

SOCIAL **ACTION**

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GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES
AND THEIR PROBLEMS

INDIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE.

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THE GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

The Indian National Congress has once again swept the polls in the third general elections recently held in India. This was not unexpected, but there was a general desire that while the Congress would undoubtedly be returned with a handsome majority, there should also appear a fairly strong national opposition party, which is essential to the parliamentary system of government. Unfortunately the parties who have opposed the Congress in the elections have shown up in the form of splinter groups in the Lok Sabha. They have done much better in the assemblies of the states, however. In this showing there is a possibility of an eventual formation of an alternative party to take over the reins from the party in power when called to do so by the electorate, or in times of crisis.

The Congress Victory

How did the Congress, in spite of internal dissensions and its fifteen years in power, manage to retain its hold over the people? The Congress is still a revered name amongst the Indian masses and its familiar symbol of the pair of bullocks is much better known to the vast, but illiterate, electorate than any other of the insignia belonging to the other parties. To this day the Congress party possesses a wonderful organisation by means of which it can reach out to the remotest villages

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and rally the people to its side in an election. Many of the voters even in the urban centres seemed confused by the variety of parties and party programmes. Since they know the Congress party best, probably the easiest way for them to make a choice was to vote for the Congress party.

The Congress has been returned with absolute majorities in ten out of the twelve states. Only in four states however has it succeeded in improving its position. In Maharashtra it has secured an absolute victory. The Maharashtra Samyukta Samiti has just disappeared, having no more reason to exist with the formation of Maharashtra. As a result, the opposition parties have suffered a grievous blow, particularly the Praja Socialist Party and the Communists, both former members of the Samiti. In Assam, Gujarat and West Bengal, the Congress has improved its position, the unexpected case being that of West Bengal.

On the other hand, the Congress has undoubtedly suffered a series of losses in several of the States. The severest has taken place in Madhya Pradesh, where its present majority of 174 out of a total of 288 seats, has been reduced to 142. Similarly in Rajasthan, its strength has been reduced from 119 seats in a House of 176 to only 88. In Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar, Madras and Mysore, the Congress has lost from between 12 to 39 seats, although it still holds the majority. It is only in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh that there will be difficulties about forming a stable ministry headed by the Congress.

The Opposition

The Opposition party that has been thoroughly trounced in the recent elections has been the Praja Socialist Party. This has come as a surprise, since the party possesses many able veterans, whose absence in the Lok Sabha will be markedly felt. The Praja Socialist Party seems to have lost its moorings, ever since

it has dissociated itself from the extreme socialism of the Communists and plumped for a vague kind of state intervention that is hardly distinguishable from the 'Socialist pattern of society' upheld by the Congress party. Its power in the industrial labour field has been dwindling in recent years and the failure of the last all-India Central employees strike has had a disastrous effect upon its prestige.

Nor have the Communists improved their position greatly during the recent elections, although they have done better than in the last elections in 1957. They have made a real comeback in Andhra Pradesh where they have gained 16 more seats. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, they have gained 5 more seats; in Rajasthan 4 more, in Punjab 3 more, and in Mysore 2 more than formerly. In West Bengal, they will lead the opposition with 50 seats and in Andhra Pradesh with 51 seats. They form the most powerful minority in Kerala, where however there were no elections to the state assembly, but only to Parliament.

The latest comer to challenge the power of the Congress in the States and at the centre is the Swatantra Party, which from all the publicity given to it inadvertently by the Prime Minister who attacked the party bitterly, did not do quite as well as was expected. All the same, it forms the leading opposition party in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Bihar. Of late the Ganatantra Parishad has merged with the Swatantra party which means that the party will lead the opposition also in Orissa. It is still to be seen how the party behaves in the assemblies and the strength of party discipline. Unlike the Praja Socialist Party, the Swatantra party stands for greater liberty of the individual and greater opportunity for personal initiative. The party has been accused of being backed by big business, but it failed to make a good showing in Maharashtra. Nor did it succeed in the Southern states.

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On a par with the Swatantra party is the Jan Sangh, which is a strongly communal party, and has grown into the largest opposition party in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, where it has secured 41 and 48 seats respectively. The progress of the Jan Sangh is not a healthy sign in a new democracy. Fortunately it made a very poor showing in the other states, which proves that it cannot claim to be a national party, but one of those aberrations that are the outcome of frustration and prejudice, and a glorification of the traditional as against the modern pressures of a new industrial society.

Finally, there are quite a number of Independent candidates, many of them dissidents from the Congress party, who have carried away with them part of the electorate when they left the Congress. It is possible that some of them may be invited to support the Congress ministries where the party does not enjoy a majority.

Comparable with the communal parties in northern India, such as the Jan Sangh, the Akalis, and the Ram Rajya Parishad, the D.M.K. in Madras state has a strength of 50 in the assembly, as against the Congress strength of 138 seats. The D.M.K. stands for a separate Southern state made up of the Dravidian speaking peoples. Unlike the Jan Sangh, it is rather materialistic in outlook and has no regard for the ancient religious traditions of the country. How much attraction such a programme will have for the people still remains to be seen. Its essentially aggressive and negative approach is not likely to exercise much influence as the welfare and prosperity of the people increases.

This is the over-all picture of the new alignment of forces that has come to prevail in the state legislatures as a result of the 1962 general elections. No such pattern appears in the Lok Sabha or the House of the People in New Delhi. In the Lok Sabha, the Congress has been returned to power with an overwhelming majority. The opposition is splintered among

several groups. It is likely that either the Communist or the Swatantra Party might lead the opposition, but what are even thirty seats in a house of 507? With the Congress majority in the Lok Sabha and in most of the state assemblies, the country is certain of a stable government and the implementation of the third five year plan. This is a great boon for a developing country.

The North Bombay Constituency

It is surprising with what an overwhelming majority, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon was returned to the Lok Sabha. He obtained over 145,000 votes more than his opponent, Kripalani. Possibly the English language newspapers may have exaggerated the opposition to Mr. Menon. We must of course take into account Mr. Nehru's personal intervention on behalf of Mr. Menon. It is also worth while remembering that the minority groups in the constituency thought it safer to vote for the Congress than against it, because the Congress was certain to come into power, whether Mr. Menon was defeated or not. It was a question of choosing between the party and the person, and despite strong Communist support for Mr. Menon, the fact that Mr. Menon was standing for the Congress platform won him a handsome majority. Though Mr. Menon has been accused of being a Communist or at least a crypto-Communist, in India such an appellation does not carry much weight with the electorate, or cause them to panic. This may be a matter for regret, but it is a fact. People know only too well that the Communists are hard workers and get things done. They have not seen the other side of the Communist paradise.

A Suggestion

It has been suggested by an acute political observer in this country that the elections to the Lok Sabha and the state assemblies should be held at different times. Otherwise local issues get confused with all-India issues, and it is the local issues that tend to dominate the election of the representatives in Parliament. This may be one of the reasons why no stable

or powerful opposition has appeared in the Lok Sabha. The fortunes of the party in the state assemblies may jeopardise its chances in the Lok Sabha. Though a representative may be strong in a state constituency, he may be weak in a central constituency. It would be easier for the parties to calculate their strength in the various constituencies, were the elections to be held separately. But this process though more precisely representing the mind of the people would double the work and expense of holding the elections. It may explain however why the Communists in Kerala managed to stage a comeback in the Lok Sabha, whereas had the state elections been held at the same time, they might not have been so successful.

Hopes for Democracy

On the whole one may confidently assert that the third general elections have proved that democratic traditions are strong in India and are taking deeper root among our people. On this occasion there was much more of personal contact between the electorate and their representatives, who often went visiting the voters in their homes. The outstanding issues that were discussed pertained to the economic situation in the country such as the rise in prices, the hopes of employment, the interest of the Government in local schemes. The electorate is growing more conscious of its power over its representatives. But the communal and caste influences are still strong. The ignorance of the people and the lack of literacy are a major obstacle to free and wise choosing. Possibly with the great demand for education and the easier means of communication through the radio and T.V., the next general elections may help to strengthen the growing democratic forces that are already taking root in the Indian nation.

The Editor

ELECTION RESULTS

Lok Sabha

Total number of seats = 507

	Seats Contested	Seats Won
Congress	488	353
Communists	137	29
P.S.P.	166	12
Jan Sangh	198	14
Swatantra	172	22
Socialists	107	5
Republicans	80	3
Hindu Mahasaba	42	1
Ram Rajya Parishad	41	2
Jarkhand	11	3
D.M.K.	18	7
Ganatantra Parishad	10	4
Peasants and Workers Party	10	—
Forward Bloc	7	2
Akali Dal	7	3
Muslim League	3	3
R.S.P.	1	1
Independents	484	26

State Assemblies

	Andhra	Assam	Bihar	Gujarat	Maharashtra	Madhya Pradesh
Congress	176	79	185	113	214	142
Communists	51	—	12	—	6	1
P. S. P.	—	6	29	7	10	33
Jan Sangh	—	—	3	—	—	41
Swatantra	19	—	50	26	—	2
Socialists	—	—	7	—	1	14
Republican	—	—	—	—	1	—
Hindu Mahasabha	—	—	2	—	—	6
Ram Rajya Parishad	—	—	—	—	—	10
Peasants & Workers Party	—	—	—	—	10	—
Independents	51	9	12	8	15	39
Hill Leaders	—	11	—	—	—	—
Forward Bloc	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jarkhand	—	—	20	—	—	—
Akalis	—	—	—	—	—	—
R. S. P.	—	—	—	—	—	—

	Madras	Mysore	Punjab	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal
Caongress	138	138	90	88	248	157
Communists	2	3	9	5	14	50
P. S. P.	—	20	—	2	38	5
Jan Sangh	—	—	8	15	48	—
Swatantra	6	9	3	36	15	—
Socialists	—	—	—	5	23	—
Republican	—	—	—	—	8	—
Hindu	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mahasabha	—	—	—	—	2	—
Ram Rajya	—	—	—	—	—	—
Parishad	—	—	—	3	—	—
Peasants & Workers Party	—	—	—	—	—	—
Independents	5	37	19	22	31	14
Hill Leaders	—	—	—	—	—	—
Forward Bloc	3	—	—	—	—	13
Jarkhand	—	—	—	—	—	—
Akalis	—	—	19	—	—	—
R. S. P.	—	—	—	—	—	7
D. M. K.	50	—	—	—	—	—

Main Election Results

North Bombay Constituency

	Mr. Menon	Mr. Kripalani	Difference
Mahim	30,044	15,281	14,763
Bandra	41,003	27,550	13,453
Kurla	50,350	20,643	29,707
Chembur	67,519	34,315	33,204
Parle-Andheri	51,112	21,195	29,917
Borivli	57,585	33,203	24,382
	<u>297,613</u>	<u>152,187</u>	<u>145,426</u>

CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE TRIBALS

P. Gisbert

That human society is subject to change, and that our own society is fast changing, is so obvious as to be a truism. But what is far from being obvious is the knowledge of the direction and consequences, both individual and social, of such change.

preserve their culture and personality without the help of protective measures or "schedules" which by their nature are ephemeral and will in time become inadequate, perhaps harmful.

Opinions

On this point many opinions have been given, ranging from the most sensible to the most impractical and bizarre, especially by those who approach the problem with an axe — sometimes very blunt — to grind.

Here we are concerned with it inasmuch as it affects the tribal population of India. This problem is no longer what it was some decades ago when even experts proposed to keep the tribals in protected zones so that they could preserve their culture unimpaired from the influence of their more sophisticated neighbours. But in our own days even Dr. Verrier Elwin, the protagonist of this idea, no longer believes it to be possible in the present circumstances. The problem now is how to facilitate their incorporation into the stream of national life enabling them to

President Rajendra Prasad proposed once in all fairness that the future of the tribals should be left to their own choice: "My own idea," he said, "is that facilities for education and for general improvement in their economic life should be provided for them and it should be left to them to choose whether they would like to be as-

simulated with, and absorbed by the surrounding society, or would like to maintain their own separate tribal existence."

It is, obviously, on the basis of freedom, on the recognition that they are responsible human beings and, when duly educated, capable of managing their own destinies, that any decision must be made or suggested. And it is with this principle in view that the following observations about the future are made, subject always to the verdict of the experts, especially of those who have dedicated their lives to their welfare, from whom the present writer has derived much of his knowledge on this question.

The Standard Solution

On the presupposition that change among the tribals is unavoidable, and that their incorporation into the normal life of the nation is necessary, it has generally been taken for granted that their future lies in agriculture, especially as the vast majority of the tribes are agricultural. Moreover, this solution, which seems to have been implicitly adopted both by private and public agencies, has also been extended in principle to food-

gatherers or hunting tribes as the Katkaris, Kadar, Chenchus, etc. But the result of past experience, the profound changes now taking place in the country, and a more careful stock taking of the present situation throw serious doubts on the wisdom of this standard solution, at least as a general measure.

Hunting Tribes

Concerning the food-gatherers or lower hunting tribes, especially the Katkaris with whom the present writer is better acquainted, the following observations may be made :

Though these peoples live in close contact with their agricultural neighbours, their soul seems to be as alien from agriculture as that of their industrial counterparts. The tribal hunter considers his agricultural neighbours as little more than serfs tied down to the exacting task of land cultivation and deprived of the freedom of movement and variety of life which they themselves enjoy. The persuasion of the starving Katkari that he is the king of the jungle is not an empty boast, but his own version of the Horatian dictum "*Non bene pro*

oto libertas venditur auro" or freedom cannot be bartered with all the gold of the world. Tribal hunters are neither economically nor utilitarianly minded. Freedom and love for their traditional way of life are supreme values which they prefer to any material advantage that could be derived from following any other calling. Among some of these peoples all throughout the world the contempt for agriculture, which they consider as an occupation for women, is proverbial. Thus the Pygmies of the Ituri forest in the former Belgian Congo, who are looked upon as inferior to their Negro agricultural neighbours — to whom they are subservient — consider their calling as hunters far above that of their agricultural neighbours. This way of life was given to them, so they think, by their God.

From Hunting to Industry

This attitude of life also explains the apparent laziness and inconstancy of these peoples when out of need they are compelled to engage in a work alien to their way of life. Laziness and inconstancy are the silent and unconscious manner in which they protest against the loss of freedom en-

tailed in these tasks. Perhaps, after all, the free unregimented life of the food gatherer is not so far from the regulated life of industry — especially home industry — as from the exacting life of the agriculturist so closely controlled by the unrelenting rhythm of the seasons and the unpredictable vagaries of the elements.

Moreover, as Ehrenfelds, working with the Kadar of Cochin found, and the present writer, independently on his own, observed among the Katkaris, the hunting tribes are very good at skilled jobs as plumbing, fitting, carpentry, and similar skills so necessary for industry, and in which they seem to compare favourably with the agriculturists. Thus, in spite of all the difficulties their transition to industry may not be as difficult as it looks at first sight.

What Can Agriculture Offer ?

On the other hand, what can agriculture offer them ? Land, as we all know is scarce, and as such is needed by the present agriculturists. As a matter of fact, if all the available land were brought under cultivation, it would not be sufficient to give full employment to those engaged in it

especially if modern methods of cultivation and labour saving devices were introduced. With this perspective, the land that could be placed at the disposal of the new comers would be limited and mostly of inferior quality. This, added to their lack of skill and adverse traditions, would make of them very poor cultivators and place them in such a situation that they would easily fall a prey to the money lender and their better situated neighbours. This would mean a transition from the freedom of the jungle to the servitude of the village.

If such is the situation, it is very difficult to see how agriculture can offer a satisfactory or even a working solution to the problem. On the contrary, the present industrial development of the country is meant to absorb the labour force which cannot find work anywhere else. Home industries may offer a temporary solution for many of them. This could perhaps be a way of softening the transition from hunting to industry. But for most of them employment in industry would remain the final solution. The task will be difficult, full of hardships, and slow. But if as is commonly

said in England, "It takes three generations to make a gentleman" out of a plain Englishman, it may take even more to make a general manager out of a jungle food-gatherer! Yet it is worth trying.

Agricultural Tribes

But what about the agricultural tribes that form the vast majority? The solution of their case is easier. Those who are already rooted in the land and have a future in it should remain there, and develop a progressive outlook, that is intent on improving the condition of their soil. Others for whom agriculture offers scanty prospects, or who as surplus labourers on the land can no longer make a decent living, should like the hunting tribes make ready for a definite change to industry. Necessarily the introduction of new methods of cultivation and mechanization, even if it is done in a moderate way, will produce in India, as it did everywhere, a considerable degree of unemployment even after all available land has been brought under cultivation.

Furthermore, if the population of India, which is about

80 per cent agricultural, attains in the course of time the status of a developed industrial nation, the ratio of agriculture to industry will be reduced to about 25 per cent as against 75 per cent in industry — understanding this term in a wide sense to include any occupation not immediately concerned with agriculture. This means that about 50 per cent of the total population or 66 per cent of the agricultural population will have to migrate sooner or later to the industrial centres which are already existing or will be established in the future. Hence if the tribal population is proportionately affected by the economic and social changes taking place in the nation, a large proportion of them will have to changeover to industry.

The Rhythm of Change

This, obviously, is more easily said than done. But no other solution seems to be more practical if the tribal population has to keep pace with the march of the country. Whatever may be said about the past, isolation is no longer possible, and nobody would now advocate a solution which would leave the tribals in the condition of obsolete museum

pieces or survivals of a type of society which has already had its day.

Furthermore, recent studies on cultural change seem to show that in these cases, instead of attempting to preserve as much as possible of the former tribal ways as a counterpoise to new ways of life, it is more advisable to discard radically as much as possible of the past and adopt en bloc a modern culture pattern, rather than pass through the intermediary stages which are usually slow and painful. This is the experience of Margaret Mead among the Manus of the Great Admiralty Islands as narrated in her famous work *New Lives for Old* (1956). With this opinion many anthropologists agree.

Tribal Culture and Personality

But here a note of caution must be sounded. A sudden or rapid change does not necessarily mean the disintegration of a culture. It is true a sudden blind change may spell its ruin; but not if due safeguards and substitutes for old habits and principles are adopted. Moreover, cultural change in one way or other is the ordinary condition of human society, where nothing

is static and all is in process of change. The opinion of those who were, and are still, opposed, to change among the tribals arises either from their having in mind disintegrating change, or from prejudice or bigotry against a possible change which is not to their liking.

What is important in the question of cultural change is to keep intact the identity and, so to speak, the "personality" of the group. Every tribe, every social group has its mode of life and tradition, with its members sharing in the same loyalties and basic ideas. Change will always be present. But as long as the common fund of principles and loyalties remains, and the group freely accepts, or consciously initiates, change without alien pressures or intrigues, that group or tribe will always keep its personality and identity, which is what finally matters in order to avoid dissolution and decay. The desire for change on the part of such a group may even be a healthy response to changing conditions, and a dynamic wish for progress. It may further be the best factor to counteract the so-called "loss of nerve" or anguish of

life which in the last decades has so heavily weighed on many tribes; their optimism and joy of life may revive at the prospect of a bright future free from the handicaps and disabilities of previous centuries.

Change of Outlook. Industrialization

This fact should also be understood by those sectors of society which have been accustomed for generations to look upon the tribals as inferior beings or at least as men destined to be their perpetual wards. It should now be clear to them that the tribals — be they called adivasis, aborigines or the ugly name of "primitives" — are human beings like themselves, endowed with intelligence and freedom, created by the same God, and capable of ruling their own lives within the wider unity of the Indian nation. "Reservations," "reductions," or scheduled areas or groups as we have in India will, in spite of their inconveniences, be necessary for a longer or shorter period in order to protect the tribes and enable them to keep pace with the development of the nation on an equal footing with their more sophisticated neighbours.

But these measures are not meant to be permanent or geared to keep the tribals in constant subjection. This may sound jarring to the ears of those who have been accustomed to look upon themselves as superior to the tribals; but in the interests of mankind, of the nation, and of their own, they must accustom themselves to face facts and to accept as equals those who should never have been looked upon as inferiors.

The Ways of Change

If freedom remains the norm in cultural change — a freedom rooted in the identity and personality of the tribe — then the integration (neither absorption nor assimilation) into the wider society may take many forms made possible by the environmental circumstances and the choice of the groups themselves.

With the solution advocated along these lines the processes of Sanskritization or Westernization, improperly so-called, may be seen in a new light. By the former term sociologists now understand the tendencies existing among the lower castes or communities to raise their status by drawing nearer to the traditional

caste structure of India and adopting the customs and ways proper to the higher castes. While the latter term denotes the tendency, mostly existing among the more educated classes, to appropriate the values most commonly accepted in the West, even to the rejection or watering down of caste differences. So, in this manner, while the lower classes are entering into the bandwagon of the caste system — which is itself in motion — the higher classes are leaving it.

Expressed in these brief terms, the phenomenon though an oversimplification, is in the main a fact, for not a few tribal groups have taken over caste denominations and adopted such caste customs as vegetarian food, use of temples, etc.; while the educated classes in the cities are becoming more unconcerned with the demands of caste taboos and even favour inter-caste and inter-community unions.

If such is the case, why should the tribes board the train towards caste where they are bound to occupy the last places at the expense of their culture and perhaps per-

sonality? Why cannot they bypass it by adopting that way of life (not necessarily western, but neo-Indian) which is more suitable to modern times? If any tribe or any other group wishes to be incorporated into the caste system, it is their exclusive concern and nobody has any right to oppose it. But if another freely and deliberately wishes to go over and above it and adopt a way of life more modern and progressive nobody should object to it.

It is here where industrialization comes into the picture inasmuch as those tribes who adopt the industrial way of life will ride on the crest of progress which is more in keeping with the needs of modern India.

The object of these lines is not to examine the difficulties standing in the way of this transition to industry and to map out the solutions, but only to call the attention of those interested in the problem to the possibility and even advisability of this course of action.

The Industrial Fact

But whatever one may think about the desirability of in-

dustrialization, this is already on the march with an accelerated tempo. For many of the tribals there is no question of locally migrating to industry. It is rather industry that is coming to them; thus their own lands, which not long ago might have been Arcadian gardens, are now being transformed into buzzing hives of industrial activity. The sweep of progress leaves in fact no choice. The only sensible course is to accept it and make it subservient to human needs and moral ends.

Moreover even though the tribals may be compelled to settle permanently in industrial centres, it does not follow that their culture is thereby doomed to extinction. This will not happen if in spite of profound change their identity and personality remain unimpaired. If in such industrial cities as Calcutta, Bombay, or Ahmedabad, numerous groups of Konkanis, Madrasis, Malayalis or Goans can live their own life and speak their language, some of them occupying high positions, there is no reason why the tribal people could not in the course of time do the same. Even in such industrialized nations as the U.S.A. we may

see nationwide ethnical groups as Germans, Irish, Italian, or Slavs who while preserving their distinctive cultural features are fully integrated into the life of the nation.

On the other hand the apprehension that some may entertain against industry as being the breeding ground of materialism and immorality is not fully justified. Industry is what one makes of it. It should not be forgotten that early Christianity found an appro-

priate environment in the big cities of the Mediterranean world, and that Christ himself was neither an agriculturist nor a shepherd, but an artisan of a cottage industry, a carpenter. Finally, if in our own days one of the most industrialized nations of the world has a large number of officially home-made atheists, it is no less true that the most industrialized country in the world can show a very large statistically verified majority of free, self-confessed believers.

RECOGNITION OF DIPLOMAS

The Diplomas of the Indian Institute of Social Order, Poona have recently been confirmed again by the press note, issued on March 7, 1962 by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi. The press note says that the diplomas conferred by the Institute of Social Order, Poona are recognized by the Central Government.

Besides, the post-graduate diploma of the Institute conferred at Loyola College, Madras, has also received recognition from the Madras Government.

THE ADIVASIS OF CHOTA NAGPUR

HOW WILL THEY ADJUST TO THE MODERN WORLD?

P. Ekka

The hilly tracts of the states of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh are mostly inhabited by Tribal peoples. The Census of 1951 returned 40.49 lakhs of persons as members of the Scheduled Tribes in Bihar. These constitute nearly a quarter of the total Scheduled Tribes population of India and a little over ten per cent of the total population of Bihar. Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Palamau, the five districts in the Chota Nagpur Division of Bihar, are the principal homes of the Mundas, Kharias, Hos Santhals, Birhors, (who speak an Austro-Asiatic language) and the Oraons and the Paharias (who speak a Dravidian tongue). Although the hill sections of the Birhors, Kharias and the Paharias are still either food gatherers or shifting cultivators, most of the other Aborigines listed above are now settled agriculturists and live in substantial villages

surrounded by their rice fields and jungles. In the following pages the Mundas, Kharias and the Oraons will be collectively referred to as *Adivasis*

Adivasis

The one fact that is indelibly etched on the memory of the Mundas, Kharias and Oraons of Chota Nagpur is that they are the pioneer settlers or the 'Adivasis' of this land which they first opened up for agriculture. This has strongly coloured many of their social and ritual practices. The original founders of each village had entered into a pact with the spirits that they thought were disturbed by the clearing away of the primeval forests, the abode of these spirits. It was therefore a fixed tradition in the mind of the Adivasis that the first cleaner and cultivator of a plot of land is its real owner, and they have never

consented to the king or state owning the land. Ancestor worship formed a prominent feature of the original cult of the Adivasis, and it was believed that the male descendants of the dead had to provide periodical offerings of food and drink to the departed spirits. For this reason, landed property, the source of such offerings, could never pass out of the patrilineal clan. No woman could inherit in perpetuity landed property. Nor would the Adivasis ever accept the idea of being the tenants of some feudal overlord or zamindar.

Panchayats

The administration of the Adivasi villages and 'Parhas' or inter-village federations was in the hands of the Panchayats, which consisted of the village headman with his council. It was the duty of the Panchayat to enforce the customary laws of kinship marriage, inheritance and partition of property; to settle village disputes; to punish tribal members for grave social offences; and to organise such common undertakings as the annual communal spring hunt and the jatra dancing trysts in the autumn.

Family Structure

The social and kinship organizations of the Mundas, Oraons and Kharias are very similar. They all have exogamous patrilineal clans (gotras) named after some mineral, plant or animal. No religious significance attaches to these eponyms, and it would be misleading to call them "totems". Members of the community are grouped according to the generation level. Marriage is contracted among adults and is monogamous. The parents generally arrange the match for the children, but not without the consent of the latter. Widow re-marriages are freely practised and divorce, though rare, was allowed among Adivasis especially in the case of the inability of the wife to bear a male issue.

There is no caste system among the Adivasis. In all the tribes the various clans intermarry and interdine. No occupation is inherited as a caste speciality. Tribal diet including as it does both beef and beer does not conform to the vegetarian ideal of the Hindus.

Religion

All the Adivasis admit belief in a Supreme Being, and

and the local population which has always viewed itself as the traditional occupant of the forests within its village boundaries, wonders if a system of forest co-operative movement for the benefit of the local people could not be sponsored by the state government as has been successfully tried elsewhere.

Industrialisation

But the factor that is changing Chota Nagpur most radically is its inexorable, progressive and rapid industrialisation. As India's richest deposits of coal, iron and mica, copper and bauxite lie in and around Chota Nagpur, rich mining and manufacturing centres have sprung up in and around this region. The rich coal fields of the Damodar valley are now being exploited industrially at the Jharia, Raniganj, Giridih and Bokharo mines, where the Adivasis had to make room for the encroaching industrial settlements and to take to the miner's pick-axe and shovel instead of the plough. Likewise the steel towns of Jamshedpur, Rourkela and Bhilai, the copper factory at Ghat-silla, the aluminium factory at Muri and the mica rich belt of Kodarma draw thousands of

unskilled adivasi labourers who are slowly but surely turning into a landless proletariat, faced with both the opportunities and the dangers of the new industrial world. For some years these workers occasionally go back to their villages for holidays and often send a part of their earnings home. The traditional family and tribal bonds slacken with the acquisition of easy cash and the worker slowly loses himself in the anonymity of the cities and if not guided, often squanders his wages on expensive drink, clothing and amusements. One mark with satisfaction however the steady slackening of the caste and tribal barriers as shown by the increasing number of inter-caste and inter-tribal marriages in these industrial areas.

Losses

The harnessing of the Damodar river with the construction of a chain of Dams in its valley for flood control and production of power has been much publicised in the First Five Year Plan. For the Adivasis however the execution of this project has not been an unmixed blessing. The D.V.C. Corporation acquired for its works land

once cultivated by the Adivasi ryots, who had often to acquiesce against their will to the submergence of their best low-lying rice fields into the new man-made lakes above the dams. Indeed every new Five Year Plan seems to bring with it the displacement of countless Adivasis from their ancestral homes. Thus at Hatia, on the outskirts of Ranchi, where the Czech sponsored heavy engineering works are under construction, thousands of Adivasis had to vacate their homes and fields for the new venture. The grant of monetary compensation for land may well go to allay the consciences of the industrial planners, but it fails to alleviate the needs of the uprooted population. Rarely if ever has there been a move on the part of the authorities to find land for re-settling these people prior to their eviction from their ancestral homes. Ranchi has of late witnessed several earnest protests by some 500 villages of the Hatia area against the discriminatory rates of compensation offered them. It is said that some non-aboriginal owners of land in the same area were offered substantially more cash per acre of land than the Adivasis.

Tribal Uplift

The agencies of tribal uplift that have been working in the field ever since the beginning of this century are the Christian Churches, especially Catholic and Lutheran. The means they have relied on are mainly education, co-operative credit societies and recently medical care. The result has been the remarkable growth of an Adivasi community that is educated enough to be aware of its rights and fight for them in a constitutional manner, that faces the future with confidence by relying on its own capacity and talents, and that has worked its way into the services and the professions. In the meantime to meet the challenge of growing industrialisation, a technical school is to be opened and a scheme for training farmers in modern methods of agricultural production and for leadership in the rural areas has been planned.

A noticeable feature in Chota Nagpur today is the entry of other agencies besides the Christian churches in the field of Tribal Uplift. Among these, the Government with its schemes for Community

Development and Gram Panchayat, the Adimjati Sewa Mandal and the Ramakrishna Mission are prominent.

Gram Panchayat

Regarding the Government's efforts, one may certainly praise the idea of the Gram Panchayat, which helps train the villagers to deal with their local problems and to decide their petty civil and criminal cases out of court. The Gram Panchayat is also entrusted with the execution of the various development works within its local jurisdiction, with the organisation of the home defence forces and eventually with the collection of revenue. It is regrettable that the already existing Parha Panchayats (inter-village federation councils) were not utilized for this purpose. The areas of the new Gram Panchayats were instead arbitrarily delimited to the revenue circles, which did not coincide with the traditional grouping of federated Adivasi villages. Even in predominantly Adivasi villages, non-tribals were foisted as Gram Mukhias. Need it then cause surprise that the Gram Panchayats often elicit little enthusiasm in these localities?

In the Community Development Programme, winning the confidence of the people is the most crucial factor, if the programme is to be implemented successfully. Further it is difficult to obtain the co-operation of people who for centuries have been isolated or exploited and make them appreciative of tact and sympathy among the Government officials who have to contact the people. These are some of the fundamental difficulties that make the work of Community Development slow and halting.

Differences

Unfortunately, religious differences have been at work in aggravating rather than improving the situation of the Adivasis. Larger shares of the Government budget for education in Bihar goes to the Adim Jati Sewa Mandal which opens schools and hostels for the Adivasis not in the most needy places, but where schools have already been established by Christian missionaries, in a bid to counteract efforts at conversion.

On the other hand, the State Government of Bihar has also established grain golas, opened new schools and

awarded several stipends for Adivasi students and subsidized their handicrafts and small industries. It would be ideal if all these benefits reached all the Adivasis irrespective of their religious beliefs. The Ramakrishna mission devotes itself to bringing medical aid to the Adivasis with the help of large government subsidies.

Conclusion

The era of isolation for the Adivasis is now over. Their flight down the centuries from oppression and extortion has now ended in their sudden confrontation with a modern industrial world. The policy of segregation which is rightly condemned in other countries cannot be tried on the Adivasis without condemning them to stagnation and slow extinction. Nor are the freedom-loving Adivasis so long used to their traditional democratic ways, likely to opt for a caste ridden social structure which will allot them only the lowest position

in society, when free India guarantees them equal rights of citizenship with the rest of her sons. They only wish to preserve their identity in the varied yet harmonious nationhood which India's present rulers are bent on establishing. Since they still lack financial, educational and medical facilities, they need the sympathetic help of other communities more advanced in these fields in order to catch up with the rest of the country. But they have shown a remarkable adaptability in adjusting themselves to the modern tenor of life, and should therefore be afforded the right kind of opportunities for improving their status and integrating themselves into India's diversified culture. Much money is being spent on tribal uplift, and it may be not always in the right direction. Much more careful research is still necessary to decide on the right measures to help the Adivasis overcome their problems in facing a new world.

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES
(1951 Census)

States	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes
Andhra Pradesh	44,25,995	11,49,919
Assam	4,24,044	17,61,434
Bihar	49,13,990	38,80,097
Gujarat	9,72,570	20,64,522
Jammu and Kashmir	1,56,135	
Kerala	12,07,294	1,34,757
Madhya Pradesh	39,12,205	48,44,128
Madras	53,81,836	1,36,376
Maharashtra	39,66,208	15,93,857
Mysore	25,83,242	80,402
Orissa	26,29,250	30,09,580
Punjab	34,90,983	2,661
Rajasthan	25,02,202	17,74,278
Uttar Pradesh	1,31,00,398	
West Bengal	47,43,713	15,66,868
<i>Union Territories</i>		
Andaman and Nicobar Islands		12,915
Delhi	2,68,530	
Himachal Pradesh	3,19,972	27,928
Laccadive Minicoy & Amindivil IIs.		13,486
Manipur	28,647	1,94,239
Tripura	46,608	1,92,293

SEATS RESERVED FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED
TRIBES IN PARLIAMENT AND STATE LEGISLATURES

States	Schd.: Castes House of the People	Schd.: Tribes	Schd.: Castes State Legislatures	Schd.: Tribes
Andhra Pradesh	6	2	43	11
Assam	1	2	5	26
Bihar	7	5	40	32
Gujarat	1	3	10	17
Jammu and Kashmir	—	—	—	—
Kerala	2	0	11	1
Madhya Pradesh	5	7	43	54
Madras	7	0	37	1
Maharashtra	6	2	33	14
Mysore	3	0	28	1
Orissa	4	4	25	29
Punjab	5	0	33	0
Rajasthan	3	2	28	20
Uttar Pradesh	18	0	89	0
West Bengal	6	2	45	15
<i>Union Territories</i>				
Delhi	1	0		
Himachal Pradesh	1	0		
Manipur		1		
Tripura	0	1		

SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS

Year	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Backward Classes
1951—52	8.18	2.82	4.41
1955—56	63.78	13.05	73.70
1956—57	87.99	15.78	83.52
1957—58	100.37	18.97	82.19
1958—59	125.86	20.76	76.49
1959—60	143.85	23.89	90.08

The Constitution prescribes protection and safeguards for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes either specifically or by way of general rights of citizens, with the object of promoting their educational and economic interests and of removing certain social disabilities the Scheduled Castes were subject to. These are :—

1. The abolition of 'Untouchability' and the forbidding of its practice in any form (Art. 17).
2. The promotion of their educational and economic interests and the protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Art. 46).
3. The throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus (Art. 25).
4. The removal of any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment, the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public (Art. 15).
5. The right to practice any profession or carry on any occupation, trade or business (Art. 19).
6. The forbidding of any denial of admission to educational institutions maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds. (Art. 29)
7. The obligation of the State to consider their claims in the making of appointments to public services and reservation for them in case of inadequate representation (Arts. 16 and 335).
8. Special representation in Parliament and State Legislatures for a period of twenty years (Arts. 330, 332 and 334).
9. The setting up of advisory councils and separate departments in the States and the appointment of a Special Officer at the Centre to promote their welfare and safeguard their interests (Arts. 164, 338 and Fifth Schedule).
10. Special provision for the administration and control of scheduled and tribal areas (Art. 244 and Fifth & Sixth Schedule).

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 JBORS — Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
 JRAI — Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
 MIA — Man in India.

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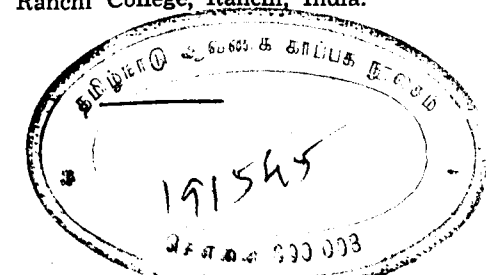
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REORIENTATION OF TRIBAL EDUCATION

T. S. Wilkinson*

Education has the same significance for the growth and development of society as food and nutrition have for the biological organism. Thus it is essential that education be related to the everyday experiences of the social organism, or else it will have no significance for it. Learning through formal instruction has become an important aspect of the educational system of civilized societies. However, formal teaching, if not constantly re-examined, tends to introduce "an undesirable split between the experience gained in more direct association and what is acquired in school."¹

For the transmission of learning, communication through symbols is an indispensable device.² Such symbols consist

of words and gestures which represent correct feeling states and objective ideas. The long period of dependency of the human child upon his parents, as compared with the lower animals, makes it possible for him to learn the symbols through "repeated experience of contexts by the same particular individual."³ In the early stages the child communicates his physiological state of feelings of pleasure and pain through crying or gurgling. This form of expression is gradually replaced by commonly accepted symbols that convey sense experience and ideas more easily and accurately.

Informal Education

As we focus our attention on tribal societies, we find that

in them education or transmission of experience, remains informal throughout. The distinction between theory and practice is not so marked because there is no place for formal instruction from a teacher in their culture. The child simply learns "by doing". There are certain disadvantages in this process of learning, especially in the absence of any written script. But the great advantage is that their education always remains related to the experience gained from their association and environment.

In view of the above we may now examine the educational system introduced by our government in tribal societies as an important aspect of its development programme. No one can question the need for modern education for these tribal countrymen if they are to become an integrated part of the whole nation. But the manner in which the need can be met is a matter that requires thoughtful planning with reference to the tribal culture patterns. Enthusiasm without factual basis may lead to imposition and greater disintegration.

Medium of Communication

As indicated earlier the

medium of communication is an important part of any educational system. All the tribal groups have their own dialect which serves their intellectual and practical ends even in the absence of writing. But now in the effort to educate them in the modern way primary and secondary schools have been started and instruction is either given in Hindi or in the recognised regional language. The result is, in most cases, the tribals, whom these schools aim to educate, do not derive full benefit of this new educational system, chiefly because of the introduction of a foreign medium of instruction.

Enforced Labour

In a Bison-Horn Maria village in Bastar while collecting information about the children, I was surprised to discover that many of these tribal people have equated the school system with enforced labour, a practice prevalent during feudal times. This was indicated by their responses to my question regarding their children. If one of their children was attending the local school they would generally say that they have "given one child to the school". On enquiring from

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1. J. Dewey *Democracy and Education*, New York, 1926, p. 11.
2. G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago, 1950, pp. 68-82.
3. W. LaBarre, *The Human Animal*, Chicago, 1954, p. 160.

the teacher the reason for the strange expression "given to the school", I was told that many of these tribals feel that as in the past the state officials demanded one member of the family for enforced labour (begar) so also the present day government requires that at least one child should go to school. As far as they are concerned the result is the same. The only difference is that in the first case one had to give an able bodied adult, whereas, for the school they gave a child who in most cases is incapable of any worthwhile work at home. By sending him to school he at least earns a free meal which the school provides to all children. It was further mentioned that often they would withdraw the child from school if he is required at home and send another in his place. The idea being that so long as we provide a substitute the school should have nothing to complain about.

This clearly indicates that these Marias have not yet understood the real meaning and purpose of formal education. One of the main reasons for this difficulty, to my mind, is the use of Hindi as the medium of instruction. The

Marias speak Gondi in particular and only a few who have taken up employment in the neighbouring towns can speak Hindi.

The Parents

In introducing any educational scheme one needs to bear in mind both the parents and the children, specially in the case of illiterate people. Be it any society, parents always want to know what their children are learning in school and if that education will enable them to assume their responsibilities in life. This means that the school going tribal child should be able to demonstrate, at home and in the village, in ways that can be understood, what he is learning in school every day. The illiterate tribal with his limited experience, cannot see the distant results of five hours in school in some tangible form. Unfortunately, for the first few months the child is unable to give any convincing evidence of his educational progress because he is by now beginning to learn only the medium in which he is being instructed. It can undoubtedly be a frustrating experience for both the parents and the student. Furthermore, if the child continues in school for

a longer period (generally they stop going to school after they become "worthwhile" from the family's point of view) and learns Hindi well enough, the difficulty is to interpret into Gondi what he learns in Hindi in order to make himself understood by his people. In short, what is learnt in school hardly filters down to the family or village level.

The Content of Education

Secondly, the content of school education is not related to the every day experiences of the individual. In general, it remains "remote, abstract and bookish, unassimilated to ordinary customs of thought and expression."⁴ The Marias generally complain that there is no use in sending children to school if by doing so they are going to forget to climb trees, hunt animals or dance on festive occasions. Furthermore, the few who did spend four or five years in school finally left their home and village for employment in some town or city. They tell you that if this education is to alienate children from their parents then it is better that they have nothing of it. Not

very long ago similar questions were raised by us when English was introduced in our schools and universities.

New Demands

Some of the informed tribal leaders have even started demanding education in their own dialect, at least upto the primary school level, and the regional or national language be taught as a secondary language. This will mean that the child on entering school will not be confronted with the problem of listening to the class instructions in a language which he does not understand. Secondly, by the time he enters the secondary school he will have learnt the second language sufficiently enough for the purpose of following instructions in the same. Such a plan will be greatly effective in enlisting the interest of both the students and parents and at the same time will not lose sight of the importance of a more developed language for higher education. It will be recalled that the tribal dialects do not have a script, and therefore, in some states the Tribal Welfare Department is adopting the regional language script for writing down tribal dialects.

4. J. Dewey, *op. cit.* p. 9.

In addition the pattern of basic education needs to be followed more rigourously so that school education does become more meaningful to the students. The Land-Grant School pattern is also worth experimenting with, considering the fact that almost eighty per cent of our tribals are agriculturists or semi-agriculturists. Some voluntary organizations have even started Ashram Schools but it is yet early to evaluate their usefulness.

Traditional Framework

It has also been observed that due advantage is not being taken of the traditional educational framework that exists in some tribal societies, such as the dormitory system prevalent among the Munda, Ho, Oraon, Bhuiya, Sema and Muria. All students of tribal culture have recognised the educational function of these dormitories. It is a school where without the teacher-and-taught distinction, the more experienced in the dormitory educate the less experienced. Members generally come to the dormitory in the evening and leave for their homes early in the morning. This institution has been severely criticised by many

social workers and other people mainly because of the different moral code that is followed by the members in their relation with the other sexes. Thus in many places day schools have been started in complete disregard to the local dormitory. This has put before the young people the difficult choice of selecting the school or the dormitory as was observed in a Muria Ghotul.

Quite a number of boys of the Ghotul (dormitory) in question, had attended the local school when they were between the ages of about 7 to 10 years. Upto the age of about 10 years children are not members of any Ghotul because they cannot remain away from their parents at night. Therefore, during that period when they are neither members of any Ghotul nor can they help their parents in the fields or the forest, they attend school. But soon after they start attending the Ghotul they stop going to school. No amount of persuasion is enough to keep them away from their Ghotul and it was observed that after some time they even forget the alphabets they learnt in school.

Reorientate the Ghotul

To open a school in every village is a very commendable objective but whether such a school is educating the young ones is a question which requires thoughtful attention. A school system that has proved successful in the non-tribal areas may not necessarily be suited to the tribals. Even for the different tribal groups one uniform system cannot be recommended at this stage, considering the variations in their culture and economic resources. Furthermore, competition between their traditional educational institution, if any, and the new educational system has to be avoided as much as possible. Instead it is to be endeavoured to retain these institutions so dear to the tribals, but reorientate their educational programme. As such, the Ghotul, for example, will continue to impart education that has been modified according to the demands of modern society. In other words we will be bringing the school to the Ghotul rather

than expecting the Ghotul members to come to the school. However, diversity in the educational system is possible and necessary only at the initial stages. But once the proper motivation has been created the task becomes simpler and at the higher stages there can be greater and greater uniformity — a process of convergent evolution.

Unfortunately, for many of us a school means primarily the material equipment, such as, blackboards, bells, class rooms, books, etc., rather than an educational system. We tend to forget that by merely providing these material aids for education a people do not necessarily become educated. Because of these wrong emphasis, even though numerous schools have been started our tribal children generally continue to remain uneducated. It is therefore time that we reorientate our approach and think in terms of educating our tribal countrymen rather than opening schools.

HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE ENCYCLICAL

"MATER ET MAGISTRA"

M. Van den Bogaert

It is the keen desire of Pope John XXIII that Catholics should not only know and assimilate the Church's social doctrine but 'translate' it into social reality. This is no doubt "a most difficult task but a most noble one, to the carrying out of which He (the Pope) most warmly invites not only the Bishops, Priests and lay people all over the world but also *all men of good will*". (p. 66).

All of us, therefore, are called upon to get familiar with the Encyclical and to put it into action for the sake of, and with the help of other Catholics and non-Catholics alike. How should this "most difficult" task be implemented?

We shall first consider the various levels at which this execution has to take place: every individual will have to

get moving; to help him in this he will need the aid of *lay movements*; every parish will therefore have to draw up its own programme, but this effort will have to fit into a *diocesan* or *regional* scheme, and the dioceses in their turn will need the help and technical advice from institutions at the *national* level.

Following closely the text of Part IV of the Encyclical we shall next study the three steps in its execution: Instruction-Education-Action.

Finally, some remarks will be made on the practical fields of execution. And the chapter will close with a blueprint of a parish programme.

I. FROM THE GRASS-ROOTS UP TO THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Who is going to put the Encyclical into action?

1) The Personal Level:

The Holy Father expects every one of us, whether layman or priest, to do his part in the programme. In Part II He has made it quite plain, — though in a different context—, that the Church puts the person before society, personal initiative before institutions; "the economic order is the creation of the *personal initiative* of private citizens themselves, working either individually or in association with each other" (p. 18). So in a similar way, we may say that the social apostolate takes its origin and must always respect and foster the personal initiative of every Catholic. It is a challenge to each one's sense of responsibility and initiative, and associations are but useful to the extent that they help the individual in his task of acting as a social leaven in his milieu for the Christianisation of the economic and social sectors of the temporal order" (p. 68). Social improvement is not wrought by associations or institutions as such but by persons who make use of these institutions. Social action must therefore start from the grass-roots, from individual persons. The responsible Christian therefore, will not start

by criticising that nothing is being done in his parish, his school or association, but say 'What am I going to do about it?'; talk matters over with his companions and approach the authorities with practical suggestions.

This also means that a good programme of social apostolate will always aim at getting every individual to be as completely as possible "involved" and "committed" to it. Only in such a way will the person remain interested in it and draw the satisfaction of knowing that he does something purposeful and creative".

Mere lecturing and passive listening will not do. Programmes that are trust on the laity will leave them untouched in their apathy. What is needed is active participation by all, and a real dialogue between superiors and inferiors, between clergy and laity, though of course, with the proviso that the last word in religious and moral matters remains with the hierarchy. (pp. 69-70).

Let each one of us, then, take the trouble of getting a copy of the Encyclical, of

studying and imbibing its doctrine, and of seeing how we must apply it in our home, neighbourhood and professional life, according to the See-Judge-Act method, of which more further on. This personal endeavour by every catholic to be continually like the salt in his environment is the rock-bottom of all social action and its end as well. Once the primacy of this personal initiative is accepted, one can proceed to consider the next level, the Catholic Action organisation.

2) *Training leaders through specialised Catholic Action movements*

Catholics can hardly be expected to become leaders or social leavens unless they have the help of the associations of specialised Catholic Action. A young worker will but become a leader in his factory or Trade Union if he can get his training in a section of the Young Christian Workers, a nurse in a

Catholic Nurses' Guild a student in the Sodality or the Catholic Students' Union, etc.

Douglas Hyde has written some remarkable articles on how the Communists train their leaders. We could very profitably read those articles, for the same techniques apply in the training of lay leaders.¹

The YCW methods of training leaders has been recognised as being the best in the Catholic Church, and actually shows many analogies with the training methods of the Communists. These methods have been successfully adapted by the Sodalities and by other specialised lay movements, even for rural youth. TRAINING YOUNG WORKERS FOR APOSTOLATE, by Mgr. Cardijn and ABC of YCW, AN INTRODUCTORY HANDBOOK, are both recommended, they are available at the YCW Headquarters, Catholic Centre, Madras.

¹ "Lessons to be drawn from the Communist Experience", CHRIST TO THE WORLD, 1960, N. 3, 381 - 400, "Student Catholic Action in the Phillipines. Its activity at the University and in the School", CHRIST TO THE WORLD, 1960, No. 4, 461 - 470, "Training for Leadership, What Communists are doing," CHRIST TO THE WORLD, 1961, No 3, 395 - 409. The first article has been reprinted in SOCIAL ACTION, December 1960 (copies still available from the Indian Social Institute, Poona—1).

But these specialised lay movements are indispensable not only for the training of leaders in the different avocations of life, they are the necessary framework through which these leaders can influence their milieu. For even the most resourceful and zealous lay apostle can hardly do anything to influence society in a lasting way if he does not join with his mates, and discusses, plans and acts with them.

Pope John speaks of Socialisation² (pp. 20 ff). This does not only take place in economic cultural and social fields but also within the Church. Socialisation explains the growth of those new organisations of the professional lay apostolate (p. 68) and the increasing meetings and common programmes between these various associations down from the local up to the international level.

Pope John attaches the greatest importance to these associations of the professional apostolate, they are the backbone for the implementation of his encyclical (p. 67).

² By *Socialisation*, the Pope refers to the modern tendency to work in groups rather than individually to obtain objectives beyond the reach of individual effort.

3) *The Parish on the move*

But these movements in their turn are part of the larger Parish Community and must be ready to work as a team in the social apostolate schemes carried out by the Parish. Religious Sociologists tell us that the parish is and will remain the basic Christian Community in a given area. Any lay association that works against or does not co-operate with the parish community does to that degree harm to the Church. This does not mean, of course, that these organisations should be limited in their membership or activities within narrow parish boundaries. They are, in fact, often organised on the level of a whole city or even a diocese and have their units in Colleges or industrial plants where Christian from different parishes gather.

The practical implementation of Mater et Magistra then, will rest on the bed-rock of the personal leadership of every Catholic, who gets his training and inspiration in the local branches of the Catholic Action movements, which in their turn move together and

will provide the leadership for carrying out the practical programmes at the parish level.

4) *The diocesan and regional level.*

The next step in the pyramid of Catholic social action is the level of the diocese or the Region (often linguistic), where the work of parishes is being directed and integrated into a unified plan. The Diocesan authorities; the Bishop, assisted by his Director of Social Action and the top lay leaders of the diocese, will have to draw up a programme for the whole diocese, which encourages and supports the initiatives started in the parishes and prods those parishes into action where nothing happens. The whole plan will look like a sort of diocesan Five Year Plan!

A parish programme that remains limited to local initiative will not have the same efficacy than when it is an integral part of a scheme that is wider. In the Community Development Blocks too, when a school is being built or a co-operative started in a village, this is not a haphazard or isolated affair, but the part of a scheme that has been planned and sanctioned at the district level.

Why speak of a kind of five year plan? Because only planning can fix the targets and bring a sense of urgency and purpose in the social apostolate of the dioceses, and put it on a war footing. Pope John wants us not to remain at mere talking, he wants us to come to grips with the actual problems. This insistence on action: is precisely one of the characteristics of the present encyclical.

5) *The National Level*

But from where will the Bishop get the technical know-how to start his Five Year Plan? National Institutes are here to help him with advice and means: the Indian Social Institute, the Central Bureau of the Catholic Bishop's Conference, the USA Catholic Relief Services, and the Misereor Scheme of the German Bishops. These institutions will not undertake the direction of the diocesan schemes but assist with their advice, they will send their roving specialists to make sample surveys and launch pilot schemes, as the one carried out at present for the fishermen in Kerala.

II. THE THREE STEPS FOR PUTTING THE ENCYCLICAL INTO ACTION:

— INSTRUCTION — EDUCATION — ACTION

1) *Instruction*

The Catholic social doctrine must be spread amongst Catholics and non-Catholics. There is need of indoctrination, — and some “brainwashing” may be needed too, to chase out the ghosts of old prejudices. The Holy Father tells us to start *regular systematic courses* in Catholic Schools of every kind, especially in *Seminaries*. It is to be inserted into the religious instruction programmes of parishes and of Associations of the Lay Apostolate. It must therefore become an integral part of the Catechism which is being taught, of the Religious and social enquiries of the lay movements, of the sermons in the parish church. It is for principals of schools and colleges, parish priests and chaplains of the lay movements to see what can be done in their own place or association. One thing is sure, matters will not be able to go on as they did before.

Cheap vernacular editions of the encyclical will have to

be made available by the dioceses and linguistic regions, with explanations, practical illustrations, — and very important, with questionnaires so that the encyclical can be studied in discussion circles. For, though systematic courses and class lectures are important, the group discussion method is far more efficient to elicit personal commitment and to lead to action. The Communists have to teach us a few lessons in this. Douglas Hyde's article on this subjects should be read, “Discussion Method in Communist Study Circles,” CHRIST TO THE WORLD, 1961, No. 2, 258 - 262.

But Pope John wants more than that. He makes the following down-to-earth recommendation: “It should be spread by every modern means of expression, daily Newspapers and periodicals, publications of both a scientific and popular nature, radio and television (p. 66). The question of television will not apply for the time being in India, but the rest does! Our Catholic papers will have to be pressed into service. But even non-Catholic papers and periodicals should be used to get the message across to the non-Christians. This is not

so difficult as it may seem. Many local or even regional and national papers are struggling for matter and are ready to print articles exposing the Christian viewpoint on social matters, provided it is done in a non-controversial way. This applies even to Government publications. The same can be said of the local radio programmes. It is a question of having some courage and of trying. But will non-Christians read or listen to what we say? If Mr. Nehru himself and even Mr. Krushchev have taken the pains to read through the Encyclical, why should not many others do the same especially if we show how the encyclical endorses 90% of the welfare programmes of the nation and provides them with a badly needed social philosophy, if, as Pope John says, "we can show that it offers a safe path for the solution of present day difficulties".

The Pope calls on the laity to talk with others about this doctrine and to live up to it. There is nothing like talking to somebody and trying to convince him about it, in order to get oneself more thoroughly convinced of it (p. 66).

2) Education

But brainfilling is not sufficient. Pope John very pointedly stresses that it is of the "greatest importance that Catholics not only know this social doctrine but that they be educated according to it", that is, that their whole outlook be moulded according to it.

Catholic educational institutions have been highly appreciated for the good education and moral training they give but they have till now turned out very few social and professional leaders, men who have left their mark in the national field. Is it not because they have partly failed to give this "social consciousness" to their students? This is a complaint heard not only in India but in Europe and in USA. Pope John wants this to change, he expects nothing less than a minor revolution in the whole outlook and orientation of our educational system. "Christian education should be complete in extending itself to every kind of obligations, hence it should strive to implant and foster among the faithful an awareness of the obligation to carry on in a Christian manner their economic and social activities".

What can principals of schools and colleges do about it? Much is already being done by the Social Service leagues existing in most of our Colleges and by the Work Camps and slum clearance programmes which they organise. But these activities are still too much considered as being extra-curricular and are not imposed on all. Some rethinking will have to be done here, not only at the local but higher up.

The Pope knows that this education will not be easy, "the transition from theory to practice, is of its very nature difficult and it is especially so when one tries to reduce to concrete terms a social doctrine such as that of the Church". The reason is not only of an intellectual kind, no, it is our "deep rooted selfishness and the selfishness with which modern society is steeped". Nor is it easy to pin down exactly "the demands of justice in particular cases". We tend to remain in the airy serenity of general principles, without coming down to brass-tacks, without daring to take a definite stand in a nettly problem. Is that certain strike in your town justified or not?

What should in your area according to Christian principles be the living wage or the family wage, in exact figures of rupees and naya paise?

But any amount of instruction and education will not really bring Catholics into the practical field. Pope John with remarkable insight into the mechanism of Christian leadership training tells us that Catholics "must be given by *practical action* the methods that will enable them to fulfil these duties". This, our schools and colleges can not provide, only the different movements of the lay apostolate can give this training. To the possible objection that in order to put the social apostolate on a war-footing we simply have not the necessary leaders in our ranks, the Pope answers: "one learns Christian behaviour in social and economic matters by *actual* Christian action in those fields" (p. 67) In other words, leaders are not trained in hot-houses, away from daily life, Catholics become leaders by acting. That is why the lay movements and especially the professional lay movement, of which we spoke already, who "have as their specific objective the Christianisation of

the economic and social sectors of the temporal order" (p. 68) are so absolutely indispensable. "Their members are formed by drawing profit from their daily experiences to form themselves more completely and to contribute to the social education of youth" (p. 68) Anybody acquainted with the matter can read in these words a very clear ap-

proval of the YCW method of training leaders.

It is clear that the 3 stages of implementation overlap with one another. Instruction which is not at the same time education and already initiation into action, will not fulfil its purpose. But neither will Action, which is not at the same time education and instruction.

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

THE RED CHALLENGE IN INDIA, edited by The Fathers of De Nobili College, Poona, 1961, pp. 170.

It is a not so well-known scientific fact that the explosive power of a small but highly concentrated charge of combustible material is the greatest yet devised by man. The detonation of the atom has opened up an era of unprecedented power production. In a somewhat analogous sense, one might refer to the latest publication in the De Nobili Series (2) as truly fissionable material. Apostolically, and even sociologically, the force for good which this little volume possesses is truly tremendous. Packed in so small a size, it is an excellent example of the atomic action approach. If properly utilized, it could, like the peaceful use of the atom, contribute mightily to the forward and upward movement of modern society. Whether it will actually have this beneficial and badly needed effect depends, of course, on how it is handled by those who have it in their possession. It could help change the social face of India "for the better, even as material atomic power promises to alter favourably the physical features of this country. This book of which I speak is concisely geared for constructive sage. Its very title, "Red Challenge In India," should strike a spark in the mind and heart of an anyway serious reader. And this initial positive reflex should thereafter be set glowing, and then going, by the way in which the challenge is unfolded, and the sharpness of the answer that is outlined in opposition thereto. Any Indian who reads this report should be moved to show some kind of concern. Any Indian Catholic who reads it should be galvanized into militant action.

The method of presentation followed by the group of specialists who combine to present the information contained in the work might be described as theoretical, historical and functional. The last term refers to the action programme presented as a mode of response to the

challenge. In the first of these three sectors the essential features of Communism are presented for clear-cut identification. Then, in sharp contrast to this, the social programme of the Church is succinctly outlined. Finally, the nature of the radical conflict that must ever characterize the relations of these two forces is explained.

The second stage of the book's thematic development provides the reader with some interesting historical studies. First, there is an extensive survey of the rise of Indian Communism. Then comes a close look at the situation which has made Kerala such focal-point for investigations in the tactics of Communism. Lessons from the techniques of Communism in China are drawn by way of completing this section of the exposition.

As a basis of Catholic counter-action, the book concentrates attention on two social areas. Each appears especially significant in the life of the country. One is concerned with community relations, distinguishing between what might be termed legitimate and illegitimate Communalism. The other attends to the problem of economic relations, pointing up the difficulties to be met in arriving at an accept-

able alternative to the Communists' socio-economic ideal.

What might well be classified as the detonator for this little but mighty explosive is the section presenting points for discussion and action at the end. If this is utilized by the work's readers, it cannot help but set-off the charge which, wherever it takes place, can blow Communism sky-high and thus pulverize it into vaporous fragments. To protect against the fall-out, and perhaps later re-incarnation, of these deadly particles, one might say, an extensive bibliography of Communism is provided as a final practical service. Usage of this in appropriate ways would help to consolidate and confirm the new order that the early explosion is meant to usher in.

As one might suspect, this is not a perfect explosive device. While its apostolic charge is high, there are deficiencies in its texture and its tamping. For example, while making allowances for the fact that Communism is a principle theme of this work, a somewhat exaggerated emphasis is given to the movement. It is pictured as the evil of our times, instead of as an outstanding manifestation of that evil-Materialism—as the Pope and many Bishops have reminded us.

Similarly, when speaking of the Social Doctrine of the Church, the latter's role is defined in the traditional moralistic sense. This approach has become very incomplete since the reign of Pius Xti, who reminded us that "the laity are the Church" too, and that the role they play, which is beyond the strictly moral one, is part of the Church's social activity.

Likewise, in describing the nature of the battle between Communism and Christianity, the writer there rightly presents the conflict as ultimately a religious one. But his exposition of the religious implications involved exposes an old bias too much favouring to theological, at the expense of what might be termed the sociological, aspects of religion. It is somewhat forgotten that the religious significance of the Second Great Commandment is "like" to the first.

The two proposals offered as positive programmes for checking the Communist advance seem to suffer from an excessive narrowness of outlook. The building of a Catholic Community will undoubtedly help in this battle. But not unless this is done in conjunction with the building of a free community of all men

of truth and good will. Communalism, even of a Catholic kind, may very well help rather than hinder Communism, as the experience in Kerala would seem to show. What is really needed is a true sense and spirit of nationalistic fervour, leavened by well-informed, highly inspired and deeply involved Catholics. Catholics must be building simultaneously in two social areas, internally, amongst themselves, the Mystical Body. But also externally, among others, preparing new members for that Body.

In much the same fashion, the posing of the question as to whether or not Capitalism is the answer to Communism constitutes a serious oversimplification of the complex problem we have to contend with. Capitalism, good or bad is essentially if not entirely an economic phenomena. When we limit our attention to its ramifications, we are destroying, or damaging at least, our true perspective of the task we face. This can help the Communists too. We must deal with this question, but in its proper relationship to the political and the many social facets of what might be summed-up under the general heading of cultural complexities.

J. Connor

APRIL, 1962

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Tensions of Economic Development in South East Asia: Edited by Professor J. C. Daruvala. Allied Publishers Private Limited. 1961. pp. 163. Rs. 12.

In a country like ours which is undergoing economic development through industrialization education and democratic political administration, the "Tensions of Economic Development in South East Asia" will be found useful for those who are engaged in the welfare of country. To be aware of dangers which lie on the way to progress and to take precautionary measures form part of prudent policy if conflicts are to be either settled or avoided. For the tempo of economic growth is to be maintained. This lays an obligation of not letting energy go waste on rivalries and petty jealousies.

The main areas examined in the "Tensions of Economic Development in South East Asia" are: I. Social and psychological tensions, II. Political Integration, III. The Economic Development and IV. Countrywide Studies. Those who have collaborated in discussing the various issues on the modern trend of rapid economic development are men and women who are competent in offering expert advice on problems which arise out of the changing conditions of life.

Their knowledge and experience are such as to justify their participation in the seminar organized by the Council on World Tensions.

I. Social and Psychological Tensions. This topic is dealt with under three aspects, namely social, psychological and legal. Economic Development brings about urbanization which in turn gives rise to Rural-Urban migration. As a consequence of people moving from villages to cities the traditional family values and home life are forced to undergo radical changes. Dr. Lim points out that when the mother is forced to work outside of her home the family is disorganized. Besides the modern type of education is oriented towards destroying filial piety. Hence family life is a series of tensions which can be counteracted by village industry.

A theoretical approach to this problem is given by Professor Lethbridge. He is of the opinion that the fact of tensions must be accepted. The areas where economic development is in progress, a process of changing *Gemeinschaft* into *Gesellschaft* takes place. And this brings about anomie. Hence a close liaison between Govern-

ment and trade union leadership might help to ease off tension. Professor Irani has discussed this subject under legal aspect and is of the opinion that law can serve as an effective measure for reducing tensions.

II. Political Integration: Professor C. N. Vakil begins with the premise that political stability is an indispensable precondition of economic development. 'Key posts' theory based on parochialism is source of tensions between states. The allotment of national resources in different scales to states causes tensions between the central government and the state governments. He offers positive data gathered from various sources. The solution which he suggests for reducing tensions is, perfect mobility of capital, managerial skill, technical skill and labour. English should be allowed to continue as a common language. Mass media of instruction should be employed to bring about national integration. One way of achieving this is the use of the national flag and the national anthem.

III. The Economic Development: Under this heading Mr. Samuel discusses the main sources of tensions. The desire for rapid development and catching up with other countries remain a cause for rivalries. The way of reducing these tensions is not uniform and it is upto every community to look for an adequate way of adjusting itself

to the situation in which it finds themselves. Professor Dantwala brings into picture the two main systems of economic development namely the capitalism and communism. He points out that there is no fundamental conflict between welfare and development. Dr. Raj takes up the issue and discusses it in relation with the caste and regional factors which play an important role in the political life of India. Caste seems to have a strong influence in the choice and opportunity of occupation. Dr. Lakdawala examines the economic development of India on an international basis. He says that under the rapidly changing conditions the code of trade with foreign countries will have to be modified, in order to avoid possible disappointments.

IV. Countrywide Studies: Korea, Philippines and Malaya are taken up in this seminar. These three countries offer three different types of economic development. The analysis of the process of development of these countries shows the historical side of progress and development.

In view of the present fissiparous tendencies and narrow parochialism the "Tensions of Economic Development in South-East Asia" is a welcome contribution for promoting harmony and understanding between different groups. It is hoped that those who are directly engaged in the economic development will find useful information offered in this seminar.

J. Khengar

APRIL 1962

It seemed natural enough to believe that violent opposition to this policy was dead when the people of France so actively rallied to the support of the General. The newly culled O. A. S. terrorist organisation which formed immediately after the April 1961 debacle, has not only survived but seems to be gaining in strength from day to day.

The O. A. S. is mainly made up of right wing extremists who have already been branded in France and elsewhere as fascists. It would be too much to expect them to gain enough strength to take over the government, but they can, and have been keeping alive the spark of civil war in France, and in the process making it very difficult for France to come to an early and peaceful settlement with Algeria. As a matter of fact the FLN have already pointed out that to talk of a peaceful settlement without the

power to maintain that peace was posing a problem in itself. The OAS has adopted guerilla tactics in its fight and it is safe to assume that unless its members received continued and growing support both in France and Algeria they could have survived. In the last few days they have stepped up their activities to the extent that over a hundred people have lost their lives within three days.

The main argument of these extremists is that in giving up Algeria France indirectly helps the communists. The reasoning may appear ridiculous when one considers the fact that what is at stake is the freedom of the Algerians and not their ideological beliefs. The OAS cites the growing menace of Communism in the newly emerging nations of the world and poses as the only group left that is totally anti-communist. At the moment

their fanaticism may only be classed as a severe irritant, but in the long run they have failed to realise that it is the Communists of France themselves who will benefit from this internal strife. One must remember that the Communist party in France is a powerful organisation credited with being the brains behind the resistance movement during world war II. They have actively supported the cause of the Algerian people in their fight for independence and have, therefore, given rise to the belief that giving up Algeria is actually selling her to the Communists. This is one point that can take firm root with French men who are anti-communist.

The continued internal strife and the clash of intellectuals within the right wing group in general will surely benefit the Communists in the end. They have no ideological differ-

ences to split them up and in this showing of internal strength will slowly but steadily attract the left wing, though non-communists groups. This will be France's greatest danger and unless the OAS is stopped it will be realised too late that it is they who have sold France, let alone Algeria, to the Communists.

Indian Policy in Asia

With the elections almost at an end and the Congress back in power with an over-whelming majority it would be opportune to review India's Asian policy during the years 1960-61. This reassessment has been drawn from an article by B.G. Verghese which appeared in 'India Quarterly' of April-June 1961.

"...The newly independent Government of India was not unconscious of the far-reaching implications of Sino-Indian relations and after a prelimi-

nary diplomatic skirmish at the time of the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950-51, resolved that friendship between the two countries was essential for peace in Asia. It was out of this understanding that India sought to establish a permanent basis of accord through the Sino-Indian Treaty on Tibet in 1954 and it was in the preamble to this treaty that the Panch Sheel was first enunciated..." Obviously Mr. Verghese feels that India's foreign policy in Asia is dominated by its relationship with its most powerful and immediate neighbour, China.

While giving a concise report on the Indo-China dispute so far, Mr. Verghese methodically breaks down the Chinese arguments on the border dispute, but even more important, brings to the fore the underlying policy of China towards her only rival in Asia. In the

course of her dispute with India China has progressively entered into treaties and border settlements with all her other neighbours, thus isolating India, with the obviously calculated assumption that India is the only country not willing to come to a peaceful settlement. It is pointed out that though after the Tibet conquest there was fear and alarm throughout Asia, none of the Asian papers have actively supported India in her dispute. As a matter of fact India was criticised for not accepting China's settlement with Burmah on their frontier issue even though the maps presented by the included Indian territory.

Mr. Verghese criticizes the Indian government for doing 'singularly little to counter the Chinese 'peace' offensive in Asia. There has been an unspoken reliance on Soviet friendship. Indo-Soviet relations are indeed cordial but

undue expectation of Russian support in this matter would be a gross miscalculation. The Soviet Government's pronouncements on the Sino-Indian border question display some embarrassment over what has occurred but no support for the Indian Case. On the other hand, the latest amendments made in the Soviet world Atlas, in favour of the Chinese alignment of the Sino-Indian border, are significant. So also Moscow's studied refusal to reply to a number of Indian notes on the subject of these cartographic errors....."

"India's foreign policy is based on the doctrine of Panch Sheel" says Mr. Verghese "...which has been pursued through a policy of non-alignment in the cold war. But Chinese have stolen our clothes and today the very foundation of our approach to international relations is being undermined by a rival doctrine and methodology of sham co-existence which is being loudly and vigorously

pursued by China. To us 'co-existence between states and between states with differing social systems is an end in itself. But to China, in its present state of mind, co-existence is only a stepping stone towards ideological conversion by internal subversion or external pressure short of 'destructive war'. This was among the doctrinal contributions of the Chinese Communists to the Declaration of International Communist parties in Moscow last December..."

Our diplomacy, says Mr. Verghese, calls for a new orientation. It needs to be positive, not passive, in defence of the ideals and principles that we proclaim. Our friends and neighbours should know where the danger to peaceful co-existence arises from. We cannot be neutral in a situation in which the Chinese are trying to tie uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa to their apron strings. We have a responsibility in Asia. We must live up to it.

NEWS AND COMMENT

U. N. Seminar on Freedom of Information

Since the 'freedom of information' is embodied in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is not surprising that the U. N. should initiate a Seminar to study this fundamental human right, with a view to its universal application. Though classed as one that may not be denied to this any right is perhaps one of the most difficult to observe, particularly by Governments.

The agenda for the New Delhi Seminar included the role of Government in freedom of information, Press laws, the role of the publisher and the proprietor of newspapers, the role of the journalist and the reader and standards of journalism. In addition to these points, perhaps

the most important one being discussed at the moment, is the adequate supply of newsprint and machinery for the Press of the underdeveloped countries, particularly in the ECAFE region.

The problem of the supply of newsprint is an acute one in this region specially since the bulk of it is ordered from elsewhere with a very limited foreign exchange capacity. A suggestion that found favour was the organisation of an international body to handle the deficiency in technical and raw materials suffered by the press.

Mr. Durga Das, representing India, said that the shortage of newsprint affected the development of the Press in underdeveloped countries. In his view the yardstick for assessing newsprint re-

quirements of a country should be literacy.

Mr. Mohamed Sopia of Malaya, called for a campaign for 'Paper for Peace' on the lines of the United States of 'Food for Peace' programme. He said the problem of foreign exchange could be overcome if the exporting countries agreed to payment in local currencies.

Though the Seminar has been welcomed by the Press in general there is some criticism of the personnel participating in the Seminar. All of them have been drawn from and through the various governments and the question raised is whether they are competent enough to discuss this fundamental right from the point of view of the press and the public. As the editorial in the 'Hindu' puts it in view of the preponderance of governmental representation at the seminar, it is difficult to see what useful

purpose it can serve by discussing subjects other than the role of Government and press laws; the remaining topics on the agenda could be more fruitfully discussed by professional bodies like the International Press Institute.

In this instance readers might remember president Kennedy's appeal to the American Press to refrain from publishing news that might be detrimental to the security of the country, with particular reference to the Cuban invasion. Yet, the American Press reserved the ultimate right to publish what they thought was of major importance and in the interests of their public. It can be seen from this that both sides of the question need a close study and a common ground reached between the conflicting ideas of security and freedom of information.

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Church and State

Mr. Nehru recently expressed his displeasure over the publication of a Pastoral letter of some of the Bishops of Kerala warning their subjects not to vote for the representatives of the Communist Party. The Prime Minister objected to clerical interference in what he considered to be a purely political matter. His statement aroused a controversy in one of the prominent newspapers.

It must be said at the outset that the relationships between the Church and the State are not easy to define, and even when defined are not readily acceptable especially to those who do not profess the Catholic religion. Christ's saying "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's," has drawn a line of distinction between the temporal and the spiritual obligations of man.

Stated in this manner there is no difficulty in agreeing with such a position. One may go further and accept the proposition that a similar line of distinction exists between the State which is concerned with man's temporal interests and the Church, which is concerned with his spiritual interests.

As long as purely temporal and purely spiritual interests are in question, there is no difficulty and the State and Church can tolerate and even fraternise with each other. But the trouble arises when spiritual and temporal interests intermingle and sometimes clash. This can happen because man is both body and soul flesh and spirit, matter and mind at one and the same time. Nor is it always possible to distinguish sharply between his temporal and spiritual interests. Both principles of his being, body and mind work as a single homogeneous entity,

and all his actions are referred to himself as a single individual person.

A further difficulty has arisen with the advent of Christianity. And this is the founding and the establishment of a Church. The Church is a visible community of believers, with its priesthood and its own law a perfect society, sufficient to itself, and claiming a divine authority to guide its subjects on spiritual and moral issues. To enforce its authority, the Church possesses, not temporal, but spiritual sanctions. Loyalty to the Church and to its religious tenets is the result of a free assent. No physical compulsion can be applied. However in so far as the temporal interests of man are inferior to his spiritual interests which are directly concerned with his final end, the Church claims a priority for Her directives. On the other hand, there need be no clash or conflict between Church and

State, because both the authority of the Church as well as that of the State in the final analysis comes down from God. In a word, since both Church and State are bound by the same natural law, they should mutually assist and sustain each other.

On these postulates, it should not be difficult to understand why the Church can make a statement on what one might regard as a purely political matter but where both spiritual and temporal interests are so closely intertwined, as in the case of voting for the Communist Party. The Communist Philosophy is rank materialism and atheist to the core, and its avowed aim is to destroy and uproot all religious beliefs. This may not always be possible for the Party to achieve, and it may tolerate even against its wishes the existence and functioning of a Church within its boundaries. But this is no argu-

ment for saying that Communism is not anti-religious and atheistic. It is on these fundamental grounds that the Bishops in Kerala directed their subjects not to vote for the Communists.

It might be discussed whether such a warning is always necessary or prudent in the circumstances since the Church's teaching on this point is sufficiently well-known. But the action of the Bishops can scarcely be called in question as an interference in matters that do not fall under their jurisdiction. They have an obligation which they must fulfil - to intervene in the area of temporalities when the spiritual concerns of their subjects are in danger in particular conditions. Since the Church is still a small minority in India, such intervention is bound to be misunderstood and misinterpreted. But a Secular State such as ours must learn to appreciate the

Church's point of view and admit that the doctrinal reasoning on which these claims are based is clear and convincing even on the purely rational plane.

Joint Declaration by the ECAFE Secretariat

First, that regional economic cooperation shall be animated by a spirit of good will, mutual respect for national sovereignty, and the desire to assist one another in furthering their respective developmental programmes, with due recognition of the importance and desirability of co-operation with countries outside the ECAFE region:

Second, that the objectives of regional economic co-operation shall be:—

1. To co-operate, subject to the requirements of their respective development plans, with one another, for the expansion of mutual trade and for the progressive reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers among themselves, with due regard to their obligations to countries within and outside the region;

2. To promote new lines of production and trade in industrial, agricultural and mineral

products by means of exchange of information in long range import requirements and export possibilities, as also joint studies of and mutual consultations on national development plans with a view to encouraging efficient utilisation of resources of the region;

3. To assist one another, by means of appropriate measures, including long-term contracts and agreements, in the expansion of production and trade in agricultural and mineral products;

4. To co-operate in the formulation and execution of industrial projects, especially through the establishment of such units on a regional or sub-regional basis, paying special attention to the requirements of the industrially less developed countries of the region, and to the possibilities of pooling the region's technical and financial resources;

5. To study problems of international commodity trade; to initiate in co-operation with international agencies concerned appropriate measures for safeguarding the interests of primary producers and augmenting their capacity to contribute to the expansion of international trade; and to adopt joint pro-

motional measures for expanding commodity trade with other regions on a basis of mutual benefits;

6. To co-operate in the development of intra-regional transport and communication facilities and in the promotion of joint or co-ordinated measures in this field;

7. To co-operate in ancillary fields such as banking, insurance, settlement of commercial disputes, and travel and tourism; and

8. To facilitate and co-ordinate within the regional framework sub-regional co-operation and sectoral arrangements in specific fields of economic endeavour.

Third that for the purpose of fulfilling the above objectives, an organisation for Asian Economic Co-operation shall be established, and that this organisation shall be under the direction of a Council of Ministers, comprised of plenipotentiaries of all member States and be assisted by the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

Yugoslavia's 1962 Plan

Borivoje Jelic commenting on Yugoslavia's Econo-

mic Plan for 1962 in the Eastern Economist summarises that country's policy as a stimulus to accelerate economic development with high rates of growth in all fields, especially in industry and agriculture as the leading economic branches.

One of the aims of the plan for 1962 is to accelerate the rhythm of production and to bring it back to its former rate. An important objective in this respect is the planned growth of 13 per cent in industrial production in the coming years. While stressing the importance of these tasks, the Federal Plan also outlines the material and other prerequisites needed to carry out the programme.

The planned increase of almost 23 percent in agriculture should be viewed in the light of the low production in 1961. The application of modern agro-technical measures, the

increased number of tractors, the rapidly growing use of fertilizers and the high yielding varieties of wheat, have led to important results in paving the way for stepped-up production. It should be emphasized that the recent increase of the purchasing price of wheat was quickly followed by a favourable reaction from the producers, a fact reflected in the acreage sown with grain this autumn. The plan outlines the principles to be followed in this respect and encourages constructive efforts.

In accordance with the established policy to raise consumption and the living standard in step with the growth of production and productivity of labour, the plan for 1962 provides for an actual increase of over 6 per cent in per capita consumption, along with an increase of 4 percent in the personal income of workers and employees.

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