

For Private Circulation Only

**THE PLEDGE
THE
PALLADIAN PALAVER
AND
THE PANOPLY**



- D.B. THENGADI

KARNATAKA PRADESH

BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH

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Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh
Subodar Chatram Road, BANGALORE-560 009

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Phalgun 28, Saka, 1909

Dear Friend,

We are pleased to place in your hands this booklet containing three speeches delivered by Sri D. B. Thengadi, Founder of the B.M.S., in the 8th National Convention of the B.M.S. held in Bangalore from 26th to 28th December, 1987.

These speeches were delivered extempore in Hindi. We have rendered the same in English, without editing, so that the originality is maintained. Keeping before your mind the image of Sri Thengadiji, if you read the speeches, you will have the feeling of Sri Thengadiji speaking before you. You will be thrilled by his down to earth approach in inspiring the workers through common place anecdotes.

The speech titled 'An auspicious occasion' was delivered in the open session on the 26th, the speech titled 'Not Collective Bargaining but National Commitment' was delivered in the delegate session on the 27th and the speech titled 'On to victory' was delivered in the concluding session on the 28th. Kindly read and circulate amongst other members.

Thanking you,

Brotherly yours,

Allampalli Venkataram
General Secretary

AN AUSPICIOUS OCCASION

Mr. President and Delegates,

In the programmes held from this morning we extended our heart-felt welcome to the honourable guests and you delegates. For today's programmes, especially for the massive procession, our activists from all over Karnataka have reached this place whom also I welcome. Not only from Karnataka but also from the contiguous districts of Kerala, Tamilnadu and Andhra, activists have participated in the procession, whom also I welcome. Along with it I would like to specifically congratulate the activists and members of the affiliated unions in Karnataka who have laid down the healthy precedent that the expenses for the convention of the workers will be borne by the workers themselves. This is happening for the first time. This decision came to my knowledge early and in the course of my tours I mentioned it to a leftist friend of mine. He told me "what a wrong thing you are doing, this is the one and only opportunity when

you can collect funds from the capitalists. With this reason you can also collect money from the managements". I told him that this is the difference between you progressives and us. You are always business minded whereas the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has been entirely an organisation of crazy people. Only foolishness exists here. Show me a single organisation in our country which in order to attract people towards it does not hold out some temptation, some allurements. In order to attract people towards itself, every organisation holds out the assurance of money or position or something else if they join that organisation. It is only the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh which says 'what are the specialities of B.M.S.,' they are Thyag, Tapasya Aur Balidan (Blood, Sweat and Tears). It is only the B. M. S. which has the courage to state that. Just now Bade Bhai (Late Shri Ram Naresh Singh, erstwhile General Secretary of the B.M.S.) was remembered here. His life was a sacrifice for the cause of B.M.S. You will remember that in the Indore study camp we had held in October, 1984, a session exclusively to narrate the names of those who died or were killed while working for the B. M. S.,

their names, the union to which they belonged and the office they held in the union with the addresses. This session took one hour and 20 minutes. From this you can make out as to what amount of martyrdom has gone into the working of B. M. S. Is there any methodology behind this craziness? There is a methodology. We are patriots. We are humanists and we believe in Ekatma Manava Darshan. We want that the whole mankind should prosper. Whatever may be the advancement of science and technology in the west, the westerners believing in materialism cannot think in terms of the total prosperity of the mankind. It has fallen to the lot of India to give a direction to the world, because in India you can find a proper and happy blending of spiritualism and materialism, to lead the rest of the humanity and to save it from total annihilation. India alone can be the base of operation for world peace, world culture and world unity, because as I said in the morning, India alone has the cultural message to deliver. That message is : Unity in the midst of diversity. We do not believe that world peace and world unity can be achieved on the basis of government to government negotiations. It depends on the people to people

relationship. Popular opinions ARE moulded in every country by its workers who are the leaders of thought of their respective countries. Therefore we had the audacity to declare at the very inception of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh that we have a slogan and that slogan is "workers unite the world". The leftist slogan was, "workers of the world unite", whereas the B.M.S. slogan was "workers unite the world". For this, it is necessary that the base of operation for the world unity, world peace, India should become strong, rich and prosperous. Therefore, as our immediate objective we said "Param Vaibhavam ne Thume Thath Swarasht-ram". Let us take this country to the heights of glory. But it does not mean that the glory of the country can be equated with the glory of a handful capitalists like Birlas and Tatas, the glory of a few hundred ministers, but the prosperity of the lowest of the low, whom Ruskin said as "Unto the Last", the prosperity of such a person alone can be the prosperity of the nation, we believe. Therefore, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has stated that the people and the government should give up their wrong policies, pursued by them at present and take up the right policy. Right to work must be made

a fundamental right. Every one must have job security. The present job insecurity through casual workers, contract work charged labour, daily wager etc., should end. Need based minimum wage should be given to all. Every worker should be entitled to bonus.

In every industry there should be two types of shares. One who puts in his labour and the other who contributes the share capital through money. The sweat of our labour should be reflected in the share capital of the industry, whereby the worker becomes the owner of the industry. In order to develop an integrated economic policy, a round table conference of all economic interests should be held in which investment, employment, productivity, prices, incomes and wages are discussed so that an integrated economic policy may be developed. Round Table Conference not of political leaders but of economic interests in which these five things should be discussed simultaneously in a co-ordinated manner. At present an aggression of foreign capital is going on in India. Pockets of economic imperialism are being created in India. We have to oppose this. Foreign Capital, Indian monopoly capital and the. Government

of India are conspiring against the poor people of India and we have to scuttle that conspiracy. For the benefit of foreign capital, the government of India is burdening the Indian people with western technology which may not be fully useful for us. Therefore, the B. M. S. has demanded that a national technological policy should be developed. In such a policy the good points from the western technology which can be adapted as such should be adapted, such things from the western technology which are against our tradition, our present needs and our future aspirations should be totally rejected. Such of it which can be adapted with suitable modification should be adapted with such modification. In areas wherein the foreign technology is not adaptable, we should develop our own Indian technology. For all this, national technology policy is a must. All this is easy to state but difficult to implement. More easily said than done. We require strength to implement it, because there is a conspiracy of foreign capital, Indian monopoly capital and government of India against such policy. If you want to force open the mouth then you must be prepared to get hold of the nose. Till you hold

the nose the mouth cannot be opened. In order to scuttle this conspiracy great strength is required. If a worker thinks only about his remuneration, his service conditions and his bonus, it may be difficult to cultivate such strength. Temporarily you may derive some benefits but the poor people will be finished. Therefore, the principle behind our craziness is 'THYAG, TAPASYA AUR BALIDAN', which translated in the English language can be succinctly put as the best should suffer so that the rest may prosper. In the present day India we can see the best prospering while the rest suffer, because of which the country is going downhill and sinking. Therefore, the B. M. S. states that the attitude of making hay while the sun shines, will take the country to the dogs. You, workers sitting in this audience today are not ordinary workers but the nation builders. Therefore this difficult task has to be shouldered by you. Therefore you activists will have to take the decision on the basis of 'Thyag, Tapasya Aur Balidan' for which the B. M. S. is recognised. In the past we have held several all India conventions. But this 8th National Convention is being held on an auspicious day, which may not

be known to many of you. In the past our country had to pass through several difficult periods and through several conflicts. In every such situation the people saved the country on the basis of Thyag Tapasya Aur Balidan. One such nation builder, the very embodiment of Thyag Tapasya Aur Balidan was born on this auspicious day. He was revered Guru Gobind Singh. The principles for which Guru Gobind Singh lived and died and the principles for which the B. M. S. has been working are one and the same. While we are meeting in this convention in Bangalore in Karnataka, I would like to remind you of a historical event which is worth recapitulating. Realising the gravity of the problems before him, Guru Gobind Singh said that he required PANCH PYARAS (FIVE BELOVED) who are prepared to sacrifice themselves for the cause. Those five should be prepared to die for the cause. In response to this appeal the first person to respond was from Karnataka, he was from Bidar. He was not a soldier, he lived by the sweat of his brow. He was not a scholar, he was an ordinary barber. An ordinary worker from Karnataka responding to the appeal of Guru Gobind Singh, offered

himself to sacrifice for the cause. What is the lesson we can learn from this incident? Political leaders are often raising the slogan of national integration. In fact till the political leaders came on the scene, there was no dearth of national integration in India. The leaders who do not care for the poor people of the country, who do not care for the future of the country and who came on the scene solely with the intention of grabbing the seat of the Prime Minister, caused the national integration to suffer. In the present day India, Punjab has come closer to Karnataka through transport such as railways and aeroplanes. But in the days of Guru Gobind Singh, in the absence of such transport how far away was Punjab from Karnataka? Yet when a leader from Punjab makes an appeal, the first of the Five Beloved to respond was from Karnataka. From this incident it can be found how strong was national integration in those days. There is also another lesson from this incident. That is about how even an ordinary worker responds when the need for sacrifice arises for the sake of the country. Guru Gobind Singh called his first Beloved as Bhai Saheb Singh and even to this day he is remembered by

that name. Just like Bhai Saheb Singh we live by the sweat of our brows and we are workers like him, we are patriots like him. For us national integration is not a mere slogan but it is a part and parcel of our life. When politicians have divided this country, reduced workers to penury, when unemployment is widespread and when Indian capitalists are joining hands with foreign capitalists, it is necessary that we observe today as a day to take the pledge. Without taking much of your time, I would like to state that each one of us, in our heart of hearts let us take this pledge, there is no need to publicise it since we are not crazy of publicity. What is the pledge? I will offer my life to the prosperity of the Indian poor, I will offer my life for the glory of Bharath. Through the prosperity of the poor and the glory of Bharath there can be glory of the mankind. I devote my life to the prosperity of mankind. Therefore the prosperity of the workers, through it the glory of the nation and as a consequence of it the prosperity of the mankind are one and the same thing. For these three things I will not only devote myself but also sacrifice my life for it. This is the pledge we should take on this auspicious day. This is my appeal to you.

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Not Collective Bargaining But National Commitment

Brother activists,

While commencing every speech it is obligatory to start with formally addressing the president, the office bearers and also the audience. Therefore, yesterday I started my speech with the address brother delegates and guests. There is a difference in the sessions of yesterday and today. In the Hyderabad session I had given an example of a drama, in which the actors while on stage someone may be a King another may be a servant. But while in the green room, behind the stage, there is no such distinction between them, as all belong to the same troupe. According to the role each one has to play, someone will don the make up of a King and another that of a servant because he has to play that role. While on stage, because of protocol the servant may salute the King. Once the act is over all return to the green room and share tea with each other, talk to each other as equals

forgetting their roles on the stage. In yesterday's session we were on the stage and now we are in the green room. As a matter of protocol, I may address as brother delegates which is also constitutionally correct. But I am reminded of an incident. After the assassination of the former commander of the armed forces, Arun Vaidya, a condolence meeting was held in Poona. One of the speakers said that in the army there is a convention that when they have to speak high of any army officer, first they refer to all the high posts held by him and thereafter the greatest tribute which can be given to any army officer, whether he is a General or Field Marshal, according to convention is to say that he was a true soldier. Thereafter the speaker said that he was giving the highest tribute to Arun Vaidya that he was a true soldier.

It is the convention in the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh to refer to a worker as a true karya-karta. Someone may be the President, someone else may be the General Secretary, it is functional arrangement. We all know that B. M. S. is a family of activists and it is not an organisation functioning solely on the basis of the constitution. No doubt there is a constitution.

In the family also a set of rules are followed. But our soul is not the constitution but the prevailing family spirit. We are all activists. Therefore I feel that it will be the highest honour to address you as a conclave of activists or brother activists.

At the outset, I would like to impress upon you that this is not a formal speech as ours is a family oriented organisation. Therefore, the deliberations in this session should be treated as an exchange of thoughts within a family. Each convention has its own objectives. One of these is to give an idea about ourselves to others. The second is to take stock how far we have grown and how far we want to grow. The third is to adopt certain resolutions considering the problems before the workers and the country, through which the country and the workers may be guided. The fourth is to think how to strengthen our organisation. Yesterday's inaugural session, mammoth procession and the open session gave an impression about us to the public as to what we are and what we aim at etc.. In the forthcoming session we will discuss about the problems. Time has also been set apart for considering the organisational aspects. In this

session we will do some introspection. That is why I ask you not to consider this session as a part of the formal sessions.

When I look at you as members of a single family, I observe one thing which you might not have failed to observe, when we met on different occasions whether in the conventions or in the study classes. Among the activists who are assembled I find some of the oldest activists of the B. M. S.. They have been working for the B. M. S. for years. In fact when they started working for the B. M. S. their hair were black, today either they have grey hair or gone bald. Such elderly activists I see assembled here. We had decided this time that our convention should be businesslike rather than demonstrative. The previous session in Hyderabad was demonstrative. This being a business like convention we laid down certain norms for those attending as delegates. Yet as the work is growing, new unions are being formed, new youthful workers are coming forward to work in established unions, among the assembled activists I see some whom I might have met just once in the pastor meeting here for the first time. This is a happy thing. This shows

that the B. M. S. has the capacity to inspire a worker in as much as once an activist always an activist. Not only that, the B.M.S. has to attract new activists to the organisation. Shakespeare has narrated in the play 'Antony and Cleopatra' an instance. A maid of Cleopatra asks Cleopatra 'Who is this Antony' with whom she has been so much infatuated? What is his age? Cleopatra replies in a riddle. She says that Antony is in that age group in which "while the black hair denote his bravery the grey hair show his maturity". So is the case with the B. M. S. While the youths stand for the fighting spirit of the organisation, the elderly workers stand for the maturity of the organisation. Therefore, our organisation is growing in the desired manner. Looking at this assemblage this feeling is strengthened. Yet, there is one aspect of much importance. Let us forget for a moment the elderly activists. From the view point of the youthful activists I have been sounding a caution very often. I will not go into the details. I will be short. You might have come from different background. Some of you may be from the INTUC or AITUC or some other organisation. As they are our sister organisations, we have

love for them. But, our love is not blind and therefore we know what their shortcomings are. We are also aware of the prevailing atmosphere in other organisations. We know their defects and also pitfalls. The political atmosphere has been pervading in all spheres and casting its evil influence on all. Therefore, we find the absence of an atmosphere for the creation of a selfless worker. They do not feel that the organisation should grow, the country should prosper and the poor should prosper. Every one competes with the sole objective how he himself can prosper. Our youthful activists have seen such contaminated atmosphere elsewhere. Therefore, I appeal to you not to be guided by such progressive atmosphere, wherein each clause of the constitution is utilised or exploited to break the organisation, wherein every individual aims at becoming the prime minister, wherein pulling at each other's legs is the practice. You must have experienced such progressive atmosphere elsewhere. My appeal to you is, please do not bring bacteria from such progressive atmosphere into the B. M. S. I had undergone an operation and when I was convalescing those who came to see me were told to

leave their shoes and belongings outside the room. I asked the doctor why such restrictions? The doctor told me that it is in order to keep out the bacteria so that it may not lead to complications to the person operated upon. Therefore, my appeal to you is to keep out such bacteria, so that the B. M. S. may not be plagued with such progressive acts. A friend of mine had taken me to a meeting of an organisation, which I would not like to name, where I had an occasion to see such a progressive atmosphere. After the meeting my friend took me to his home for dinner. I told my friend that they look to be very progressive as they had hurled abuses at each other in the meeting. He cut me short narrating an anecdote which appeared in the magazine 'Reader's Digest'. It was about a person who used to sell frogs. He used to catch the frogs on the seashore and sell them. When one of his friends wanted to have a talk with him he asked that friend to meet him at a place on the sea shore. When the friend went there he saw the man catching frogs and putting them in an open bucket. There was no lid for the bucket and keeping open the bucket he was going into the

sea to catch frogs and bring them and put them in the open bucket with other frogs. The friend asked whether the frogs will not escape from the open bucket, for which he replied that there is a mannerism among the frogs because of which if one frog tried to escape the others will pull that frog down. Therefore, he did not worry about the frogs escaping from the bucket. Such progressive tendency of pulling at each other's legs is fast progressing in India. Therefore I caution you that you should keep out such progressive bacteria. You can see the havoc caused by such bacteria in business circles, in family circles and in conventions. Few years back a convention of a progressive student organisation took place in Nagpur. Delegates came from various places in special trains. On the way they looted the railway stalls. After reaching Nagpur also they went ahead with their destructive activities. Outside the Conference venue, they misbehaved with the women folk of Nagpur. As a consequence, they got beaten by the local people. All these facts appeared in the newspapers. I asked the Congressman who had looked after the arrangements of the

conference why did such things happen? How is it those who came as delegates attacked those who managed the show and indulged in destruction of property? Is there a reason behind it or can it be analysed? He told me there is. In his typical style he told me that every delegate who came to the session thought that he is the father of the bridegroom, in a marriage function and that the one who looked after the arrangements was considered to be the father of the bride. Therefore their behaviour was the traditional behaviour of the bridegroom's father with that of the bride in a marriage function. I told him that no doubt it is a lesson to be learnt. We have no such problems with us, since in our organisation every delegate who attends the conference is a karyakarta/activist and therefore in our organisation whether one is engaged in arrangements or one who attends as a delegate are all representing the bride's party and there is nobody from the party of the bridegroom. Therefore that progressive atmosphere, in other words, goondaism is not expected in our organisation. In each act the level of the karyakarta is reflected everywhere. In any convention inconveniences are bound to

crop up. In all such occasions our mental make up is reflected. In the life of Napoleon there is an example. After Hannibal, after a lapse of nearly 2000 years Napoleon crossed the Alps with the army and ammunitions. No doubt it was a great achievement. Napoleon had to set up camp near the Alps mountains. From Paris he used to get the food supplies, uniforms, ammunitions etc. Paris was then governed by the politicians who were not concerned with the glory of France. Already Napoleon had carved out a name for himself through his victorious campaigns. Therefore the politicians were jealous of Napoleon. Further victories of Napoleon would have jeopardised their positions. Therefore the supplies were delayed to the army. In the acute cold of the Alps mountains the army was suffering with tattered clothing and footwear. The soldiers started grumbling about their miserable conditions. They were prepared to lay down their lives for the three principle of the French Revolution. They were prepared to die fighting, but where was the valour to die of hunger and want of proper clothing in such a cold climate. The discontent spread and it did not take much

time to reach the ears of Napoleon. Napoleon deliberately created a situation. Assembling the army in a semi circle, he called upon the soldiers to express themselves freely. One soldier came forward. His chest had been exposed due to the torn shirt he was wearing. On his chest were visible the scars inflicted by a sword in the previous battles. In the days when people used to fight with swords, a wound on the chest was considered to be prestigious, because it showed that the soldier instead of taking to heels in a fight, faced the opponent bravely and took the blow from the sword on his chest. To have a scar on the back was considered to be an insult, since it meant that he took the blow while fleeing from the battle. As the soldier came forward, Napoleon observed the battle scar on the chest of the soldier through his torn shirt. Expressing himself in a few words the soldier said that he was prepared to fight and die in a battle, but what glory is there in dying out of hunger and cold? Napoleon asked the soldier to turn around and stand facing the assembly of soldiers. As he turned around, Napoleon said in one sentence, "My boy, are you ashamed of those honourable scars on your chest, do you want to hide them". The

spirit in the soldier was roused. After all he was a spirited youth and therefore he had chosen to be a soldier. Even veterans get disillusioned at times, so was the case with that soldier. As the young soldier heard the words from Napoleon, he replied, "No Sir, I don't want to" and the whole army joined in chorus with him, "No Sir, we don't want to". It is the spirit that counted. If the important activist, the path finder has such spirit it will spread among his followers. How an ordinary member will react is dependent upon the attitude of an activist. Therefore my appeal to you is to mix with veterans who have grown old working for many years in the B. M. S., learn from them what has been the B. M. S., understand our ways and means. I would like to repeat what I said yesterday evening that the B. M. S. is an organisation of crazy people. It is for each one of you to decide whether you want to be crazy or not. Considering this, each one of you should try to be the embodiment of the ideals of B.M.S. and in order to be this you will have to leave behind the bacteria of progressive atmosphere, your individual ambition, lack of concern about the country, lack of concern about the poor and enter the holy precincts of the B.M.S.

I feel it necessary to state these things in retrospection for the benefit of the new activists.

As activists, we also consider our impact in the direction in which we are going and of the thoughts we are imparting. Circumstances keep changing and events keep taking place. On the basis of such changes, how far our thoughts have stood the test of time and proved to be correct we have to do the stock taking. I would like to deal with it in short. On your return from this place you have to conduct a study in this respect. I would like to place before you only few examples for the purpose. Whether an idea is right or wrong is decided upon the challenge of time it faces in the light of changing events and changing circumstances. In the convention held in Hyderabad we also had done a retrospection in this respect. In that retrospection we took the stock taking as to how we withstood the challenges of time. I do not want to repeat it, as you all know it. Such of you who do not know can know it from those who know it. I would like to deal with the salient features of the last three and a half years subsequent to our Hyderabad convention. Let me recollect an incident as I told you earlier that this is not a speech but only an exchange of thoughts. In

the Hyderabad Convention we adopted a resolution to observe the year as anti-computerisation year. When our leftist friends came to know this they commented, "The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi wants to take the country to the 21st Century and with your obscurantism you want to take back the country to the 16th Century". But today those communists who are working in the trade unions are forced to give up their old stand and they have also embarked upon the anti-computerisation campaign along with us. Due to pressure of circumstances they are forced to adopt our view point and it need not be told in detail here. Due to the pro-computerisation propaganda of the government and the capitalists there is a wrong conception about the efficiency of the computers. You must have heard there was a crash in the share market in the world capitals on 19th October, 1987. There was a steep fall in the share prices. How did it happen all of a sudden? They consulted the computers. But the computer does not have the human brain. The computer can only answer in the manner in which it had been fed the information. To claim that the computer can provide an answer in all circumstances is as absurd as the fountain pen claiming that it wrote

the poem. No doubt the poem was written with the help of the fountain pen, but the person who wrote the poem was other than the fountain pen itself. Similarly the cricket ball cannot claim that it bowled the player, it is the bowler who bowled, the ball was only an instrument and the wicket fell on account of the bowling by the bowler. So is the case with the computer. When on the morning of 19th October, 1987, the share prices fell, and the computer was fed with the information, the computer directed to sell the shares as it had been programmed to tender such information in case of a fall in prices. So a chain reaction set in and it resulted in a financial crisis world over, you must have read in the newspapers. The major blame for it can be attributed to the computer. I am telling this for the benefit of those who have blind faith in the computers.

... We have many differences with the communists. One among them is that they are blind followers of Soviet Russia. If it rains in Moscow, whether it rains or not in Bangalore they open their umbrellas, because the Moscow radio announced that it rains. Whether the path taken by Moscow proved fruitful is yet to be

established, as Moscow is still experimenting, but the communists in India are rushing to adopt it blindly, we have said often. You must have heard that firstly in China, then in Russia and now in Vietnam also certain reforms are taking place. There are various facets of these reforms, it is not necessary to narrate all of them here. If you consider in terms of economic changes, in the Mecca of Indian Communists, that is Moscow, certain changes are taking place. A significant change of vital importance is in terms of market economy. For decades a discussion has been going on in the communist countries as to how far it is correct to control the price formation through state control on the basis of scientific socialism. In the year 1955 a communist ideologue of Poland, Prof. Brus stated that market economy should be allowed to operate freely. Ten years thereafter, in the year 1965 Mr. Libermann, another communist theoretician propounded this thought. Three years thereafter, in the year 1968 a Czechoslovakian communist Mr. Votasik also agreed with it. Simultaneously, Mr. Roger, a French communist theoretician propounded the idea. All these persons were punished by the communist

parties of their countries. All these great persons opined that whatever may be the justifications of the scientific socialism, if market factors are not allowed to operate freely, then the country cannot progress. You will be surprised to know that the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in February, 1986 has accepted all those views, accepted the factors that play the market economy, for propounding which the theorists had been earlier punished as reformists. The theory which was condemned as pro-capitalist in the past had been accepted by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Call it a change, or a reform or a deterioration from their point of view, it is worth noting. We never propounded such things as we felt it not necessary. But we do place certain theories. Communists said that the country is divided into two camps of the haves and the havenots. They said that this class conflict was there from the beginning of this world and will continue to exist till the end of the world, till the classes themselves are not destroyed. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is the first organisation in our country to state that

the concept of class itself is a myth. The INTUC does not accept the theory of class conflict but it does not deny the existence of the classes. INTUC claimed that there are classes but there should be class collaboration. We told the INTUC that it is in the wrong. If you accept the existence of the classes, why should there be collaboration among the classes? Even though the interests of the workers and the owners differ, yet the technical concept given by Karl Marx that the world is divided in two conflicting classes of the haves and the havenots is wrong. There are various interest groups such as economical, social, political, religious etc.. In terms of group interests they may clash with other groups. Where there is exploitation it is obligant to fight against exploitation, but it is wrong to term it as class conflict. More than that, to divide the whole world into two camps of the haves and the havenots is wrong. For this, the Indian communists called us as obscurantists. They told us that we are supporting the idea of Hindustan and its tradition. Why did they say this? They said it because of our 'VISHWA KARMA'. It is because we said that in India the biggest sector is the Vishwa Karma

Sector, in other words the sector of the self-employed persons. They are neither the masters nor the servants of anybody else. Look at our barbers, carpenters and black-smiths in the villages. They do not exploit others and they do not allow themselves to be exploited. Where do you accomodate these people in your theory of class conflict? They were not able to give a direct reply to this question but at the same time they simply said it is wrong. They told me that our concept of Vishwakarma Sector will not last long. Ultimately the whole world is bound to divide into two camps. Why is it so? It is because Karl Marx has said !

In China, the political leaders as well as the leaders in the government have stated that while they have immense respect for Marx and Lenin, what Marx wrote 100 years ago has become outdated and obsolete. When we pointed out this is what the Chinese communist leaders are saying, the Indian communists said that the concept of the self-employed does not fit in the Marxist theory. But it has come to the knowledge of Russia now, that the main principles of dictatorship—that everything for the state, everything within the state and nothing outside

the state, if applied to economic principles, will not allow the economy to flourish despite the fact that Russia is having the communist rule. Wherever Russia has brought modern technology, unemployment has increased as the workers have lost their jobs. What to do with these people thrown out of employment? They can not be permanently sustained on doles. Therein came in the idea of the self-employed sector. Therefore they had to enact the Law of Individual Enterprises. In the eyes of the Indian communists we are obscurantists because of the self-employed sector and in their Mecca a law has been enacted for the self-employed sector. Under the Law of Individual Enterprises in Russia, what we call as the Vishwakarma Sector in India of self-employed persons, the government has extended assistance for such household enterprises. In order that such enterprises may remain as household enterprises Russia has imposed the condition that it should not employ even a single worker, even though Marx himself had earlier said that to employ a couple of workers in any handicraft industry cannot be called as the exploitation of the workers. In the individual enterprises in Russia, the rule is that the

household enterprise has to be run by the members of the family only. Now this pattern has been adopted by China also. Hungary has also followed suit. Other communist countries are poised to follow. Some of them have liberalised the norms of employment so as to permit employment of a couple of workers. China has permitted upto 8 workers. Yet, they are all called household enterprises. China has categorically stated that it does not amount to exploitation. Now household enterprise or individual enterprise in which sector have they permitted? It is in three sectors. One is in the production of food articles such as bread and other wheat products etc. The second is that of service industries such as hair dressing, tailoring etc. The third is that of ancillary industries. Our Vishwakarma Sector, for propounding which we were called obscurantists by the Indian communists because of their ignorance, has been now adopted in their Mecca, that is Russia. While talking about the Indian communists, I am reminded of the words of Christ—"Father forgive them, for they do not know what they say". This is the fate of many communists. How the idea which

we have propounded since the year 1955 has stood the challenge of the times can be judged from the fact that even communist countries have adopted it now. In February, 1986, the government of India for the first time convened a conference of the self-employed in Delhi. They thought that the politician can do it. There is a story in the Greek mythology, about a King by name Midas who, was blessed that everything he touched will turn into gold. Similarly the government of India has been blessed that even if it touches gold it will turn into dust. Therefore, it cannot be expected that the government of India is going to do something wonderful in this respect. Yet a beginning has been made. From this also we can make out how the principle propounded by the B.M.S. in the year 1955, has been proved to be correct.

Our second principle, which the Indian communists ridiculed as impracticable is the principle of labourisation. Everyone knows of the three principles we said : Nationalise the labour, Labourise the Industry and Industrialise the Nation. In the previous Indian labour conference when the B.M.S. representative Manhar

Bhai Mehta started speaking on labourisation, a communist leader who was present remarked that the labourisation principle of the B. M. S. is going to sink the communists. When Yugoslavia introduced labourisation, Russia came out with literature against the labourisation in Yugoslavia. The main thrust of that literature was that labourisation is anti-socialist, as according to scientific socialism everything should be owned by the state. But due to the pressure of events and due to the turning of the wheel of destiny the regimentation of thought which is in existence in Russia—that everything should be owned by the state, they are verbally advocating so as not to accept defeat. Yet the realisation has set in that state-owned industries and state-owned farms cannot continue.

I would like to remind you that in November-1969, the B. M. S. had submitted a Charter of Demands, to the then President of India, Shri V. V. Giri through its then president, revered Shri B. K. Mukherjee, in which a demand was made about the setting up of a national commission to determine the patterns of industrial ownership. To determine, taking simultaneously into consideration the special characteristics of each industry, the total requirements of

the national economy, the patterns of different industries such as regulated private enterprise, co-operativisation, municipalisation, joint industries, self-employment, democratisation and nationalisation. There can be different patterns of industrial ownership and either nationalisation or private capitalism need not be the only alternatives. We had demanded in our charter of demands submitted to Sri V. V. Giri, then President of India, that the national commission should decide the ownership pattern for each industry. Today, Russia has accepted the fact that what Marx wrote and Lenin implemented in the state owned dictatorship cannot be continued as such, and different patterns of industrial ownership should be experimented upon and therefore they have given a place for the process of labourisation even though they have not named it as labourisation. In order that this may not sound vague and ambiguous, I would like to explain a bit in detail. They have said that in some industries decision taking authority can be left to the workers themselves. Who is the decision taking authority? It is the board of management. Earlier the board of management used to be

appointed by the government. Now the workers are permitted to elect the board of management among themselves, and all the decisions are left to the board of management. It will decide about the production also. Only in one respect the government will interfere and it cannot be called as interference in the real sense, we also accept it, and it is taxation. To what extent the industry should be taxed, the government will decide and all the rest decisions are left to the board of management. Right from the purchase of raw material to quality control and marketing, the authority is vested in the chairman and the board of management, for which a law has been enacted there. Not only this, but also, the Russian Government has given up the principle enunciated by it since the days of revolution and stated that the decision regarding the distribution of the income generated in such autonomous industries shall be vested in the workers of those industries and the government will not interfere in such decisions. By this, the original principle was bound to be jeopardised. What is the original principle? Under scientific socialism the people of the country are not only the owners of the total wealth of the country but also of the income generated thereon.

They are thinking now how to accommodate the new process of labourisation in the old principle. How to accommodate the self-employed sector or the individual ownership under scientific socialism? What is going to happen to the individual ownership in the light of the well established economic principle that big industries eliminate the small industries? What is going to happen to the process of decentralisation that has been set in? How to protect the household enterprises from unhealthy competition? The second point about labourisation which troubles the mind of the Russians is that what is going to happen to the principle that the wealth of the entire country will be equally shared by the entire population of the country? If under labourisation there are big industries as well as small industries and if the right to determine the distribution of income is vested in the workers themselves, it will amount to self-payment. Thereby in small industries, the income being less the workers will have lesser income and in bigger industries the income being higher the workers will have more income. In such circumstances what will happen to the principles of equality, the Russians are puzzled. Why is it so? whether it is Russia or any other

Western country, they have a different culture. All are materialistic and individualistic. Therefore they cannot think beyond the materialistic viewpoint. Even China had to accept now that in view of materialism every Chinese has become extremely selfish and self-centred. When a Chinese does not worry even about his own neighbour, what concern will he have about the society and the country? Therefore in the year 1978, the Chinese government had declared officially that it wants material progress but it is abandoning the materialistic philosophy and it is embarking upon the socialistic spiritual civilisation. China has said spiritual civilisation in clear terms, whereas the Indian communists are shy about the word spiritualism, as much shy as the newly wed bride in a respectable family, in uttering the name of her husband. But, in the country where communists are ruling they have said that they want to inaugurate the spiritual civilisation. On account of the materialistic background of the West, Russia has a second problem. All workers have turned selfish. Therefore, on two matters, whether the elected representatives will be able to take a decision is a big question mark. One is on

account of technological advancement if retrenchment becomes inevitable, will these elected representatives whose tenure is dependent upon the support of the workers, be able to impose their decision of retrenchment on those workers? Secondly, on the issue of income distribution will the different sections of the workers in the same industry not revolt? On these two questions the Russian thinkers are worried on the issue of labourisation. I would like to state in all humility that the issue of labourisation was not the original thinking of the B. M. S. The B. M. S. only stated that in the present circumstances how to assimilate the principle laid down according to the Bharatiya Tradition and the Bharatiya Culture. It was not our original thinking because we do not have great thinkers in the B. M. S. We only thought how to bring into practice, in the present times, the principle laid down by the sages and seers of our country. We adopted this outlook because we are supporters of the Bharatiya tradition and culture which does not stand for either individualism or materialism. Therefore, we have said that we will not allow the worker to be selfish. Our General Secretary, Shri Prabhakar Ghate has in his report stated

that we will not try to attract the workers towards us by only appealing to their selfish interests, we want to place before them an idealism. Therefore, in our three principles the first one is, "Nationalise the Labour", i.e., make the workers patriotic. A worker must feel that the country should progress. After "Nationalise the Labour" we said, "Labourise the Industry". The industry should be in the hands of such patriotic, idealist workers. Thirdly "Industrialise the nation" Therefore the pre-condition for labourisation is "Nationalise the Labour". The pre-condition was that the worker should be freed from the materialistic culture of the west, making him love the whole society as per Bharatiya culture and one who is for the unity and the prosperity of the country. It was done after giving due thought. People with materialistic outlook cannot think in this manner, yet due to pressure of circumstances, Russia had to embark upon the Vishwakarma Sector and the other communist countries have followed suit. But they have a fear that a smaller industry may be swallowed by a bigger industry. This cannot happen in our country, as the workers are all patriotic and therefore

all are supplementary to each other. When the planning commission process was started in our country and Gadgil commission was appointed for the Cottage and Village Industry, the Khadi and Gramodyog industries, just like in Russia, in our country also there was a big discussion at that time. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was nurtured in the Bharatiya culture stated that we will allow all type of sectors to progress in our country, whether it is small, medium or big, simultaneously making demarcation for the sake of convenience. For example, in the textile industry whatever is produced on the handlooms shall not be produced on the powerlooms, the goods produced on the power looms shall not be produced in the big mills. In Russia also a new household, individual enterprise has been inaugurated and laws have been formulated for it. But, so long as the "Nationalise the Labour" principle is not inculcated in the workers, such enterprise may not work. Till the patriotic fervour based upon the Bharatiya culture and values are not infused in those workers it may not succeed. As the Chinese Government has accepted the fact that because of materialistic philosophy every Chinese citizen has become

self-centred, so long as such self-centred people are in Russia, they cannot find a way out. This equally applies to their labourisation. Therefore, when they are thinking about labourisation, about income distribution, they should remember that till their worker becomes totally patriotic, till the workers think in terms of the progress of the country and want to supplement the effort on the pre-condition, "Nationalise the Labour", laid down on the basis of Bharatiya values espoused by the B.M.S., the Russian workers brought up in the 70 years background of materialistic philosophy are not freed from it on the basis of the Bharatiya values of life in which it has been stated SAMUTKARSHANISHREYA, materialistic progress and its spiritual valuation according to which materialism and spiritualism are the two faces of the same coin. Till such values of Bharatiya culture are not imbibed in Russia all their experiments are destined to fail. The principle of labourisation has flown from the Bharatiya culture and it is not our invention. The thought belongs to the Almighty and we are only the carriers. But how sound is the principle has been established on the basis of the circumstances, which we can see. We have to mak

progress in other respects also. B. M. S. does not suggest anything perfunctorily. Anything good cannot be achieved in haste. We are not among those romantic people who bring in a new idea all of a sudden from nowhere. In the Indore study class I had stated that even after conceiving an idea, we have taken five to ten years to propound it. We took seven years for propounding the principle of labourisation from the day the idea was conceived. We are not romantic but realistic and therefore we do not do anything good in haste. We have to lead the Indian workers and therefore by just giving a suggestion I will conclude my speech. On the adverse impact of materialistic philosophy, the terminology used had a big role to play. Wrong terminology gives birth to wrong psychological impact. If you want to make our country strong, one term which has to be discarded is the term "Collective Bargaining". It has given rise to the impression that the industry, the industrial production and the profit thereon are solely the concern of the employer and the employees. It assumes that the employers and the employees are the only two parties to industrial relations. This concept is that of

materialistic west. We have accepted, for long that there is the third party, who is more important, to the industrial relations and that party is the society at large that is, the nation. It is true that the employer and the employee are partners in production. But, when the employers and the employees are negotiating, they should always keep in view the interests of the nation as a whole. The employer and the employees cannot be permitted jointly to rob the nation. The use of terminology gets its importance for keeping such national outlook. We do not say that the change should be immediate. The idea which we are giving now may take ten years to become acceptable. But gradually we will bring into practice that term. The idea that the employer and the employees are not the only two parties, but together they are answerable to the nation and accountable to the nation. There fore, the agreement they arrive at is not the result of a compromise of self interest but it is their joint commitment to the nation as a whole. So that this concept may naturally evolve in the minds of the people, though not in legal terms but in practice, let us replace the term, "Collective Bargaining", with the term, "National

Commitment". It shall mean that the agreement arrived at is the joint commitment of the employer and the employees to the nation as a whole. It need not be done in haste. We are the only people in this country who are not in a hurry. We know that haste causes delay. Let us introduce this term gradually, never mind if it takes ten years. This way we will be advancing one step in taking the workers in their psychological advancement.

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ON TO VICTORY

In the life of each individual many problems crop up. All such problems may not be of the same variety or category. They will be different in nature. Some arise due to adverse circumstances, whereas some problems may arise due to favourable circumstances also. It may look contradictory or paradoxical, but it is not. Favourable circumstances may also give rise to problems. Let us take the example of the birth of a baby in a poor family. Whether the family is rich or poor, the birth of a child is always an happy event. In anticipation of the arrival of the baby some good, warm clothes are stitched or collected in advance. As the baby grows, new clothes are to be provided. Expenditure has to be incurred for stitching the new clothes. In the face of poverty, finding money for the new clothes does create problems. But, nobody will grudge such expenditure or term it as an unfortunate expenditure. Nobody will regret the birth of the child merely on account of the expenditure towards the clothes. On

the other hand the parents are happy that the child is growing and as such they have to spend on clothes inspite of their poverty. In economic terms it is known as "Developmental Difficulties". The good thing about it is that the difficulties arise out of favourable circumstances. Whether it is in the life of an individual, an organisation or a society the needs of the circumstances may be such as to be contradictory to each other, yet both may be correct. Take the example of a poor milk vendor who rears the buffalows with a view to sell the milk produced and make a living out of it. Being poor he would like to purchase the buffalows at the lowest possible price, yet he wants that those buffalows should yield more milk so that by vending that milk he can earn his livelihood. At the same time he would also want the buffalows to consume less fodder. A buffalow priced low, consuming less fodder and yielding more milk may be desirable but such expectations are contradictory to each other. So also in the life of an individual, an organisation or a nation problems crop up whether as a result of conducive circumstances or adverse circumstances. As activists, it is essential we understand this in the proper perspective. Even in day-to-day

matters, such contradictions may arise when both the considerations may be equally legitimate. We have been in this convention for the last three days in Bangalore. Every one is pleased with the arrangements and with the deliberations. As an All India Organisation of trade unions, with several National Industrial Federations and thousands of affiliated unions spread over in all the states of our country and as a nationalist organisation having knowledge about our respective industries, about the whole country and also about the international situation, the delegates to this convention are cast with the responsibility to deliberate on all these matters. It is in our jurisdiction to discuss from the problems of the landless labour and the unemployed to the negotiations taking place between Reagan and Gorbachev. Is it possible to discuss and deliberate on such a vast subject within a period of three days? Participation is no doubt essential but how many can get an opportunity to speak within a span of 72 hours. In these 72 hours, time has to be set apart for partaking food, for rest and other ablutions. When important decisions are taken it is a healthy tradition to provide an opportunity for as many people as possible to express their

views. However, we do not accept that only those who express themselves are the thinkers. We can state with pride that the views of an ordinary worker of B. M. S. are worthy of audition by even great leaders of other organisations. Among those assembled here if you decide to give an opportunity to express themselves, only to those whose views are worth hearing, then we will have to accomodate at least few hundred people. But the time limit is only 72 hours. Even though participation is necessary, the convention must be concluded within three days. Both are essential. Can we increase the duration of the convention from three to five days? In that case those who attend it as delegates will have to think about the number of days they have to remain away from their jobs. Will they be able to get the leave for so many days? Will it be possible to make arrangements for so many days stay here? It is not possible. It is a fact that we cannot remain away from our jobs for long. Similarly the participation cannot be effective or fruitful unless we assemble here for a number of days. Even though apparently both are contradictory, both are true. These are developmental difficulties. One need not be despondent about it.

How to find a way out of it has to be considered. For this it is necessary that the level of understanding is raised among the activists. When we think in terms of only one aspect, then we come to the conclusion that it should happen in a particular manner. But the Almighty has devised the world in such a manner that whatever decision you take something or other is bound to go wrong. It is quite natural. It is said Sarvarambhahi Doshena Dhoomenagni Rivavrithah. For in every work there is always something to blame, even as the smoke hides the fire of the flame. To take a decision in which nothing goes wrong has not been possible even for the Almighty. How then it is possible for mortals like us. But, if you develop your level of understanding then to run an Institution, build an organisation and to organise the people it is possible. In the several study classes held by the B.M.S. we have discussed the qualities required to become a good activist. In fact, we have made a list of the qualities. There is a good historical example in the West. Solomon was considered to be the wisest king in the West. When he was an adolescent of the age of 14 years, his father who was the king then, fell ill and it provided an opportunity for

Solomon to assist his father in governing the subjects. When his father's condition deteriorated and it was evident that Solomon has to shoulder the full responsibilities of the King, Solomon went to his room to pray to God. As is the practice with the Jews and Christians, Solomon prayed with the God for a boon kneeling down. Let us understand as to in what state of mind Solomon was while praying? He had to govern a state which was passing through distress. He had before him the problems as well as the pleasures of life. He was to be the king and at the same time face the resultant problems. Solomon prayed with the Almighty: "Lord, give me an understanding heart". This was a short prayer. Solomon who was considered to be the wisest King in the West, prayed for an understanding heart. This prayer of Solomon should be the beacon light for the activists of the B.M.S.. It is essential that we have an understanding heart. Earlier I told you that in our study classes we have discussed the qualities expected of a successful activist. Among those qualities the starting point is an understanding heart. Even in our day-to-day activities we have to raise our level keeping this

in view. I am reminded of a good example. You may feel why I am giving you a common place example. You know that I am living in South Avenue in New Delhi. At five O'clock early in the morning one day someone rung the door bell. I opened the door and found one of our activists who had come from a mofusil place. I welcomed him and asked him to bring his baggage inside. I told the activist that we will first take tea and then go after our work. We have one Ramdhan, a young lad from Rae Bareilly, who looks after my residence right from cleaning the place to cooking the food. I called him and asked him to prepare tea. In my residence the drawing room and the kitchen are adjacent to each other and the activist sitting in his chair could observe the movements in the kitchen. The movements were not visible from the place where I was sitting. After sometime the visiting activist told me, "Thengadiji, your servant Ramdhan was very disciplined, obedient in the past as I had observed during my previous visit. It appears now that his behaviour has been affected by the Delhi atmosphere". I asked him what has gone wrong? He replied that he is not in a hurry for tea, yet

when asked to prepare tea, Ramdhan has ignored the order and he is engrossed in some other work. Immediately I understood the problem. I requested the visiting activist to go to the kitchen and check up whether the milk container had milk in it or not. After all, it was a bachelor's kitchen and therefore open to all. As nobody was expected early in the morning milk might not have been kept overnight. It was hardly 5.15 in the morning and the milk booth was to open only at 6.30 in the morning. It was possible to prepare the tea only after getting the milk from the milk booth. When the activist went inside and checked up he found there was no milk. This was the reason Ramdhan was engaged in some other work and not because the atmosphere of Delhi had spoiled him. In the absence of milk how could he prepare tea? The visiting activist was a very knowledgeable person and an important worker who was capable of understanding every situation. Yet he could not understand the predicament of Ramdhan. Therefore, in such a common place situation he went wrong.

Many a time we think that we have great principles with which we will impress the people

and they will be impressed by them. Day by day I am losing faith that through spoken words we can convince any other person. In the dictionary each word has a definite meaning is known to you as well as me. But when I speak there is no guarantee that you will be able to catch the exact meaning of what I said, merely because that word is in the dictionary. When I speak a sentence in the presence of four persons there is no guarantee that all the four will receive it in the same manner. Each one will absorb it according to his mental background. Each one will receive it in the light of his sweet and bitter experiences, his temperament and his capacity to understand. When you request a person to do something and he does not carry it out, do you find out whether he has understood what you told him? It is likely he might have grasped it in a different manner. In the Indore study class I had narrated an incident about my relatives. They were three brothers. The eldest of them was older by 15 years to the next brother. The eldest could not complete his matriculation on account of poverty and he was working as a clerk with an advocate.

But he brought up his brothers and gave them good education so that they became graduates. The second brother by name Keshav while in the college was caught up in the romantic atmosphere. He married a girl whose looks were not as beautiful as the family wanted. After seven years the youngest of the brothers, by name Madhav got married. I had gone to his marriage along with my father. As is the practice in Vidarbha, after the meals the guests assembled for partaking "PAN". The bridegroom also came there. The elder brother Keshav and the eldest Narayan were also there. On such an occasion the topic of discussion will be generally connected with the marriage. In the course of discussion one of the guests congratulated the eldest brother Narayan for selecting a beautiful girl as bride for Madhav. This infuriated the second brother Keshav. He flared up, "Do you mean to say that my wife is ugly"? All were dumb-found. After all, it was the marriage of Madhav and it was quite natural to comment upon the good looks of the bride. In such a situation, the second brother Keshav is asking whether it meant that his wife is ugly? How did it happen? In fact the person

who had remarked that the bride is beautiful had not even seen the elder brother Keshav's wife and therefore he could not have meant that she was ugly. That is why I said that the mental background of a person, his sweet and bitter feelings etc., will tend to make him understand a thing in a different manner. It is dependent upon his mental composition, his educational background and his level of understanding. Therefore, in practice while trying to convince a person we have to remember one important aspect. What do you want to tell him? We try to tell him about the nation, the society, the industrial family, the problems facing the country and the principles of the B. M. S. My appeal to you is that before you try to tell him about these things, try to understand him first. If we are able to understand his mental background first, it is easy to develop communications with him. However intelligent we are, we will not be able to communicate with the other person in a proper manner unless we are able to understand him first. In our dealings we have experienced many such instances. I will give you an example of one of our activists. He started an union, but he

found that the people were very clever and none was taking interest in running the union. One of the members, a youth of 30-32 years started taking interest in the union's work. Therefore the activist who started the union felt that he should be encouraged. In one of my meetings he came a bit late. As the activist saw him coming he welcomed him with the words, "Welcome, Oh King of Chandni Chowk". I was surprised. I asked the activist why did he say so? He told me that so far none of the members were taking interest in the union's work and he was the only member who had taken interest and therefore he wanted to give him some encouragement. I can understand your giving the encouragement, unless you pat the back of an activist, he may become inactive. But have you understood the consequences of continuously patting the back of an activist? By resorting to flattery you can activate a worker but there is a limit for it. There are some persons who cannot move their bowels unless they take the purgative. Initially they will get the relief even from mild laxatives. With the passage of time the dosage of the laxative will have to be increased so that it may act. Same is the case with the flattery. To encourage him you flattered him with the

words, 'King of Chandni Chowk'. He will get accustomed to it, after sometime he will feel that he deserves greater praise and you will call him 'King of Delhi'. From there where will you take him? That apart, if you keep flattering only one person, will other persons in the union get the incentive to work? Thirdly will it not make the activists arrogant and in turn he will keep away other workers from the field? Will such arrogance not hamper the growth of the organisation? Such encouragement may result in ego. The activist told me that he had not thought in this respect and it is likely that it may build up ego in that person. After sometime he asked me whether a worker should not be encouraged. I told him that a worker has to be encouraged at times, but care should be taken to see that it does not build up his ego. When he does a good thing, he should be congratulated and when he goes wrong he should be pulled up. It cannot be said that one will become a good activist by mere flattery. That apart even while talking with somebody if we go on talking without understanding him it may give wrong results. Therefore, however small or big the opportunity be, we should try to

develop our understanding. If we develop our level of understanding, rest of the things will take care of themselves. Skills will develop by themselves and the capacity to face problems will also develop. To face one's enemies is not difficult, on the contrary to face one's own self it is difficult. It has been said that one's greatest friend is himself and also one's greatest enemy is himself. Therefore, it is necessary to develop one's level of understanding. It is not only applicable in the B. M. S. but also in all walks of life, including the family. As our level of understanding grows, our work will become easier and will grow. From this angle, when we have been deliberating upon the gravest of the problems, we have to think about ourselves also. We are well-versed with the problems faced by us outwardly. What is the knowledge of our problems inwardly? We know what are the challenges we face from outside. It has been often said from the platform of the BMS., that the biggest challenge before us is that of the foreign capital in the form of I.M.S., World Bank, multi-nationals, their agents and their stooges, Indian monopoly capital, big industrial houses such as Tatas and Birlas, Goenkas and

Dalmias and the Government of India whose conspiracy is to form the government on their money power and then utilising the government to increase their wealth, on the policy of, "You scratch my back, I'll scratch your back". In order to confront this conspiracy the B M. S. has stated that it requires immense strength, which can be built up only through the organisation. All those exploited, such as the farmers who are exploited by pricing their produce low, the labourers who are exploited by paying low wages, the consumers who are exploited through high prices, these three exploited groups, the farmers, the labourers and the consumers realising their positions have to build up their respective organisations and come together on a single platform in order to confront the foreign capital which is trying to build up pockets of influence. All those who have national self-respect will have to participate in such a confluence. The supporters of democracy should also participate in it as it is tending to lead towards dictatorship. All these facts must be told to the people and the people should be made aware of it and they should be organised. Then only we will be able to defeat the conspi-

racy, as they have the money as well as the power whereas we have neither. The exploited and their organisations are the only strength of ours and therefore there is a need to develop and strengthen the organisation. We consider this as the answer to the challenges faced by us. There are various needs to develop and strengthen the organisation. There is need to understand the problems of the workers. We should develop the talents to run a trade union effectively such as the skill for negotiation and conciliation and the legal knowledge. But all these qualities can be put to use only when the workers are with you. I am reminded of an incident of the days when we are running the Shakha. Those were the days of the German leaders such as Marshall Goring. One is made the commander. The commander of our branch used to chastise others. When I objected to it he asked me whether discipline should be given a go by. I told him that for infusing discipline, first people must be brought to the Shakha. First bring the people and then you think of educating them. If none is present whom are you going to educate. All our qualities can be put to the best use only when people come to

us and remain with us. If you want to collect people with us, there is a need to develop one's own understanding. It will not help if one were to state that I am always right, who is there to prove that I am wrong. We have not only to educate those with us but also we should be able to bring with us those uncommitted labourers who are outside. It should be our endeavour to see that staunch communists are also made B. M. S. minded. It is not our policy that we should finish a person merely because he is a communist. We will assimilate them. Our friend Bachraj Vyas used to state that we should make aggressive love towards all. With the whole society we should have aggressive love. Someone asked Bachraj Vyas what was the definition of his aggressive love? Bachraj Vyas was cinema oriented. Therefore he said by aggressive love he meant whether you like it or not, I am in love with you. It is not the corrupting affection. The greatest affection is that of a mother. We too must have the heart of a mother. It does not mean that the child should be spoiled with affection. If the child does not behave properly, the mother does not hesitate to spank it. At times the child is forced to go hungry so that

it can correct itself. This is also the part of the duty of a mother, but all this is done with a mother's heart and with affection. Therefore the pre-condition is the mother's heart and affection. When we say that all should be taken along with us, we should remember all do not come out of the same mould. Each one will be different. Therefore, there is a need to have control on our tongue, what we hear and on our expressions. Even with those who are totally opposed to us we should talk with all civility. We are not going to succeed only with the help of arguments. Many a time on account of arguments we lose the individual and therefore it has been said that you win an argument and lose a man. Then what is the method to win over even a total opponent? It is not difficult even to dissolve the metal. It dissolves in nitric acid. A student came to know this in the laboratory. To his surprise he found that the metal had been placed in diluted nitric acid. After sometime the metal got dissolved in the diluted nitric acid. The student felt instead of diluted nitric acid if the metal is placed in concentrated nitric acid it may get dissolved quickly. Therefore when the Profes-

sor left, the student placed the metal in the concentrated nitric acid. But the result was not as anticipated. Strong nitric acid formed nitrate on the surface of the metal and the crystals of such nitrate provided a cover for the metal and thereby prevented the metal from getting dissolved in the acid. Therefore, we should remember that for those who differ with us, there is a need for diluted acid action. Such action is only through developing our level of understanding. Through this we can develop the strength of our organisation. When the organisation grows all our talents can be put to best of use. Therefore our primary objective should be to develop the organisation. History has cast upon us the responsibility of facing the biggest battle and in discharging that responsibility there is going to be a strong conflict. For the strong conflict there is a need for strong organisation. For such an organisation there is a need for proper understanding. In facing the exterior problems, the circumstances may have a role to play, but to develop our own level of understanding no such constraint will be there. Therefore our effort should be subjective, in order to develop

our level of understanding. This will be our greatest achievement. Swamy Vivekananda has said that if we bring the chemicals together in the right proportion, the crystallisation will take place on its own. In our battle our opponents have all the equipment. As Tulsidas said, "Ravana Rathi, Biratha Raghuveera," we are in such a position. But it need not be a matter of despair. Lord has assured that where there is truthful determination and immense confidence he will be there. This is a sacred work, this is the work of the Almighty. This confidence will generate when the person is totally humble, with no axe of his own to grind, when he is self-less, when he forgets his comforts and his false pride, where "I" gets lost and only "you" remains., the Almighty's work is destined to be successful and it is in our domain to turn the work into the Almighty's work. When in our motivation "I" gets lost, the vacuum will be filled up by the Almighty himself and thereby it becomes "Ishwari Karya", Almighty's work and it will be destined to succeed. It is certain that nobody can defeat such work. If you look to the world history, you will find that those who have great achievements to their cre-

dit had also to face great difficulties. The gravity of the adversity did not deter them. All are aware of the incident in the life of Prophet Mohamed. Abu Bakr and Prophet Mohamed were the only two in their flight to Medina. Their camels were old whereas the pursuers had young camels. During the flight, in order to escape from the pursuers they hid themselves in a cave. The pursuers following the foot prints of the camels reached the entrance to the cave. The foot prints of the camels had abruptly ended near the mouth of the cave. Therefore the pursuers started searching in the vicinity. Observing them Abu Bakr expresse his fears to the Prophet. "We are only two and the pursuers are many, what will happen if they are able to find us ?." Then the Prophet tells Abu Bakr, "We are three". Abu Bakr looks around the cave and says, "No, we are only two". Prophet replies, "You cannot see that we are three. The third one is so powerful, having more strength than all our pursuers put together. He is the Almighty". This is the confidence. Let us be clear in our mind about one thing. Let us not equate what goes on in the name of Islam now, with Prophet Mohamed. Similarly the agents of American

Imperialism who come in the garb of missionaries should not be equated with Jesus Christ who died on the cross. Whoever were responsible for historical events had the confidence that whatever may be their small number, whatever may be the lack of resources success, they are bound to succeed. Even in our own history there are several such examples. When Chatrapathi Shivaji started his work, what did he had? Northern India was under the Moghuls. Five Badashahis were ruling the South. To start with Hindvi Swaraj, he had not an inch of land with him. Opponents had large armies and big treasures. Yet as a lad of 10-12 years age he collected a dozen of his friends and took the oath that he will establish Hindvi Swaraj. Fighting the five Badashahis and the great Moghul empire he succeeded in establishing the Hindvi Swaraj. How was it possible? Someone asked Shivaji whether it was his empire. Shivaji replied it is not his, it was the wish of "SHRI" i. e., that of Bhagavathi. The empire is that of Dharma and not that of Shivaji. It was a case of forgetting his ego and attributing everything to Bhagavathi and to the manifestation of the strength of Bhagavathi. In every case, wherein one forgets his pride and ego and surrenders

himself fully to the will of the Almighty, the work transforms into that of the Almighty. With vehemence we can state that in spite of the adverse circumstances if the work of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is growing, when the atmosphere is so much polluted when 70 crores of people of this country have stood in the queue for becoming Prime Minister and yet with such intense idealism each worker of the B. M. S. feels, "Not me, You Alone", this has to be the work of the Almighty. Therefore, this is bound to succeed, one need not have any doubts. We have confidence in the lasting victory. Along with resolve, if you raise our level of understanding, other things will take care of themselves, no one need worry. Crystallisation will take care of itself. If we are virtuous, Almighty will make our task easy. With the firm faith, have this confidence. I have already said that within a short span of three days it is not possible to deliberate upon all the problems faced by so many industries and so many unions. We will be returning from here with the recapitulation what we are. Jesus Christ had said, "know thy self". What are we? We are the Almighty's work known by the name Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh. In our study classes

we have known the path, B.M.S. has taken. There is need to know the industrial laws, the ins and outs of the industries and the psychology of the workers. In order to understand these things in their proper perspective there is need to raise our level of understanding. With this confidence, giving up all ego, with the dedication of an idealist, if we pray to the Almighty our prayers will be answered. I am reminded of a rhyme taught in a Christian School :

When you see the morning light,
Say a prayer,
When you go to bed at night,
Say a prayer,
When the tasks that are ahead of you,
Seem to be too much for you,
Close your eyes and take your cue,
Say a prayer.

We have before us several problems. We have to face the united strength of the Government and the capitalists. We are in the National Campaign Committee, yet at the level of the shop floor there are fights. On some other occasions we embrace each other. The outsiders are not able to assess the work turned

out by the B.M.S., All these complexities are there. Yet, when the tasks that are ahead of you, seem to be too much for you close your eyes and take your cue, say a prayer. With this confidence that we alone are going to succeed and no one else, let us work. At present there may be ups and downs, but nobody can steal a march over us. Because it is the fight with the government, capitalists, the national and international capital, it is going to be the last fight and it is not far off.

Therefore, while returning from here, let us address the Almighty.

God we enter our last fight,
 Thou knowest that our cause is right,
 Make us march in thy light,
 On to victory.



*One who is indeed free from all
and every attachment,
Free from ego and with mind confident
and in firm detachment,
Unmoved by the smile of success
or by the sigh of failure,
That doer of deeds is a man
who is always right and pure,*

— BHAGAWAD GITA
Chapter XVIII, Stanza 26.