference to after-care

and rehabilitation, these words themselves are strange to the family spirit sought after at Saint Catherine's Home. There is no studied after-care here; instead, there are constant informal visits from girls, who have left Saint Catherine's. These girls come simply to talk with the Sisters or come for advice and help. The Sisters sometime aid in arranging a marriage; they very often find jobs for the girls or a girl's husband. After marriage, girls frequently come to Saint Catherine's for their confinement before the birth of their baby. The Sisters also act as a financial guide and "banker" for the young women, who have left Saint Catherine's for their first job. There, thus continues, always, a family relationship between the Sisters and the children, who go from Saint Catherine's Home for a new life outside.

Dedication

There are some girls, who after having been some time with the Sisters at Saint Catherine's want to give themselves to God and to the service of others. These girls live together at Saint Catherine's in a little community of their own. After a period of study

and training, the girls return to the villages they once came from, and give themselves to the service of the people there. The lives of these girls are admirable in the extreme.

As far as relations with outside authorities are concerned, the Sisters often find much good-will and co-operation. It is regretted, however, that small children are sometimes required to appear in the municipal courts, where the children come in contact with a critical atmosphere and much that makes them reflective on an unhappy past, that might otherwise be largely forgotten.

Before concluding this article, I think of a brief incident, which occurred in an orphanage in the United States, but could have happened at Saint Catherine's Home. A small boy, who was carrying a smaller, sickly child on his shoulders, was asked, in solicitude, if the small child were not a heavy burden. In reply, the boy answered, "no sir, he is not heavy; he is my brother." So, at Saint Catherine's, the daily burden, although great, is not too heavy, for it is carried in love.

These gentle children and friends; I cry to myself that courageous Sisters pray that God could not but love them God will bless them and their all infinitely.

Editor's Note

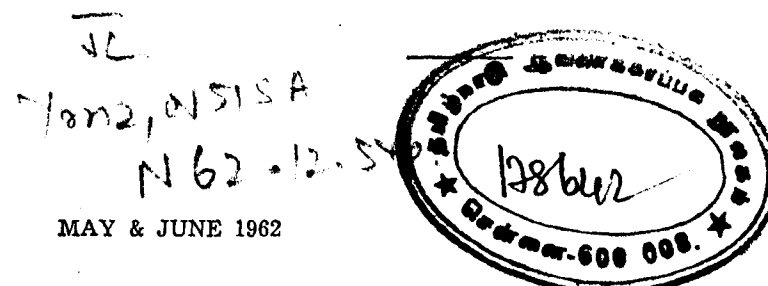
In reference to the above article, a letter from the Sister Superior of the institution to the Editor is published. This is what she writes:

"The enclosed is Miss Susan Weaver's work. It is not exactly as I wanted it, but perhaps you may be able to use it. In any case, since the family has always been my ideal and the one thing after which I strove in the care of these youngsters, I would not have been able to write it in a very different way.

There is no such thing as 'fallen' in a family; since we are all Adam's fallen race. There is no such thing as rehabilitation, objectives of the institution, factual information of the situation, of the inmates, conclusions regarding methodology, etc. The mother sees things from a very different angle or at least she expresses herself in different terms and I find that it is the only solution to the problem of "institutional" care, both for the normal and delinquent child as well as the normal and delinquent youth.

My recent visit to Europe and the great problems wherewith educators are faced in highly comfortable and scientifically arranged apartments with the best possible staff and small numbers in tiny families, have convinced me that the simplicity and power of love can outstrip every other valuable possession - either material or otherwise. I should indeed like to prove this by many years of joyful experience (it is exactly thirty years now that I have been allowed to live and love here).

Perhaps it is not possible for you to use the enclosed. I shall try then to write my own impressions of St. Catherine's though it will be in a mother's language. But an outsider's account might prove more valuable."



MAY & JUNE 1962

RESEARCH AND RELIGION

J. Khengar*

The Role of Research

The growing interest and enthusiasm in employing research for exploring and evaluating religious behaviour of a social group is an eloquent testimony of the usefulness of the positive approach to the religious problems of today. The present favourable attitude towards research being utilised in the sphere of religion has been preceded by suspicion and distrust which opposed all that smacked of positivism. How can religious practices which are primarily spiritual in character be represented by a frequency polygon? Can statistical manipulation capture the secrets of the intimate relationship which exists between the creature and his Creator? If this is not possible then what hidden information is made available which we do not possess by common knowledge? Besides is it sound logic to subject the functioning of the free will of man to the methods of research which are fit only for discovering the laws of physical sciences? Most of these objections arose from a false concept of both research and the area which is accessible to research in religion. Without denying the personal character of religion, research aims at discovering the inter-related factors which help or hinder the individual to satisfy the basic need for practising religion. As the socio-religious history of our days shows the role of research in religion is one of growing importance.

Logical Basis

Human behaviour is not haphazard despite the fact that it is ruled by free will. In fact this free will which operates

under the direction of reason respects the norms of culture and customs which regulate the individual acts of free choice. In other words, man's behaviour tends to be uniform within certain limits. This in itself provides a sound basis for research in any sphere of human behaviour. In fact this has been the starting point for anthropology, psychology and sociology. A methodical approach to social behaviour revealed that religion can be subjected to an empirical analysis since religion and society are two facets of an orderly life, which is responsible for the uniform way in which man behaves. Hence research is a reasonable approach to religious problems.

Politics and Religion

It is not our intention to discuss the age old question of allegiance which man owes to God and State. Adhering to our main objective of examining the role of research in religion we cannot but take note of certain political events which have a damaging influence on religion. Cuba, to mention just one of the latest developments in history, has left her traditional Catholic way of life and has thrown in her lot with the professed enemies of religion. What is really shocking is the fact that the change of mind happened almost over night. This is attributed to the intrigues of communist propaganda and subversive activities. No one doubts it, but there remains to be analysed the complex mechanism which has brought about so many nation wide apostacies in our times. Masses are aroused to national consciousness and when in earlier times religion guided the healthy drive for national prestige and pride, nowadays it is politics which directs the activities of a nation. Even religious values are respected as long as they satisfy the self consciousness of a nation. And a clever twist of this situation can easily be affected by the enemies of religion. They now do not have to fight religion directly and openly though they do so whenever they have an opportunity. They are now fighting for religion and not against it. National churches are just one indication of how nationalism

* Fr. J. Khengar, a member of the Indian Social Institute, is a trained sociologist from Fordam University, U.S.A.

can be employed to uproot religion without even attempting to attack religion directly. One thing is clear that the link between religion and politics cannot be ignored despite the ideological distinction between the two. When a nation is absorbed in those activities which are for its own prestige, it is apt to fall into error as to the far-reaching consequences of pure nationalism. If religion is to survive the indirect attacks of the anti-religionists, it should determine those areas which are intimately related in religion and politics. The relationship which is beneficial both to religious and political life should be spelt out in concrete principles and modes of behaviour. This is an area of fruitful enquiry which research has investigated to some extent and in the light of the new historic developments it will be necessary to direct energy to this type of research.

Religion and Economics

In his penetrating analysis of human behaviour, Max Weber gave the lie to the famed communist belief that religion is the opium of the masses. He showed that religion is not just a supra-structure which will give way when the masses have been sufficiently indoctrinated in the methods of improving their material conditions. Weber pointed out that "Protestant Ethic" which was based on Calvinistic tenets has been responsible for the growth of the economy in Protestant countries. Not infrequently Protestants ask why Catholics do not possess the earthly riches as much in abundance as the other Christian denominations. There is no simple answer to this complex question. But the question reveals the close link which exists between religion and economy. And this relationship is made more conspicuous when one comes across the fact that when economic needs are satisfied there is real active participation in religious activities. Religion presupposes sufficiently good economic conditions. And to determine the exact limits within which one can expect active participation, research must be made.

Religion and other Institutions

Without going into any further detail about the ties that do exist between religion and other human activities we may sum up and say that religion is one of the five institutions in which social life finds concrete expression. The other four are the State, Economic Organizations, Family and School. And according to the needs of the time one or the other institution remains in the central position and exerts influence on others. A harmonious collaboration of all the five institutions would mean an ideal condition for man. Whether that would be realized in the times in which we live is any body's guess. To ward off the excessive disequilibrium in social life is not only desirable but also a necessary must if religion is to put up an effective opposition against the materialistic values which seem to have a fascinating appeal for the masses. Hence a detailed enquiry into these institutions will yield useful information about the actual religious crisis which remains undiscovered because attention is diverted to seemingly more important areas of religious life while the crucial issues are just ignored.

The Function of Research

Assembling pertinent data and codifying them will have an useful purpose yet research should not stop just at that. The contribution which the behavioural sciences have made to knowledge is this ability in getting an insight into the life of man. '*Verstehen*' i.e. to perceive the meaning of the way of man's behaviour is of greater use in our every day life. To get at the latent and manifest values is the aim of social science. And, on account of that, a scientist will be required to break up his data into categories like age, sex, education, social status, income bracket, etc. From these there will emerge the typology of behaviour which helps one understand the full religious implication of a group or community. These will reveal also the possible trouble spots and the hidden potential for a healthy resistance to undesirable developments.

Communism and atheism will be more effectively fought back in a combined opposition of all the five institutions than by the Church alone. It may not be untrue to say that had all the five institutions been able to maintain their equilibrium, the havoc played by Communism would have been very, very limited. If the masses are drawn to communism, it is because there exists a disequilibrium in man's life and man seeks some way of regaining equilibrium. To offer man guidance and security is the function of religion and that will require a thorough knowledge gained through research.

Specific Problems

The rapid growth of industry is transforming social structures and social values. This has given rise to the complaint that men have been enticed away from religion by material comforts. It certainly expresses a sociological phenomena which is evident to serious thinkers. But it must be made more precise if it is to be of help in finding a suitable remedy against aggressive materialism. An empirical enquiry about the motivation of the masses of changing social life is not available and this is the real problem which religion has to tackle if it expects to fight back successfully the invading forces of materialism. In other words, we do not know the real meaning of materialism in terms of the day-to-day life of a particular group whose spiritual interests we are concerned with. Sunday collection is miserably below the priests' expectation. People do not appreciate sermons. There is no active interest in religion on the part of the laity. The Church is not as much frequented as public theatres. These are some of the specific problems which lead to the generalization that people are enticed away from religion. Though the above mentioned problems are specified they are not concrete enough so as to allow one to affirm that only materialism and no other factor is involved in the presumed indices of growing materialism. The Sunday collection may be low because one has to pay a doctor's bill for his wife's medicine or because another

has to pay fees for his children or still another has had to spend his money on travelling.

Apart from the daily needs there are a number of other contingencies which may make it virtually impossible for a community to maintain a high standard of generosity. It is the low income rather than materialism which is responsible for the drop in Sunday collection. Again this would not be the only explanation, but certainly this may be one of the explanations. Similarly, the other complaint that people do not appreciate sermons needs to be inquired into empirically. May it not be that the reason why people are restless during the time of a sermon is because it is too long or too theoretical, or too dry, or entirely unrelated to the actual problems which concern a particular community? Is it not possible that the tone, the gestures and the manner of delivering a sermon is more suited to the Romans of the past centuries than to the living audience of today? Besides there always remains the problem of the semantics. And though these possible setbacks are obviated by professional training still they may have been left unaffected as far as a particular community is concerned.

To take up the third point that is, there is no active interest in religion on the part of the laity. We shall have to examine the whole situation in a concrete way. May it not be that the institutionalized form of the Church is partly responsible for the passive attitude of the laity. Even some forms of worship emphasize more the passive role of the faithful rather than active participation. An individual is led to believe that matters related to religion are the priests' concern as matters related to education are the teachers' concern. Hence it is imperative that clear limits be shown to men when they have to be passive observers and active participators. And it would be to the good of the individual if in time of spiritual crisis he is shown the way to find a solution by himself rather than offer him a readymade answer. Catechetical instruction should

be employed to bring out the challenging complexity of those problems whose answers do not come as a matter of fact.

Finally, the last complaint is that the church is not frequented as much as the public theatres. This means that people know to distinguish a place of worship from a place of entertainment. But even the theatres are well equipped with those details which will attract and hold people. While on the other hand, some churches lack even the minimum means of comfort which help worship. Kneeling on a bare floor may help mortification but it will certainly not help maintain prolonged interest in frequenting the church. It is therefore reasonable enough that a theatre hall may exert greater influence than a poorly equipped church. It is not implied here that the mere fact of supplying comforts will bring crowds rushing to the church but it will certainly not keep back those few who wish to commune with God for a reasonably prolonged time.

False impressions

A correct picture of the social situation in which man is supposed to carry out his religious obligation is of utmost importance to the religious leaders. Hence the first step for understanding adequately man's religious behaviour is to get rid of false impressions about social phenomena which happen to exist in a particular community. It is not uncommon that certain exterior manifestations are considered to be reliable indices of religious fervour. They may serve as valid indications of a religious group for a time, but when these manifestations become part of routine or a social function they lose their religious significance. In "Protestant, Catholic and Jew" the author reveals the forces which are purely social and which impel people to many religious practices. Processions and pilgrimages which are primarily motivated by religious fervour may deteriorate into pure social rallies and tourism. Festivals tend to become pure social entertainment. And the process of religious activity turning into a social function is so

dead slow that it escapes one's notice unless one takes pains to make a scientific enquiry into it. Mob psychology is not absent when crowds gather for religious functions. And there must be vigilance for maintaining the religious character of religious functions.

An Immediate Field of Research

It is for every one to decide upon the particular area which is useful for an immediate research. The needs of people are so varied that it is difficult if not impossible to indicate specific areas of research. There is no adequate substitute for initiative and resourcefulness. Hence it must be left to those who are directly concerned with the spiritual welfare of groups to suggest the principal problems of the parish or a community and seek help of the research worker so as to get an analytic view of the religious situation of a group. One may direct one's attention to those who fail to come for Sunday Mass. Examine the fact of failure in relation to the five institutions about which mention has been made. Or one may take the group that regularly attends Sunday Mass and investigate the motives of their faithful attendance. One may inquire from the group the spiritual books which they have read, or the persons with whom they associate daily, or the form of recreation which they have, or the views they hold about religion, politics, morality etc. Such information will present a more accurate picture of a community. This will reveal the dangers which threaten the spiritual life of a group. It will also uncover the areas in which a spiritual leader can expect either whole hearted support or sustained resistance. This knowledge will help in planning a well thought out programme for both encouraging the active participation of the people in religion and fighting back the undesirable tendencies which are harmful to the spiritual life of a group.

HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE ENCYCLICAL

"MATER ET MAGISTRA"

M. Van den Bogaert

(Continued)

3) Action

In the three-stage launching of the social apostolate it is only Action that will put the programme "into orbit" and enable them "reach the target". Instruction and Education are but like the "booster stages" and are not sufficient in themselves.

Pope John wants nothing less than down-to-earth practical programmes for putting the Encyclical's doctrine into action. This again applies to the echelons which have been mentioned above, the personal level, the parish level, the diocese level.

In his practical advice as to how to proceed, Pope John has, here too, as it were "canonised" the SEE-JUDGE-ACT method of the YCW which has been adapt-

ed by many other lay movements (p. 68). "In reducing social principles and directives to participate, one usually goes through three stages: reviewing the situation, judging it in the light of these principles and directives, deciding what can and what should be done according to the situation," and then of course, doing it!

Not only should every individual lay apostle be taught to do this continually in his personal, his family and his professional life, but every lay organisation should undertake social action campaigns, and even the whole parish community will have to undertake such programmes: a parish survey will have to be made to "SEE" what is the situation, the needs, the things

achieved that could serve as starting point for further action, the men and resources available. On the basis of these facts the Parish should "JUDGE" what should be done, whether a co-operative, a workers' evening school, a farmers' union, a housing scheme, should be started. The targets should be clearly fixed. Finally the whole community should gear all its forces and "ACT" out the programme.

A laudable pilot project of a parish survey is the one undertaken by Fr. Victor, OCD in Calicut, Kerala. The Book is available from St. Joseph's Apostolic Seminary, Alwaye, Kerala, South India. Every parish that intends to put the encyclical into practice should get a copy of this book.*

But few will be the parishes that start such a programme on their own. It will be for the diocesan authorities to move in this matter. A pilot project may have to be started in one parish to see how things work out. In mapping out their social action programmes the dioceses may

have to apply for technical help to the Social Institute, Poona or to the Sociology Departments of our Colleges.

The implementation of Pope John's encyclical, if taken seriously, will mean quite a big effort. As said above, every diocese or region will have to run its own little 5 year plan. In doing so it will be able to learn very much from the experience gained by the Government and its officers in running the Community Development Projects.

While much is already being done by the dioceses in India in the line of co-operatives, housing schemes, professional training, agricultural programmes, etc. the drawing up of a clear programme of development is necessary to increase the efforts of the social apostolate and give a sense of purpose and urgency and to harness all the resources and talents in the diocese to this action.

All this may seem fantastic and unreal. It is perhaps an ideal of what should be done, but it can surely be done. Every parish and diocese will

* Another excellent sample of Parish Survey work is "Priests and People" by Conor Ward, Liverpool University Press, 1961. (Edit).

have to see what it can aim at. Besides, much of what is suggested by Pope John, for instance as regards the development of agriculture and the solution of rural problems, is actually being carried out by our Government in its welfare projects. It will be often possible to co-operate with the Government and as for the co-operation of the Government in our programmes, avoiding overlapping and clashes, whenever religious or moral principles or the interests of the Church are not at stake.

In this connection Pope John has to say the following: "Catholics in their economic-social activities often find themselves in close contact with others who do not share their view of life. In these circumstances our sons should be careful that they are consistent and never make compromise on religion and morals. At the same time let them show themselves animated by a spirit of understanding and disinterestedness ready to co-operate loyally in achieving objects that of their nature are good or at least reducible to good." (p. 69).

Parish priests are not expected to turn into develop-

ment officers, they are and remain pastors of souls, but they can act as social catalysers in their parish and get their people interested in social progress and establish hearty co-operation between their flock and the Community Development Officers. Not a few missionaries have actually achieved such a co-ordination to the profit of both the Catholic Community and the programmes of the Government. A book that is indispensable on this subject is "Missionary's Role in Socio-Economic Betterment" edited by John J. Considine, and available from the Social Institute. The substance of this book appeared in three articles by M. Van den Bogaert, S. J. in *SOCIAL ACTION*, January 1961, 5-17, February 1961, 53-62, March 1961, 113-122. Many practical suggestions regarding the implementation of programmes can be found there.

III. DOWN TO PRACTICAL PROGRAMMES

One can not be expected here to say what form the implementation of the Pope's encyclical should take in the life of every lay apostle, every parish, and every diocese. But since agricultural deve-

lopment is given premier importance in the Encyclical and since it is such an acute problem in India, the brunt of the attack will have to bear on that problem at least in rural parishes, while in urban parishes the masses of workers will have to be aimed at. The parish or diocesan survey will show what are the most crying needs and what can be done in the circumstances with the men and means available.

However, if a parish priest wants to get ideas on what could be done, he could read with great profit, the Resolutions of the Ernakulam Social Conference (*SOCIAL ACTION*, June 1954, 205-223). These resolutions are as actual today as they were then. The booklet *SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY*, containing the resolutions of the Madras Social Conference 1958 (available from the Social Institute) is also very useful. And as regards rural co-operatives the *REPORT OF THE SEMINAR ON RURAL CO-OPERATIVES*, 1959 (available from the Social Institute) contains a mine of information and practical suggestions. *SOCIAL ACTION* has in the course of

the years dealt again and again with these problems. Suggestions can always be asked from the Social Institute and any diocese could request the Institute to send one of its specialists to come and help in launching the programme.

IV. A BLUEPRINT FOR A PARISH PROGRAMME

How should a parish priest who with his parish leaders wants to put the Instruction-Education-Action programme of the encyclical into action, go about the business? The following steps could be suggested.

1) *The parish priest with his parish leaders*

The parish priest with his parish leaders gets acquainted with the Encyclical, preferably by organising with them a study group (not more than 12 members). The members should know that their study will ultimately have to be translated into action. This first step may have to last 4 or 6 months before the next is taken, but even then, this meeting with, and education of, the parish leaders has to go on. Instruction and Education must always be a few paces ahead of action. Action

without education becomes meaningless.

2) The parish leaders in their turn organise discussion groups

The parish leaders in their turn organise discussion groups with the leaders and members of the respective lay movements and the different districts into which the parish is divided and over which the leader is responsible. A Parish paper, leaflets, pamphlets, films, slides, skits and talks will have to be organised to create public interest among both Catholics and non-Catholics. Variety in this instruction-education process is very important especially with illiterate people. In these discussion groups and local meetings the parish leaders convey to others what they themselves have learnt. This step may have to last 6 months or more. It should actually never stop, even when action is taking place.

3) Preparing the Parish Survey

In the meantime, the parish priest with his lay leaders prepare the survey of the parishes. They have to figure out very clearly what exactly they want to find out and draft the questionnaire ac-

cordingly. To accomplish this successfully the help of a qualified sociologist may be required. In the mean time the work of the 2 previous steps continues. And the launching of the survey is being prepared in the minds of the people.

4) Launching the Survey

If the people know what it is about and why the survey is being conducted they will usually respond very favourably. On the contrary if the survey does not meet with the co-operation of the people it will fail and create ill-feeling. The parish leaders and members of the lay movements do the housevisiting and collect the data but under the supervision of a sociologist. The conducting of this survey will be an excellent training in leadership and it will arouse the interest of the whole parish and make the people aware of the problems they are facing. The necessary discretion and secrecy about the data collected should be kept in mind.

5) Analysing the Survey

Even long before the survey is launched the parish priest and his leaders will be aware of the problems in the parish.

But the survey may reveal quite a few unsuspected facts and it will put the problems in a much sharper light. The analysis and interpretation of a survey is not easy. Statistics can be made to say almost anything, with the added danger that one erroneously relies on conclusions that are 'scientifically' based on numbers and figures. Here again the help of a specialist will be needed. The launching and completion of the survey may take one year. In the mean time instruction-education must carry on.

6) Planning Action

On the basis of the data collected about the most pressing social needs and the resources available, a practical programme will have to be decided upon. This should be done by the parish priest in consultation with his parish lay leaders. It may not be possible to tackle the problems in an all-round approach, but at least one very definite concrete project that is practically feasible and that will benefit the people in the parish (Christians and non-Christians) will have to be started, so that the people know that the survey has

yielded tangible results. In deciding and working out this concrete scheme maximum scope should be given for the people to express their opinions, for this scheme must be essentially a SELF-HELP undertaking of the parish community, into which all are "involved" by contributing their talents, their labour and their money, — till it pinches. Merely to start something for the people but not by and through the people, where, for instance, all the money comes from the German Bishops, will undo its purpose and will not uplift the people and make the community more self-supporting and self-respecting.

7) Implementing the First Scheme

When the practical scheme has been approved, the original study group of parish leaders will have grown into a managing committee. They must run the scheme, with the parish priest acting as guide and very often, as supervisor of the treasurer. At least this is the ideal.

8) Stabilising the results and undertaking new schemes

Once this first project has been achieved and has yielded

results, the people will have gained enough confidence, — even the septs, — and will have rallied round the parish priest with his parish leaders to undertake additional community improvement so as to solve the problems that have been revealed through the parish survey.

It is clear that never in the course of this action must the Instruction - Education part be stopped. It must move ahead of action so that the leaders and people know what is being done and why it is being done.

It is also obvious that such a scheme should as a rule not

be limited to Catholics only but should benefit others as well and that it should be executed in co-operation with the government and municipal authorities.

Much of what applies to the parish could be said of the Diocese. A Diocesan plan will most often start with a pilot project, as the one just described in one of the parishes. But the diocese's task will rather be to guide and co-ordinate what is being done in parishes and to establish the necessary conduct with the government authorities at the district level, and with the sources from where financial and technical help will have to come.

Book Review

WORLD POVERTY AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations was born with inherited characters that prevent its proper development. Some of these inherent defects have nearly killed it more than once during its very short existence. During a recent crisis, not a few said that its days were numbered and began preparations to bury it alongside its elder relative, the League of Nations. In a very personal, lively and stimulating criticism, Mr. Shonfield * expresses the opinion that with all its defects the U. N. not only can, but must survive, for there is no other alternative for mankind but destruction. The manner in "which the United Nations conducts its affairs" is indeed very imperfect. It is "a little like the story of the man who, during the horrors of the Lisbon earthquake in the 18th century, when arraigned before a court for selling earthquake pills, silenced his ac-

cusers thus: 'What', he asked, 'would you put in their place?'

The book is devoted to a discussion of the role of international agencies in helping the development of the large area comprising "the whole of non-Communist Asia, except Japan; Africa, except the Union of S. Africa; and Latin America in its entirety". India figures prominently among these underdeveloped nations, taking the tiger's share of the publicity and pleas for more aid.

The first section of book deals with development programmes. The author believes in improving a few countries rapidly rather than spreading out limited aid so thinly that it does little to improve the economic situation of the recipients. The three lucky countries considered to be

* *The Attack on World Poverty* by Andrew Shonfield. Chatto & Windus, 1960, London.

sufficiently prepared to receive even more foreign aid than they now get, are India, Mexico and Brazil.

The total aid, in all forms, given to the area under consideration, in 1958, was \$5½ billion. Even though the area has a population of 1,200 million, this sum sounds substantial until it is known that political considerations cut large slices of the cake for just a few countries in the area. In 1958, S. Korea, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia received nearly one-third of all the American contribution, i.e. the largest contribution. If we further subtract the military aid given to the whole area, and the investments in the oil industry — which benefit only a few people — we have left only roughly \$1 billion as the annual capital to be distributed among 1,200 million people.

Jobs For All?

Insufficient funds are not the only problem. There is the even more difficult question of whether, in the rush to raise the economic level quickly, it is better to use more men and less machines, or to use the latest machinery

and comparatively little labour. The usual answer in India is that it is better to use more men because of the abundance of cheap labour. Using the experience he gained on a visit to the Bhakra Dam, Mr. Shonfield points out that abundant labour remains cheap only when it can be treated with dictatorial brutality. The Chinese Communists, he points out, brutally "substitute surplus labour for scarce machinery", whereas, in India, machines are "infinitely easier to manage than human beings — and a lot cheaper, after allowing for the deliberate time-wasting of people trying to spin out the job, as well as the minimum social services that would have to be supplied under the Indian labour law".

We in India are also familiar with the "tale of no jobs for the trained people on whom the revolution in technology depends", i.e. the plight of all those who get well qualified and then cannot find a job that comes up to their qualifications and expectations as to salary. The author touches on the problem as to why trained men often receive poor salaries when he points out the difficulty of

squeezing out an adequate salary for them. The reason lies in too many people being employed to do too little work with the result that "the budget is already overloaded with the cost of underpaying masses of underemployed officials who have obtained their jobs, in one way or another, through political patronage."

The Criterion for Receiving Aid

Aid should not be poured into each and every country in danger of Communism. The author thinks that "letting a country go communist is a risk that we must feel able to afford to take" otherwise the West will be blackmailed by every worthless country in the underdeveloped area. Nor must the habit of some countries of asking for the most showy and expensive gift be encouraged. "There is a feeling that nothing but the best will do when a poor country is being taken out on a spree by the rich one", but the number of improperly used expensive gifts to be found in the underdeveloped countries, is a condemnation of such wasteful spending.

The true criterion for picking out countries worthy of

aid is that the return on loans, etc., in terms of extra output, should not be much below the average return in developed countries. The poor countries must be helped "even if they refuse to grow", but the main allocation of aid will go to countries who can satisfy "businesslike criteria".

Mr. Shonfield is very satisfied with India as a sound investment. But he constantly points out that India, and some countries like it, will soon run into a very serious difficulty of finding sufficient foreign exchange. He argues that even if India can increase exports and get further loans at 5%, repayable after 20 years, the repayment of previous debts will mean that, by 1966, "the debt-serving obligations" will be close to 35% of export earnings. The conclusion is that unless India can achieve a very substantial rise in export sales, the country will soon go heavily into the red. One obstacle to an expansion of exports is lack of quality: "Indian wages are lower than the Japanese, but this is more than offset by India's handicap in quality."

A "very patriotic Indian" put the whole problem of

exports to the author in the following way: It is more difficult to export now that we have no imperial masters.... In the old days the efforts made by the London business houses to find cheap sources of supply over here and marry them at a good fat profit with the customers that they had over there — all this was called exploitation. But times have changed and nowadays we are looking around for energetic people in Western Europe and saying to them: 'Please come and exploit us'."

The Problem of Saving

Economists calculate that productive capital assets will yield annually one-third of their original cost, i.e. Rs. 3 lakhs so invested will yield Rs. 1 lakh. Or, as Mr. Shonfield graphically puts it: "If people could, by some miracle, devote the whole of their output to the creation of new capital assets — meanwhile relying for manna from heaven for their daily food — they could double their productive capacity every three years." To apply this to India, if this output-increase of 4% a year — that is what it would add up to — were maintained, 2% would be absorbed by

population increase, and 2% would remain to boost the level of investment. If all the 2% could be invested, living standards meanwhile being kept "absolutely static", investment rate shoots up. Communists, says the author, score here by making saving compulsory, holding down consumption and pushing investment. India cannot do this without violating freedom. But it has an advantage over China in that the economic substructure has already been laid and the initial pre-investment stage is over. Hence it is hoped that the Indian capital/output ratio will be, not 3:1, but closer to 2:1, and by the 1970s the saving rate will rise from the present 7-8% to 16-17% of the national income.

When that happens India will have successfully taken off.

(The Indian National Council for Applied Economic Research puts the take-off in 1976, hoping that the infrastructure will be so advanced as to stimulate rapid growth. However, the projection is hedged round with conditions as to inflation, transport and power bottlenecks, skills, etc. Certainly there have been far too many starry-eyed fore-

casts. The *Economic Survey* 1961-62 gives matter for reflection: Industrial production percentage increase fell from 12.1% (1960) to 7.8% (1961) when, with the setting up of more producing units it should have doubled the percentage increase over that of 1960. Unless the bottlenecks are removed, particularly in transport and power, the take-off will be delayed.)

Mexico and Brazil are expected to take-off in the middle sixties. The happy result will be that more loans will be available for the next in the long queue of waiting nations. By that time, a number of them will have completed the pre-investment stage. This means that during the 1960s there will be a demand for increasing sums of money. Mr. Paul Hoffman, the Managing Director of the U.N. Special Fund, calculated that the total national incomes of the underdeveloped countries increased at about 3% annually during the 1950s. Population increased at a round 2%, so the net improvement was 1% per annum. This is too slow a rate to be effective and Mr. Hoffman wants it doubled. To achieve this

an extra \$3.4 billion must be invested annually. In the case of India, the need for a higher investment rate is urgent, for the longer the delay, the more difficult the task. In ten years' time there will be over another 100 million consumers, and, without increased investment, there will be no corresponding increase in producers.

Debts and Investment

The next section of the book treats of investment. A general criticism is raised against a lack of boldness in lending, while the World Bank, in general, and Mr. Eugene Black, in particular, are asked to broaden their horizons. Rapid industrialisation piles up "the mountain of indebtedness". When the repayment of debts "absorbs more than a certain conventional proportion of a country's prospective export earnings — some bankers put it as low as 10 per cent, others more generously at 20 per cent — the word goes out that its "creditworthiness" has been exhausted." Brazil and India are in the invidious position of seeing their "creditworthiness" decline just when their need is greatest. Mr. Shonfield suggests

that one way to overcome this difficulty is to give loans at very low rates "and loans with an extended period of grace before any repayments at all have to be made." For India, the breathing-space of a few years before having to commence servicing debts would be an immense boon.

The Weakness of the U.N.

"One of the diseases of the United Nations is an excess of formal parliamentarianism, with too little of its substance.... There is no discussion on (economic) matters of substance that could, by moving the opinions of the participants, influence the votes of the governments whom they are supposed to represent. They are puppets and their deliberations are a simulacrum of parliamentary debate."

The U.N. General Assembly was set up as a deliberative rather than a mandatory body. Political decisions were to be taken by the Security Council. The veto and the cold war annulled that power, making the U.N. a much less effective body than it was intended to be. This general ineffectiveness has resulted in many of its agencies acting autonomously without coordinated planning.

In contrast to the U.N. agencies, the World Bank has proved itself remarkably efficient. So much so that "a body of influential opinion... believes that the Bank ought to be given the leading role in any enlarged programme of economic aid to underdeveloped countries." In some countries, the World Bank representative acts almost like an ambassador. In Pakistan, he is put at the disposal of the Finance Minister. The author compares the President of the W. B. giving his report to the U.N., to "a visiting potentate about to receive an honorary degree..." The clear-cut division of the Bank from the U. N. is considered to be one the reasons of its success.

India is "the Bank's biggest customer", having "one-eighth of all the outstanding loans... in its hands." Lending, however, is becoming more and more difficult. The annual repayment of loans, plus the cost of interest, will go on mounting up as the Bank continues to hand out more loans. "It can be shown that if the Bank proceeds to lend money at a steady rate of \$ 700 million a year, servicing costs will in-

crease to the point where the net contribution to development is reduced to zero by 1968." By the end of the sixties "a lot of underdeveloped countries will be re-borrowing from the Bank each year just about as much as they pay back to it." This paradoxical situation emphasizes "the need for the World Bank to think in terms of new forms of business — and also to develop a new spirit which will induce it to take bolder risks." Mr. Shonfield thinks that the Bank's President, Mr. Black, should drop some of his inhibitions as regards socialism and nationalisation. But may it not be that at least a part of Mr. Black's success is due to this predilection for private enterprise? Certainly, without this trait, he would not have Wall Street behind him.

A part answer to the problem under discussion is to increase the period of grace before repayment begins. This in turn implies a bold political judgement: that India, or any other country that receives large loans, will continue to have a stable government. The International Development Association (IDA), a "soft loans"

agency, staffed by the World Bank, might have filled the gap were it bigger and more powerful. To step in with interest-free or long-term loans, the IDA must increase in size and that quickly. For "The chief missing element in all this is the sense of urgency. What is required now is not the slow accumulation of experience on a series of pilot projects, but a political act of will on the part of the rich nations about the quantity of resources that they are ready to devote to raising the submerged majority of mankind."

How to Get Aid?

"The great inhibition on generous conduct in the Western world is the anxiety of each of the donors about its balance of payments." Russia has not this worry because it makes no bones about tying its aid to Soviet goods. Mr. Shonfield finds a lot of good in this case and advises imitation. He notes that the underdeveloped countries, far from resenting getting goods instead of cash "seem often to feel that they have obtained some special benefit from it." The debtor nations, on their part, must not take up a beggar attitude of saying that the rich nations can well afford

to give, for, "A country can be very rich and still have a balance of payments so vulnerable that it is afraid to give money away for purposes of which it approves". Furthermore, one reason why these "tied" loans from Western countries have so far been so small is that these countries are obliged to show their "purity of intention" by not openly demanding a bilateral agreement, so that the "tying" is done in a roundabout and almost furtive manner.

Mr. Shonfield also believes that underdeveloped countries would be wise to buy "good obsolescent machines" instead of exhausting short funds on the latest and most expensive model. He points out how quickly in India "the typical small workshop learns the tricks of improvisation" — though, evidently, he has not used one of these improved machines! But before improvisation can be tried out "the strong prejudice" against second-hand machinery will have to be broken down: "national pride insists that nothing which is regarded by the advanced nations as a second-best product is acceptable". But the truth is that

the second hand serves well at the beginning of industrialisation. Moreover, in the West a machine becomes obsolete, not because it is inefficient or faulty, but because it can be replaced by another which will reduce labour costs. But India does not need labour-saving machinery. Its present problem is to use more labour and less capital equipment. The dilemma for the planners is that if they employ more workers, the latter will demand more consumer goods, and the planners want to avoid a rising demand for consumer goods now. China has solved this problem by forced labour and by supplying nothing beyond the barest of necessities. It is a hard task to industrialise very quickly and respect democratic liberties.

It is proposed that there should be a much enlarged programme "of mutual convenience between giver and recipient". The example is cited of the 2-3 million tons of American surplus foodgrains given to India. This programme has relieved America of embarrassing surpluses and helped India to maintain "fairly stable prices" for foodgrains.

Slow-Fire Revolution

The Indian agricultural revolution is proceeding much too slowly. The plan for rural reform suffers from a common Indian defect: it has been imposed from above. Judging from similar attempts in the past, we shall have to wait a good time yet before the revolution warms up. While waiting, the author's proposal that in order to check "the inflationary consequences of handing out more wages to workers employed on (public works), without a corresponding increase in the available supplies of consumer goods", Western countries should offer "large quantities of food specifically in support of a new programme of public works in agriculture."

If we recall that the average rural worker in India is unemployed for 140-150 days a year, that "the village moneylender-trader-boss" dominates the scene with his minimum 25% annual interest — compared to 5% in Japan — and that land reform does not automatically work miracles — in Mexico it has merely replaced the landowner by the local merchant as village boss — then we should be ready to try out any formula that gives

promise of bringing about the reforms so urgently required in the rural world.

This section on investment concludes with a necessary rider:

"It is easy to parody this whole proposal as a policy of giving the underdeveloped countries the technological leavings of the rich. The first point to observe is that the programme is not intended to take over the existing forms of economic aid but to supplement them..."

"The second point is that even though arrangements are made to absorb from the rich countries those goods that they can make available with comparative ease, the citizens of these countries will not find it a completely painless operation. They will have to make some real sacrifices, especially at times of domestic boom and high employment when these supplies to the underdeveloped countries... have to be forced out of an already fully loaded economic system."

The Role of the U. N.

The last section of the book is on how to put more punch into the U. N. and its agencies. The "main source of (its)

weakness... is the fragmentation of the work of the United Nations in the social and economic field." Some examples of this failure are given. Community development in India is a "much publicized effort" whose results are "extremely meagre". There has been some success; "there are show places where the visitor can see with his own eyes that peasants have struggled out of their apathy and got together to create a village school or hall. But judged in terms of the effect on average living standards... the experiment has got nowhere." Seven years after the launching of a major effort, a team of U.N. experts reported that the scheme had failed to concentrate on the main object, the raising of agricultural output, and got lost in a maze of secondary activities of a "social and cultural character". In this case the U.N. was in a unique position to give expert guidance. Instead it languidly attacked the job piecemeal and it was left to Ford Foundation to step in and try to find an answer.

The sidetracking of energy to "folk art and group leisure activities" must be laid at the door of UNESCO. Unfortun-

ately, the approach advocated by UNESCO "fitted in only too well with the fuzzy attitudes of many of the national officials who were initially drawn into community development work; the whole operation became a hunting ground for fuddy-duddies".

The result of "the principle of fragmentation of authority" is waste and muddle. For example, UNESCO, "because it sets out to be the world leader on scientific research, runs a big and expensive programme of investigation into the problems of 'arid lands', regardless of the fact that this ought to be the concern" of the Food and Agriculture Organisation. The author remarks that Fr. de Breuvery, S.J., the senior official in charge of a "Water Resources Centre" will find that sorting out and dividing the varying claims of the different agencies in this sphere will prove "a testing exercise for his metaphysical power".

Mr. Shonfield wants each U.N. agency to have "a clear and strictly limited brief". He would remove the "S" and "C" from UNESCO and make it aim at education with a very definite purpose; the

Economic and Social Council "has failed to fill a useful function and ought to be discarded"; the ILO and the WHO have a much better defined aim than other agencies and, consequently, are in need of but little reform. Many other excellent and practical suggestions are made to strengthen the centre of the U.N. and make the organisation more effective. We cannot go into the matter further here. What the U.N. needs is a type of organisation (for economic problems) similar to that of the Executive Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

"The superiority of (these two) depends partly on the quality of the officials, who are able to enter into a useful discussion with the management on points of substance and not just make set speeches written by a man in the ministry at home, and also on the board-room atmosphere, with its emphasis on informality and brevity, that has been firmly established. This is what the governing body of any future integrated programme of the United Nations technical aid should aim at..."

There is a lot of vapid la-di-la talk about the U.N.O. Instead of endlessly mouthing empty rhetorical phrases about this vital organisation, politicians, whether of the official or of the more abundant arm-chair variety, would be well advised to read and ponder over this constructive criticism of the U.N. and its agencies. As would, too, all those who are blindly enthusiastic over or idiotically critical of its achievements and possibilities. The popes have frequently recommended Catholics to take an active interest and part in the U.N., but too many of them, especially those from the more "conservative" Catholic countries, still look upon the organisation with the deepest suspicion. Both they, and every one else seriously interested in the future of mankind, can profitably reflect over the conclusion of this excellent study: "One way or another, governments have got to get used to dealing with the United Nations as an effective supranational body, if the world is to survive the next hundred years."

A. Nevett

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir,

Many a Catholic reader of your magazine would appreciate an article or articles on the ways and means of improving the economic level of our Catholics.

True we have Catholics in different walks of life, and at different economic levels, but by far they seem to be getting swamped out with no improvement in their economic position.

A suggestion has been made to the C.B.C.I. (Catholic Bishops' Conference of India) to set up in every diocese a high grade Technical School, on an earn-and-learn basis — not one that will produce fitters and the like.

This technical school should produce quality goods, which are easily marketable and which will never lose their market, because of their good standard being maintained.

The initial expenditure will be heavy, but later these Schools will pay for themselves and their Catholic pupils. To illustrate:

- (a) The manufacture of plates for Car Batteries. In this vast country, it is difficult to get always a good battery because of the poor and inferior quality of plates. — With the manufacture of plates, there will go other ancillary goods.
- (b) Pharmaceutical Goods — these offer a great scope and there are so many products. One thinks of the greatness of Fr. Haffkine in this connection and of the little benefit to the Community. Our girls take degrees in Micro-Biology and become Steno-typists.

These are some thoughts that come to mind as the possible methods of raising the economic level of our people.

P. Lobo,
Advocate, Supreme Court,
Jabalpur

Editor's Note: On being consulted about the suggestion regarding technical schools, Rev. Fr. W. Clement, Director, St. Joseph's Technical School, Poona, writes as follows:

1. A Technical School on an earn-and-learn basis is going to be a very difficult proposition. Experience of the functioning of Technical Schools under Catholic auspices shows how true this is. But my first question is "If the Technical School is not set up to train students and prepare fitters and the like, what is its purpose? Is it a school or is it a business enterprise? If it is a school, and that is what it is called, it must be a training school to train students for jobs in factories which need such skilled technicians. Further if this aim is kept in view, only such work from outside

sources can be undertaken as will provide the students, first and foremost, with opportunities for learning, and only secondarily, income for the institution and the students.

2. Mr. Lobo suggests the example of the manufacture of Car Batteries. This is a field that is already being catered for by large firms which produce such goods on a mass scale. To compete with such firms will be a very difficult matter for a technical school. These firms possess large capital resources for expansion and research to produce better quality goods. It is true that India is still a developing country in the primal stages of industrial development, but it is becoming evident day by day that competition is increasing especially in the larger cities and towns, and the market is being explored and captured by the big enterprises that are experts in the art of advertising. Moreover does Mr. Lobo envisage that the students will find employment for always in a technical school? It should be realised that skilled labour and highly mechanised processes are required for the mass production of plates for Car Batteries.
3. To set up technical schools nowadays requires not only much capital, (at least two or three lakhs), but also a trained staff to attend to the needs of the students and see that they are properly trained. The students should be prepared for government technical examinations and go out of the institution well qualified so that they can easily find employment in factories. This is the function of a training institution and all efforts should be made to achieve this aim. If the Catholic community does not seem to make head-way today, may the reason not be that our Catholic boys do not work as hard as boys of other communities do? It is the common complaint in many Catholic schools that our Catholic boys do not work hard enough.
4. The German 'Misereor' or the campaign for the "Fight against Hunger and Disease" has been financing technical schools and supervising their establishment in different parts of the country. The experience of their experts bears out the truth of the observations made above. There is a dearth of Indian trained staff to run the technical schools efficiently and in certain cases, Misereor has been sending one or two trained technicians from Germany on a temporary basis.
5. Finally, the technical school should not degenerate into a small workshop competing in a poor way with other better established firms. But this is what is happening to some of the former so-called technical schools established many years ago.
6. Obviously we need technical schools, but they must be of the right type, well staffed, and with clear objectives of training students to become skilled technicians. These latter are in short supply and every boy who is technically trained is sure of finding employment and a good salary.

From the World of Journals

Report on Planning

There is much attention being given to the question of Government planning today. Almost daily, the papers carry leading reports of statements on this subject by some important person. The sources of these judgements are both public and private officials. Most of them seem to be in agreement on one particular point. They are troubled by the way the job is being done. It is frequently said that official planning is too often hampering rather than helping progress. As a result of this outcry, the question of the basis of planning in India has assumed special significance. The article by Dr. Gyan Chand, President of the Indian Labour Economists Association, on the subject of *The Social Premises of Planning in India* is therefore most timely. It is found in a recent issue of *ASIAN STUDIES*.

Dr. Chand first explains the fundamental purpose of the programme. As he puts it, planning had "to be introduced and developed as a method

of bringing about social revolution — of changing radically the existing social order and substituting for it a different social order with a new social purpose and new prime movers". He then goes on to give concrete results in statistical terms. There has been, he says, "42 percent increase in national income, 20 percent in per capita income, 35 percent increase in agricultural production, 51 percent in industrial production, 63 percent in iron and steel, 324 percent in machinery, 114 percent in chemicals". But he immediately adds the qualifying statement that, "...they in themselves do not say much, not much in terms of social well-being, of the relative position of different income groups, of the nature and struggle of the social forces at work, of the general health and vitality of the economy and of its capacity to generate and sustain its own momentum". For, he adds, "India's most challenging fact was and is the extreme inequalities in the income and wealth of her people... Re-

duction of these inequalities had to be one of the foremost objects of planning in India..." After raising the question as to how far planning has achieved this object, Dr. Chand finds himself forced to admit that, "generally speaking there is no evidence that any real significant reduction in inequalities has taken place". Quite to the contrary, he finds "...the available evidence, though not conclusive, does create presumptive evidence... (that) inequalities are greater in 1961 than in 1951..."

To sustain this assertion, Dr. Chand notes that "Official reports have shown that landless labourers and the small peasant are definitely worse off; most of the benefits of the community development projects have accrued to a small minority of the rural classes; craftsmen have suffered from a serious deterioration of their conditions; the lower middle classes, in real terms, have lower incomes than pre-war and the industrial workers have barely maintained the pre-war level of wages". While he admits that changes in the income of the richer classes cannot be statistically measured, by elimination, he says, "...the inescap-

able conclusion is that they are the principal beneficiaries of increase in production and income that have occurred." All this, he concludes, "...is obviously a very adverse commentary on the soundness of our plans and their implementation."

After giving credit to the Government for large-scale actual achievements in material terms, Dr. Chand emphasizes that "It is not implied at all in what has been said above that we have been standing still or retrogressing." But, he adds, "That... does not alter the fact that in regard to our social objectives we have not given due consideration to their bearing on the new social structure that is needed and has to be built up in the country and to the need for social levers that have to be provided and put into action if our economy has to develop a self-generating and self-sustaining quality which is at present being mistakenly emphasized from the standpoint of the ratio of savings and investment to national income."

The conclusion of this argument, in the words of Dr. Chand, "is that our develop-

ment and production potential depends more upon structural changes, institutional reorganization and social momentum of the people than capital accumulation, foreign aid, technical assistance and adoption of new techniques in agriculture and industries, important as these undoubtedly are for rapid and adequate development of our economy." Both our economic and our political independence will fail, he warns, "...if we disregard... avowed social purposes and objectives... and (do) not pay due heed to the need for building up and relying upon the organized strength of socially conscious people."

Prospects for the Central African Federation

The London Correspondent of the *Economic Weekly* commenting on the 'Rhodesian Rumpus' in the March 24th issue says "the main difference between Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead are that they would both like to preserve the Federation, the former at all costs, while the latter would not be prepared to do so at the cost of Southern Rhodesia's independence."

The Central African Federation was brought into exis-

tence in 1953 and is made up of three very different units. Southern Rhodesia with 225,000 Europeans as against 2.87 million Africans; and Northern Rhodesia with 77,000 Europeans and 2.37 million Africans. Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing colony with a Prime Minister. Here, the European settlers have been in complete charge of internal affairs since 1923. So far, there have been no African members of its law-making body, and only a few thousand Africans have been eligible to vote. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, on the other hand are British Protectorates.

Dr. Banda has made it quite clear that he will leave the Federation as soon as he can, and if Mr. Kaunda's party is able to gain power in an independent Rhodesia — a very remote possibility under the new Constitution — he might well choose to leave the Federation too. As far as the white settlers, as represented by Sir Roy Welensky, are concerned, large parts of the present Federation are valueless. These include Nyasaland and the northern province of Northern Rhodesia, but the core of the Federal wealth is the copper belt of Northern

Rhodesia and this they will not part with without a fight. This area provides nearly two-thirds of the present Federal income and 60,000 out of the 74,000 whites of Northern Rhodesia are settled in the copper belt and along the railway line linking it with Southern Rhodesia.

There is a definite difference of opinion between Sir Roy Welensky and the British Government on the whole problem of the future of the Federation. Welensky maintains that the only protection which exists for the white inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia is the Federal Constitution. The Government, perhaps with the tragic picture of Algeria to remind them, is beginning to realise that the attempt to keep the Africans as underdogs is bound to fail and that the only hope for the white settlers is to come to terms with the Africans while there is still a certain measure of goodwill. Sir Roy Welensky, on the other hand, regards every political concession made to the Africans as another step towards disaster for the white settlers. He believes that as for the foreseeable future, he can maintain the Federation by force if necessary.

Unless there is a change in policy, the Central African Federation is doomed. As the Monckton Commission pointed out a new Federation can succeed only if it wins the consent of the majority of the inhabitants of Central Africa. In its present form, it is bound to fail, as with Sir Roy's intractable attitude, it cannot hope to win support from the Africans. The really serious factor in the situation is that while the British Government could not possibly use force to keep Rhodesia and Nyasaland together, Sir Roy Welensky could. In the short run, perhaps with a repetition of the horrors in Algeria, the Congo and Angola, the white settlers, with the aid of the Portuguese and the South Africans, could maintain their rule for a limited period.

But as the experience of Algeria has so poignantly shown, the only hope of a peaceful settlement lies in the recognition by the Europeans that the days of white supremacy are over and the best hope for them, as well as for the country, is to come to terms with the African majority who are certain to win any violent struggle in the long run.

The Crisis in S. E. Asia

Those who have followed the political strategy of World War II and have studied closely the patterns behind the occupation of Central Europe will no doubt be able to pinpoint the time of the emergence of what is now known as the policy of "Containment". However, for our purpose, it is enough to explain that even during the war the Western Powers among the then allies, were already aware of the danger of Russian expansionism. In spite of Roosevelt's great faith in the Russians (history is now proving this to be one of his major blunders), Churchill along with other able statesmen and military strategists foresaw the emergence of Russia as a menace to the whole of Europe.

Occupation concessions were granted which virtually gave Stalin the control of Eastern Europe, presumably to set at rest the Russian fear of being attacked in future via her 'under-belly'. Fortunately, Yugoslavia broke from the parent communist body, and Greece retained her ties with the West only through the bloody extermination of the powerful communist group

within the country. The policy of 'containment' can only be appreciated when applied initially to the restriction or hemming in of Russian expansionism in relation to their avowed determination for ideological world domination, and subsequently the realities of the occupation of the East European countries after World War II. The Western Powers, therefore, rapidly came to terms with their one time foes and drew a circle of armed might around the USSR in the West and through Japan in the East.

This policy however can be followed by both the power blocs. The crisis of S. E. Asia is now being recognised as a sustained effort on the part of the Communists to isolate those areas in the Eastern Hemisphere that pose a potential threat to the advance of communism. Precisely, there are two areas — one stretching from Afghanistan across W. Pakistan, India and E. Pakistan — and the other Australia. The containment of the first area would be complete through communist domination of S. E. Asia, and in the process isolate Australia. Hence Australia's reluctance to support Indonesian claims

on West New Guinea, although she had initially supported very strongly Indonesia's right to independence.

Though nominally following democratic principles most of the S. E. Asian countries are still politically immature and have adopted some form or other of totalitarianism, ideally suited to communist infiltration and eventual take over.

Afghanistan, Pakistan and India

Here, we are immediately concerned with the 500 million people in the countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India. Afghanistan has successfully negotiated with the Russian bear and the British lion for over a hundred years. Today she is accepting massive aid from both Russia and the United States in her efforts to reach economic stability. Western observers are sometimes puzzled by the fact that aid is being accepted from Russia who poses the most immediate threat to Afghanistan. However, they forget that this very fear may motivate the acceptance of aid as its rejection may be interpreted as an alliance with the Western powers. And if aid is being given, one may as well take

the mile instead of the token inch.

Pakistan is already a member of the Baghdad Pact and has cast her vote solidly behind the Western Powers. At the moment she has virtually military rule though the Constitution of March 1st guarantees 'basic democracies'. This literally means the education of the masses in democratic principles until a stage in 'sophistication' is reached where the people are capable of understanding democratic responsibilities. Unfortunately though the constitution seems to limit the powers of the president, in actual fact various provisions make it difficult to over-rule him. Then again even the power of the judiciary is considerably curtailed. However, taking things at face value Pakistan is heading towards a complete democracy and we should certainly back her in every way towards this cherished ambition. In the process she becomes another stumbling block for communism.

India has just had her third general elections and has exercised her democratic rights. So far India has been the only country among the newly

independent to have followed democracy without a breakdown of the parliamentary form of government. Though the communist party is active in the country and permitted to operate their success over the past fifteen years has been meager. Here too aid is being taken from both sides though at the same time our policy of non-alignment is now being understood and accepted. Unfortunately fear again may be the motivating factor behind our spineless acceptance of communist aggression and our sometimes outright denunciation of what we call Western imperialism. Nationally, we have chosen the difficult middle road of socialism through democracy, though many observers believe it is more and more leaning towards reformed communism. Whatever the niceties are, we are at present the greatest bulwark against totalitarian communism in Asia.

China

We may now look back at the Bandung Conference, where China played the starring role, as the beginning of a concentrated communist move towards S. E. Asian domination. The conference created the right atmosphere

for a freedom movement between countries that might have been suspicious of each other, particularly of China, at the outset. Glowing pictures were painted of China's (no doubt) remarkable progress which attracted the bulk of the S. E. Asians. China might have gone a long way in winning over the S. E. Asians had not her agricultural policy failed so miserably. When the initial glow of co-operativeness began wearing off, active infiltration began with support to outlawed communist movements in the area.

Tibet was crushed and portions of India occupied. Fear was introduced as a new element for the softening up process. Burma signed border agreements that had been resisted so far, and cheerfully ignored the fact that Indian territory was included. Nepal is getting friendlier day by day with China. Russia, though posing as a sympathiser where Chinese aggression is concerned, has not lifted a finger to stop her, and on the contrary, has revised her maps to conform with Chinese cartographers.

Inevitably the Western Powers recognised this move

to be the outcome of their own policy of 'containment' and in the cold-war manoeuvring stepped in immediately. The result has been continuous instability throughout S. E. Asia. As professor Byung-Hun Oh of Korea said so aptly '...But when this desperate struggle is fought in the middle of the cold war, the effort for democratization comes to a standstill and the problem of adjustment becomes insoluble...'. Of course, this does not mean that the Western Powers have created instability, or that their intervention is not welcome. On the contrary, no one can doubt their good intentions and the fact that their interference has been the only factor preventing a rapid and certain takeover by the communists. However, had foreign aid been more realistic and fundamentally meant for the progress of the country, rather than for acquiring cold-war privileges this continuous crisis in S. E. Asia might have been averted.

It is very easy for the underdeveloped countries to blame their troubles on the old colonial powers and the present cold war tensions. The newly emerging nations suffering as they are from internal economic and psychological tensions have tended to insulate themselves from what is popularly known as "interference in internal matters",

forgetting that the wider the contact and interest displayed in each other, no matter how poor, the more chances there are of co-operation and eventual benefit. Mutual suspicion, the policy of trying to be an example to others by misrepresenting the actual conditions within the country and trying to play the two giants one against the other, have contributed to a large extent to this sorry state of affairs.

Despite all our diplomatic talk of non-alignment and universal brotherhood none will deny the menace of communism. No matter how much we may resent policies that reflect the old colonialism this just does not justify whitewashing a system contrary to all human dignity.

If we are honestly aware of the menace of communism then we must stop looking for outside aid alone towards combating it. We cannot afford to sit on the fence, for this merely means in cold war parlance, being a buffer between two belligerents. This surely does not suggest that we should give up our role as mediators or give up our policy of non-alignment. But we must certainly place the blame where it falls.

Perhaps a growing fear will in the end drive us together, which would not be a bad thing. But this ultimate compromise might come too late.

News and Comment

Right to Strike or Demonstrate

A recent decision of the Supreme Court on the right of government servants to stage demonstrations or to resort to strikes in matters pertaining to the conditions of their service is of more than usual interest in so far as it relates to the right to strike. On the right to strike the Supreme Court has made a pronouncement which may prove to be of decisive influence on the controversy raised on this issue.

A rule framed by the Bihar Government in August 1957 under the Bihar Government Servants' Conduct Rules, 1956, prohibited government servants from participating in demonstrations of any sort or to resort to strike. The rule was challenged on the ground that it offended against the fundamental right to freedom guaranteed by Article 19(1) of the Constitution in regard to freedom of three types (a) of speech and expression (b) to assemble peacefully and without arms and (c) to form associations or unions. The Patna High Court dismissed the writ petition to restrain the State Government from putting it into effect. The High Court's reasons for dismissal were that the Article in question did not confer

the right to strike or the right to demonstrate so far as the government servants were concerned and it further recorded its finding that the rule was in the nature of a reasonable restraint on those freedoms.

The finding of the Patna High Court on the right to demonstrate was reversed by the Supreme Court on the strength of Article 33 of the Constitution under which alone this right to freedom could be restricted or abrogated. There it is specifically laid down that the restriction contemplated could be placed only on the members of the armed forces or the police force which is charged with the maintenance of public order. It had no application to the other categories of government servants. The State Government's contention on this point was based on the reasoning that demonstrations would disturb the public order and as such they would not be covered by Article 19(1)(b). In rejecting this contention the Supreme Court ruled that demonstrations could be peaceful and the impugned rule put a blanket ban on demonstrations of any variety whatsoever. The constitutionality of the rule could have been upheld if it had set out specifically the prohibited

types of demonstrations which were likely to lead to a disturbance of public tranquility. The Supreme Court's ruling, in effect, retains the right to peaceful demonstrations.

Joint Consultation in the Public Sector

There has of late been evinced quite a keen interest by industrialists, planners, and labour leaders in the joint consultation scheme in the public sector. The 12th annual conference of the Indian Institute of Personnel Management which discussed at length the scheme of joint consultation and the recent talk of Mr. R. D. V. Roberts, Industrial Relations adviser to the Electricity Council in Britain, are in this context quite noteworthy. The Conference felt that the *sine qua non* of success of the scheme of joint management councils in industries was that its implementation should be voluntary. And so also runs the thesis of Mr. Roberts, who stressed that in fact this should be scrupulously adhered to. The conference was of the view that expressions "workers' participation in management" and "joint management councils" contributed materially to the difficulties of implementation and working of the scheme. It should, therefore, be substituted by the terms association of workers with management and joint consultative council.

Although the talk of Mr. Roberts pertained to joint consultation in the public sector in Britain, it definitely was of great interest to us here. Mr. Roberts is of the view that executive powers should mostly remain in the hands of the management. Since the management itself is prepared to invite the workers and consult them on all matters, it can be taken for granted that the 'No' attitude generally would not be adopted by the management in the implementation of decisions. Mr. Roberts reiterated that these management councils have proved quite a success in the public sector in Britain. So it can be assumed that given reasonable conditions, there is reason why they should be a success in this country. Mr. Roberts feels that management at all levels must take an active interest in joint consultation and be prepared to initiate matters for discussion. The trade unions on their part must give active support and education and training schemes should be provided for committee members to enable them to appreciate the purpose of joint consultation and inform them on their duties, rights and responsibilities. There must also be a two-way communication and full exchange of information at all levels of the consultative machinery. Generally speaking consultation is easier in an expanding and prosperous industry with a few redundancy problems.

So far as difficulties in the way of effective consultation are concerned, they, of course, are many. There are for instance still some managers particularly at the local level who fear that joint consultation may undermine their status and authority. While they are prepared to allow committees to discuss some subjects such as welfare and accident prevention, they feel quite sore when the committee wishes to discuss other subjects which they consider should solely be under the jurisdiction of the management. Then again there are many foremen and frontline supervisors who are quite critical of joint consultative committees. However, one is not to be perturbed and these problems have to be met boldly and squarely.

All said and done, to quote the words of Mr. Roberts, 'effective joint consultation cannot be achieved simply by imposing a committee or system of committees on an existing organisation and hoping for the best. It must be carefully integrated into the organisation of the industry or undertaking. Nor can it be assumed that those who participate in the work are expert at it or can become so in a short while. It requires training and experience and active measures to increase understanding'. These words of Mr. Robert's sum up the situation very nicely and provide

the golden mean to run the scheme on a successful basis.

Private Enterprise in a Planned Economy

Speaking at the Luncheon Session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, 24th March 1962, Mr. G. L. Mehta said:—

"The private sector in our country has made an important contribution to economic development and is, in fact, a dynamic element in the national economy. All but doctrinaire socialists and devout communists recognise that the criterion of profitability, the price system and the urge to self-enrichment, if they are under effective social guidance and direction can be effective means for attaining steadily rising standards of living.

The whole pattern of our economy is changing. Private enterprise is however no longer the private concern of the individual industrialist. It has a public character and a public image; it has to accept obligations and responsibilities, both in law and in fact. Within the frame work of the Plan, it has provided and can continue to provide initiative and enterprise without which the economy is likely to be stagnant and undiversified. But it is not the profit motive alone that inspires the best of industrialists — it may be the will to power, the joy of creation, a desire for pres-

tige, a sense of rivalry, even the sheer exhilaration of the race...."

"Private enterprise is therefore on probation more than ever: how far and in what form it survives will depend mainly on how it acquits itself in changing conditions and serves the newer demands and finer needs of the people. It will no longer be judged merely by its capacity to earn large profits quickly. It will be judged by its utility in contributing to economic growth. It will have to accept social obligations involved in a planned economy and adapt itself to its environment. Industrial concerns will have to be institutional in structure and cannot combine to be simply proprietary and hereditary. Instead of notions of privacy and maximum profit, business will have to conform to standards of administration, organisation and technical proficiency; in other words, business will have to become a profession with all its implied responsibilities. It will have to recognise that only such income is legitimate profit as is earned in return for entrepreneurship, risk, organising capacity savings and work. Gain must bear relation to service performed and responsibility undertaken. It will have to develop a sense of partnership with workers by hand and by brain".

"I cannot help feeling," continued Mr. Mehta, "that the

Indian consumer has not had a fair deal during the last twenty years. But having worked so long in difficult times the industry has become pathologically restriction-minded, seeking a larger per-unit-profit on a small output than a small per-unit-profit on a larger output".

It is earnestly to be hoped that industrialists in the private sector will take Mr. Mehta's advice to heart. The social obligations of the private businessman need to be stressed time and again. Mr. Mehta, who belongs to the business community, could not have presented the case better. If the Indian business community is to survive, many of the former attitudes of self-seeking and absolutism must give way to more democratic and socially inspired behaviour.

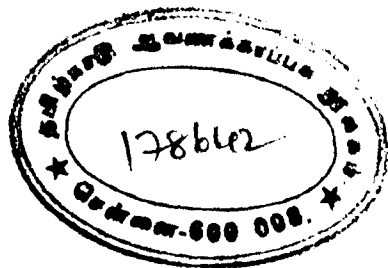
Act of Sabotage

The explosion on the British liner 'Dara' in the Persian Gulf last April was said by the Solicitor General Sir John Hobson, Q.C. to have been caused by a 'deliberate and wicked act of sabotage. The explosion he said, caused the loss of 236 lives.

The Dara had left Bombay on March 23, 1961 on a round voyage from Bombay to Basra and back to Bombay, calling at intermediate ports. She arrived at Dubai on her return voyage at about 11-30 a.m. local time on April 7 and was

due to sail about 4 p.m. but was delayed because of the slow discharging of cargo. About 6 p.m. because of an approaching squall, the vessel got under way. She was in collision with the Panamanian steamship Zeus and was slightly damaged. The Dara then steamed until about 4-25 a.m. next day when the Master decided to return to Dubai as the weather was improving. At 4-43 a.m. the explosion occurred.

Investigations have proved that the explosion was caused by Omani rebels. Mr. de Silva, First Secretary of the British Political Residency at Bahrain said that in the course of the investigation it was possible to interview a prominent member of the rebel group. "He admitted that the explosion had been caused by his colleagues" Mr. de Silva said.



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