

## Philosophical Background of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh

Bharatiya culture forms the ideological basis of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh. 'Culture' is not, as some one would have us believe, anything vague or ambiguous, though its comprehensive grasp is rather difficult because it embraces all departments of human life. The word 'Culture' denotes a trend of impressions on the Mind of a Society which is peculiar to its own, and which again, is the cumulative effect of its passion, emotion, thought, speech and action throughout its life. The peculiar characteristic of our culture is its identity of the world-culture with it, so that the Bharatiya culture is nothing else but world-culture *as professed and practised by Bharatiyas*. Culture has its own distinct laws of promoting human progress. It has its own laws regulating social conditions. Frequently there appear in the world-stage forces that are antagonistic to 'Culture', that run contrary to its laws, that obstruct the course of social progress and threaten mankind with total extinction. These forces of '*Asuri Sampat*' must be annihilated if humanity is to enjoy peace, progress and prosperity. Culture has been ceaselessly conducting its fight against '*Asuri Sampat*' through various individuals and institutions arising in different climes and times. Bharatiya Mazdoor

Sangh is one of the instruments of 'Culture' in such a struggle which, in the present context, is directed against the mutually hostile but equally anti-human expressions of the 'Asuri Sampat,' i. e. Capitalism and Communism.

Industrial revolution introduced an era of exploitation in Europe. Handicrafts receded in the background. Machine became the chief means of production, concentrating unrestrained economic power in the hands of its owners, on account of its peculiar mode of production. The owners further came to wield, on the strength of their economic position, enormous influence over the State apparatus which was ever prepared to promptly assist them in all their designs, fair or foul, of promoting profits. The State became the instrument of Capitalism

Profits, as distinct from human happiness, became the all and end-all of all industrial activity. The status of human beings working on machine was no better than that of its lifeless wheels. Exploited to the extreme by the owners of the means of production, i. e. the capitalists, and neglected by the State, the toiling masses became helpless, frustrated and desperate. On this background proceeded the formulation of a theory which embodied the bitter and unbalanced reaction of a brilliant philosopher to his cruel surroundings. The theory was, in this sense, a reactionary one, and its correctness was circumscribed by the condition of the time.

As a Western materialist, Marx believed that the economic structure of society was the basic structure on

which was based the superstructure of juridical, political and social institutions. Economics, the Marxists claim, is the basis of any social pattern. According to them, "the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in man's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch." Thus, to them a social change implies a change in the economic structure.

Culture would question whether economics is the final and ultimate cause of social transformation. Economics, like politics, is no doubt one of the several factors that make their own contribution to structural changes. But is it the final cause? Does it constitute the very basis and the only basis, of society? Culture knows that it does not.

History shows that political and economic changes preceded by psychological ones. Subjective revolution of the Collective Mind has been followed by objective evolution in the material environment. Unless human thought is revolutionised first, enduring material change through evolution or revolution are inconceivable. Psychology, and not economics, is the determining factor. Psychological structure of society forms the real basis, 'starting from which alone we can work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure' of social, political and economic institutions.

Economics cannot be treated as the basic cause in as much as it is itself conditioned by, and is the outcome of, the psychological condition which, therefore, is the more decisive and basic factor in this context. Economic structure is but a form. Psychological social consciousness is the very life. Change in consciousness is a prelude to a change in the form. Psychological transformation precedes the structural one, just as function precedes organ. Artificial imposition of social structure which is not the natural result of appropriate psychological condition is not likely to last long except under the constant threat of an iron rod. Wherever structural change was effected through violence, without allowing the social psychology to become mature and strong enough to cause such a change in normal course, the preservation of the social structure had to be secured through abnormal terrorism and repressive autocracy. Hence the usual fear of a revolution being followed by a counter-revolution. There is no guarantee that a structural transformation will automatically bring about the appropriate psychological change. It can, however, be assured that the latter will certainly, and invariably, result in the former. This explains the complete authoritarianism of the Russian State.

Human mind is the cause, and material environment the effect, though it is not to be denied that mind, in its turn, is also affected to a certain degree by the environment. Though mind and environment act and react upon each other, mind is indisputably the basic

factor. Otherwise the brave and successful fight of some distinguished individuals against the freezing environment which unnerved and completely subdued the masses would be inexplicable. Why should different minds react differently to the same environment? Pratapsingh and Mansingh were in the midst of the same surroundings. But their reactions were different. Khando Ballal and Ganoji Shirke found themselves confronted with similar situations. Why should they have reacted differently under the same set of circumstances? Not every lawyer from the Allahabad Bar abandoned his lucrative practice to follow the illustrious example of the Nehrus.

Centuries of expulsion and of trials and tribulation could not quench the thirst of the Jews for a homeland. Many other peoples under similar circumstances, who would have easily given way and struck a compromise, what would have appeared to them as the inevitable. What is the explanation for this unique tenacity of the Jewish race in the face of circumstances under which others would have preferred to surrender themselves? राजा काल का कारणम् । Environment is the product of human mind. In accepting economics as the basis of society, Marxism has mistaken effect for the cause. Science today has proved the incorrectness of Marxist assertions that everything in the universe can be explained in terms of matter, that matter determines mind, which is only a function of the former, and that human ideas and institutions are merely a superstructure on matter. Scientists of the twentieth century "know too much about matter to be

materialists." Matter is no longer accepted as the basic reality. Science has reasons to believe that matter is only a "projection of the consciousness of its perceiver," that "matter is but an expression of energy," -an expression of the basic reality. According to our culture, Mind determines the matter and, therefore, social consciousness determines the social structure. Culture deals primarily with the human mind, and, through it, with social structure. Marxism concerns itself solely with the structure, ignoring the subjective factor of human mind.

It is significant that even after thirty eight years of communist rule in Russia, the 'withering away of the State' is not yet in sight. Perpetuation of dictatorship deemed necessary not merely to meet the threat of external aggression but also to suppress internal revolutionary counter-revolutions. Tens of years after revolution, veterans of the regime are still being Trotskyed and Beriaed, which suggested that either Stalins and Khrushchevs are extremely self-centred or Trotskeys and Berias are turning traitors,—neither of which does credit to the dictatorship of the proletariat. These persecutions are a sad commentary on the efficacy of social structure in moulding social mind.

Let alone the question of the psychology of masses, what is there in the principles and practice of marxism that would prevent administrators from degenerating into autocrats? There seems to be no justification for the presumption that in Russia the State will ever wither away.

Ancient Bharat was an ideal Stateless Society. There was neither state nor state officials (न राज्यं नैव राजाऽसीत्), neither criminals nor prosecutors (न दण्ड्यो नैव दाण्डिकः). In keeping with Dharma, the Law of the Being, people protected one another, धर्मानैव प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम्। No dictatorship was necessary to regulate social life. It could be practicable because of certain elevation of social mind leading to its adherence to Dharma. Society was self-governed. Discipline was self-imposed. There were no codes and constitutions, and there were no disciplinary actions. तेषां नासीद् विधातव्यं प्रायश्चित्तं कथंचन। There was neither capital nor corporal punishment. Public censure was the only punishment then. पुरा धिग्दण्ड एवाऽसीद् बध्दण्डोऽद्य वर्तते।

But in course of time society degenerated from such ideal conditions. It underwent a structural change the worse. Process of social disintegration started at rapid pace. What was the cause? Cause was to be found in the subjective factor, i.e. mind. According to Bhishma, individuals in the society became confused and perverted; their original psychological set-up was disturbed, and therefore they ceased to adhere strictly to the tenets of Dharma. ते मोहवशमापन्ना मनुजा मनुजर्षभा। प्रतिपत्तिविमोहाद् धर्मस्तेषामनोतथान्। This psychological disturbance was followed by chaotic conditions so far unknown to the self-governed Bharatiya society. Subsequently, states Bhishma, a deputation of the representatives of society waited upon Lord Vishnu and apprised him of the conditions then prevailing on the earth. Their memo-

randum stated in unequivocal terms that the disintegration of the social structure was a direct consequence of the degeneration in the social mind. भगवन् ! नरलोकस्थं नष्टं ब्रह्म सनातनम् । लोभमोहादिभिर्भावैः तन्नीः भवमुप विशत् । "O Lord ! This ancient human society is under the process of disintegration on account of the rise of 'Lobha', 'Moha', etc. That is why we are apprehensive". Consequently, Lord Vishnu advised them to adopt the institution of 'State'.

This analysis of our ancient deputationists is in direct contrast with the 'materialistic interpretation of history.' The structural transformation from statelessness through chaos, to state-authority was caused on account of the psychological transformation of society from 'Dharma' to 'Lobha' and 'moha.' The stateless structure of society could not ensure the preservation of appropriate psychological atmosphere. Psychological upheaval was, however, mistakably followed by drastic changes in the form of society.

Thus, to sum up, psychological structure is the basis on which there stands the entire superstructure of social, economic and political institutions. Real interpretation of history is psychological ; materialistic aspect of history is merely an outward expression of this basic subjective factor. Even conflict which is the essence of dialecticism is conceived and conducted on ideological plane first and manifested on material plane only subsequently.

Approach of Culture is essentially subjective. The character of its contribution to human progress is there-



fore, basic and fundamental. It is fulfilling its mission through various instruments. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is one of them.

Entry of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh in the labour field seems to have astonished innocent on-lookers to whom it was unexpected, and perturbed the vested interests in the labour movement to whom it became unpalatable. Labour movement has become to be associated in public mind with what has been variously described as 'Marxism', 'Communism', 'Leftism', etc. and even the idea of the philosophy of a labour organisation without the tenets of Marxism appears to many impressionable minds absurd and inconceivable. A number of local and national labour organisations have accepted, under the influence of the Communist Trade Union workers, Marxism with its theory of 'Class-war' as the distinctive feature of their philosophy. It, therefore, becomes necessary to define the attitude of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh towards Marxism in general and 'Class-conflict' in particular.

It has been already explained that the approach of Marxism is objective and, therefore, superficial. It has also been stated that the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh refuses to accept the validity of 'Class-concept.' But granting, for the sake of argument, that the class-concept is valid, we fail to understand how the means of class-struggle are suited to the end of a classless society.

### **Classlessness Through Class Struggle ?**

The Marxian process of eradication of class struggle through intensification of class struggle cannot but remind

us of the Anglo Saxon slogan of "War to end War". Both are equally ridiculous. Intensification of class struggle must be preceded and accompanied by intensification of hatred. Now a prerequisite for the stability of the classless society is all-absorbing Love. Cultivation of intense hatred, so indispensable for pulling down the existing social structure through class-conflict, is bound to disintegrate and shatter to pieces any other subsequent social structure,-be it of a classless society, with equal case and efficiency. Class conflict presupposes self-assertion. Stability of a classless society, or for that matter any form of society, presupposes self-abnegation. It is difficult to imagine how the habit of hatred and self-assertion is going to culminate in that of Love and self-abnegation.

### Unconvincing Dialectics

Marx endeavours to establish the inevitability of class-conflict through dialectical materialism. His 'Dialectics' is impressive but not convincing. In a given society, we are told, there is a social thesis which gives rise to its anti-thesis. The struggle between these two forces leads to a synthesis which, in its turn, becomes again a thesis giving birth to its anti-thesis. Granting that the tussle between the present social thesis and its anti-thesis would ultimately culminate in the synthesis of a classless society, the question would naturally arise as to what would be the anti-thesis of such a classless society which would then, itself become a thesis. If classlessness is the best form of social order, its anti-thesis, if at all there exists

any, cannot but lead to comparative social deterioration. In case we presume absence of any anti-thesis of the classless society, we will be compelled to conclude that either, in absence of any anti-thesis, humanity would stop progressing or the theory of social dialectics would cease to operate after the classless society comes into being. This conclusion is hardly helpful in establishing the correctness of the theory: "The history of humanity is the history of its class-struggles." Would the Wheels of History stop moving after the abolition of classes and class struggle?

In fact, a society comprising of class-conscious individuals will find itself incompetent to maintain classlessness. Rousing of class-consciousness must inevitably lead to the emergence of a class-state. Classless society must have its foundations in the social consciousness of classlessness which necessitates complete elimination of class-consciousness. The attitude of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh towards class-concept is therefore more scientific and better suited to the cherished goal of a classless society.

One is also surprised to find trade union workers in our country quoting Marx more religiously and fanatically than the much-ridiculed Brahmin quoting the Vedas. This is nothing but conservatism,—a new variety, of course,—but 'conservatism' none-the-less. This only indicates that scripturalism is still as strong as ever.

### **Marxism Out-Of-Date**

Marxism, to say the least, is already out-of date. A number of his theories and predictions are already proved

to be incorrect. Socialism emerged first, not in a highly industrialised country like England, as predicted by Marx but in Russia which was the most backward European country from the industrial point of view. Even today communism is more powerful in backward countries rather than in countries like the U. K. or U. S. A. It has also now become evident that the abolition of private property is not necessarily a guarantee for economic equality. Abolition of existing classes will not automatically result in classlessness. The present social structure may undergo a change after a Red Revolution, but classes will continue to remain all the same, — with the only difference that under the communist regime the vested interest would be represented by a group of Party Leaders controlling the administrative apparatus of the State. Under capitalistic system, exploitation is mercilessly conducted by a few private capitalists. They would be replaced by a group of communist leaders,—but exploitation would still be there. There would, however, be some difference in the two cases. While exploitation by private capital is capable of being checked, regulated or controlled to a considerable extent, under the non-communist democratic set-up, there would be no power within the communist State to control the group of exploiting administrators.

Indian communists have often ridiculed the Sarvodaya concept of the 'Change of heart'. Tatas and Birlas, according to them, would never voluntarily surrender their present privileged position. True. But then it is still less justifiable to presume that the 'Dictatorship of the Pro-

letariat' which is far more powerful than private capitalists, would one fine morning liquidate itself voluntarily. If regulated power can corrupt Tatas, there is no valid reason to believe that absolute power will not corrupt Stalins and Maos absolutely. Contrary to the Marxian theorisation, the Russian rulers have taken every precaution to see that their dictatorship does not become just a transitory stage to Socialism. "Withering away of the State" does not appear to be even a distant possibility. Such an authoritarian State may nationalise industries; but that does not lead to the 'Socialisation' of the property in the real sense, since industries may be owned by the State, but the State itself is not owned by the people. Rather it is the State that owns both, the People as well as the Property. In communist Russia capitalism is done away with, but a classless democratic and international society of the free and the equal is not yet born. This gives direct lie to the Marxian theory that socialism is the only alternative to capitalism.

### **Managerial Society**

Russia today reminds one of the 'Managerial State' as defined by James Burnham, in which the entire authority is concentrated in the hands of the administrators of the State and the managers of the industries. Managerial society, according to Burnham, is neither capitalistic nor socialistic. Marx did not anticipate the rise of such a third variety of State, just as he could not correctly foresee the constantly growing power and prominence of a middle class—'a new intermediate class of the salaried

employees of large scale business', a class of professionals, scientists, chemists, technicians, engineers and experts, a class possessing better modes of production and more commanding position than the Proletariat.

Needless to add, the above enumeration is merely illustrative and not exhaustive. What is more important is the basic fact that under the pressure of the progressive scientific knowledge Marx's 'Matter' has now definitely yielded to 'Mind'.

This is not to say that the contribution of Karl Marx to human thought is insignificant. Far from that, Marx was indisputably a great genius; and if he failed to foresee a number of developments in the times to come it was none of his fault. We have great regard for Karl Marx, notwithstanding the fact that according to us his theories are inaccurate and incomplete. But his followers have done great injustice to him. They have made dogma of a theory which stands against all dogmatism. They have elevated him to the status of a Prophet which goes against the very spirit of his theories.

## **The Religion Of Marxism**

Marx denounced religion. But Marxism today has become a religion of the irreligious ones, possessing all the qualities of a religion, such as its sacred book, its heresies, its prophets, saints, martyrs; its ceremonials, its festivals, and, above all, its fervour and fanaticism. Paradoxically enough, Marx has now become a God of the godless ones. The virulence of the Marxian dogma

is detrimental to the progress of human thought. It is against the spirit of science. Instead of leading humanity on the path of progress, it is bound to put the clock back. In view of the claim that Marx himself was endowed with a perfectly scientific attitude, one would be justified in saying that there is nothing Marxian about the present Marxism.

The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is neither leftist nor rightist. To those who are unable to grasp the economic implications of the concept of 'Nationalism' one can only say that the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh follows no other 'isms' except "Realism."

Let us free ourselves from the irrational influence of slogans and catchwords. Let us go to the very root of the problem. What is the attitude of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh towards the basic problem of the distribution of wealth? Does it stand for economic equality?

Our answer would be in the affirmative as well as the negative; in the affirmative because we resent inequality; in the negative because the current concept of equality is too shallow and inadequate to be able to solve any of our problems satisfactorily.

### **What About Nonhumans ?**

It is said that all men are equal, with equal right to the wealth of the world. Very well. Something has been conceded to those who were deprived of everything. But what about the relationship of species other than human, to the things that constitute 'wealth'? Are they to be deprived of their equal right to the total wealth? Who has

authorised human beings to divide the entire wealth of the earth among themselves, to the exclusion of the sub-human world? Is not such authority self-arrogated? Or are we to force beasts and birds and others out of existence if and when it suits the convenience of the human species? Are we to deny the nonhuman living beings an equal right to existence and sustenance? Is it not being homocentric? Western advocates of economic equality have completely, and conveniently, ignored the claims of other species. This omission is not accidental; it is characteristic of a materialistic mind. Secondly, there is no justification in materialism for the concept of equality. Why should a person with superior talents or powers agree to stand on an equal footing with others? Materialism can furnish no reply. That is why those whom assumed power with the avowed object of bringing in equality are themselves responsible for gross inequalities in their land. That further explains why a revolution in the name of equality has miserably failed to yield the desired results. Western ethics of equality is baseless, since it has its roots in Western materialism. In the long run equality cannot be imposed from outside, it has to be inspired from within. It must become an instinct first. Materialism has no regard for mind.

### **The Ism That Gives**

What can inspire a sense of equality in the human mind? Materialism cannot fulfil this historic need. The West has evolved Socialism that takes; it has failed 'to conceive of any ism that gives.



History of Bharat abounds in examples of willing self-sacrifice. Bharat produced world conquerors who distributed their entire wealth on occasions of the 'Vishvajit Yajna'. Multiplication of such illustrations is hardly necessary. It is, however, worthwhile to note that such sacrifices were performed spontaneously and not under any coercion from authorities above or pressure from below.

What inspires sacrifice? It would be too much to expect that an average man would voluntarily give up anything for the benefit of anybody outside the orbit of his 'Myself and Mine'. Perception of oneness inspires spontaneous sacrifice. In the absence of such perception, genuine sacrifice is inconceivable. No one can ever aspire to become a Raghu or a Shibi unless the orbit of his "Myself and Mine", i. e. the sphere of his perception of oneness is widened or extended to an extent which would astonish even the most imaginative materialists of the West.

Bharatiya seers and sages had realised that all Existence is one; that the whole universe is pervaded by the same principle; and that different objects, animate and inanimate, with different names and forms, are but various projections of the same Principle which, they declared, is the 'One without the Second.' I am the Brahman"; "Thou art That"; and "All this is Brahman indeed". They realised that 'All is One'; not even that 'All are one'. All is one; I am a part and parcel of that 'One

without the Second'; you, too, are nothing but That ; we are different manifestations of the same Existence

This was not a mere theory but realisation.

### "All Is One"

'All is one' is the only appropriate attitude which can justify, explain and inspire willing sacrifice. I would not prefer suffering for you so long as I am I and you are you. Your assertion of your equal rights is more likely to be responded by my assertion of my *superior rights on account* of my better talents. But the entire position is changed when both of us catch even a glimpse of the Truth that 'All is One.' This Truth is the source of all genuine sacrifice, the basis of the "ism that gives" which is in refreshing contrast with the Western 'socialism that takes'. Assertion of equality unaccompanied by the realisation of this fundamental oneness has already created more problems than it sought to solve. On the background of this realisation, all talk of 'equality' appears to be superfluous and immature. This alone can furnish the solid psychological foundations of a new social order by restoring order in the inner life of humanity. This alone has enabled Bharat to succeed where the West failed so miserably.

And the Western philosophers have not been slow to appreciate this. Max Mauller declared : "If I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race,

the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted, in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact, more human....., again I should point to India."

Ideologically, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is the only organisation that seeks to represent that 'India' in the labour field today. It is wedded to no 'ism.' It is determined to eradicate economic inequality. But it is not 'Leftist.' It rejects the 'Class-conflict' concept of Communism. But it is not 'Rightist.' Not mere 'equality' but 'oneness' is its motto. It is 'Bharatiya' in very sense of the term.



# Marxism Vs. Hinduism

Matter found its most ardent devotee in Karl Marx. For Marx matter was the only reality. It could be touched and seen. Existence of all objects was to be ascertained through senses or scientific apparatus. Nothing could be presumed or inferred to have existence unless it was certified by test-tube or telescope. The concept of God was to be treated as a myth since. He refused to be subjected to the tests of the laboratory Science, it was presumed, was capable of solving the riddle of the universe. It was the only reliable instrument of all knowledge. Religion or Ethics deserved to be discarded in so far as it was inconsistent with the findings of science. Mind has no separate or independent existence of its own. It was only the projection of matter, resulting from peculiar combinations of different atoms or molecules. Matter determined or conditioned Mind. Objective circumstances determined the nature of the subjective world.

## Darwin & Hegel's Influence On Marx

The latter half of the last century was dominated by the doctrine of Darwin. His theory of evolution, based on the principle of the 'survival of the fittest' through the process of 'natural selection,' furnished the basis or justification for divergent theories, such as the white-man's burden

theory of British imperialists, the Aryan racialism of the Nazis, and the class conflict concept of the Marxists. Evolution was taken for granted, though occasional retardations and reverses were not completely ruled out. It naturally followed that, as a rule, every subsequent thought, idea, species or civilization must be necessarily superior to the preceding ones. Man was the crown of creation, and the arrival of the superman was predicted with certainty. The capitalistic order of society was indisputably more progressive as compared to all the previous social orders; but it was, in its turn, bound to be replaced by a still superior system. All ancient civilizations were decidedly inferior to the nineteenth-century civilization of Europe. Science was supreme and its scepticism marked the advance of human intellect which was freed for the first time from the bonds of medieval religions. Dis-belief in belief and belief in dis-belief were the characteristics of the most enlightened mind. Darwinism was the new gospel; it was to be made applicable to all fields of human knowledge. Sociology was no exception; and Marx was the Darwin of this social science.

Evolution was the Law of the Universe. Transformation of a capitalistic into a socialistic order was inevitable. But what was the method of this sociological evolution? Darwin was also required to explain the method. He advanced his theory of natural selection. That provided the necessary clue to Marx's mind, which was further stimulated by the dialecticism of Hegel. Hegel's dialectic method in the realm of philosophy was only to be applied to the

sphere of sociology. On this background Marx formulated his theory of dialectical materialism. It fitted wonderfully with the Darwinian concept of 'struggle for existence'. Progress is achieved through the reaction of conflicting forces upon each other. "The conflict of contradictions with growth as its consequence" was the law of life. The history of all existing societies was a story of class struggles. It was primarily tale of the exploitation of one class by another. Dialectical materialism established the inevitability of revolt of the workers and the dictatorship of the proletariat to be followed by the 'Withering away of the State' and emergence of the Stateless and Class-less Society characterised by communal ownership.

### **Communism—A New Semitic Religion**

With the evolution of this theory Marxism became a perfect religion—with Marx as its Mohammed, Das Capital its Koran, Secretariat of the Communist Party its priesthood, Dialectical Materialism its Allah governing all the various processes of the Universe, and the higher phase of communism its Haven offering everything to everybody. Mohammed was the last Prophet, and so was Marx—though it was not prudent to declare this unequivocally. Perfection of this latest religion was naturally accompanied by the fervour and fanaticism characteristic of all semitic religions.

It cannot be denied that Marx took great pains for formulating his theories. But it is equally indisputable that his approach was hypothetical instead of being scientific. His thought process was influenced by the presumptions and prejudices of his times and, in this sense, it was

more imitative than original. Subsequent events have defied the over-simplified formula of Marx. They have proved that the data upon which he worked was insufficient, his information inaccurate, his attitude unscientific, his conclusions incorrect, his predictions untrue, and his theories untenable.

Marxism is not a 'Darshan'; it cannot claim for itself that dignified position. It is only an intellectual parasite on Newtonian Science, Darwinian Evolutionism and Hegelian Dialecticism. It is just one of the many systems of philosophy attempting to develop social science of its own. Those who try to compare Marxism with Hinduism betray their ignorance of both.

## **Hinduism & Communism Are Not Comparable**

Hinduism is a cosmology, different in type from, and far more comprehensive in scope than, either Philosophy or Science in the Western sense of the term. Hindu Dharma is the Cosmic Law. It is not invented by Hindus; they have merely discovered it and utilized its knowledge for the building up of their social order. Any social structure, in order to be scientific, must be consistent with the cosmology. Varna Dharma of the Hindus is the natural and inevitable corollary of the cosmic view of this world. 'Isms' of the West, represent views of different philosophers who cannot be compared with our Seers, who were the medium or agency through which the Cosmic Principle revealed itself. Hindu mantras are the cosmic vibrations revealed in the form of 'varnas' or 'shabdās'. No slogans, catch-words

or phraseologies of Western scholars can rightfully occupy the same exalted position.

Nevertheless, the most astonishing and equally creditable achievement of Marxism was its success in securing a few votaries for itself in this ancient land. That it was not the convincing nature of the theory but the impressive fact of the triumphant Russian revolution that attracted the otherwise frustrated Hindus to communism, is evident from the fact that they gave a serious thought to this non-Hindu way of thinking only after 1917, though its formulation was finalised as early as 1848. Nevertheless, that it could, at long last, enlist some support for itself in this country is highly creditable to it—particularly in view of the fact that materialism was not at all a new creed or concept in this land. Hindus had evolved materialism during a period when Europe was barbarous, and then dismissed it since it was not helpful but detrimental to the progress and prosperity of mankind.

### **Hindus Enunciated And Then Rejected Materialism**

Centuries before the birth of Demokritos, the father of Western materialism, the Hindus had systematically evolved a school of materialism. Curiously enough, the Founder of the Bharatiya materialism was none else but Brhaspati or Brahmanaspati, the preceptor of the gods. Barhaspatya school of thought challenged the validity of all knowledge and also of all evidence perceptual or inferential. It denied



all authority. Being subsequently reinforced by "Swabhava-vada", i. e. Naturalism, it developed itself into the then best formulated system of philosophy known as Lokayata. Its advocates asserted that the Lokayata system alone was scientific ; that the perceptual evidence was the only authority ; that even ether could not be accepted as fundamental element because of its imperceptibility ; that consciousness was only a derivative of matter which was the ultimate reality ; that mind had no reality of its own - it arose out of the vibrations of the molecules of the brain ; that there was no causal relation between action and what could be described as its consequence ; that the theories of Fate, Rebirth, Karmaphala or Swarga were nonsensical ; that pleasure or pain accrued on account of 'Swabhava' or Nature ; that scriptures were nothing but the machinations of shrewd priests ; that politics was the only real form of knowledge ; and that material prosperity and sensual pleasures were the '*Summum bonum*' of human life

Materialism was given full scope for development in Bharat. Freedom of thought has invariably been characteristic feature of the Hindu social life. Ours is a land of free thought. The Hindu dharma is the Manava Dharma—and so far as the philosophical approach is concerned, it is the Federation of all Faiths of Humanity. Co-existence of all systems of thought has been practicable only under Hindu Dharma. All sects and cults are embraced by Hinduism. Materialism was ultimately discarded, not out of ignorance of its doctrines but after giving it fair trials all of which ended in failure. It is worth mentioning that after the natural culmination of materialism in hedon-

nism of the worst type giving rise to a race of erotomaniacs, it was criticised and opposed vehemently by the Vedic as well as the non-Vedic Hindu Faiths, i. e., Buddhism and Jainism. Materialism was defeated in the free and fair fight of philosophies. Red Charvakas of modern times are wrong in presuming that the Gospel of Materialism is entirely new to the Bharatiya mind and that it is a generous gift of the West to the East. Far from that ! After the collapse of its faith in Christianity the bewildered West picked up as a new panacea the creed which was finally rejected by the wise East after all its experiments and experiences.

### **Projection, Evolution & Involution ; Brahma, Vishnu & Mahesh**

Ancient Hindu Seers realised that all existence is one, —that various objects with different names and forms are only projections of the same Reality, just as ornaments are projections of the same gold. That Reality is Absolute, without a second ; and the innumerable forms or appearances are the consequence of its desire for self multiplication. Christianity stands for the theory of creation, and even Darwin's evolution is inconceivable unless the entire process is presumed to have some beginning somewhere. But this is illogical in,as much as there can be no beginning or creation without its preceding cause. Out of non-existence cannot emerge ; and, again, existence cannot culminate itself into non-existence. Hindu sages realised the fact of the beginningless and endless chain of projec-

tion, evolution and involution. Nothing was destructible. Involution resembles sleep. It is not akin to death, so that the subsequent process of evolution does not begin from the beginning. In sleep an individual loses his conscious plane. But after he is awakened he is not required to begin with the initial stages of his consciousness; he need not begin with the alpha and omega. The sentiments, feelings emotions, ideas, thoughts or knowledge that he possessed while going to bed would be immediately revived after he is awake. Evolution of plant life was a matter of millions of years, no doubt, but every new tree would not require the same length of time for its growth from the seed. It need not undergo, for its coming into being, the whole process laid down by Darwin. Its journey commences from the stage of seed-life. While under involution properties are not dead or destroyed; they are dormant. They become patent as soon as the process of evolution commences. Thus involution is symbolised by the sleep of Lord Vishnu. Continuous, unintermittent, beginningless and endless cycle of projection, evolution and involution is symbolised by the governing deities of the processes, i. e., Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. They again govern corresponding properties of existence on different levels; those on physical plane (Tamas) being governed by Rudra, on biological plane (Rajas) by Brahma, and on psychic plane (Satvam) by Vishnu. The Reality pervades, and is itself all these properties on all levels, and yet it is far beyond and above all of them. Naturally so, since It is the Absolute—though with a passion for self-multiplication.

## Western Science Also Leads To Hindu Philosophy

From and through the Absolute the ancient Hindus proceeded towards the multiplicity. From and through the multiplicity, the modern scientist of the West is advancing unconsciously towards the Absolute, and though he is still far away from it. It can be safely stated that he is today nearer to the Absolute than to multiplicity. It is doubtful whether Hindus ever availed themselves of the well-equipped laboratories of the Western type. But they did develop an apparatus which was far more subtle, comprehensive and powerful than the scientific apparatus of the twentieth century. Through it they could commune and identify themselves with the Ultimate. Modern science is forced to admit that the ultimate reality is well beyond its reach, though it is free to draw its own inferences.

From this point of view, the advance of science during the last century is noteworthy. Analytically, the scientist came to conclude, in the first place, that there are about half a million pure substances that have no other kind of stuff mixed with them. Each of these substances, the scientist found out, is made up of millions upon millions of particles, i. e. molecules, all exactly alike in any one substance, but different from those of any other. The molecule of each of these substances is again made up of combinations of particles of any two or more of the ninety-two chemical elements. Each element is further made up of atoms all exactly alike in structure in any one element, but different from those in the others. Every atom consists

of the nucleus of the positron, proton and neutron, with electrons moving round it elliptically with immeasurable speed. The Universe of the science thus consisted of matter which had mass (or weight), acted upon by energy which could set matter in motion. Matter was made up of particles that attracted each other at distances not much greater than their own diameter, but which repelled each other strongly when brought closer. Those particles were in motion having, therefore, energy. That energy of motion was identified with heat. All the different forms of energy were interchangeable—heat, work, electricity or light, without any loss on the balance sheet. The fundamentals of science were length, time and mass which could combine to give a number of other qualities, such as velocity. All the force in the Universe could be reduced to three,—gravitational, electrical, and magnetic. Nothing could ever be without the action of the forces. Height, length and width were the three recognised dimensions and the Universe extended for ever and ever into infinite space.

### **Even Matter & Energy Are Same Thing**

From the multiplicity of half a million pure substances, science gradually advanced towards the duality of matter and energy. As science progressed, it blew up its own established theories of the past. This process is not yet ended. And the recent strides of science would completely non-plus the most progressive scientist of the nineteenth century. Could he ever conceive that while today

man appears to think because he has brain, initially the growth of this extra-ordinarily complex organism called human brain was the result of his Will to Think? He could not have believed for a moment that space is curved add therese finite: that the shortest distance between any two points is a curve instead of a straight line; that parallel lines would eventually meet; that light rays travel in curves and not in straight lines; that all motion is relative, conceivable only in relative terms, i. e., in respect to other objects; that length is not absolute—its measurement changing with the change in the speed; that motion being the natural state of all things there could be no fixed points of reference to facilitate establishment of standards for comparing velocities, size, length, mass and time, except as they might be measured by relative motions; that light is the only unvarying factor that is not relative, its velocity remaining unchanged; that time is the fourth dimension that time is a dimension of space and space that of time and neither of the two can exist without the other; that time itself is not absolute—it being relative to the position and speed of the observer; that mass is not absolute and constant—with the increase in velocity the mass becomes greater; that “physical laws for the minute atom” were “equally applicable to immense celestial bodies”; that all physical phenomenon was a single scheme rendering unifiable in one concept (“the infinitesimal, whirling world of the atom and the vast reaches of star-filled space”) and that while energy equals mass multiplied by the speed of light, and again by the speed of light mass is nothing but

concentrated energy, and thus energy and mass are the same thing, differing only in state ?

True, science has not yet endorsed all that our sages stated about consciousness. But, all the same, consciousness is no longer regarded as a mere derivative of matter. Its independent existence is now conceded, though investigation into its nature is beyond the scope of physical sciences. A section of psychology has arrived at the E. S. P., i. e., Extra Sensory Perception, scientific analysis of which is being attempted. The term 'sixth sense' has now become broadly intelligible to the common man. The theories and presumptions that formed the basis of Marxism have thus been completely exploded.

Before Marxian Materialism could accomplish the World Revolution the concept of "matter" was itself revolutionised. Marx was betrayed by Almighty Matter. Will the not-so-very-mighty mortals succeed where their Almighty has failed ?



# Shukra on Industrial Relations

In keeping with the Bharatiya tradition Kautilya pays his homage to Shukra and Brhaspati at the very beginning of his 'Arthashastra'. He also states that his treatise is a compendium of almost all the Arthashastras composed by ancient teachers. He mentions his predecessors as many as hundred and fourteen times, though very often with a view to express his differences with them on various issues. This indicates that long before Kautilya, this branch of knowledge was properly developed and that its literature was "arranged in scientific systems and treated in special manuals of instruction."

## Importance Of Shukra Niti

It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of Shukra Niti. As W. D. Whitney points out in the introduction to his 'Sanskrit Grammar', "all dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be boiled down again." Nevertheless, the influence of Shukra Niti on the Bharatiya public life can hardly be exaggerated. For example, it is a well known fact that Chhatrapati Shivaji followed the tenets of Shukra Niti in different departments of his political activity, such as, the construction of forts and the organisation of defence forces ( दुर्गप्रकल्पनं चैव सैन्यप्रकरणं तथा ), the choice of ministers and the formation of the Cabinet ( प्रह्वयादिलक्षणम् । अष्टप्रकृतिभिर्युक्तो नृपः ), the determination



of military strategies ( व्यूहप्रकल्पनम् ), the launching of offensives ( ...यात्राप्रकल्पनम् ), the diplomatic conduct of warfare ( कूटयुद्धम् ) and, when justified by the state of extraordinary emergency ( आपदधर्म ) the pursuance of the machiavellian statesmanship ( कापटचकरणम् ). The sphere of this Niti is comprehensive. It deals with all important aspects of public life and lays down the guiding principles of the science of government. No subject of public interest escaped the attention of Shukracharya. It would have been a matter of surprise, therefore, had he ignored or omitted the important problem of industrial relations ( मृत्यानां भृतिकल्पनम् etc. )

### A Word of Caution

Before proceeding further, a word of caution seems to be necessary. In the first place, those who try to judge the Bharatiya social order of ancient times by the European standards of the twentieth century are bound to slip into an error of anachronism. While it is absurd to describe the Ramayaniya war as a link in the chain of Marxist class-struggles, it would be superfluous or unnecessary to claim that the first comprehensive criticism of Pt Nehru's Five Year Plans is to be found in the Vedic literature.

Secondly, many terms in Sanskrit have no exact equivalents in English. The vast difference in the historical and, therefore, sociological and psychological background of the East and the West is mainly responsible for this diffi-

culty. It is now generally recognised that Dharma is not a Religion, nor Sanskriti, the Culture. Similarly, our ancient 'Swami' is not an 'employer' in the modern sence of the term; nor a 'Bhritya' a modern employee. Though these latter terms are used here for the sake of convenience, the difference in the shade of meaning must be taken into account.

### Guild Administration

It should further be borne in mind that the nature of character of the internal relations between different members of the guild were not 'industrial' in technical sense, in as much as the absence of employer-employee relationship was the characteristic feature of the Hindu guilds. As Kautilya has recorded, the total earnings of the guild belonged to all its members and used to be distributed either according to the terms previously settled upon or, in the absence of any such agreement, equally among them all.

(सघभृतः सभूयसमुत्थातारो वा यथासंभाषित वितनं समं वा विभजेरत्)

Shukra emphasises the autonomous character of the guilds. Members of the guild were themselves to settle all internal disputes according to their own constitution. No power or person outside the guild was competent enough to do this job.

‘कीनाशाः कारुकाः शिल्पोकुसोदिश्रेणिनर्तका ।

लिगिनस्तस्कराः कुर्युः स्वेन घर्मेण निर्णयम् ॥

अशक्यौ निर्णयो ह्यन्यैस्तजैरेव तु कारयेत् ।’

Thus there could be no interference by the State in the

internal administration of the guilds. On account of these peculiar characteristics of the guilds, they are outside the scope of the subject under discussion.

## Ideal Relations

According to Shukra, an ideal employee is one who does not desert his employer when the latter is in adversity, and an ideal employer is one who is prepared even to embrace death for the preservation and promotion of the interests of his employees. In this context, Shukra is instantaneously reminded of the righteous Raja Ramchandra and his praiseworthy Bhrityas i. e., the Vanaras,

भृत्यः स एव सुश्लोको नापत्तो स्वामिनं त्यजेत् ।

स्वामो स एव विज्ञेयो भृत्यार्थं जीवितं त्यजेत् ॥

न रामसदृशो राजा पृथिव्यां नीतिमानभूत् ।

सुभृत्यता तु यन्नोत्था वानरैःपि स्वीकृता ॥

Having cited this example Shukra poses a very pertinent question. If scoundrels can be united for the sabotage of a nation, why should it not become possible for the State and its employees to stand united for annihilating the enemy of the nation ?

अपि राष्ट्रविनाशाय चोराणमेकचित्तता ।

शक्वा भवेन्न किं शत्रूताशाय नृपभृत्ययोः ।

Probably, the question is equally pertinent even to-day !

## Types Of Wages

Wages should be paid according to piece-rate, or time-rate or time-cum-piece-rate, as previously stipulated.

‘कार्यमाना कालमाना कार्यकालमितिस्त्रिधा ।  
भृतिरुक्ता तु तदिदं सा देया भाषिता यथा ॥’

### Piece Rate

‘अयं भारस्त्वया तत्र स्थाप्यस्त्वेतावतीं भृतिम् ।  
दास्यामी कार्यमाना सा कीर्तिता तद्विदेशकैः ॥’

### Time-Rate

वत्सरे वत्सरे वापि मासि मासि दिने दिने ।  
एतावतीं भृतिं तेऽहं दास्यामीति च कालिका ॥’

### Time-Cum-Piece-Rate

‘एतावता कार्यमिदं कालेनापि त्वया कृतम् ।  
भृतिमेतावीतं दास्ये कार्यकालमिता च सा ।’

### Periods For Payment

There are three measurements of time-the Solar, the Lunar and the ‘Savana’. The solar one is to be followed in respect of the payment of salaries; the lunar for the calculation of interest; and the ‘Savana’ for the payment of daily wages.

‘कालमानं त्रिधा ज्ञेयं चान्द्र सौरं च सावनम् ।  
भृतिदाने सदा सौरं चान्द्रं कौसीद्वद्विषु ॥  
कल्पयेत् सावनं नित्यं दिनभृत्येऽथौ सदा ॥’

## Types Of Employer

There are three types of employees : (i) those who are perfectly loyal; ii) those hankering after higher wages only; and iii) those who betray their employers even after receiving decent wages. ('त्रिविध भतकास्तदवदुत्तमो मध्यमोऽधमः')

## Grades of Employees

Three grades : the unskilled, the semi-skilled and the skilled; their wages to be determined in order of merit.

‘मन्दो मध्यस्तथा शीघ्रस्त्रिविधो भृत्य उच्यते ।

समा मध्या च श्रेष्ठा च भृतिस्तेषां क्रमात् स्मृता ॥”

## Gradiation of Wages

‘अवश्यपोष्यभरणा भृतिर्मध्या प्रकीर्तिता ।

परिपोष्या भृति श्रेष्ठा समानाच्छादनार्थिका ॥

भवेदेकस्य भरणं यथा सा होनसन्निका ।

यथा यथा तु गुणवान् भृत्यस्तदभृतिस्तथा ॥

संयोज्या तु प्रयत्नेन नृपेणात्महिताय वै ॥’

Wages are termed as “ordinary” if they are adequate to procure necessities of life; “high”, if they can provide more than enough of food and clothing; and “low”, if they be sufficient only to maintain one person on subsistence level. The wages should be linked with the skill or qualification of an employee This is in the interest of the State also

## Fair Wages

‘अवश्यपोष्यवर्गस्य भरणं भृतकादुभवेत् ।

तथा भृतिसु संयोज्या तद्योग्या भृतकाय वै ॥’

Necessaries of life are to be purchased from the amount of wages. The wages of an employee should, therefore, be so determined as to enable him to procure all the necessities.

## Wages to Jawans

The soldiers who have completed their training should be paid full wages; the cadets under going military training, half the wages.

‘सैनिकाः शिक्षिता ये ये तेषु पूर्णां स्मृता ।

व्यूहाभ्यासे नियुक्ता ये तेष्वर्धां भृतिमावहेत् ।’

During war-period the wages of soldiers should be increased by twenty-five per cent.

‘यानि सपादभृत्या तु स्वभृत्या वर्धयन् नृपः ।’

Special remuneration, reward and promotion in order of qualification, for distinguished services.

‘प्रत्यये कर्मणि कृते यो धैर्दद्याद् धनं च तान्

पारितोष्यं वाऽधिकारं व्रमतोऽहं नृपः सदा ।’

## Payment of Wages

‘न कुयदि भृतिलोपं तु तथा भृतिविलंबनम् ।’

Wages should never be forfeited, nor their payment withheld or postponed. (The payment must be made when it becomes due.

## Register of Wages

‘जात्याकृतिवयोद्देशग्रामवासान्विमृश्य च ।

कालं भृत्यवधिं देयं दत्तं भृत्यस्य लेखयेत् ॥’

Register of wages to be regularly kept. It should contain the following information about every employee—his caste, appearance, age territory, village or town, period of service, the date of writing the record, wages and wages paid.

‘कति दत्तं हि भृत्येभ्योऽवेतनं पारितोषिकम् ।

तत्प्राप्तिपत्रं गृह्णीयाद् दद्याद् वेतनपत्रकम् ॥’

The receipt of reward paid over and above regular wages should be taken from the employee and he should be given a chart of his wages.

## Categorywise Badges

Badges of different grades and categories

‘यत्कार्यं विनियुक्ता ये कार्याकैरंकये च तान् ।

लोहजै स्यामृजै रीतिभै रजतमंभैः ॥’

## Industrial Disputes

‘ये भृत्याहीनभृतिकाः शत्रवस्ते स्वयंकृताः ।

परस्य साधकास्ते तु किद्रकोशप्रजाहराः ।

वाक्पारुष्यात् न्यूनवृत्त्या स्वामी प्रवलदंडतः ।

भृत्यं प्रशिक्षयेन्नित्यं शत्रुत्वं त्वपमानतः ॥’

Low wages, harsh treatment, insults and abuses, and imposition of heavy fines or severe punishment; these are

causes of industrial unrest.

‘भूतिदानेनसतुष्टाः मानेन परिवर्धिता । :

सात्त्विता मृदुवाच ये न त्यजत्यधिपं हि ते ।’

Satisfied with adequate wages, promoted honourably, and consoled or cheered up by soft words, the employees would never desert their employer.

Industrial disputes should be settled taking into account the evidence of witnesses, documents and acquisitions.

‘दत्तादत्तेषु भृत्यानां स्वामिनां निर्णयं सति ।

साक्षिभिर्लिखितेनाथ भुक्त्या चैतात् प्रसाधयेत् ।’

An expert in any one branch of knowledge is not competent to settle any dispute. This work should therefore, be entrusted to one who is proficient in various sciences.

‘एकं शास्त्रमधीयानो न विद्यात् कार्यं निर्णयम् ।

तस्माद् बह्वगमः कार्यो विवादिषुत्तमो नृपेः ॥’

In any dispute five factors are responsible for partiality in judgment. They are : favouritism, greed, fear, rivalry and incamera proceedings.

‘पक्षपाताधिरोपस्य कारनानि च पच वै ।

रागलोभयद्वेषाः वादिनोश्च रहःश्रुतिः ॥’

### Leave Rules

‘भृत्यानां गृहकर्तार्यं दिवयाम समुत्सृजेत् ।

निगियामत्रय तित्यं दिनभृत्येऽर्धयामिकम् ॥’



तभ्यः कार्यं कारयति ह्युत्सवाद्यैर्विना नृपः  
अत्यावश्यं तूत्सवेषुपि हित्वा यादृदिनं सदा ॥'

Provision for sufficient leisure during the day and the night and for holidays with pay on all festivals, unless the nature of the job is emergent—in which case also the holidays with pay to be granted on the Shraddha day.

### Annual Leave with Pay

'सेवां विना नृपः पक्षं दद्याद् भृत्याय वत्सरे ।'

Employees should be granted fifteen days' annual leave with pay.

### Sickness Benefit

'पादहीनो भृतिं त्वार्ते दद्यात् त्रैमासिको ततः ।  
पञ्चवत्सं भृत्ये तु न्युनाधिक्यं यथा तथा ।  
षाण्मासिको तदीधर्तौ तदूर्ध्वं न च कल्पयेत् ।  
नैव पक्षार्धमात्रं स्यात् ज्ञातव्याल्पापि वै भृतिः ॥  
शश्वत्सदोषतस्यापि याज्ञः प्रतिनिधिस्ततः ।  
सुमहदगुणिनं त्वार्तं भृत्यर्धं कल्पयेत्सदा ॥'

In cases of prolonged illness, employees who have in more than five years' of service, are entitled to receive three-fourths of their wages for a period of three months; but after a period of six months, the employer is under no obligation to pay sickness benefit.

No deduction should be made from the wages if an employee is sick for one week.

An employee who is permanently ill should be replaced by his own nominee, a highly qualified employee should be paid half the wages for the entire period of his illness.

### Provident Fund in Principle

‘पष्टांश वा चतुर्थांश भृत्यस्य पालयेत् ।

दद्यात्तदर्थं भृत्याय द्वित्रिवर्षेऽखिलं तु वा ॥’

One-sixth or one fourth of the wages of an employee should be deducted and he should be paid back half or the full amount after two or three years.

### Pension And Family Allowance

‘चत्वारिंशत् रुमानीताः सेवय येन वै नृपः ।

ततः सेवां विना तस्मै भृत्यार्थं कल्पयेत् । दा ॥ यावज्जीवः.....’

An employee who has served for forty years should be paid a pension equal to half his wages, throughout his life.

‘यावज्जीवः तु तत्पुत्रेऽक्षमे बाले तदर्थं कम ।

भार्यायां वा सुशलायां कन्यायां वा स्वयं यमे ॥’

And after his death a family allowance equal to half the amount of his pension, i e., one-fourth of his original wages, should be paid to his wife or daughter, so long as his son is minor.

### Priority In Service

‘खामिकायं विनिष्टो यस्तत्पुत्रो तदभृतिं वहेत् ।

यावद् बालोऽन्यथा पुत्रगुणान् दृष्ट्वा भृतिं वहेत् ॥’

The son of an employee who dies in harness becomes automatically entitled to the wages (i. e the employment) of his deceased father; on his attaining majority, his wages should be determined according to his qualifications.

## Bonus And Efficiency Bonus

‘अष्टमांशं पारितोष्यं दद्याद् भृत्याय वत्सरे ।  
कार्याष्टमांशं वा दद्यात् कार्यं द्रागधिकं कृतम् ॥’

Every year an employee should be granted one-eighth of his earnings as पारितोष्यम् (i e. bonus ) if he does his work efficiently, he should be granted one-eighth of the piece-rate earnings, i. e., his remuneration for that work as पारितोष्यम् (efficiency bonus)

## How to Handle Employees

‘सुभोजनैस्वसनैस्तांबूलैश्च धनैरपि ।  
काञ्चित्सुकूलप्रत्येकरधिकारप्रदानतः ॥  
बाह्यनानां प्रदानेन योग्याभरणदानतः ।  
कुत्रापत्रचन्द्रोपिकानां प्रदानतः ॥  
क्षमयाप्रणिपातेन मानिनाभिगमेन च ।  
सत्कारेण च ज्ञानेन ह्यादरेण श्रमेन च ॥  
प्रेम्णा समीपवासेन स्वाधिसिनप्रदानतः ।  
संपूर्णसिनदानेन सुत्योपकारकीर्तनात् ॥’

Are these the instructions for Labour Welfare Officers ?

## General Spirit Noteworthy

It is needless to comment upon the relevant provisions of 'Shukra Neeti,' as reproduced above. Apart from the details, which are also interesting, the spirit behind them is particularly noteworthy. The same attitude is discernible throughout the treatise. For example, in the interest of the peasantry it has been enjoined that the quantum of land revenue should be so determined as not to cause annihilation of the tillers of the soil; on the contrary, it should be made to promote their interests ( 'हरिश्च कर्षकादुभागं यथा नष्टो भवेन्न सः । ... लाभधिक्यं कर्षकादेर्यथा दृष्ट्वा हरिश्च फलम् ॥' )

During the periods of distress, the peasants should be given subsidies by the State. '....व्यवहारे हता यदि । राजा समुद्ररेत्तासु तथान्यास्य कृषीवलान् ॥'

Times are changed, no doubt; but human nature has remained essentially the same. No Hindu has ever insisted that any ancient treatise must be followed today in all its minutest details. Scripturalism is incompatible with Hinduism. ( नैको मुनिर्यस्य वचः प्रमाणम् । ) Readjustment of details in view of the recent changes in the mode and the means of production would be only consistent with the Hindu way of life. But we can ill-afford to forget that notwithstanding the changes in the objective conditions, the subjective factor, i. e., the human mind, remains unaltered. The guiding principles of this Neeti are, consequently, as helpful today as they were at the time of its composition. Even in the present Bharat the different parties to industrial relations would do well to understand and assimilate the true spirit of the Shukra Niti.

# Why Bhagwat Dhwaja ?

An inquiry proceeds from various quarters as to why the Bharatiya Mazdur Sangh resolved to accept the Bhagwa as its flag. The curiosity is more than casual, since the first time in history the Bhagwa is being introduced as the symbol of the labour movement. Those who are not acquainted with its significance or message are perfectly justified in questioning the propriety of this BMS resolution.

To begin with, all sons of the soil know the Bhagwa very well as their national flag. In the materialistic West the State moulds the Society. In this land of Dharma the Society moulds the State. In India the State was never totalitarian. It was only a guardian of the Social Constitution evolved by the guides and philosophers of the Society who were least interested in seizing the state apparatus for their own individual or sectional benefit. The State was itself governed by that Constitution. Any deviation from it by the State Officials was immediately resented and spontaneously condemned by the entire society as the breach of the Raja-Dharma. Public censure was considered to be the severe punishment and the social boycott was a still more deadly weapon in the armoury of the Society. Every principality, kingdom or empire was free to select its representative flag and sym-

bol ; but no state flag could ever attain the status and sanctity of the national flag. True very often there was a tendency on the part of the rulers to adopt the Bhagawa with their distinct symbols as their State flag. But this was so because of the influence of the society over the States. Harihar and Bukka, Pratapa Rudra or Chhatrapati Shivaji, to cite a few examples were inclined to accept it as their State flag simply because it had been a recognised national symbol from times immemorial. One can never assert that the Bhagawat Dhwaja does not mean originally the flag of Lord Indra, the first head of the organised state of Bharat. Under these circumstances it was natural that citizens of different States scattered throughout the length and breadth of this country should proudly hoist their respective State flags as honourable tributaries of the Supreme Bhagawa, the flag of the nation. While the rulers were obeyed or respected within the jurisdiction of their respective kingdoms, the Bhagawa clad Sanyasi received homage from all the Bharatiyas of all the states. A Sanyasi was the citizen of the world in the real sense of the term स्वदेशो भुवन-

त्रयम् In that capacity he was an object of universal respect. It is significant that such Sanyasins should have thought it proper to choose Bhagawa as their symbolic colour. Like Sanyasins who represented the cream of the national culture the nationalism of this land was identified with internationalism or universalism. The first dawn of the human history witnessed internationalism appearing on the world stage in the form of the Hindu Nationalism because of the identification of the world civilization

with the Hindu Nationalism, — Bharat being then the only civilised nation under the sun. Thus the first page of the world history depicts Bhagawa as the symbol of world civilisation manifested through the Hindu nationalism. For BMS workers who are determined to “nationalise”, that is, to humanise the labour field and the industrial relations it was but natural to look up to this traditional flag for guidance and inspiration.

Our nation has evolved connepts, institutions and orders which are unique in many respects. While new-born nations of the West are pursuing even today the trial and error method in dealing with the social, economic or political problems, we in Bharat had the exceptional privilege of having Darshan of the fundamental principles of sound socio-economic or political order which constitute an important aspect of the Dharma. We workers are putting up today number of demands concerning basic wages, dearness allowance, bouns, increment, working hours, work-load leave facilities, social security measures, industrial housing, labour welfare schemes. These demands are certainly just and urgent. But these charters of demands aim at only a stop-gap arrangement. Permanent solution of the problem does not lie that way. Workers of world cannot rest assured unless and until there is inaugurated a socio-economic order based upon justice, equity and good conscience. Should we welcome any of the ‘isms’ suggested by the immature West for this purpose?

We cannot accept capitalism based upon the principle of ‘production for profit,’ which brings into operation

the Law of Supply and Demand leading to the regulation of production by 'prices nor' can we accept communism which, while professing to replace motive for individual profit by that for social use, concentrates in the hands of political authorities all economic power, i. e., power over all production and distribution,—the State being the only agency authorised to own the produce, to manage the various processes of production, to pay wages and allowances as a means of distribution and to regulate the price-structure under the pretext of co-relating properly the total production potentialities and the total consumption needs. Both these systems are antisocial and deserve severe condemnation, though for different reasons. 'From each according to his capacity : To each according to his need' is an apparently attractive motto, but it presumes existence of the totalitarian State governing all processes of production and distribution. Who is to exact work "from each according to his capacity?" Who is to determine the capacity of each? Who is, again, to determine the needs of every individual? Who is to provide 'each according to his need?' And if any human agency accomplishes this all-important task, will it not become the master of all those whose needs it promises to satisfy? Who is to control or regulate such an all-powerful agency? Who can prevent it from becoming Frankenstein? Is it possible, even for such an Almighty State to squeeze maximum possible work out of every human limb under constitutional compulsion, or to satisfy completely all human needs which are insatiable?

Not coercion from without, but urge for dutifulness



from within is according to Dharma, the dependable source or the guarantee of the maximum productive effort. Under Dharma—Rajya of the Bhagawat Dhawaja, every individual exerts as much as it is humanly possible because that is the way to follow the tenets of the Dharma which further enjoins that the producer should have no attachment whatsoever for the outcome of his labour, and that he should offer or dedicate everything produced at the altar of the Lord represented by the Society. Thus there is no provision for any human agency that would exact 'from each according to his capacity.' No. On the contrary each offers voluntarily to the Society the fruit of his maximum labour.

There is again no agency envisaged that would distribute 'to each according to his need.' Every individual accepts voluntarily and gratefully as 'Prasada' ( प्रसाद ) of the Lord whatever is spared for him after having fulfilled the essential needs of the Society as a whole. The motive behind all productive effort of the Bharatiyas is summed up in that fine motto 'शोकं हर्षणमस्तु' The attitude with which a Bharatiya receives anything from the Society is reflected clearly and unmistakably in the injunction "तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः । By moulding individuals into dutiful devotees with self-imposed discipline, the Dharma eliminates, on the one hand, profit-motive, competition and exploitation, and on the other, coercion and authoritarianism.

The social order based upon Dharma has been sustaining itself in our land for thousands of years in spite of the determined efforts of the foreigners to destroy it.

A few discrepancies here and there might have crept in, for we were busy in total war for more than eleven centuries. But the main structure is still intact. On the contrary, capitalistic order has not been able to stand the strain of two centuries, and the house that Lenin built before only forty years is already showing signs of decay and degeneration as is evidenced from the periodical purges, internecine warfare, internal revolts and large-scale liquidations behind the iron-curtain.

Marx mistook this stability for stagnation. He had no patience to study thoroughly the Bharatiya psychology and social systems. He arrived at conclusions even before he had ever commenced his investigations into the Bharatiya systems. Facts gathered subsequently in course of an inquiry were only to be rearranged so as to suit the generalisations already formulated. This hypothetical approach incapacitated Marx from acquiring a correct perspective of the Hindu Order. His estimate or appraisal of the Hindu ideas and institutions is vitiated by this unscientific attitude. Little wonder that he should have failed so miserably to grasp the intrinsic strength or merit of the Hindu Dharma. Does he envisage that the classless and stateless society of his dream would be an ever-changing order, that is permanent disorder? For, if his 'higher phase of communism' attains stability, it would be liable to be condemned as stagnant. It is noteworthy that the leaders of the communist regime in Russia were apprehensive of 'disorder and panic' after Stalin's death, notwithstanding thirty-six years of continuity in government. — that is more than a third of a century of the totalitarian rule

under which all opposition was completely wiped off. The Hindu Social Order which has successfully weathered many a political storm in course of all these centuries provides a refreshing contrast, Dynasties may come and dynasties may go, but the Hindu Order goes on forever. No political upheaval could shake its foundations. It depended for its stability neither upon Capital (अर्थसत्ता) nor upon the State (राज्यसत्ता) but upon the voluntary submission of the individual as well as the social mind to the dictates of Dharma (धर्मसत्ता). The distinguishing feature of capitalism is corrupt competition, of communism coercion, and of Dharma conscientiousness. Strengthening of conscientiousness is the special contribution of Dharma to the human welfare.

On this background it would be easy to understand why Hindus alone could evolve a socio-economic order which sanctified all work as the simplest form of His worship, ensured industriousness even in the absence of scarcity, induced every individual to follow the ideal of 'शतहस्त समाहार - सहस्रहस्त संकिर ।' (Atharva 3 24. 5) which means "With your hundred hands produce, with your thousand hands distribute," co-related individual aptitudes with specific social needs, brought about appropriate correspondence between the sum-total of the capacities of all the individuals and the total needs of the entire society, established compatibility between free and progressive unfoldment of human personality and strict observance of the social constitution, envisaged aptitudewise division of social responsibilities securing automatically de-

- centralisation of all social authority, and struck proper balance between individual liberty and social regulation evolving thereby democratic discipline and disciplined economic democracy,

The basic principles of this social structure are essentially international ; they are equally applicable to all the countries. Hindus cannot claim monopoly over them even as the universal working of the Law of Gravitation or of Relativity is not the monopoly of Newton or Einstein. They are the Seers but not the originators or directors of the working of these Universal Laws. Their revelations are meant for all the peoples of the world,

It is in the fitness of things that every group, whether social economic, political, cultural or otherwise, should have a flag of its own. A flag is, among other things, a mark of distinction. It distinguishes in some respect one group of individuals from the rest of the mankind. In its representative capacity, it is comprehensive in the sense that it includes all those who belong to a particular group, but exclusive in that it also indicates what all types of persons it does not seek to represent. Intellectually every such flag denotes a particular set of ideas and ideals but with equal emphasis it disowns all other ideologies. While symbolizing one faith it isolates itself from all other creeds.

Every one of these flags, is, therefore, sectional, and not international, though all of them may not be necessarily hostile to the ideal of internationalism. Such of the flags, however, as symbolize the ideologies not com-

plimentary to the non-sectarian creed of internationalism deserve to be described as 'Sectarian'. Unfortunately sectarianism is making its headway in every department of human life. On national plane, it appears in the form of national religions, such as Nazism, Fascism or Militarism. It was to be expected that outside the orbit of these national religions, such an exclusive attitude would be totally absent. Non-Semetic religions, such as Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Zarathustrism, Jainism, Buddhism, etc., justified this optimism. But fanaticism or intolerance of the three semetic religions, i. e. Christianity, Islam and Communism, has demonstrated what havoc sectarianism can play if unrestrained. Whichever religion refuses to pursue the policy of 'Live and Let Live' is decidedly inimical to the spirit of internationalism. The character of their flags is consequently sectarian, and not international.

Dharma symbolised by the Bhagawat Dhawaja is the Law of the Being. What light and heat are to the fire, the Dharma is to the Universe. It is not an ism or a religion; every ism or religion has a place of honour in the august assembly of the Dharma. Every ism is capable of serving some useful purpose, so long as it is aware of its limitations. But if it exceeds them, it is bound to decay and die out. Sectarian exclusiveness of any ism is inconsistent with the spirit of Dharma. Sectarian claims of universal character are obviously ridiculous in as much as during the same period different societies are called upon to face the different situations, even for the same society problems are different during different periods, and there is no panacea invented so

far which would cure all the maladies of all varieties. No ism is absolutely useless ; but no ism is applicable for all times and climes. Every ism is the manifestation of Dharma so long as, and to the extent to which, it promotes the human welfare. But once it outlives its utility, its survival is against the interest of the Dharma. The position of Dharma vis-a-vis different isms can be properly stated by modifying suitably those famous lines of Tennyson :

“Old ism changes yielding place to the new

And Dharma fulfils itself in many ways

Lest one good ism should corrupt the world”

Again, in any given period, Dharma is the only guarantee for proper preservation of different religions on different levels, individual, social, economic, political, national, metaphysical and spiritual. It stands for perfect freedom of religion to every social organism. When all individuals are Dharma-minded, such freedom of one organism does not collide with or encroach upon the similar freedom of the other ones. Under the influence of Dharma, an individual or a group of individuals not only tolerates but also appreciates the tenets of religions other than that of his or its own. To be sure, all religions are manifestations of the same Dharma ; they appear to be different because they are meant for different times and temperaments different circumstances and stages of civilization. Dharma embraces all isms, i. e., religions, not excluding the semitic ones, though the latter would be required to give up their sectarianism before they attain the status equal to that of the non-semitic religions.

Needless to assert that Dharma alone is international. No religion can claim for itself that unique position, though every religion is certainly unique in some specific respect. Every religion deserves respect so long as it continues to respect the Dharma. There is thus no incompatibility between Dharma and various isms. Every ism acquires respectability only by virtue of its identification with the Dharma. Flags of all the spiritual, metaphysical and material religions are respectable provided they, in turn respect the flag of the Universal Dharma. Adherents of all the religions, from Vedicism to Communism, are certainly justified in paying sincere homage to their respective religious flags ; but they would be doing disservice to their own creeds if they omit to salute simultaneously the universal flag of the Dharma.

Different units of the army carry proudly before them the colours of their respective units while marching past the State Flag. In honouring this Flag of Universalism the followers of all the isms would be enhancing the prestige of their own respective flags.

“ध्वजा करि उड़ाइवौ वैरागोर उत्तरीवसन ।

दरिद्रेर वल ।

एक धर्मराज्य होवे ए भारते ए महावचन ।

कौरिवी संवल ।”

— रवोन्द्रनाथ ठाकूर

# May Day & Labour Unity

Such of our Friends as have expressed genuine apprehension that the celebration of the Bharatiya National Labour Day, i. e. The Vishwakarma Day, by the Bharatiya Labour would hamper the growth of the unity of the world labour movement have taken it for granted that the May Day symbolises the Labour Unity. Is this presumption based upon facts ?

In the first place, it would be interesting to know how the last May Day was celebrated in the industrial city of Bombay. While leftist Trade Unions were sufficiently active on that day, the I. N. T. U. C. unions exhibited a sort of indifference towards the celebrations ( Only two I. N. T. U. C. unions participated in the function. ) In an interview to 'Hindustan Samachar', the spokesman of the I. N. T. U. C. said that his organisation did not relish the idea of recognising MAY DAY as the national Labour Day, though the central office of the I. N. T. U. C. had not so far directed the affiliated unions to refrain from the participation. The I. N. U. C. was, however, considering whether the Gandhi Jayanti Day could be proclaimed as the National Labour Day of India.

The leftist unions that did celebrate the Day did not show unity or unanimity in planning or carrying out the programmes. The A. I. T. U. C. and the H. M. S. organised



separate congregations in different parks. Thus the May Day happened to provide yet another occasion to manifest clearly the discord, disharmony and disunity in the Labour ranks of the city.

This was quite natural also, since the same day signified different things to different organisations. On this day, the H. M. S. reiterated its determination to advance towards its goal of Democratic Socialism : for the A. I. T. U. C. this was an opportunity to reinforce its faith in its ultimate ideal of the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence these two rival congregations to celebrate the same day in the same city

This need not, however, be taken as purely local affair, This is only a reflection on the local level of the disunity on the international plane.

The Labour World was in fact never united. Marx himself was a helpless spectator to the process of disintegration of the First International, on account of internal dissensions. The Second International crumbled down in the early days of the first World War, under the pressure of rising nationalism. Lenin organised subsequently the Third International. But before it could claim even theoretically, to represent the entire 'working class' of the World, the Second International ( Socialist ) was revived as its rival body. The interval between the two world wars was characterised, roughly, by a triangular fight between the International Federation of Trade Unions (reconstituted by the Second International) with its central Secretariat at Amsterdam, the Red International of Labour Unions ( sponsored by the Third International ) with its head-quarters at Moscow, and the International Federation of the Working Peoples' Associa-

tion (organised by the syndicalist groups) with its central office at Madrid. There were, again, other important International organisations, such as, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the Pan American Federation of Labour.

The ideal of the Labour Unity thus remained a distant dream. The formation of these various international organisations was at once an indication and an outcome of the prevalence of different tendencies and ideologies among the workers of the world. It further revealed that the much-dreamt-of unity would continue to be an impracticability unless and until perfect unity of purpose was established first among all the workers that are sought to be united. Would it ever be possible for the workers of all countries and continents to have unanimous opinion about, or similar attitude towards all the problems of the world? Or, alternately, would they ever be able to free their minds of all other interests, inclinations, aptitudes, affinities, or allegiances, as human beings or as components of different social organisms to which they happen to belong in natural course? Is it possible to conceive of any worker who would be nothing but an 'Economic Man' functioning only as a member of the world-labour-force who would have no personal passions, emotions or aspirations, except as a part of the labour world? Can the territories of human mind be occupied completely by the forces of the Almighty Dollar expelling therefrom all other deities in the form of finer and nobler sentiments? And, again, if, for argument's sake, we presume possibility of such a complete occupation, would it not be disastrous to mankind in general and workers

in particular, in as much as such a materialistic mind is bound to generate greed, jealousy, hatred, aggrandisement. conflict and social disintegration, the cumulative effect of which would be equally detrimental to the evolution or sustenance of the Labour Unity, if, and when, such a dream is actually materialised? Would not such psychology defeat its own purpose? But, again, to come to the 'realities, would it at any time be practicable to popularise this variety of psychological perversion? And, in its absence, would not a worker continue to be a normal human being belonging simultaneously to different social organisms and capable of, or susceptible to all human reactions the range of which is admittedly far wider than that of the purely 'labour complex'? Perfect unity of purpose seems to be the first prerequisite of the international labour unity. This presumes establishment of unity of purpose among all the various social organisms to which workers of all geographical regions religious convictions, political inclinations, national allegiances, racial affinities, cultural backgrounds and social environments, belong. This virtually implies the great ideal described so aptly by Shri Narayan Guru Swami, the famous Saint of Kerala, in six words: 'Uru Jati Uru Matam, Urk Devam' (One people, One Faith, One God), Well, number of Saints and philosophers, generals and emperors have tried in the past to achieve this goal. But none of them succeeded. It is overoptimism to expect that the May Day would succeed where all these have failed.

In the post-war era, the influence of international powerpolitics over the Labour Movement has become

more evident. On account of the strange bed-fellowsh . between the Anglosaxons and the U. S. S. R., it appeared for the time being that international unity on political plane had already been achieved on the basis of anti fascism, and that, consequently, international labour unity had become quite feasible. The World Federation of Trade Unions consisting of trade unions from both the power blocs was consequently organised immediately after the end of the war. But the political unity based upon expediency was artificial and transitory. The process of polarisation started soon and it was responsible for a split in the W. F. T. U. It resulted in the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions under the hegemony of the Anglo-saxon Bloc. These rival organisations are constantly at war, as effective instruments of their respective power blocs. This war is being waged in almost all the civilised countries, except those under totalitarian regime. Talk of international labour unity appears to be all the more ridiculous in view of the fact that even in neutral country like India workers in the same factory are often divided between two or more hostile trade unions affiliated to different world labour organisations. ( The I. N. T. U. C. and the H. M. S. are affiliated to the I. C. F. T. U., and the A. I. T. U. C. to the W. F. T. U. ) May day offers an opportunity to each of these International camps to consolidate its strength and extend its sphere of influence, to the detriment of the other. If such reintensification of cold war or trial of strength on the mutually agreed day is to be treated as

manifestation of unity, the May Day is an ideal symbol of the unity of labour.

While we in this country can easily appreciate the influence of political factionalism on the trade union movement, we had no occasion to be acquainted with the role of religion in this economic field of activity

Trade Unionists in India are not generally aware of the fact that two International Churches are trying simultaneously to monopolise the 'May Day' the significance of which is being explained by each in its own way While the interpretation given by the Russian Communist Church is widely known, that furnished by the Roman Catholic Church has not yet received adequate public attention in our land. In fact, an average citizen of our secular India is likely to be shocked to learn that the Christian Trade Union is being systematically organised on international plane, under the guidance and patronage of the only See.

The Roman Catholic Church has always been alert about the implications of the modern industrial civilisation and the consequent rise and growth of the trade union movement. In 1951 the Holy Father, Pius XII, declared in his radio broadcast to Catholics of Spain, "No one can accuse the church of having disregarded the workers and the social question or of not having given them and it their due importance."

"Few questions have occupied the Church, so much as these two from the day, when sixty years ago, our great predecessor Leo XIII, with his encyclical 'Rerum

Novarum' put into the hands of the workers the Magna Charta of their rights. The church has been and is fully conscious of her responsibility.

In this encyclical, issued in 1891, Leo XIII proclaimed the relative rights and the mutual duties of capital and labour. Forty years later came the pronouncement from his successor, Pope Pius XI—"Quadrogesimo Anno," in course of which, along with other things, he declared, "the first and immediate apostles of the workers shall be working men themselves"

In keeping with this general policy, the church officials were not slow to appreciate the importance of organising trade union movement under the auspices of the Church.

The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, formed in 1920, with headquarters at Utrecht claimed affiliation of all the trade unions in the world based upon Christian principles. To-day the Federation is having strong unions in many countries of Latin America. In Europe, it has unions affiliated from Italy, Portugal, Holland, France and Belgium-its present international headquarters being situated at Brussels. It has been trying to organise and dominate the labour movement in the French speaking areas of Africa. In Asia, Vietnam is the only country having IFCTU trade unions, and they are thinking of locating their Asian headquarters in the capital of Vietnam.

While the IFCTU has no regular trade union affiliated to it from India, there are certain Catholic workers

associations formed before the Second World War, in this country. They are interested constitutionally in the welfare work.

Apart from the IFCTU, there is the 'Young Christian Workers Movement' started in 1952 in Belgium by Mgr Joseph Cardign. It has penetrated thirtyseven countries where it functions regularly on a national scale, and is in various stages of formation in twentyfive countries. It has its International Secretariat in Brussels. In India, its branches have been established in 1953 in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Asansol.

Having entered the labour movement directly as well as indirectly, the church was naturally called upon to define its attitude towards the May Day. In the course of an address to the Catholic Association of Italian Workers on May 1, 1955, Pope Pius XII christianised 'May Day' by establishing for that day the feast of St. Joseph, the worker.

His Holiness Pope Pius XII declared : 'This day, therefore, May the first which is acclaimed by Christian workers and has received, so to speak, its christian baptism, will no longer be a stimulus for discord, hatred and violence... It is a christian feast, then which means that it is a day of rejoicing for the concrete and progressive triumph of Christian ideals among the great family of labour.

"In order that the meaning of this be most vivid in your minds we wish to announce to you our decision to institute as we in fact institute the liturgical feast of St. Joseph, the worker. We assign this feast day to the first day of May".

Explaining the significance of the above announcement,

Rev, L. Mathis, the Archbishop of Madras observed on April 20, 1956.

"May first has been for many years named the Labour Day which was instituted by lay people, and the socialists in particular were keeping that day as Labour Day.

By proclaiming the Feast of St. Joseph the worker on the 1st May, His Holiness Pope Pius XII has thus christianised the Labour Day making known the Church's love for the workers and giving St. Joseph as a model and a living example of a Christian Worker.

In the words of Pope Pius XII giving St. Joseph as a model and patron 'There never has been a worker more perfectly imbued with that spirit than he who lived with Christ in the closest intimacy, sharing with him, home and work alike . . . His foster father, St. Joseph'.

The idea of putting a special relationship between St. Joseph and the working class appears to coincide with the modern trade union movement. Leo XIII in 1889 proposed St. Joseph as a model for proletarians. Benedict XV advised the workers to follow St. Joseph as their special guide. And Pius XI explained the role of the workman of Nazareth as patron in the struggle against atheistic communism in the following words :—

"To hasten the advent of the 'peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ' so ardently desired by all, we place the vast campaign of the church against world communism under the standard of St. Joseph, her mighty protector."

Thus St. Joseph, the privileged worker of Nazareth, is the spearhead of the 'vast campaign of the church against world communism'. In assigning his feast day to the first



day of May, Pius XII has managed to mobilise his forces of christian workers on the same field which was being monopolised so far by the leftists in general and the communists in particular.

While every church is certainly at liberty to formulate its own theories and adopt its peculiar conventions, it would be interesting as well as instructive to note that the celebration of the same Labour Day is being utilised by each of the two hostile churches to strengthen its own position and to weaken that of its rival. Both rally their labour forces on the same day, each determined to wipe the other out of existence. Diametrically opposite are the ideals that inspire them and the goals they aspire to achieve. On this day, the Christian Trade Unionism pledges itself to the religious task of destroying the Communist Trade Unionism, and the latter reaffirms religiously its vow to annihilate the former. Those in India who consider the May Day as a symbol of the International Labour Unity do not seem to have realised this basic fact.

Congregations of the warring Labour organisations on the same day, like the arraying of the hostile forces on the same battlefield, do not indicate unity or accord. Unity of people without corresponding unity of purpose is inconceivable. In fact the May Day symbolises the Disunity of Labour on the global plane.

## **Vishwakarma Jayanti**

# **Ideal Indian National Labour Day**

The dignity of labour has always been recognised in Bharat, Though there was no separate class or caste known as 'labour', it was expected of every individual that he or she would perform the allotted duty with complete devotion for the whole of life. Our ideal was—"Let us perform our duties and live for a hundred years" (Isha<sup>va</sup>as-yopani<sup>shad</sup>). Hence every individual was a labourer, and a Labour Day was also observed as a symbol of the dignity of labour. This day was known as Vishwakarma Day.

## **Jamshedpur Observes It**

We have been observing this day for thousands of years. Even in modern times lakhs of workers and labourers take a holiday on this day, worship their God of production and celebrate the occasion as a festival. There is not a single province in Bharat where workers do not consider this day a holiday. Of course it is inevitable that in accordance with the regional difference in the national calendar this day was observed at different places on different dates. Yet the festival had a national character. With this significance in view the workers of the Tata industries in Jamshedpur are awarded a paid holiday on the occasion of Vishwakarma Jayanti. There are also Vishwakarma Societies in a number of places. Even in modern times this day alone is the truly national Labour Day of Bharat.

But while our workers are unfailingly observing this tradition, surprisingly enough our westernised trade union leaders have not been able to grasp its significance as yet. They feel proud in turning their backs on this traditional festival and celebrating May Day. As if there were no labourers in this country in ancient times and our people have learnt to labour only since the last 72 years ! Or as if our nation has been born only the other day and having no national festivals and national traditions of its own, will have to borrow all these from western lands

### May Day Means Class Struggle

May Day is the symbol of class struggle and national disintegration. The origin of the feeling in a section of the society that they were the masters and all the rest their slaves, the resultant exploitation of other's labour for personal profit, leading in turn to a feeling of hatred and vengeance in the exploited, and the consequent destruction of national unity in the struggle of these two classes—these have been the characteristics of postindustrial revolution western society.

The whole wealth of the world belongs to the Almighty. Every man and woman should work to increase it and should accept as a gift only that portion which has been allotted to him. The Bharatiya social structure and mental make-up consider society is an organic whole and men and woman in it are but its limbs. In this structure all have the right to work. And there is no scope for exploitation of one by another. The idea of personal profit is absent. The indivi-

dual has merged in the society. And hence the evils of the individualistic western society are completely absent here. There is no exploitation here, no exploiter, no exploited, no class and no class struggle. There is only one class that of the children of Bharat Mata.

### **People's Sector : Bharat's Speciality**

Our rural barber, washerman or blacksmith, whose servant is he? Who is master? No one individual can become his master. He is not the servant of any particular person. He is a part of the society, and hence a volunteer. In today's labour terminology he is his own master and his own servant. Those westernised leaders whose thoughts move in the vicious circle of "private sector" and "public sector" and who have made a play-thing of the dignity of labour in both, cannot so much as conceive a third sector where the employer employee relation is totally absent and which, for want of a better term, we have to call the People's Sector. This is the special characteristic of the Bharatiya social structure. Vishwakarma Day is the symbol of this characteristic.

It is a matter for surprise and regret that the Bharatiyas who established a classless society should observe May Day, the symbol of class struggle. This is turning the wheel of progress backwards. It is a challenge to national self-respect and national unity.

Our national self-respect cannot tolerate this. So the one and only national labour organisation of Bharat has given call to all Bharatiyas to observe the National Labour Day of Bharat with all enthusiasm.

Vishwakarma, also known as Twashta, was the architect of the gods and a Prajapati in the Swayambhuva Manvantara. Creation of various objects by the skill of his hands was his right and duty. He was a scholar of the science of genetics. It was Vishwakarma who created the beautiful Tilottama to destroy Sunda and Upasunda. He made the chariot for Lord Shiva to be used for the destruction of Tripurasura. Making aeroplanes for the gods was his job. He also built the cities of the gods. He built Lanka for Indra, Dwaraka and Vrindavan for Sri Krishna and Indraprastha for Dharmaraja Yudhishtira. It was he who wrote the first authoritative treatise on engineering. He was the creator of the armoury of the gods. It was he who fashioned the fatal thunderbolt from the bones of sage Dadhichi. His daughter Sanjaya was the wife of Vivaswan. Because his brilliance was unbearable for her, Vishwakarma decreased the excess brilliance by the use of the potter's wheel and made out of that excess the Sudarshana for Lord Vishnu, the Trisul for Lord Shiva and the Vajra for Indra. He was the designer of the sacrificial altar. He was the first barber in the world—having cut the hair of Lord Brahma at the time of a sacrifice. Vishwakarma is the original creator of all arts, handicrafts and industries. He is the origin of all labouring and industrious classes such as blacksmiths, goldsmiths, potters, tailors, engravers, farmers, barbers, etc. Because he was the starting point of all industry the Rigveda has symbolically called him the builder of the earth as well as of Heaven. ( Rig. 10. 81. 4 ). If we realise the unique position of Vishwakarma

in the industrial progress of Bharat and that of Bharat as the first ever cultured nation in the world, we come to the conclusion that Vishwakarma is the originator of industrial progress and productive labour in the whole world.

The intense nationalism of Vishwakarma is a special model for our labour today. While on the one hand we talk of national reconstruction, on the other, labour, that is to achieve that goal is being filled with thoughts of self aggrandisement. As a matter of fact, renunciation of wealth is considered to be the renunciation of the lowest type. But we are not prepared even for such renunciation in the interests of the nation. Under such circumstances the example of Vishwakarma, who made the highest sacrifice by sacrificing his dearest feelings, can be a guiding star for all of us.

### **He Held The Country Above His Great Son**

Vishwakarma was married to Rachana, the daughter of Prahlad, who was also known as Prahladi, Virochana or Vairochani Yashodhara. Of course, she was, an asura by birth. Their son, Trishiras Vishwaroop, was a great scholar. He was so learned that when Brihaspati left Indra because of an insult, the gods appointed Trishiras their guru even though he was the son of an enemy's daughter. But because of his growing popularity and also because of a suspicion that he had leanings towards both the sides, Indra killed him.

The murder of his son infuriated Vishwakarma and he launched upon a relentless penance to obtain an Indra-

Shatru son i e , a son who would destroy Indra. But after a while he regained his composure and began to reflect upon the possible consequences of his undertaking. He realised that if he destroyed Indra. the leader of the nation through personal hatred, he would weaken and harm the nation. This the patriotic Vishwakarma did not desire. But what could be done ? He had pledged himself to his penance and could not break the pledge so he continued the penance, but instead of emphasising 'shatru' in 'Indra-Shatru' he began to emphasise 'Indra' which meant 'a son who would be killed by Indra.'

His penance resulted in the birth of Vritra who was a great warrior and a terror for the gods. For sometime he worked as the general of Hiraṇyaksha the enemy of the gods. His increasing menace made many gods wish that he should be destroyed. But none had the courage to fight him. Even Indra himself did not hope for victory in such an encounter. At this juncture somebody suggested that if Indra used as his weapon a thunder-bolt made out of the bones of some great sage, he could win. At this suggestion the great sage Dadhichi came forward to offer his bones at this time of national emergency. But who would make a strong thunder bolt out of the bones ? It was a difficult task and the least flaw in the bolt would mean the defeat in battle, That would mean the destruction not only of Indra but of the whole nation. The task required a skilled technician and who was better suited to the job than Vishwakarma ? But he was the father of Vritrasura ! Would he give sincere co operation in destroying his own son for the sake of the nation ?

It was a difficult choice, love for his off-spring on the one hand and love for the nation on the other. But the gods had confidence that the patriotism of Vishwakarma would rise above everything. They requested him to manufacture the vajra and Vishwakarma agreed in the interest of the people. He manufactured a thunder-bolt out of Dadhichi's bones and Indra used it in battle with Vritra in which Vritra was at last killed. This sacrifice of Vishwakarma is without parallel. In the circumstances of today it is an inspiring example for all Bharatiyas in general, and labour in particular.

### **The Image And The Day**

The idols of Vishwakarma can be seen at many places. Some of them are with one face and some with five. In his hands are various weapons and tools of production. He rides a swan.

There are two opinions about the exact date of the Vishwakarma Day. In some parts of the country it falls on Magha Shuddha Trayodashi. In others, especially in the eastern parts, it falls on Bhadrapada Shuddha Panchami. The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has adopted the latter date. But the final decision in this matter can be arrived at only after research. Till then it has been decided to observe this day on Bhadrapad Shuddha Panchami. Jamshedpur also observes this day.

### **An Appeal**

Our national duty today is so popularise this National Labour Day. Last year the affiliated unions of the



B. M. S. celebrated this day. But it is necessary to celebrate it on a wider scale throughout the country. In a way it is a difficult task. For the tradition of May Day seems to be taking roots in our labour field. And our labour leaders do not even know the importance of Vishwakarma Day. But in a way it is also not very difficult. For even today our small artists and artisans observe this day in their workshops and homes. Our task is to organise this individual, religious practice on a national basis. Those who launch such a drive will find that a background is already there for them.

The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh calls upon all patriots to take up this task. Societies functioning in the name of Vishwakarma must come forward. We have confidence that the various nationalist unions, affiliated to whatever all India labour organisation they may be, will gradually but definitely accept this day. But first we have to create the atmosphere necessary for such a step.

Those taking a lead in this direction will be remembered in the future as the fulfillers of a great national need.



## B. M. S. Symbol

On 23rd July the Bhopal Conference of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh resolved that the B. M. S. Flag would be Bhagwa rec-tangular (  $2'' \times 3''$  ), and that the symbol should be determined subsequently after nature deliberations. Accordingly, suggestions regarding the B. M. S. symbol poured in the B. M. S. C. H. Q. from different provinces. Naturally enough, in the initial stages there was a tendency to select for this purpose some tool or instrument implying industrialization. That, again, was just inkeeping with the order of the day. But gradually more fundamental and basic form began to dawn upon the minds of the B. M. S. workers. Hammer and sickle, wheel and plough-they are good in their own way. But how is it, the workers began to question themselves, that of all the species inhabiting this globe Man alone has been able to evolve such tools; machines and other material instruments of civilization? On physical plane what distinguishes man from the rest of the living beings? Their investigation led them to the unique physical feature of man, i. e., an opposable thumb. Man could achieve agricultural and industrial progress because he alone had developed an opposable thumb. But for such a thumb, material progress would have been an impossibility. In absence of the opposition of the thumb the hammer, the

sickle, the wheel or the plough could not have come into existence at all, Human thumb is the first and the basic physical cause of all material and scientific advance of mankind. Consensus of opinion now is, therefore, in favour of selecting an opposable human thumb as the B. M. S. symbol. The reasons for such a choice are aptly illucidated in the following passages from "*How Man Conquered Nature.*" by Minnie J. Reynolds :

*"The first step in Man's progress and in his Conquest of Nature was made possible by what is called the "opposition of the thumb". If Man's fingers were arranged side by side, and worked in a parellel direction, he could not grasp objects with his hand and hold them firmly enough to be able to work with them, as he now does. In that case it is doubtful whether he could have survived in his present form. Without his thumb he could not have used tools as he does. But, with his thumb set opposite his fingers, he has been able to protect himself, with weapon, to shelter, to clothe and to feed himself and to use implements of his own manufacture to build and dig with.*

"Man is, it is true, not the only animal that possesses a thumb. All animals have some sort of a thumb, however rudimentary, and apes and monkeys have a thumb opposite their fiingers. Like Man they can handle objects. They can pick fruit from the branches of trees and shower them on other animals below them. Tined monkeys can be taught to do things that seem almost human : they can use a knife and a fork to eat with, and a cup to drink out of, drees and undress themselves, and do many other things in a humanlike way. That they can do so is due to

the fact that they, like Man, have a real hand, and thumb in opposition to the fingers. Their thumb is, however, so short and so undeveloped that their powers of grasping and holding are, compared to those of Man, insignificant. The thumb of the most animals are of no more use than the "prehensile" toes that many Asiatics possess. They can use their big toes pick up light objects but they cannot grasp them really firmly, because there is no opposition between the big toe and the other toes.

"The first step in the conquest of Nature by Man was probably made when he picked up a stick or a stone and used it to kill other animals. Man does not possess the strong teeth or claws of the lion or tiger, nor has he the speed of the hare or the deer to escape from his more powerful enemies. He cannot leave like the panther, nor can he strike poison like the snake, among many enemies more powerful than himself. Primitive Man was weak and helpless. To protect himself he required a weapon; and the greatest difference between Man and the other animals is that Man is a tool—Making animal .....  
Man's first forward step was the invention of an efficient weapon; and his subsequent development, from the earliest times down to the present day, is marked by the development of his weapons. Indeed, Science divides the History of Man into various eras, according to the material used by him for his tools and weapons in each of them"

# Comprehensive Approach

At Bombay and other places the nation has incurred losses to the tune of tens of crores of Rupees and thousands of employees are out of job for months together. Many have lost their lives at the hands of their own brethren from different unions.

## Why Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh ?

In July, 1955, we were asked, "Why Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh ?" The events since then have replied this question more convincingly than all our arguments. The rising tide of violence and terrorism during recent months has silenced our critics. INTUC has proved itself too feeble and corrupt to be able to meet this challenge. The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh represents the only effective nationalist force in the labour field of the country.

## Correct Attitude

What should be the attitude of the workers towards the industry and the Nation ? This leads us to yet another fundamental question : What should be the goal of our social and economic order ? Ram Rajya ? Welfare State ? Co-operative Common-wealth ? Socialistic pattern of

society ? Well, pharseology apart, the goal of Bharatiya social order has always been the same, i. e. the complete good of the entire society. We do not recognise existence of classes. We are aware of the fact that there are various gradations of income and we are determined to do away with the criminal disparity in this respect. But it would be wrong to presume that our nation is divided into two hostile camps of the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. Who is the 'have' ? Or, is it a conflict between the employers on the one hand and the employees on the other ? Who is an employer ? I am an employee in relation to the proprietor of my industrial unit, but an employer in relation to my domestic servant. The idea of two camps is a brilliant myth. The whole nation is one unit. All the nationals are only so many limbs of the same body. Their interests cannot, therefore, be mutually conflicting. Naturally and necessarily they are complimentary. Whosoever fails to realise this fact betrays lack of patriotism. Patriotic workers are aware of their responsibilities as well as rights. Consequently, they are disciplined and dutiful. The motto of patriotic employers is, 'Service before self'. National prosperity, and not the individual profiteering is their goal. Patriotic consumers are always alert about the industrial peace and welfare. They are ever prepared to exert their influence for the solution of the industrial deadlock in the national interest. The patriotic government is invariably just and fair in its duty of regulating industrial relations. Nationalism and the artificially developed class-consciousness go ill together. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is the nationalist labour organisation. We have to work under the present set up and work out the existing

institutions so long as we have not been successful in rebuilding the Bharatiya pattern of social structure with all its institutions characteristically Bharatiya.

## **Comprehensive Approach**

Right from its inception, the Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh has been constantly alert about all the problems arising in the industrial field. It has been expressing its views regarding them in unmistakable terms. Its approach has been constructive. Regarding the much complained of lacuna in the labour legislation, research is being conducted by the Madras unit of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh under the able guidance of Advocate Sampat Kumar, and its findings and constructive recommendations will be available to the general public within a couple of months. It is further convinced that in order to be effective, the approach to the industrial problems must be comprehensive also. On practical plan the B. M. S. feels that the welfare of the workers cannot be secured unless and until the following measures are adopted

Developments of psychological environment conducive to the replacement of profit-motive by service-motive, and to the proper correspondence between rights and responsibilities ;

Inclusion of the Right to Work in the Fundamental Rights under the Constitution ;

Revision of the Plan, with greater emphasis on smaller projects yielding earlier results ;

Revision of the taxation structure in favour of the poorer, ensuring justice and equity in the incidence of the taxation ;

Regulation of price-structure ; provision for co-operative distribution of consumer goods ; and supply of grain, cloth and other essential commodities to workers at cheaper rates ;

Acceptance of the self sufficiency on food front as the pre-requisite of all prosperity, and formulation of the Peasants' Plan, based upon their own initiative and intelligence to attain that goal ;

Adequate protection and encouragement to the cottage and the small scale industries, with a view to provide employment to the greatest number ;

Legal protection to, and fixation of minimum wages for workers in the small scale and sweated industries ;

Distribution of the cultivable waste lands among the landless labourers and the re-distribution of land already under the plough with the floor and ceiling of five and thirty acres respectively of the well-irrigated land or the land yielding equivalent produce ;

Reduction in the quantum of land-revenue ;

Fixation of the National Minimum at Rs. 200/- , and that of the ceiling on the expendible monthly income at Rs. 3000/—, with the express understanding that the former would be raised as early as possible to Rs. 300/—, and establishing the ratio of 1 : 10 between the floor and the ceiling of the monthly income ;



Merger of the dearness allowance with basic wages, and linking it with the price-level so as to full neutralise the increased cost of living ;

Evolution of the National Bonus Formula, treating bonus as 'deferred wage' so long as there is a gap between the living wage and the actual wage, and as 'profit-sharing after such a gap is made up ; payment of bonus to workers in the public sector also ;

Constituion of a permanent National Wage Council to go through the entire problem of wages, to make appropriate recommendations from time to time ragarding the region wise and industry-wise wage structures in view of the cost of living indices, and to evolve gradually and maintain a national standardised wage system ;

Progressive Indianisation of foreign concerns, and checkmating the anti-national activities of foreign monopolies ;

Ban on the labour-saving devices under the pretext of so called 'rationalization,' and adoption of the golden rule : 'No retrenchment without alternate employment' ;

Determination of the work-load in consultation with the labour representatives, and facilities to them to inspect and ensure proper implementation of such decisions ;

Provision for weekly off with pay to daily-rated workers ;

Provision for festival holidays with pay ;

Revision of the rate of maternity benefit in keeping with the present cost of living ;

Revision of the Government Services Conduct Rules ;

Highest possible security from industrial diseases and accidents, authority to trade unions to inspect and ensure observance of the amended safety-rules under the Mining Regulations ;

Evolution of an integrated scheme of social security (including that of pension, gratuity, unemployment dole, etc.,) ; extension of the benefits of the Provident Fund Scheme to commercial establishments ;

Formation of the workers' co-operative housing societies in all industrial areas, and adequate subsidies by the Government directly to such societies ;

Reorientation of the procedure and machinery of conciliation and adjudication so as to expedite and economise these proceedings, lest delay should be allowed to defeat equity ;

Introduction of the principle of Co-partnership of workers, enabling them to participate in the management and share the profits of their industrial units as equal partners ;

*Ipso facto* recognition of all registered trade unions, granting every worker a right to get himself represented in all proceedings through a trade union of his choice by ballot.

Implementation of the decisions of the Nainital Conference, particularly of those relating to the Provident Fund, the Code of Discipline and Conduct, the programmes pertaining to workers' participation in management and their education, "a constructive approach to avoid closures in future", and the constitution of an Industrial Relief

Fund to provide working capital to Workers' Co-operatives to run their units in contingencies of closures

## **B. M. S. And trade Union Unity**

Let us be realistic. Wishful thinking is a poor substitute for stern realism. Everybody in our country is paying lip-sympathy to the principle of 'One Industry—One Union'. But all of them do not seem to be quite as sincere or enthusiastic about its implimentation as Shri V. V. Giri would like them to be. The B. M. S. welcomes this principle, but feels that it cannot be materialised so long as the political interests continue to dominate the sphere of trade unionism. Trade unions should be perfectly non-political ; no party should be allowed to exploit them for the furtherence of its own political game. Unfortunately, today the facts are otherwise. Again it would be a pity if we ask our patriotic workers to accomodate in their unions antinational labour leaders with extra-territorial allegiance. Should we allow the traitors to enlist the support of our workers in their efforts to build up in India the fifth column of some foreign power block ? Under the circumstances, notwithstanding the recently acquired respectability of these elements, unity of all the nationalistic trade unions seems to be the only practical alternative.

## **Appeal To Patriots**

We wish to warn the Government as well as the people that the advance of the C. P. I. in any direction constitutes

a direct threat to the liberty and the sovereignty of Bharat. No use mincing matters. Let us call a spade a spade. We appeal, there-fore, to all patriots in the labour field to combine without delay into United Front of Nationalist Trade Unions to annihilate constitutionally the Indian arm of the Russian and Chinese Imperialism. We are sure that in the near future, communism will crumble down under its own weight and our Holy Mother will emerge triumphant.

