LAW OF COLLECTIVITY

(SAMASTHI – DHARMA)

By

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M.P.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

That I am extremely thankful to National Organisation of Bank Workers' for undertaking this work of publcation of "Law of Collectivity" (Samasthi Dharma) for publishing there articles in the booklet form.

That these efforts will be amply rewarded if they succeed in provoking new thoughts in readers' minds about the subject under discussion.

D. B. Thengadi

New Delhi.
20th December, 1972

" The vital nature of man hungers always for the fruit of its labour and, if the fruit appears to be denied or long delayed, he loses faith in the ideal and in the guidance "

Sri Aurobindo

Law of Collectivity (Samasthi-Dharma) is a vast subject that deserves our attention.

The B. M. S. is an attempt to evolve in the field of Industrial Relations a part of this law at collectivity.

The following articles of Shri D. B. Thengadi, the founder of B. M. S. enunciate an important aspect of this Samasthi-Dharma.

To understand, spread and follow these enunciations is a right form of activity for Nation-building.

Publishers.

CONTENTS

		Pages
1.	National Economy	1
2.	Labour Violence	16
3.	The Right and Duty to Live Well.	21

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NATIONAL ECONOMY

No economic issues can be considered in isolation. The B. M. S. view of national economy is presented in the resolution passed by its working Committee at Bombay on 24th May, 1972 :

"It is extremely unfortunate that today, when the country is about to celebrate silver jubilee of its Independence, our economic scene should present a picture of growing unemployment, sub-subsistence level of the vast masses of employed workers, shortage of the necessities of life, ever-rising prices and ever-growing concentration of wealth and economic power in a few hands. It is the considered view of this committee that our faulty and lopsided planning is mainly responsible for this state of affairs.

The B. M. S. welcomes the recent trend of rethinking in official quarters regarding plan priorities. While production must be accorded the importance it rightly deserves. the problem of income-distribution cannot be considered in isolation-independent of the problem of production. Patterns of production have in them an inbuilt mechanism that automatically resists introduction of the patterns of income-distribution inconsistent with the former. With greater stress on industries which have a high capital and foreign exchange content, it is impossible to discourage the manufacture of luxury goods, encourage the production of necessities of life. give employment to greater numbers, and increase their purchasing power. Planned growth of industries having a high labour content and a low capital and foreign exchange content would redistribute incomes in favour of the poor, increase their standard of living and alter patterns of consumption, of consumer expenditure, The B. M. S. notes with satisfaction that recently the Prime Minister has realised that the objective of growth in Gross National Product is not exactly identical with that of the eradication of poverty.

With this end in view this committee demands immediate constitution of a 'Committee on Technology, Location and Size of Industries', with a view to ensure dispersal of large scale industries, evolution of Bharatiya technology, decentralisation of the processes of production, organization of the agro-based, forest based and small scale industries, revitalisation of the self-employed sector through new and adaptable techniques of production and elimination of the evils of over-urbanisation,

The Committee further demands appointment of a National Commission on the Patterns of Industrial Ownership so as to secure widest possible decentralisation of economic authority and progressive labourisation through all the patterns.

The B. M. S. urges for recognition of the 'Right to Work' as a 'Fundamental Right; ban on automation and restrictions on rationalisation; implementation of massive rural works and rural housing programmes; immediate redistribution of all surplus and cultivable waste-lands among landless labourers; extension of the protection of Minimum Wages Act to agricultural workers as well as to all other unorganised and unprotected section of our working population; introduction of new debt relief legislation; organisation of financial consultation service by nationalised banking industry in the rural as well as the urban areas with a view to render credit-worthiness to uncreditworthy artisans, peasants, etc., through the phased programmes of breeder finance; introduction of needs based minimum wage and bonus in all industries and services; evolution of integrated social security and welfare schemes; formulation of a massive, phased programme of industrial housing, imposition of a ceiling on all incomes, abolition of all monopolies, ban on all vulgar, ostentations wasteful expenditure, introduction of consupmption tax, rationalisation of the entire tax-structure, drastic reduction in deficit financing and destruction of the parallel economy of black money through stern administrative measures.

The B. M. S. forewarns the Government that workers would not tolerate of take lying low any attempt to impose wage-freeze on them on the excuse of the recent fall in foreign aid. Instead, concerted efforts should be made to raise the domestic rate of savings, boost up imports substitution programme and exports promotion and encourage the spirit of 'Swadeshi', simplicity and austerity. Fullest utilisaton of our present industrial capacity must be ensured. All foreign banks should be nationalised, restrictive clause in all foreign collaboration agreements rejected, all foreign concerns taken over and democratised by making their share capital available to low income group people only. Moratorium should be declared on all foreign debt payments.

The B. M. S. has already suggested the ways and means of bringing the national planning from the air-conditioned rooms of New Delhi to the earth of people's participation in it.

In order to enable the people to participate in the formulation and implementation of the national plan, the Committee urges upon.the Government of India to convene immediately a round table conference of all economic interest groups and to evolve. on the bas is of its consensus, the national policies on employment, prices, productivity and incomes for the next five years. The B. M. S. assures the

Government of its unreserved support in the implementation of such a 'People's Plan."

SENSE OF DUTY

While dealing with the problem of economic rejuvenation, it must be borne in mind that though the issues involved are economic in character, the basis for their solution lies outside the legitimate jurisdiction of economics. No progress in any field of national activity is possible unless and until there is qualitative improvement in the character and psychology of a common man. The crisis of today is basically a moral crisis. Every institution is as good as the men who work it. Even in the present state of all-out corruption and degeneration it is refreshing to note that "the desire to be moral is inherent in man, and it is so because this desire results from man's innate rationality". The foremost task before the country today is to mould man properly, to create 'men' with capital 'M'. This task is certainly beyond the jurisdiction of Economics, but the success of Economics depends upon its proper fulfilment.

As a patriotic labour organisation the B. M. S. lays equal stress upon duties as well as rights. It is the first Central Organisation which presented the "National Charter of Demands of Indian Labour" in the form of "An Order of Duties and Disciplines." The fact is that whatever is a 'demand' of one section of our population constitutes a 'duty' or 'discipline' for some other corresponding section or organ of the society. The B. M. S. has, therefore, laid down the Duties and Disciplines for all interest groups connected with the industrial field. This shift in the approach is a must.

The B. M. S. has also enunciated its industrial policy from time to time. A brief re-statement of some of its more important aspects is necessary at this stage.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In organisation of industries, finance occupies the most strategic position.

The need for specialised financial institutions to meet the rapidly increasing needs of the expanding industrial sector for medium and long-term finance by channelising loanable funds into industrial investment has been already appreciated and such institutions are being organised on national level since 1948, when the Industrial Finance Corporation of India was set up for providing medium and long-term credit to industry. This was followed by establishment of IDBI. ICICE, LIC, UTC. NSIC, ECGC, JRCI, and 18 State Financial corporations. (The new and expanding role of the Banking Industry in this regard we do not intend to undermine.) Apart from financing the industry, these bodies are entrusted with various other functions also, such as, undertaking research and surveys for evaluating or dealing with marketing or investments, undertaking and carrying on techno-economic studies in connection with the development of industries, providing technical and administrative assistance to industry or any person for promotion, management and expansion of Industry; conducting surveys of industrial possibilities and search for promising entrepreneurs, setting up Technical Consultancy Service Centres at different places, rehabilitating the 'sick' and closed units in the country, encouraging, facilitating and developing the export trade, supplying imported machines etc, to small scale industries on Hire-purchase basis, arranging subscription to share capital of industrial companies, loans on mortgage of property, and underwriting of new issues, and mobilising the savings of both small and large investors with a view to channelling them into industrial fields by subscribing to the shares and debentures of industrial enterprises and also by underwriting such issues.

While these big corporations have their own role to play, we believe that it is advisable to set up smaller, industrywise or region-cum-industrywise financial institutions to serve different industries or projects on national or regional level. Small investors interested in the growth of particular industries would invest their small savings in institutions meant for those particular indurstries. They would be guaranteed a fair minimum rate of interest. The institution would lend money and even technical and other assistance to the concerned industry and generally supervise its functioning with a view to safeguard its own interests. But while it will have a right to supervise and partially regulate the conduct of the industry, it will not have the right of ownership as such.

These small industrywise financial institutions would be helpful in mobilising small savings often with the help of those who are running the industries concerned. If the owners of a particular industry earn a goodwill so as to command confidence of small savers in their ability and performance, they would be in a position to persuade the latter to invest their small savings in the financial institution set up for their industry. If citizens of any region are interested in any particular regional projects, they will not hesitate to contribute their small savings to the regional financial institution set up for the project. The character of these institutions would be different from that of the big Finance Corporations. In the first place, they would be smaller in size-eliminating the possibility of their growth tnto big, monopolistic monsters. Secondly, they would confine their activities to their own specific industries which can help the process of psychological association and identification of small investors with the concerned industry. The consciousness which would be roused in investors' mind in this case would be qualitatively different from that roused in their mind if they were to deal similarly with big financial corporations. These institutions should be aided by big corporations without tightening their stranglehold on either the institutions themselves or the smaller investors.

What should be the mutual relationship between different financial institutions thus organised ? Are they to function separately, each in its own right ? Are they to be federated at the Srate or the national level ? What should be their relationship with the Finance Corporations and the Government? All these points will have to be worked out with the help of the experts. Once this arrangement is accepted in principal details can be worked out. In fact, this would be an attempt to raise a new, institutionalitised Vaishya class with appropriate restraints and responsibilities. The financial institution would be big enough to mobilise and channalise small savings and assist industries, but not so big as to raise a new type of institutional monopolism.

INVESTMENT

It is necessary, according to us, to bifurcate, for future, the process of investment from the right of ownership. Through appropriate, industrywise financial institutions thus set up, the low-income group persons should be encouraged to save and invest, with the guarantee of a minimum rate of interest on their investments but without automatic right to ownership in the industry to which the institution lends their money. It should be realised that the way to capital formation is not necessarily the way to capitalism, that marked increase in the number of small investors can substantially counter balance the losses consequent to elimination of monopolies. that guarantee of fair interest is an adequate incentive for small, patriotic investors, and that ownership of workers under the general supervision of a financial institution is a practical proposition,

OWNERSHIP

About the patterns of industrial ownership our stand has always been pragmatic. The B. M. S. has pleaded for setting up a National Commission on the Patterns of Industrial Ownership, to determine criteria for adoption of different patterns for different industries. Every industry has its own peculiar characteristics in the light of which its pattern of ownership must be determined. Apart from private enterprise and nationalisation, there are various other patterns such as co-operativisation, municipalisation, labourisation, self employment, joint sector and democratisation under which share capital is thrown open to low income group persons only. Even under nationalisation, there are various patterns of ownership and management.

Different patterns would be suitable for different industries, through all of them the process of labourisation of industry must be expedited in varying degrees. Thus there is no dogmatism about our approach to this problem. Nevertheless, we feel that, in future, priority should be given to the concept of workers' ownership of their industry. They should themselves have a right to ownership and management of their industry through their duly elected representatives and with the active assistance of technologists and experts in the science of management.

We believe that the Onward March of the Labour is along the following lines :

From :
The Master — Servant Relationship
Through
A Better Deal
Joint Consultation
Joint Management

Auto Management
Participation in Ownership

To

Workers' Ownership

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES

While we are pragmatic on the problem of the patterns of industrial ownership, we must record here our strong resentment against the continuance of the system of the Public Limited Companies or the Private Limited Companies. We feel that in future these categories of 'employer' must be dispensed with. While it is a fact that the economy needs a vigorous search for the not-yet-discovered entrepreneurial talents, it is equally true that continuance of the status of entrepreneurs in a set detrimental to the health of national economy, sleeping partners of the Limited Companies enjoy the status and privilages of 'entrepreneurs' without functioning actively as real 'entrepreneurs'! This has given rise to a number of malpractices too well known to require enumeration here. Mere higher incidence of taxation on these companies cannot cure our economy of maladies caused by this system. The status of entrepreneurship should be allowed to continue only where entrepreneurship has a real and effective role to play. Then entrepreneurial skills remaining unemployed due to abolition of these categories of 'employer' can be absorbed and utilised profitably in other prevailing categories,

PRINCIPLE OF CO-PARTNERSHIP

Whatever be the category of employer, i. e. Banking Company, Public or Private Limited Company, Statutory Autonomous Corporation, Hindu Undivided Family, Individual Proprietor, Partnership Firm, or Co-operative Society, the essence of the principle of partnership must be accorded the importance it rightly deserves. Whatever be the legal status of workers under any category of employer, it is absolutely essential that they should be accorded the moral status of 'partners', if industry and economy are to thrive. Even when workers are not legally raised to the status of 'co-partners' or 'co-owners', the employers must treat them morally as persons who have entered into partnership with them for the joint conduct of the industry in which they hold a joint or common interest, They have to run the industry jointly to the greatest common advantage, rendering true accounts and full information of all things affecting the industry to all concerned.

SURPLUS VALUE OF LABOUR

However, we stress that under all categories of employer and in the various patterns of industrial ownership, the labour of workers must be evaluated in terms of shares and workers raised to the status of share-holders contributing labour as their share. The surplus value of labour is managed and deployed by employers (accountable to themselves) under capitalistic order, by State (accountable to Party) under communistic order, and by workers (accountable to the Nation) under Bharatiya order.

MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES

For successful participation in planned growth of economy, the managerial and technical cardres will have to be trained properly. It has been suggested that there should be enacted a ' National Management Development Act ' on the lines of the ' National Apprenticeship Act ' 1960, to ensure adequate and proper supply of the supporting staff like welders, fitters, mechanists, other technicians, nurses, compounders, etc. and that every big undertaking should be placed under statutory obligation to train a certain number of managers every year, the present sources of drawing managerial talents, such as universities, the Institutes of Management, etc., being small in number and more theoretical than practical in character. The selection should be through aptitude tests and common standards should be prescribed for all such training centres. The Bureau of Public Enterprises should co-ordinate the deployment problems in different undertakings. For public undertakings a new class or profession of public administrators should be raised,

But the problem needs a more basic thinking. It is a matter of some satisfaction that " because of some amount of disenchantment with the practice of wholesale transplantation of American management practice and a desire to find out the basic strength of the tradittonal Indian management ", Indian managers are now turning their attention towards the traditional Indian management and emphasising the need to adapt, rather than adopt the western management practices, A need to evolve a truly modern and indigenously Indian management philosophy on the basis of flexibility, and not transplantation, is being growingly felt. It is being realised

tude tests and common standards should be prescribed for all

cultures ", that " while we have been borrowing the western system of management and techology, its acceptance in toto in our cultural value-system is neither smooth nor complete, that there has been a crisis of indentity of the Indian management in a search for harmonising and grafting two distinctly different value system ", and that it is necessary to design management methods relevant to our society and bring about continuing adaptation to a constantly changing environment. As an expert Indian manager has put it, " the Indian style of management has got to be an integrated whole which no one else may initiate but all may try to emulate ". (The example of Japan should bring home to our minds that there are management styles and practices which are not American in origin but definitely equally or even more effective).

The various Institutes of Management, the Schools of Business Management, private training sources and Government training institutions should make a concerted effort to modernise and Indianise management techniques culturally and psychologically while accepting the universality of management principles and striving to raise cadres of appropriate, trained and developed trainers who can themselves develop the much neglected subject of 'comparative management', formulate a curriculum of concept-cum-technique-based, objective-oriented management training, promoting the degree of attitudial shift in a trainee, and creating a body of management literature with a primary bias towards our problems, our needs and our limitations, thus presenting a local design of management technique.

EDUCATION OF WORKERS

The Bharatiya concept of 'Industrial Family' and 'Labourisation' need no elaboration. But it is not as if with the introduction of these new patterns all internal problems will be solved automatically. Under the new system, workers, will have to be taught, through seminars and study circles, the various aspects of management, i.e, mechanism of income-distribution through which equal pay is offered for equal work and the income differentials are based upon the quality and the quantity of work, the techiniques of management, organisation of workers' councils, management boards and their meetings, the planning and its financial activities, the interpretation of cost accountant's reports, balance sheets and other relevant documents; and, last but not the least, the art of striking proper balance between the demand for higher wages in the present and the need for greater investments for the future.

MANAGING BOARD

Every unit should be empowered to frame its own rules regarding income-distribution on the basis of the results of job-evaluation and merit rating, and in the light of the unit's total contribution to the national economy. The rules should provide for appropriate distribution of income, in the first place, between the society and the enterprise, and secondly, between the enterprise and the individual workers. While giving representation to any group of workers on different decision making bodies the value of its contribution to the national income should be taken into account. (The managing boards should consist of the representatives of workers as well as those of the managerial and technical cadres).

TECHNOLOGY

The B.M.S. has required our technologists to adapt suitable portions of western technology to Indian conditions and evolve characteristically Bharatiya technology suited to the new industrial strategy of decentralisation of the processes of production, disposal of industries and greater emphasis on the small scale industries. That done, the newly-equipped workers and managerial cadres should find it easier to alter the industrial map of the country so as to reconcile the modern technology with our eternal cultural values.

The services of technologists must be fully utilised ; but it must be simultaneously realised that the technical 'know-what' is more important than the technical 'know-how'. The 'know-how' teaches how to achieve the given purposes ; the 'know-what' highlights the purposes to be achieved-which are to be determined in the light of the cultural values and the requirements of the country. The decision-making regarding the technical 'know-what' cannot be entrusted to machines which can easily grow into Frankesteins.

Industries should be served by technologists and experts in the science of management. But workers' representatives should be fully acquainted with management techniques and broad features of the technology adopted, so that they can properly use their decision-making authority in these matters.

ROLE OF STATE

The role of the state in the industrial sphere must be properly defined. The state is a political organisation of the society, whether it is co-terminus with the entire society or not. A modern society is a complicated organisation with greatly diversified fields of activities. It would certainly require some central agency. But it need not be a Leviathan. It should be a co-ordinating factor, of the various instruments at the disposal of the society, the function of which will be to regulate and harmonise the functions of the various other institutions. The State is one of the several institutions, all equally autonomous in their spheres-economic, political, educational etc. Setting up of several autonomous republics in the economic and political spheres would help the process of decentralisation of authority. The State can become "a clearing house of information, an advisory and administrative machinery to co-ordinate and supervise policies", framed directly by the people operating through their autonomous institutions in different fields of national life.

The main role of the State is to assist the Industry in every possible way, though in case of some selected industries it will have to assume ownership also for practical considerations, and not on doctrinnaire grounds.

IDEAL INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

The industrial structure in future would continue to be complex, with various patterns of ownership existing side by side. But greater stress will have to be laid on setting up industries which will be:

Financed	-by-	Commoners
Owned	-by-	Workers

Supervised	-by-	Institutions
Decentralised	-by-	Technologists
Served	-by-	Experts
Coordinated	-by-	Planners
Disciplined	-by-	Parliament
Assisted	-by-	State
Utilised	-by-	Consumers
	&	
Governed	-by-	Dharma

These, in brief, are some of our views on **National economy and industrial reconstruction.** Organisation of Industrial Families on the national and regional levels, a new industrial strategy on technology, location and size of industries., setting up of industrywise or industry-cum-regionwise financial institutions encouraging, mobilising and channelising small savings into industrial investments., bifurcation of the process of investment from the automatic right of ownership, progressive labourisation through a wide variety of the patterns of industrial ownership; abolition, in future, of the categories of joint-stock-companies; modernisation and Indianisation of management techniques., and greater stress on future organisation of industries on the pattern mentioned in the last paragraph,—these, among others, are some of the salient features of the reconstruction envisaged by B. M. S. Thus restructured the indutsrial sphere of the country will no longer be beset with conflicts on bonus, pay-scale or productivity.

LABOUR VIOLENCE

It is true that political affiliation of trade unions has affected the law and order situation in the country. The main factor responsible for the multiplicity of unions is politicising of the labour movement but the trade unionism is the only way to lasting labour welfare. It alone can be the basis for the implementation of the principle of "one industry one union". The more abiding remedy for bringing remedy for bringing about trade union unity is to rouse trade union consciousness amoung workmen themselves so that they may bring appropriate pressure on the conflicting leaders and forge genuine unitv. But unfortunately the prospects of such a move are not bright because, in the first place, it will take a very long time in cultivating such conciousness to any considerable extent and, secondly, outside leaders are likely to oppose any such move in a clandestine manner lest conscious workers may pose a threat to their unchallenged leadership.

Many of the outside leaders have come to cultivate a sort of vested interest in the disorganised state of the labour field. No move for trade union unity can succeed unless such outside leaders are thrown out and workers themselves are equipped to lead themselves. Who should be considered as outsiders ? one who is neither a regular employee nor an ex-employee nor even a perfectly non-political whole-time worker devoting all his energies exclusively to the labour field. With the expulsion of outsiders exploitaion of labour for political or personal ends will almost end. With this background, a legislation should be passed regarding" one industry one union." This would mean dissolution of the various unions in every industry, election of the executive of the new single union by workers and consequent emergence of a single trade union in every industry.

As a national corollary, the position of such a single union, which is analogous to that of political party in a country, would under the new circumstances, be analogous to that of Parliament. Even as the country is one, political parties are numerous and yet Parliament is one only, in an industry there would come up one single union representing proportionately all the various trends amongst the workers therein. Such newly carved out single trade unions in different industries should send their representatives to constitute the General Council of the single National Labour Federation. It automatically means dissolution of all the existing central labour organisations. Under the present circumstances this is the only way to achieve trade union unity. But it is doubtful whether vested interests would allow this to happen. In the meanwhile, systematic efforts are to be made to train workers in the techniques of genuine trade unionism.

There should be no ban imposed on strikes and lock-outs. The right to strike work is a natural corollary of the right to work. In fact it should be recognised as a fundamental right though reasonable restrictions should be legally imposed upon it. The choice is not, as someone would have us believe, between strike or no strike-it is between legally channelised strike and violent revolution.

While we oppose banning of strikes and lock-outs, we are finally of the view that in the general national interest a situation should be created and legal machinery set up which would render a strike or lock-out a superfluity. This is not only advisable but quite practicable also.

A moratoriam on wages and even on profits would not carry any significance so long as measures to strictly regulate prices of essential commodities are not introduced. There should certainly be a ceiling on profits and dividends with a view to ensuring a more equitable distribution of incomes. But there is no propriety in freezing wages, particularly, in view of the fact that the wage rise is responsible for price rise only to the extent to which it, i.e. wage rise, is in excess of productivity rise and in India wage rise has been constantly lagging behind productivity rise. In fact, assurance of the need based minimum wage to every citizen and fixation of a ratio of 1 : 10 between the minimum and the maximum income in the lands are the two immediate objectives that deserve our serious attention and concerted effort. Mere growth in the gross national product cannot be accepted as indicative of national prosperity. The real criteria is the growth in the purchasing capacity of the lowest consumption unit in the rural areas. With this end in view our industrial strategy on the technology, the location and size of industries should be evolved. There should be a ban on the production of luxury goods. Production of essential consumer goods should be encouraged,

With a view to raising the purchasing capacity of the rural unemployed and underemployed we should introduce appropriate measures such as introduction of an unemployment insurance scheme, organisation of financial consultation service of the nationalised banking in all the areas; massive rural work programmes, labour intensive projects encouragement to Bharatiya technology, ensuring decentralisation of processes of production and of industrial ownership, disposal of industries, organisation of a network of agro based, forest based and small scale industries, and fullest utilisation of all installed capacity. It should be noted that the patterns of production have in them an inbuilt mechanism which resists introduction of any patterns of consumption which are not consistent with the former.

The stage is not ripe for the introduction of profit sharing. Only when all workers reach the level of the living wage can this be done.

In case there is a violent clash between the employees and the workers the only role appropriate to the government is that of governing, and nothing else. In all cases of violence, it is the just duty of the government to restore peace and establish law and order. Justice is to be secured through legal and constitutional means. Violence leading to anarchy is not an appropriate method to secure justice under a democratic set-up. There is an impression that police generally sides with the employers but in the absence of necessary data it is difficult to make any categorical statement in this regard. But it can be asserted that the police does not conduct itself in an ideal manner under such provocative situations not merely for maintaining peace in the industrial field, but even to ensure law and order in general; it is absolutely necessary to restrain the police with a view to adjust its rigidity with the flexibility which is the need of the hour.

It is not quite correct to say that trade union activity leads to lawlessness. In fact lawlessness has been becoming in recent years an order of the day. The labour sector alone cannot be free from it. Various factors are responsible for turning a peaceful strike into a violent action. Inefficiency of the police department, fool-hardy attitude of the managerial cadre, lack of personal contact between the employers and employees, indifference and apathy of the personnel department towards the causes of friction until they assume threatening proportions, political motivation and a planned sabotage of industry by agents provocateurs employed by employers themselves—these among others are the factors responsible for degeneration in the law and order situation.

Unless the problem of lawlessness is tackled on a national plane, it would be unrealistic to expect maintenance of law and order in any one field of our national life.

The root evil in human history is pride that we are the chosen people called upon by Providence to educate others to our way of life.

—S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Good friends are made only after a quarrel.

—MAO TSE-TUNG

Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains.

—J. J. ROUSSEAU

THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO LIVE WELL

Unemployment constitutes the biggest challenge to our national economy. Underemployment is a still more dangerous problem. The solution to both can be found in proper planning. The entire planning should be employment-oriented. Preference should be given to the labour-intensive rather than the capital-intensive projects.

The nationalised banking should be converted into an autonomous monetary authority with the twin objectives of price regulation through currency control and fullest employment through appropriate credit policy.

The nationalised banking must be required to organise its own financial consultation service with a view to formulate micro-planning at the family and the village or area levels for benefit of the agricultural workers, small peasants, village artisans, traditional artisans in the urban areas, small-scale industries and new entrepreneurs. There should be conscious efforts to evolve Bharatiya technology.

Our technologists should be required to study thoroughly and assimilate industrial technology all over the world; to locate and introduce such parts of foreign technology as are suited to Indian conditions; to introduce for benefit of artisans—reasonably adaptable change in the traditional techniques of production, incurring the risk of increase in unemployment of workers, wastage of the available managerial and technical skills, and decapitalisation of the existing means of production; and to evolve our own indigenous technology with great emphasis on decentralisation of the processes of prodution with the help of power—with home, instead of factory, as a centre of production.

There should be a five-year ban on automation in all the industries except defence and space science. Rationalisation should be selective. After experts' examination of the proposal and its approval by workers representatives—after completion of rationalisation on the organisational and managerial sides, rationalisation may be undertaken on the conditions that (1) there should be no retrenchment without alternate employment in the same establishment or under the same employer—without loss of continuity of service, seniority or grade; (2) no loss of earnings to any worker; (3) periodical inspection and assessment of workload by workers' representatives assisted by experts; and (4) equitable sharing of additional gains consequent to rationalisation as between the worker, the employer and the consumer.

Abolition of contract labour system, casualation of labour and strict adherence to the rules for confirmation in all industries and services must be expedited. 'The hire and fire system' must be done away with, Retrenchment under the pretext of mechanisation, electrification, modernisation, etc., must be put an end to. No. scheme affecting future employment potential adversely should be introduced without express consent of workers' representatives.

We have to reconcile expansion of employment opportunities with uptodate modern technology; decentralised processes of production with increase in productivity, economic growth with social justice; and the planned employment of all individuals with the spontaneous employment of all the faculties of every individual.

The problem of underemployment is particularly serious in rural areas. The land-grab movement of the so-called radicals has only *aggravated the problem. No slogan* or agitation can provide any relief unless there is a revival of traditional co-operative commonwealth of peasants, agricultural workers and and artisans in every village. In such a commonwealth it should be the duty of the peasants to relieve themselves of any land that becomes surplus on account of land-ceiling legislation: to offer statutary minimum wages to agricultural workers, and due share to the village artisans and agricultural workers in the additional agricultural produce.

The artisans must dutifully offer prompt and efficient service to the needy peasants of the village; improve upon their implements and work methods, and organise their market co-operatives with a view to ensure greater economy and efficiency.

It should be the duty of the agricultural workers to offer unreservedly their services to the peasants and co-operate with them in the collective effort of increasing the quality and quantity of agricultural produce. Every village commonwealth should be governed in its internal affairs by a panchayat comprising the elected representatives of all these three interests.

The panchayat should determine working conditions of its constituents. The entire labour force, implements, land, subsidiary industries, and other means of production within the jurisdiction of each village should be at the disposal of the village panchayat for the purpose of development. This arrangement is the only lasting remedy for the maladies of our rural areas, including, mainly, the underemployment.

PRODUCTIVITY

Next in importance to employment, wage determination is the most disturbing problem of the industrial field. What should be its basis? The level of prices, profits or productivity? The demand for the fixation of the national minimum is gaining ground, though it is doubtful whether there can be uniform standards for the rural and the urban areas. But it is certainly the duty of any civilised society to provide the needs-based minimum wage as an initial pay to its unskilled work.

The norms and standards prescribed by the 15th Indian Labour Conference are found to be inadequate by experts. It is necessary to conduct working class family budget inquiry in different centres and regions and to determine the needs-based minimum on its basis. Further, there should be job-description, job-analysis, standardisation of nomenclature, and job-evaluation of all the jobs, and wage-differentials determined in the light of the results of the scientific process of job-evaluation.

With a view to protect the real wage, the entire pay-packet must be linked with the cost-of-living index number. Bonus must be treated as a deferred or supplementary wage, so long as there is a gap between the living wage and the actual wage, and as (profit sharing) only after the actual wage attains the level of the living wage.

For this purpose, it is necessary to re-compile on the scientific basis the cost of living index numbers for the working class, the middle class and the agricultural sector; to compile indices of comparative costliness of different cities and regions; to introduce indices of productivity in different industries; and to revise the very concept of the 'capacity to pay'.

The 'capacity to pay' is often a misleading term. In the first place, the workers must have a right to go behind and scrutinise the balance-sheets and the profits and loss accounts of their establishments. Secondly, they must have a right to participate in the process of decision-making regarding the deployment of the capital of their industry, In our country, most of the capitalists are businessmen and not industrialists. Industrialist is one who is completely indentified with his industry and its fortunes.

Businessmen, on the other hand, has no such sense of identification with his industry. He is only for profit-motive. With a view to fatten his bank balance he can go to the length of hampering production of his own concern by bribing labour leaders to bring about strikes, deliberately mismanaging the existing concern and making it insolvent for setting up another factory with a better profit-margin,

In the public sector, the indifferent and callous attitude of the bureaucrats usually affects the fortunes of the industry and its workers adversely. In fact, it is wrong to presume that money is the only form of capital of any establishments. Labour is also a contributing capital. Therefore, it should be recognised as another type of capital, labour of each worker should be evaluated in terms of shares, and every worker should thus be elevated to the status of the shareholder.

As shareholder, he should be at par in every respect with the shareholders contributing money-capital. Even after such labourisation, it would be necessary to introduce in all industries the system of ' efficiency audit ' and 'early warning'. The real ' capacity to pay ' can be properly ascertained only after all these measures are adopted. What really matters is the potentiality of the industry.

Wage-determination cannot be considered as an isolated problem, It is a part of the bigger problem of income-distribution. ' Maximum production and equitable distribution ' is the generally accepted principle. But it can be ensured only through proper planning. Workers, like all other sections of our population, are prepared to sacrifice for the cause of the nation. But they must be convinced that the sacrifice demanded is in fact for the nation, and not for personal benefit of a few employers. There should be cause-wise increase of price rise, and whatever percentage of it is due to natural scarcity and should be associated with the formulation of national plans. A round-table conference of all economic interests should be convened to evolve national policies on employment, prices, productivity and incomes, during the Plan period. and the economists should be required to draft the plan taking into consideration the consensus arrived at in such conference. It would then be welcomed by all as the 'Peoples' Plan. and all will be inspired to work for its implementation.

All monopolies must go—including that of the Government. There should be complete decentralisation of all economic authority. There should be set up immediately a 'national commission on the patterns of industrial ownership' to determine the criteria for private enterprise, nationalisation, labourisation, co-operativisation, self-employment, democratisation or joint-sector of industries.

In the Government sector, the commission should be directed to determine which all functions, whether routine payments, technical of specialists, services, trading and economic services. judicial and equity administration or regionalised and localised services should be converted into non-governmental public agencies under commissions, tribunals or boards to be managed by a newly raised class of public administrators and subject only to supervision at the highest level by Parliament through specially constituted Ministry of Public Agencies—retaining in the departmental structure only the strictly Governmental functions for which direct ministerial responsibility to Parliament is essential, and thus achieving the ideal of fewer departments and slimmer civil service by relieving the Cabinet and bureaucracy of appropriate departmental functions.

These measures would revolutionise the psychology of the people which would enable us to ensure maintenance of industrial peace, inspiration for highest productivity, evolution of the integrated—schemes of social security, social welfare, labour-welfare and industrial housing, replacement of profit-motive by service-motive, replacement of Aham-kara' (Individual-Ego) by 'Vayam-Kara' (Collective Ego).

The leftist view of the right to property is only partly correct. No one has absolute right to any property—neither individuals nor the institutions, agencies or authorities (including the State) created by them. All ownership belongs to God alone— call Him by whatever name. The individuals or their agencies can possess any property only as His tenants. And in this capacity no one has a claim superior to the others. The institutions created by the individual can not claim rights superior to those of their creators.

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The problem of income-distribution is certainly a materialistic one. But if it is sought to be solved from purely materialistic point of view, the failure is equally certain. It is to be noted that the most vocal advocates of equality have failed to achieve it in the countries ruled by them. The reason is obvious. Any 'ism' based upon crude materialism cannot but accept materialistic values of life. Against the background of materialism, it is impossible to reconcile the incentive for individual development with the urge for equality. Because, in that case, 'the incentive for development would proceed from the additional material gain, the extended sphere of enjoyment. This incentive cannot be protected without sacrificing equality, nor can equality be ensured without sacrficing such incentive, if the accepted values of life are purely materialistic.

The fourfold objective of धमर्थि काम मोक्ष is the guiding star of Bharatiya way of life. With a view to facilitate its fulfilment our Seers had evolved a socio-economic order, of which the organisation of 'industrial families' was the nudens. With the same end in view, it is necessary that all parties to industrial relations in different industries reconstitute themselves into industrial families.

For each major industry and for minor industries or their trade group, industrial family under the management of industrial council comprising of the elected representatives of workers, managerial and technical cadre, capitalists, be constituted on National and State levels respectively. Such industrial councils should have final authority, subject to the approval of Parliament or State Assemblies in determining general policies of their industries, including those pertaining to deployment of labour force, managerial and technical cadre, and capital of their respective industries.

The entire labour force, the managerial and technical skills and the capital within the industry should be at the disposal of the national or the State Industrial Councils for their own deployment as well as for the purposes of formulating and implementing decisions on certain matters, such as, production and employment targets, level of technology, wage policy, import-export policy, etc. Each industrial council should work for an objective and targets given to it by the nation, and co-ordinate its activities with those of similar councils of other industries, following the national financial discipline.

For this purpose, it should revise and suitably amend from time to time its constitution and reformulate the internal relationship of firms, units, groups, individuals, etc., working within the industry. All these councils should follow a plan of income distribution adopted at national level to meet the needs of workers, technical skills, capital, consumers, research and development needs, plan-priority and dues of the State:

The industrial councils thus constituted should be under an obligation to ensure that no worker is retrenched consequent to mechanisation, rationalisation, mechanisation or automation, unless an alternate employment is offered to him without loss of continuity of service, in the same industry, though, may be in different establishment. Each industrial council should take full care of each individual worker and members of his family and foster their full growth according to their aptitudes — never throwing them to wolves for want of basic necessities of life.

All those depending for their livelihood on the industry should be treated as members of one large joint industrial family and the family's social security cover should be extended to workers as well as their children, elders, the afflicted, the widows, the physically and mentally handicapped persons etc., that are the natural members of the industrial family. It should be the duty of the industrial family to absorb within the Industry the children of their member-workers unless they themselves opt differently.

The evolution of the characteristically Bharatiya socio-economic order would not be possible unless the character or composition of Lok Sabha and State Assemblies is basically changed. The territorial representation should be reduced numerically, each member being required to represent a larger electorate. The element of functional representation be introduced. In industrial sector, workers of each major industry and minor industry and minor industries or their trade groups be given representation in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies respectively.

The organised labour should be given representation on local self-governmental bodies and university senates. There should be delimitation of industrial constituencies on the national, the State, and the local levels, for this purpose. On the national level, the number of representatives to be elected by the workers of every industry should be directly proportionate to the extent of its contribution to the national income.

The right and the duty are the two facets of same coin, according to Bharatiya concept. To live well is the duty as well as the right of every individual, group of individuals and society. This could be very well achieved under the Bharatiya socio-economic order which had stability without stagnation. With the passage of time certain corruptions and perversions did creep in. They must be removed. But our radicals are trying to throw the baby out along with the tub.

They seek to imitate blindly the perplexed West. No thought-system evolved by the West has succeeded so far in achieving its professed objectives, No "ism" could organise a socio-economic order of its own dreams. The so-called radical "ism" are being converted into out-of-date "wasms". None of them can claim to be a panacea—their arrogant professions notwithstanding. Our adherence to the Western ideologies is a case of the blind led by the blind.

This will lead us into the most unenviable situation of "unborn tomorrow—dead yesterday". We have, therefore, to strive simulteneously to devise the immediate ways and means of improving the lot of a common man within the frame-work of the existing conditions and to formulate a long-ranged plan to evolve a new order on the basis of Bharatiya culture which would reconcile Bharatiya values of life with the modern scientific and technological advance and demands of the modern age with the Sanatan ideals of Dharma. Conscious effort in this direction would alone ensure for all the right / duty to live well.

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Various schemes are being floated today for improvement in the general level of public health. At this juncture, it would be interesting to note the motto of the Health Ministry of Jaya Varma VII, the last Hindu Emperor of Cambodia, whose reign has been distinguished for the efficient medical relief provided by the State to the citizens of the Empire. Emperor Jaya Varma VII organised hundred and two state–hospitals, and the number of employees in his health department was 81,640. The motto of his Health Ministry would be instructive and helpful to us even today;

देहिनां देह रोगो यन्मनो रोगो रुजत्तशम् ।
राष्ट्रदुःखं हि भर्तॄणां दुःखं, दुःखं तु नात्मनः ॥

" The physical as well as the mental ailments of the people; the agonis of the citizens– and not those of their own - are the real agonies of the leaders of the State. "

Jaya Varma VII flourished in the 12th century A. D, and ruled over vast areas in the South Asia.

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