CHAPTER VII

LABOUR; ITS RELATION WITH CAPITAL

Gandhiji had close connections with labour both connected with industrial units and land which began from his first voyage to South Africa. He had to his credit three major achievements concerning labourers: 1. Securing freedom for the indentured labourers of S. Africa; 2. Establishing a unique and non-violent union for textile workers of Ahmedabad; 3. Fighting out the miseries of Kisan (Agricultural) labourers of Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli, and Borsad.

Gandhiji himself led the life of a labourer in South Africa and since then he had begun to realise miserable plight of the labourers by close contact with them. Gandhiji called himself Harijan to indicate his close association with the most down-trodden labourers.

Gandhiji felt that proletariats had been neglected for centuries. We have for long subjugated them without the least awareness that they too have the right to demand their own wages. We should think in terms of "their needs, their hour of work and leisure and their standard of living." 1

His approach to the labour problems, like other problems, was non-violent. He dealt with different problems of labour on different occasions. We shall hereafter take up the study of Gandhiji's ideas. It will not be beside the point to say that as he was closely associated with all kinds

of labour class of India, he had cordial relations with big capitalists too, who revered him and even sought his advice on trivial matters.

Right to work and Service Conditions:

Gandhiji preferred in 1920 (a period when labour in India was under severe depressed condition) that working hours be reduced to 10 instead of 12. He opined that twelve hours of labour is too much and at the same time disadvantageous to both the workers and the employers. He said, "But I would certainly hope that when the hours are reduced to ten the labourers will put in better and almost the same amount of work as in twelve hours. Reduction in hours of labour has brought about happy results in England. When mill-hands learn to identify themselves with the interest of the mill owners, they will rise and with them will rise the industries of our country."\(^1\)

Gandhiji disdained children and women being employed in mills. Children should be in schools up to the age of 16. Women should be gradually discouraged from mills. Workmen and women together make a life. The division of work in a family calls from the society that women should look after the home and children. Gandhiji writes, "...where both husband and wife have to labour for mere maintenance, the nation must become degraded. It is like a bankrupt living on his capital."\(^2\)

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1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 357
2. Ibid., p. 356.
In an ideal society eight hours of work will provide sufficient means of livelihood. Female section will no doubt help in the family evocations but their main time will be spent in home doing house-hold works.

Right to Reasonable Income:

Agriculturists, harijans and other labour classes should be protected and ensured a living wage against marginal remuneration they get. Their state of poverty should not be exploited.

About minimum wage Gandhiji says, "The only standard is to get the daily bread. To seek to pay anything less would be called criminal." 'Minimum wage' was termed by Gandhiji as 'living wage.' He says, "... there must be a decision as to what constitutes a living wage. I am not concerned with the name. Call it the minimum wage, if that expression sounds sweet. Living wage to my mind is the most accurate description of irreducible wage." A living wage must be sufficient to provide a balanced diet to the labourer's family. There can be a limit to his wage. Gandhiji did not aspire for peasants and workers a handsome remuneration, or "anything more for workers and peasants than enough to eat and house, and clothe themselves and live in, ordinary comforts or self-respecting human beings." 3

Gandhiji was against great disparity of income. He says, "Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage,

2. Ibid, p. 400.
even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference."

The tendency to extract too much of work and pay as little as it could be is highly disastrous from any of the angle we may consider. But this tendency is persisting and will persist until labour class comes to their consciousness. To curb such tendencies Gandhiji said, "I would honour you as brave men if you would accept a state of utter starvation rather than that you should labour on such insufficient wages as would render it impossible for you to observe the primary laws of morality.""^2

Gandhiji remarks, "It is now time to examine the use we should make of the increasing wages and the hours saved. It would be like going into the frying pan out of the fire to use the increase in wages in the grog-shop and the hours saved from the gambling den.""^3 The plight of labourers is very miserable and they have little knowledge of self improvement. They feel themselves to be too much degraded and care a fig to the family welfare.

The demands for increasing wages must be considered in the light of: 1. Whether such demand is justifiable, looking to their need and also looking to the purse of the concern. 2. Whether it adversely affects the consumer. Gandhiji says,

1. Gupta, Economic Philosophy, p.123
2. Ratnesh, Economic Thought, p. 372
3. Ibid, p. 357.
"More increase in wages should not satisfy you; you must also watch by what means they got it and how they spend it."¹

If labourers are careful and vigilant then they will change the capitalist tendency of gaining over profit.

Gandhiji gave thought to reducing the wage also. The condition put for cut in wages was, "The question of cut can occur, if at all, only when the wages are so good as to leave a margin after paying for living expenses and when the industry concerned has to face an actual deficit."² It has besides humanitarian point of view the consideration for their own existence side by side with the existence of industry. This tendency will promote industrial peace.

Right to Participate in Management:

Problem regarding labourers engaged in cottage industry altogether differs from those engaged in mill industry. As for as agricultural labourer is concerned Gandhiji was of the opinion that one who toils soil, should have the right over the land, till he remains actual tiller. In this respect Gandhiji called himself a socialist. He opines, "Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught : ' All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line and he can therefore unmake it. Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State, i.e., the people... Land and all property is his who will work it.

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¹ Mathur, Economic Thought, p.362.
² Ibid., p.363.
unfortunately the workers are or have been kept ignorant of this simple fact."¹ Under Gandhiji’s scheme agriculture and Khadi becomes the family trait. Therefore labourers themselves becomes the part owner of their capital and the entrepreneur.

Gandhiji opined that a mill or a industry does not belong to the capitalist or to the shareholders alone. It is shared by the labour as well. A labourer puts his labour to the concern in the same way as capitalist invests his capital. Therefore labour must have its voice in the management. There should be respectable division of dividends, wages and prices. Employer, labour and public must have certain relationship.

The question of price of a commodity not only concerns with capitalist but the labourers too have some voice in it. Gandhiji says, "As the labourers become more organised and think of the country as well as themselves they will fight for a due adjustment of prices of manufactures to the making of which they contribute so much labour."²

Right to Organise:

Union is a must for achieving lasting success in the strife of capital and labour. Union should act as impartial guide and should have no political base or any other selfish motive behind it. Besides uniting labour and capital labour union has some other important tasks to perform :

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1. Mathur, Economic Thought, P. 525
2. Ibid, 365.
(a) Enlightening the labour class and wiping out their slave mentality.
(b) Making labour master of the means of production.
(c) Providing them better conditions of service.

All the workers must be the members of one union. Union should elect its own leader from among the members of the Union.

Gandhiji pointed out in 1921, "The labour world in India, as elsewhere, is at the mercy of those who set up as advisors and guides. The latter are not always scrupulous and not always wise even when they are scrupulous." Addressing to the workers of Ahmedabad he concludes "The secret of your success is that, the men and women, who guide you, have no axes to grind. They have no base interest to serve." On occasion he remarks, "An organisation which has no directing mind or which has no members cooperating with the mind suffers from paralysis and is in dying condition."  

Right to participate in Politics:

India has witnessed a pretty long period of depression in the condition of her working population. With the increase in national feelings Gandhiji observed that labourers were becoming enlightened gradually. Gandhiji was of the opinion that labour class can be employed to achieve the just political cause, but it should in no way be encouraged to adopt violent means. He says, "... It is a most dangerous thing to make political use of labour until labourers understand the political condition of the country and are prepared to work for the common good." Such situation can come only when labourers begin to
to get a living wage and some freedom of thought and action. Until the labourer becomes educated and conscious of the world around it is wrong to entangle him in politics. "The greatest political contribution" opines Gandhiji, "Therefore, that labourers can make is to improve their own condition, to become better informed, to insist on their rights, and even to demand proper use by their employers of the manufactures in which they have had such an important hand."¹ Workers have to raise to the status of part-proprietors.

Gandhiji successfully pleaded for the cause of Kisan of Champaran and his non-violent way were successful even in the cases of Kisan movements of Kheda, Bardoli, and Borsad. In his Constructive Programme, Gandhiji writes, "About the Kisan movement too there is, I fear, an ugly competition to use Kisans for power politics."² Such practice is violent. Mentioning the Kisan movement in Kheda, Bardoli and Borsad he further writes, "The secret of success lies in a refusal to exploit the Kisans for political purpose outside their own personal and felt grievances."³

Right to Strike:

Strike is the result of some kind of unrest prevailing in labour class. Therefore Gandhiji did favour strikes and felt the necessity of Union. He was pioneer in forming a non-violent union of Ahmedabad Textile Workers in 1918. He himself conducted the most remarkable strike in the year 1918. When the workers began to lose their courage before the

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². Ibid, p. 409
rigidity of the stanch capitalists, Gandhiji took to fast. He made the workers realize the value of their vow and fused in them 'starve but keep your vow,' himself fasting unto death on behalf of the workers. Through his fast Gandhiji also made the workers realize that the uplift of workers depend on the workers themselves.

Preconditions and Success of Strike:

Strike should be the last weapon of workers. It must be very carefully and thoughtfully conducted. Before taking a final decision for strike, it is essential that employees should first negotiate with the employer. As per Gandhiji's views the following are the essentials of strike.1

1. Real grievance;
2. No dependence on public charity or subscription;
3. Declaration of unalterable minimum demand.

Ahmedabad labour union started experiments in training supplementary occupation for the mill workers so that they are saved from starvation during the hours of strikes and lockouts. It was the belief of Gandhiji that working knowledge of variety of occupation of workers was equal to metals for capitalists.

A striking point in Gandhiji's thought is that he was not in favour that workers should demand wages for the periods of strike. It is illegal and at the same time debasing to the workers rightful demand. He says, "A warrior must fight on his own strength."2

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 416
2. Ibid., p. 350.
There are six points laid down by Gandhiji for successful strike:

1. The cause of the strike must be just.
2. There should be practical unanimity among the strikers.
3. There should be no violence used against non-strikers.
4. Strikers should be able to maintain themselves during the strike period without falling back upon Union funds and should therefore occupy themselves in some useful and productive temporary occupation.
5. A strike is no remedy when there is enough other labour to replace strikers. In that case, in the event of unjust treatment or inadequate wages or the like, resignation is the remedy.
6. Successful strikes have taken place even when all the above conditions have not been fulfilled. But that merely proves that the employees were weak and have a guilty conscious. We often make terrible mistakes by occupying bad examples..."¹

Again at another place Gandhiji says that success of strike depends on, 1, it’s justifiable merits;
2, public sympathy.

Strikes to be free from goondaism and looting and to be under the purview of union, must be spontaneous and not manipulated."²

Gandhiji opined that 'Strikes ought to be impossible when there is perfect understanding between capital and labour, mutual respect and recognition of equality."³ It may take a long way to reach to their stage. There will be some conflict

¹ Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 360
³ Ibid, p. 412
even when such a cordial relation exists in between them.

During the severe labour disputes and flood of strikes in 1946, Gandhiji was asked whether there is any significance in the increasing number and magnitude of labour strikes in India and what shall be its result or repercussion on Indian economy. Gandhiji believed that strikes like other infectious diseases have become universal and America and England are no exception. But future insight of strikes in India was different. He said, "We are living under an unnatural condition. As soon as the lid is removed and there is a crevice letting in the fresh air of freedom, there will be an increasing number of strikes." The most revealing point in his whole answer was to locate the evil. He said, "The fundamental reason for this spreading strike fever is that life here as elsewhere, is today uprooted from its basis, the basis of religion and what an English writer has called 'cash nexus' has taken its place. And that is a precarious bond." ¹

About sympathetic strike: Gandhiji says, "Sympathetic strikes must be a taboo until it is conclusively proved that the affected men have exhausted all the legitimate means at their disposal and until the Congress has been proved to have betrayed or neglected their interest or until the Congress has called for sympathetic strikes, in order to secure justice from obdurate and sympathetic authorities."²

Strike is not a matter of right of each category of employees. Police cannot go on strikes. They have to render their service irrespective of pay. Police are khudai khidmadgar.

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 418
They are custodians of law."1

Even sweepers are not entitled to go on strike, looking to their important nature of work. Gandhiji says, "My opinion against sweepers strikes dates back to about 1897 when I was in Durban... Just as man cannot live without air so too he can not exist for long if his home and surroundings are not clean. One or other epidemic is bound to break out especially when modern drainage is put out of action."2

Limitations should be to such fields only which has direct correlation with the public safety. Limitation does not come in the way of their right to demand the justice.

At one place Gandhiji mentioned, "Strikes for economic betterment should never have a political end as an ulterior motive."3 Political strikes must be on a different basis; they have specific place in non-violent action. But in no case they should be mixed with economic strikes. Care should be taken to understand the purpose of the strikes.

Arbitration:

Gandhiji was the pioneer in introducing arbitration for amicable settlement of disputes. When both parties (workers and employers) accept the arbitration, decision must be respected by both. But it must not be taken that for all the trifling differences arbitration should be sought. Intervention of a third party is not alway desirable. It is humiliating for both.

1. Lathur, Economic Thought, p. 419
2. Ibid, p. 413-14
3. Ibid, p. 417
To solve their grievance, workers should first approach, for their rightful and just demand, to their employers through the union. If they fail in their attempt then they could accept the arbitration. Strikes should as far as possible be averted.

He says, "I know that strikes are an inherent right of the working men for the purpose of securing justice, but they must be considered a crime immediately the capitalist accept the principle of arbitration."  

Welfare Activities and Social Security Measures:

Gandhiji was in favour of welfare activities for the workers, like cheap restaurants, pure milk, and wholesome refreshments, reading room and better surroundings. Expressing his views on prohibition Gandhiji says, "Employers of labour will be expected by law to provide cheap, healthy refreshment, reading and entertainment rooms where the working men can go and find shelter, knowledge, health-giving food and drink and innocent fun."  Welfare activities should be undertaken not only by the employers but also by the unions.

The basic purpose of welfare activities should be to improve the labourers from within. Gandhiji therefore mentioned that the unions "will be better employed in devising means of improvement from within than fighting the capitalist."  This indicates that the main purpose of the union is to employ its good office in developing the labourers worth. If the knowledge and character (the intrinsic qualities) are improved the labourers will then automatically feel the position of their own strength and such welfare activities will bring the real fruit.

1. Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 357
2. Ibid., p. 443.
3. Ibid, p. 357.
Though Gandhiji favoured labour welfare activities, he at the same time felt that they should not be the cost of making labourers serf for all the ages. Its purpose should be to help the labourers in maintaining good health and happy mind. European firms generally boast that they treat their labour better than many other firms. Such treatment of European firms was like a 'fine cattle keeper'. Gandhi remarks, "... men may be treated like cattle, many a European manager would earn a certificate of merit from a Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Society. I know from experience, that free medicine, free medical attendance, free housing accommodation and free grazing ground are so many tricks of the trade, designed to keep the 'coolie' a serf for ever. He would be a free man for being paid full wages and charged for housing and medicine.

Once Gandhiji was presented with a Industrial Insurance Scheme. He openly confessed that he has little knowledge of it. But he had his own opinion regarding medical relief to the employees. He was against free medical relief. He said, "It should be genuine, prompt and cheap. Free aid is likely to undermine their independent spirit. Sometimes free aid is rendered perfunctorily and sometimes it is abused, from both of which evils the clarks should be saved." 1

among the capital and labour class. Thus expresses Gandhiji, "The conflict between monied classes and labourers is merely seeming. When labour is intelligent enough to organise itself and learn to act as one man, it will have the same weight as money if not much greater. The conflict is really between intelligence and unintelligence."¹

Class struggle do exist in society. It should neither be fomented nor should be side tracked. The right course is to try to find out ways and means to avoid it. When the main reason for such class struggle is grave, it is not desirable to instigate the unintelligent labour to keep up the class struggle. Unintelligent must become intelligent and every thing will be set aright.

Though obscured, the labour class holds superior position than the capitalist class, on account of the weakness of this class the capitalists through cunningness have been maintaining their superiority over them; it is a severe blow to the labour class.

Class struggle has given birth to socialism of the present day under the capitalistic anarchism. But instead of proving a remedial measure socialism may create its own anarchism. Capitalistic economy claims that it helps to end the class conflict in a natural manner. Socialistic economy believes in deliberate control which will rub out this struggle. Gandhiji had stressed on a non-violent way—a way that claims better understandings, amicable relations, flow of natural sequence

¹ Mathur, Economic Thought p. 395.
without resistance and thus eliminating the class war.

What capitalist possesses is money - 'a token of exchange'
It can be worthless if labour refuses to co-operate with capitalist. But labour is too weak to non-co-operate. This is all due to his ignorance and unintelligence. Capitalists are so few that they can be counted in fingers whereas labourers are in overwhelming majority. But capitalist have unity and labourers have no unity. Gandhiji points out, "While capital in India is fairly organised, labour is still in a more or less disorganised condition in spite of unions and their federation. Therefore, it lacks the power that true combination gives." On the other hand "Lack of intelligence" in labour class, "leads to its exploitation by selfish and un-scrupulous men even to the point of creating and promoting mischief."¹

Labour if united, their value of a day will be their one day's capital. Suppose a labourer earns Rs.2/- a day and 50,000 labourers unite together, that will mean their one day's value in terms of capital will be worth Rs.1,00,000. The condition for such state is that labour must be united. Neither the labour class nor the capitalist class try to understand the value and worth of each other. Class struggle, as Gandhiji feels, is the sign of weakness and in any case it should be wiped out for the perpetual betterment of the society. He says, "To inflame labour against monied men is to perpetuate class hatred and all the evil consequences flowing from it. The strife is a vicious circle to be avoided at any cost. It is an admission of weakness, a sign of inferiority complex.

¹. Fathur, Economic Thought, p.413
The moment labour recognises its own dignity, money will find its rightful place, i.e., it will be held in trust for labour. For labour is more than money.¹

Labourer's capital is his skill. Capitalist lacks in this skill but he bears the knowledge of coordinating different factors for running the mill, which labourers do not possess.

Gandhiji feels that labourer was a great leveller of all distinctions. It is on account of his circumstances, loath and inertia that he remains unintelligent. He is labourer by conviction. This weakness of him is the cause that they are easily swayed away with violence. They do not realise that violence on their part means for them to kill the goose that laid golden egg. Labour has to realise their real worth. It is the labour that turns gold, silver and copper into commodities which otherwise would have remained a useless burden.²

Capital controlled the labour because it knew the art of combination. Drops in separation would easily fade away; drops in co-operation made the mighty ocean which carries on its broad bosom the ocean grey-hounds. It calls for co-operation of all the labourers the world around. They should care for each other's existence and should not look to their own benefits or higher wages. Only then they will be not wholly dependant on the capitalist.

Worker's capital is his labour which is inexhaustible. It can not be stolen. It earns the interest (in the form of wages). On the other hand capital can be exhausted, mismanaged, stolen or wasted.

¹. Rathur Economic Thought, p. 395
². Ibid., p. 397.
Money is the weapon of capitalist and labour the tool of labourer. Labourers weapon is attached with him. Capitalist main weapon is separate from him. Capitalist is greedy, at the same time shrewd. He takes the advantage of simple nature of labourers. "In the struggle between capital and labour, it may be generally said that more often than not the capitalists are in the wrong box. But when labour comes fully to realise its strength, I know it can become more tyrannical than capital. The millowners will have to work on the terms dictated by labour, if the latter could command intelligence of the former. It is clear, however, that labour will never attain to that intelligence, of the former. It is clear however if it does, labour will cease to be labour and become itself the master."¹

It is not only the labour class who suffers of his own lack of intelligence and lack of unity but whole community suffers. Even the capitalists do not realise that their selfish trend included with their shrewdness is suicidal to themselves, to the labour class and to the community as a whole. Gandhiji says, "A satisfactory solution must include the following:

1. The hours of labour must leave the workmen some hours of leisure.
2. They must get facilities for their own education.
3. Provision should be made for an adequate supply of milk clothing and necessary education for their children.
4. There should be sanitary dwellings for the workmen.
5. They should be in the position to save enough to maintain themselves during their old age."²

¹ Mathur, Economic Thought, p.361.
² Ibid.
Labour has a great power, incompatible with any of the greatest power of the capitalist, of the kind of gun and poisonous and destructive materials and that power can use his 'no', where he feels it proper, to the call of capitalist. By using this power he can understand that he has an independent entity of his own. Thus Gandhiji proves by this simple formula that 'labour is free of capital and capital has to woo labour.' And says, "... it would not matter in the slightest degree that capital has guns and even poison gas at its disposal. Capital would still be perfectly helpless if labour would assert its dignity by making good its. " No."¹ This shall sterilise the capital and labour would realise that it is free of capital. Gandhiji asserts, "The whole reason why labour so often fails is that instead of sterilizing capital as I have suggested, 'labour (I am speaking as a labourer myself) wants to seize that capital and become capitalist itself in the worst sense of the term. And the capitalist therefore who is properly entrenched and organised, finding among the labourers also candidates for the same office makes use of portion of the to suppress labour. If we really were not under this hypnotic spell, every one of us, men and women, would recognise this rock-bottom truth without the slightest difficulty."²

The present world of economics is ruled by the power of money. Gandhiji feels, "... only capitalists have control over the money market, labour has not over its labour market, although if labour had been well served by it chosen leaders, it would have become conscious of the irresistible power that comes from proper instruction in non-violence."³

¹ Mathur, Economic Thought, p. 365
² Ibid.
³ Mathur, Essays, p. 63
Capitalist prefers mechanisation because machines reduce the worth of labour. "the intelligence of the working man" opines Gandhiji, "is crammed by his soulless, mechanical occupation which leave him little scope or chance to develop his mind. It has prevented him from realizing the power and full dignity of his status. He has been taught to believe that his wages have to be dictated by capitalists instead of his demanding his own terms. Let him only be organised along right lines and have his intelligence quickened, let him learn a variety of occupations, and he will be able to go about with his head erect and never be afraid of being without means of sustenance." 1

It is essential that labour acquires the knowledge of running the mill. Gandhiji addressing to the labourers, of Gujrat said, "You have not acquired the capacity to run a mill even after these twenty years of organised work, nor are you likely to acquire that capacity within the next 20 years. If you think you have, you do not need a leader to lead you." 2 It is useless to think that class war can bring this quality in them.

Right to become effective member of society:

It is no use to grumble over the other class and agitate violently. Violence shows one’s own weakness. Violence always gives birth to a counter superior violence and further creates ill will and chaos.

Gandhiji advises labour to gather courage, become strong from within and from without to fight out their own weakness.

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1. Mathur, Economic Thought, P.402
2. Ibid., p. 397.
first and thus prepare for fighting out with the capitalist non-violently for their own lights. Our internal strength should render all exploitations impossible.

The non-violent approach demands noble ideals. We cannot follow the West to fight out the class struggle. "In the West", says Gandhiji, "there is still a watertight division between the employer and the employees". Highest ideals as is revealed from his writings is, "The relation between the millagents and millhands ought to be one of father and children or as between blood-brothers".

If there is cordial relation between employer and employees, then the labour union will engage itself for advancing superior knowledge to its workers. Even employers expenditure will be cut down and production will be automatically increased.

The non-violent method helps in awakening capitalists from the wrongs that he does in the arrogance of his superiority. It makes him aware of the fact that it is the people who form ultimately his source of wealth. People's sympathy plays a great role in any form of class struggle (including strike). Consciousness of the people about their own worth and part played by them in enriching the capitalist comes only through non-violent approach by the labourer. If capitalists do not realise this and act in a different way, they shall invite their own death. Gandhiji's non-violent advice to the capitalist is to become the trustee of the wealth so acquired. This will help in removing the exploiting tendency from the capitalist class and class-conflict will come to an end. Its effect will be manifold.

1. Rathur, Economic Thought, P.379
Under the non-violent means the beginning will have to be made by the individual and not the class as a whole. Individual need not wait for the co-partners and should take the lead, with faith, less caring for his personal loss. Gandhiji says, "... You will see that what labourer is called upon to do under this scheme of non-violence is nothing more than the Swiss soldier does under gun-fire, or the ordinary soldier who is armed from top to toe is called upon to do. While he undoubtedly seeks to inflict death and destruction upon his adversary he also carries his own life in his pocket. I want labour, then, to copy the courage of the soldier without applying the brute in the soldier, namely, the ability to inflict death, and I suggest to you that the labourer who courts death and has the courage to die without even carrying arms, with no weapon of self-defence, shows a courage of much higher degree that a man who is armed from top to toe."  

"Non-violent way brings a tremendous change in the whole atmosphere. "In fact, capital and labour will be mutual trustees, and both will be trustees of consumers. The trusteeship theory is not unilateral and does not in the least imply superiority of the trustee."  

Non-violent way seeks to destroy the capitalism but not the capitalist. "It can be usually demonstrated that destruction of the capitalist must mean destruction in the end of the worker and as no human being is so bad as to be beyond redemption, no human being is so perfect as to warrant his destroying him whom

1. Rathur, Economic Thought, p. 386
2. Ibid, p. 405.
he wrongly confers to be wholly evil." Importance of capital cannot be nullified by the labour. It possesses its own value. At the same time it is also evident that the most of labour class will remain unintelligent for a long time to come. Gandhiji feels, "Inequalities in intelligence and even opportunity will last till the end of time".

Non-violent method is based on the fact that if human being is corrected all the theories and ideologies will set right without further efforts. Real struggle starts with human mind. This method has the capacity to mould each human mind in the right direction. It is such a hammer that can be even applied to the rusted mind. Of course it takes its own time, but the time taken to rectify the rusted mind is unavoidable.

Capital and labour both have been taken by Gandhiji on equal basis. He says, "If capital is power, so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependant on the other. Immediately the worker realises his strength, he is in a position to become co-sharer with the capitalist instead of remaining his slave. If he aims at becoming the sole owner, he will most likely be killing the hen that lays golden eggs."  

Capital and labour will have to share collectively the profit and loss of the concern. None of them can have the independant identity.

Before concluding on capital and labour conflict it is proper to emphasise on the main point of difference of the

2. Ibid.
conflict or class struggle. The grave gap in intelligence must be engulfed. "And if" feels Gandhiji, "both labour and capital have the gift of intelligence equally developed in them and have confidence in their capacity to secure a fair deal, each at the hands of the other, they would get to respect and appreciate each other as equal partners in a common enterprise. They need not regard each other as inherently irreconcilable antagonists."\(^1\) Gandhiji felt that the hurdle is 'capital is organised and seem to be securely entrenched'. But after independence the situation is gradually changing. It is at this turning point that we need the approach of Gandhiji to achieve a peaceful settlement. Amicable relations and settlement on equality basis between the two classes will help to increase national income considerably. If tillers get their due share, the phase of the country will altogether change.

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