

THE CRISIS OF UNIONISM BETWEEN CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGIES AND ISLAM

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The trade union movement is one of the most influential movements in the history of nations. It has restored the self-confidence of workers, enabled them to voice their opinions in Industry and raised their material status. This has resulted in the general betterment of the living standards of the whole nation 'from the miner to the bishop'. Nevertheless, this great movement has not received from writers and thinkers appreciation to correspond with its achievements. The trade union movement has started a new chapter in the Book of Liberties. Thanks to its efforts, the establishment of societies, organizations of meetings and demonstrations has become not only legal but normal practice. Its material achievements for workers such as wage-increases, fringe benefits and sharing in the management of industry have exceeded the achievements of democracy and socialism themselves. Trade unionism was a revolution but it has remained until now a silent revolution. Moreover, this movement, although it has survived for two hundred years-longer than many others, as Arthur Koestler pointed out-still undergoes serious difficulties. Some of these difficulties result from its conception, its attitude towards society as a whole and the resultant conflicting interests, others issue from its relation to workers and the disruptions associated with it.

These two factors demonstrate an inherent trade-union crisis, the solution of which depends on reaching a new conceptualization of Trade-unionism.

The International Islamic Confederation of Labour, which is basically a labour organization created by a trade-unionist author and lecturer to attain this goal. We believe will succeed through the introduction element, namely Islam.

It may be thought that this makes the experiment inapplicable to non-Islamic countries; this is untrue because Islam is not merely a religious also a cultural heritage valuable for the whole of mankind. Perhaps some non-Islamic European today are more akin to the spirit of Islam than some Moderns. Even if we leave Islam out of the

experiment, the universality of some of its principles can help in tackling this crisis.

Contemporary ideologies impose themselves upon trade-unionism during the first third of the eighteenth century in Britain artisans and craftsmen were confronted by the changes in the means of production, and therefore in their own status, caused by the Industrial Revolution. Their spontaneous reaction was complete rejection. They saw in the engine a diabolic monster, in the factors' an abhorrent prison, and so they started destroying these engines and factories. The Luddite movement was an expression of these sentiments. Writers of that epoch considered Lud a lunatic, a rebel, one of the miserable unemployed, but he was not alone -destroying machines was a phenomenon that repeated itself in every country when they were first introduced. It was natural for workers to feel this way, for the skills which had been of primary importance to industry had suddenly become valueless. But then, as now, resistance to the new technology was of no avail.

Irresistibly Capitalism imposed itself on the whole of society, including the workers.

After two generations of Luddite revolt a new breed of workers emerged, brought up to the idea of factories, who accepted the necessity for working in them. The leaders of this generation of skilled workers, the Junta' (as Sidney and Beatrice Webb in England and Gompers in the United States called them) laid the solid foundation for the (pure and simple) trade-unionism which prevails to the present day in most capitalist societies.

This type of trade unionism not only acknowledges capitalism, it accepts the status quo and owes its very existence to it and derives its techniques from it. In the climate of laissez-faire this movement was able* to rise and to arm itself with the same weapons used by capitalists.

In Marxist terms, one could say that it represents the dialectical antithesis of capitalism, or the younger brother who was deprived of the right of inheritance for not being the eldest.

Acceptance of capitalism and laissez-faire society was expediency, given the failure of the rejection's movement and the elimination of the communist alternative. Nevertheless, this position imposed serious paradoxes upon the trade union movement. As a representative of the workers, u has to fight for their rights and to eon front capitalist exploitation. On the other hand, it does not aim at the elimination of capitalism. When capitalism is confronted with a serious threat such as communism the trade unions defend it, for the end of capitalism would mean the end of trade unionism itself and the techniques it has developed

over two centuries such as collective bargaining, boycotts, strikes etc. Trade unionism finds itself obliged to play the dual role of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. It wages war against capitalism without ever intending to uproot it. This was reflected by a caricature in the Times showing the TUG urging the workers to beat the capitalists, but don't kill them'. This idea seems to have also been at the root of the decision taken by the leaders of the General Strike in 1926. It was not the possibility of defeat but of sweeping victory which made them end their-strike. Such a victory could have led to the destruction of the established status quo, an undesired result for the trade unionists. This paradoxical attitude was expressed by the German labour leader, Fritz Tar now, when he said in the 1931 Congress of the Democratic Socialist Party: "Are we sitting at the sick-bed of capitalism, not only as doctors who want to cure the patient, but as prospective heirs who cannot wait for the end and would like to hasten it by administering poison? We are condemned, I think, to be doctors who seriously wish to cure, and yet we have to maintain the feeling that we are heirs who wish to receive the entire legacy of the capitalist system today rather than tomorrow. The double role, doctor and heir, is a damned difficult task".

The domination of the Communist Party over the trade union movement

The trade union movement could have found salvation had it espoused Marxism and divorced itself from liberalism; but it realizes that if it does so it would be escaping from the Haying pan to fall into the fire! The exploitation of capitalism is-no doubt milder than the tyranny of the totalitarian state. Friction within the capitalist society is ever-present, but it is not to be compared with the iron tutelage of the Communist Party over the trade unions.

In the first years of the Bolshevik revolution, European trade unions were deluded by communist slogans, but facts were quickly revealed. The suicide of Tomskey, the president of the Russian Federation of Labour symbolized the suicide of the free Russian labour movement at its first confrontation with the regime. Lenin shrewdly put forward a theory which paralyzed trade union freedom without provoking the doubts of the trade unionists. In "What is to be done" he claimed that workers can not originate an ideological theory or establish a political party. The limit of their power is two raise some what the price of labour. Only the intelligentsia sympathetic with labour can conceive of such an ideology or establish such a party to be the fan guard of the working class. As such, there will be no reason to refrain from abiding by its

policies and decision *****

***** movement of its freedom and made it the judge of the workers rather than their advocate. In some cases it even became the jailor, who established prisons for them, as indicated by Isaac Deutscher. The brutal penalties once imposed by the Soviet Federation of Trade unions upon workers became the subject of jokes among the repressed people. The forced labour army mobilized by the State surpassed in number all forced labour armies in history including those of the pharaohs and the Romans.

One often wonders how the Soviet trade union movement surrendered to the party. The answer to that is found in the meticulous organization of the party, which makes it into a civil army dominating society in the service of Marxist theory, in the numerous powers of the totalitarian state and the application of conditioning methods. The Russian trade union movement was a recent one without deep roots, for it had appeared only in the beginning of the twentieth century, and it was dominated by political winds. Those who were dissatisfied with Marxism nevertheless considered it the lesser of two evils because of the exploitation and risk of unemployment inherent in capitalist economies, which Marx had pointed out to them.

The Crisis of Trade Unionism in Society

In addition to problems arising from the different economic systems in which it must survive, trade unions have had to confront the problem of their sectional structure. This structure makes them confine their activities exclusively to the interest of their members, regardless of the interest of society as a whole. This policy calls into question the humanity of trade unionism. It causes society to regard it-despite its struggle for liberty and democracy-as if it were Ishmael in the Old Testament: "His hand against even' man and even man's hand against his". In his book, "The Stagnant Society", M. Shanks expressed his worries concerning the attitude of the British trade union leaders, appealed to them to take into consideration the general interest and called for a responsible trade unionism. This cry was criticized by the well-known trade union author, Allen Flanders, in his book "Management and Unions" in the following words: "The first and overriding responsibility of all trade unions is to the welfare of their own members. That is their primary commitment; not to a Finn, not to an industry, not to the nation. A union collects its members' contributions and demands their loyalty specifically for the purpose of protecting their interests as they see them,

not their alleged 'true' or 'best' interest as defined by others". About the sectional structure he confessed: "Trade unions exist to promote sectional interests-the interests of the section of the population they happen to organize. As do professional associations and many other bodies. There is nothing selfish or slightly disreputable about this-it is an essential part of the democratic process. Indeed, once trade unions appear to be acting as servants of employers or servants of the government they are bound to be written off by their own members who will turn, as they sometimes do already unofficial leaders to take up their demands".

Trade unions no doubt believe in Allen Flanders' words. British trade unionists have applied this policy on many occasions, but the attitude of John L. Lewis, president of the U.S.A. miners, is the best illustration of the case. He challenged American public opinion by calling for a strike at the same time as the United States was declaring war on Japan. It was reported that he said, in justifying this step; "The American people elected Mr. Roosevelt to work for their interest; the miners elected me to work for theirs. I've everyone must work for what he was elected for". The miners' support for Lewis reflects the conviction of the rank-and-file as well as the leadership. Nevertheless, this attitude was in direct opposition to the public good. The unionism is, after all, a part of its society and cannot escape the recess ***** which dominate it. If it challenged this society, or even just ignored it, it would have to pay an exorbitant price. It took the British trade union movement twenty years to restore its status after the erroneous gener***** and to create a situation in which the Trades Disputes and Trades Union Act of 1927 could be repealed. The American trade union movement also slipped from the high peak of the 1937 Wagner Act.

The belief of the trade union movement in the idea that the interest of its members can be pursued without regard for the general interest of society and its refusal even to acknowledge the risks of such a policy are a syndrome of the current crisis.

The issue has an aspect other than workers versus employers-namely labour versus technology. Subjective attitudes drive trade unions to resist technological development and to insist on featherbedding practices, e.g. attaching a fireman to every locomotive even though the use of coal has been abandoned long since, pressing for the continued exploitation of uneconomic mines and continuing to use out-dated equipment. This subjective attitude has hindered the unions from understanding the futility of such practices, for which they deserve more blame than the old Luddites. In this contest between labour and technology the latter will undoubtedly be the winner.

When we criticized the trade unions' attitude, we are at the same time condemning the capitalist system and confirming its responsibility. This system inevitably creates moral dilemmas for trade unions, such as when firemen went on strike in 1977 in England and doctors in Sudan in 1984 and in Algeria in 1985. Conflicting interests obliged all these workers to resort to strike although this could mean danger to human life and property. If any blame is to be put on those strikers it must at least be shared by those who drove them to striking. But this is not the case with strikes that result from organizational factors and demarcation lines inside unions. The struggle that had developed between the American Federation of Labour (AF of L) which represents the craft unions and the Congress of Organization (CIO) during an uninterrupted of twenty years (1935-55) led to outbreaks of violence between workers. This illustrates the disastrous result of the conflict of interests within the trade union movement.

Although the trade union movement could represent the working people in toto and is thought by some actually to do so, it has scarcely acted in this capacity. The sectional nature of trade unionism makes it work at the level of the individual unions rather than at the level of federation. This is not to say, that individual unions have never adopted a national stance. For example, British trade unionism allied with Churchill in the aftermath of the Munich agreement and the German trade unions declared a general strike to resist Kapp Putsch in 1920.

Nevertheless, these exceptions do not disprove the general tendency to work primarily for sectional interests. Conflicts between trade unions and the British Labour Party when in power are a case in point. Again, when Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher requested the cooperation of the German trade union movement to oppose rising Nazism he did not get their support. Earlier, after the defeat of Kapp Putsch, they refused to follow up their success by demanding drastic changes in the established capitalist institutions in favour of labour.

All these examples demonstrate the lack of national awareness and the domination of sectional interests within trade unions.

The Crisis of Lack of Ethics and Objective Principles

The very nature of trade unions—the fact that they deal primarily with the employer/employee relationship—causes them to be governed by utilitarianism and expediency rather than by principles and ethics that are of an objective and doctrinal nature. Traditionally the trade union movement was no more than a mass technique to manipulate the law of supply and demand to the advantage of labour. It had to do that by hook

or by crook. Opportunism became one of the characteristics of trade unionism. The degree of support from its members depends upon its success in achieving this goal. The trade union movement discovered that organizing labour in one entity that negotiates on their In-half gives it monopoly status. It has taken advantage of this fact by organizing strikes boycotts, picketing, etc. This has guaranteed its success but also rendered it vulnerable.

Among the most peculiar paradoxes of Man's condition is that although he cannot live without bread he cannot live upon bread alone. Man's life does not seem complete to him without ethics values and principles to satisfy his mind and soul, guide his action and allow him inner peace and harmony. Furthermore, human society cannot be immigrated except by virtue of principles ethics and values the ***** of which ***** its absolute objectivity. The force of this paradox is illustrated the by the fact that masses are ready to die for the sake of such principles, whereas they are not ready to for a loaf of bread. Absolute and objective principles usually associated with idea of God are greater than individuals and than life, therefore sacrifice of life for their sake is unintelligible, for how can we sacrifice of life if our aim life itself.

There may be variation in the degree of priority accorded to the moral and the material aspects of life. This fact in itself displays the importance of ethics. The traditional trade union but techniques-as mentioned previously-to control the law of supply and demand in favour of labour. This lack of ethics has often led to a kind of alienation between workers and their trade union and the reluctance of members to actively participate ***** often very difficult to secure the necessary quorum in trade union meetings. Applying the system of contracting-in to membership rather than contracting-out would lead to loss of a great percentage of membership*****. The only occasion no which most trade can summon the major ***** their members is for the renewal of the collective agreement. This only happens every two three years. In this respect a union resembles a joint stock company-the shareholders of which do not convene except for the distribution pf profits.

Yet a trade union is not a commercial company; it is a mass organization which is an important part of the society in which it is founded. It has to-whether to wishes or not- participate in general policies. It is very difficult to justify the existence of such an organization if its sole function is TO TAKE and its only slogan MORE. This mercenary unionism cannot win the respect and appreciation of the rest of society. Society may even threaten to apply to it the laws that are applied

to monopoly companies such as the Sherman Act in the U.S.A. or the Conspiracy doctrine in Britain. Worse than that, trade unions may not enjoy the wholehearted loyalty of their members. Man's happiness is not always in taking - it is sometimes in giving. This is the reason for the lack of warmth in its relation with its members which makes them resort to other associations to fulfill their non-material aspirations. If this dual membership is possible for the rank-and-file is quite difficult for the leaders.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) lost, in the '80s of the last century some of its prominent leaders such as Tom Mann, John Burns and Ben Tilled. In the U.S.A. Victor Debbs, the leader of the railway workers was converted to socialism in the thirties of this century.

Lack of ethics can lead to corruption and racketeering such as happened in the U.S.A. It was not only the notorious Teamsters who were guilty; this was seen as a general problem because the elimination of corrupt practices was one of the principal aims in the agreement between the two conflicting parties-AF of Land CIO. In the developing countries we may not find such symptoms of the lack of ethics, but we find submission to the government on the part of the union and they have become the chosen tool of some regimes to fit it her their policies. If the unions had faith in God, who is more powerful than the rulers, they could resist government pressures and temptations.

The Importance of Metaphysics

Archimedes, the old Greek physicist, thought that if he were given a huge lever of iron and a solid external ground to stand on he could move the earth. The problem may not lie in finding such a lever but in finding such a standpoint outside the earth itself.

The point we want to make is that in order to change any situation one must be outside it. The eye cannot see itself. We may have to withdraw several steps from a certain picture to be able to see it in its totality. This means that if the trade union movement aims at changing the existing institution it has to get its inspiration from a source other than liberalism or communism. Drawing its inspiration from liberalism would limit it to what Keynes has to offer. Under communism it would be imprisoned behind the bars of dialectical materialism and the tutelage of the exclusive ruling party.

Whence, then, could trade unions draw a source of inspiration outside the established status quo and liberated from its field of gravity?

Only religion is capable of providing such an external source. Its theory stems from the realm of metaphysics which is free from the influence of the status quo.

In religious terms it stems from God. Not only its theory but also its medium, i.e. Revelation enjoys this freedom.

It is a pity that the metaphysics of Europe does not go beyond philosophy, which is a poor alternative for religion. The metaphysics of philosophy is governed, after all, by existing conditions because it knows no revelation.

Philosophy can produce its antithesis as in dialectics, but this antithesis carries the hereditary genes of the thesis from which it originated. Therefore, change is bound to be within the framework of the stem and not outside it. This explains why communism, no matter how different it claims to be from capitalism, bears the same material nature and uses the same coercive techniques. Among the other differences between philosophy and religion is that while philosophy is the religion (and a poor one, too) of the few religion is the philosophy of the masses. Therefore religion, because of its independence and its appeal to the masses, became the uppermost force in social change. The three greatest revolutions in the history of human society are Judaism, Christianity and Islam, each of which liberated large masses of people in the ancient world.

This demonstrates how wrong Marx was in claiming that religion was the opium of the people. For, on religion had rested people's revolutions. Until today, religion's greatest contribution the idea of God, symbol of perfection and supreme force behind ere, it, characterized by wisdom, omnipotence and Life-remains the ideal that inspires humanity to look for a better world, one' that will supercede existing systems and resolve their defects and contradictions.

Prophets have always represented for humanity leaders who are above corruption and the temptations of material gain.

In the first pamphlet of the International Islamic Confederation of Labour we expressed our sorrow that the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions changed its name to "World Federation of Labour" and said: "It was a pity that the Christian Federation of Trade Unions changed its name. Christianity by all means has values that surpass the caprice of politicians and capitalists. However, it seems that this change was inevitable, because Christian values are essentially those of Love and Mercy. No social order can be based on such sentimental values, even though they are needed to modify the solid foundation of social order that is Justice".

Islam and Islamic Justice

- The previous quotation leads us to the role of Islamic justice in trade unionism; but first we must explain briefly the fundamentals of Islam since it was and is misunderstood in European thought. In one of the International Islamic Confederation of Labour pamphlets we gave a broad outline:

(1) Islam is the last and purest crystallization of celestial religions. It does not discriminate among them, or fee antagonism towards any. It considers all Prophets venerable messengers of God. Mohamed spoke of Prophets as brothers and religion as a solid house with a gap which Islam rose to fill.

The existing contradictions and conflicts among religions are the bitter fruits of various churches, their desire to monopolize religions, to interpret them according to their own interest or understanding.

Islam secures freedom of belief to Moslems and non-Moslems. It refuses any interference between man and God and does not recognize any tutelage or priesthood.

- (2) The key line which governs Islamic conception and prevents its deviation is the conformity with Quran and the confirmed commands of the Prophet (al-sunna).
- (3) Meanwhile, we have the liberty in interpreting and understanding the texts provided this interpretation does not contradict their meaning. Obviously our understanding will be different from that of our ancestors, this does not disturb us.
- (4) Absorbing the spirit of Islam is the best way to understand Islam. Things as a whole.
- (5) The main characteristic of Islam is Justice; this is what distinguishes it from Judaism and Christianity. The main characteristic of Judaism is Monotheism, of Christianity. Love. Neither of these two can be a suitable basis (or a social order, only justice is the social virtue, the virtue of virtues.

Because Islamic justice is God's Justice. Islam imposes it upon all: governor and governed, rich and poor alike. No sectarian even the head of the State, has any special prerogative from its rules. No sectarian or subjective interests are allowed for. Constitutional legality can be better attained by Islam than by other doctrines. If the Capitalist State is the Individual State

and the Socialist State is the Party State, then the Islamic State is the State of Divine Law.

Those who are ignorant of Islam, or Islam's enemies may say that Islam, justice is a mere word that means nothing, a slogan that eludes the masses. Communism is a word Quality is a word and Democracy is a word. Islam has clear positive and negative regulations to apply Justice, to prevent injustice and establish society upon security. The Prophet and his Caliphs, especially Omar, laid down definite precedents and rules that make justice a living fact. So it is a gross mistake to speak about Islam Justice as a mere slogan. It is the cornerstone of Islamic society.

- (6) The popular aspect of Islam has not been accorded until now the importance that it deserves. Most Islamic writers have not given enough attention to this point. Treating Islam from the common people's point of view will give Islam again the vitality that it had when the Prophet presented it to the poor and wretched folk of Mecca.
- (7) We are well aware of all allegations and anti-religious propaganda that may arise in opposition to this Confederation. We acknowledge that religions were used in deluding the masses and in justifying exploitation. Equality, liberty and democracy are also misused.

Concerning the application of Islamic doctrine to minorities, we must state that Islam is the only celestial religion, we have recognized frankly and by name all the known religions-because it is the last of them to come into being. Moreover, the holy Quran refers to unknown Prophets. Islam gives its believers, all religions their complete freedom and bestows upon them its protection. Non-Moslem minorities live happily and peacefully under Islamic rule and enjoy their full rights.

When differences in decisions among individuals or organizations occur, it is an established rule that the decision of the MAJORITY will be applied. This is what democracy requires and no other alternative can be found. We cannot make the majority submit to the minority. Diluting decisions and accepting contradictions is more harmful and unjust. In European countries, this rule (the rule of the majority; injures the interests and freedom of minorities, as happens now to Moslem minorities, but Islam protects minorities from such prejudice, because it gives the minorities natural and inalienable rights which Islamic governments can not violate. This is the advantage of Islam, of which minority's are well aware and which made them-in many cases-prefer Islamic rule to their

own, given the many sartorial or doctrinal differences that occur amongst them and prevent neutrality. History proves that Islam was kinder and safer towards Christians, on the whole, than many Christian regimes.

The International Islamic Confederation of Labour is not against the existence of Christian trade unions. Islam differs from the totalitarian regimes which prohibit the establishment of organizations which do not conform exactly to the rules they lay down. The Islamic point of view on this conforms to the classical description of trade union freedom expressed by the I.L.O. in its famous convention (no. 87 of 1948) which acknowledged the freedom of workers to establish trade unions of their own choice.

But these unions will be in Moslem society's minority unions.

According to democratic principles, in particular the principles laid down by the I.L.O. in cases of trade union pluralism, only the most representative organization will represent all the workers. This means that minority unions have no chance of representing their own members, and so affiliation to majority unions (Islamic unions) may be preferable to them since they will lose nothing and will have a chance to participate in decision-making within the majority trade unions.

The International Islamic Confederation of Labour willingly accepts the affiliation of non-Moslem trade unions provided they undertake to work under the banner of the Confederation and respect its constitution. There is no paradox in this. Islam recognizes all other religions, treats their Prophets with reverence, attributes differences to churches and priests and their misinterpretation and misconstruction of texts. Islam is not a monopoly by Moslems, it is a commonwealth for ail mankind, a heritage of all nations and generations which participated actively in the history of human civilization. The only required condition from the non-Moslem trade unions is belief in Islamic Justice, and not Islamic creed.

Every Islamic call is a call to international solidarity and brotherhood, not only because of the objectivity of Islam but also because Islam eliminates completely all racial, social and national barriers. The existence of various religions does not annoy Islam for it is the will of God that this should be so. The idea is frankly and repeatedly mentioned in Quran. When Islam swept ancient world, it was not by the sword only. But also by "the scabland the book" in the words of the Quran, i.e. Justice and Knowledge. After that Islam did not try to convert you the vanquished people of the Balkans, Spain and Lebanon.

There is a close link between trade unionism and Islam. This link is justice-the1 most important characteristic of Islam and at the same time what unions claim.

In Islam justice is an integral part of Oman and the proven Sunna, meaning that it is divinely derived. Therein' it acquires the holiness of doctrine and applies to die entire Moslem society, government and governed, employers and employees alike. Such is not the case with other versions of justice which are decided upon by individuals, governments or judicial assemblies who arc not immune from subjective considerations.

Justice in the Quran is not only a general directive, but specific regulations are given. There is "Al-Zakah", for example, a capital levy estimated between 2.596 and 10% of capital. During the twenties in Britain Hugh Dalton presented the revolutionary idea of taxes being imposed not only on income but on the whole of capital. This was included in die Labour Party platform.⁴ Islam prohibits usury, hoarding and all forms of misuse of money. Property in Islam is functional, very near to what Professor R.H. Tawney envisaged in his book "The Acquisitive Society". Quran ordains "Shura" (consultation) in every aspect of life, from family to management of industry, to affairs of state.

It is worth mentioning that Islam recognizes both the material and die spiritual aspects of human nature and finds them complementary rather than contradictor)'. It even rewards the sexual relationship between husband and wife, because if it were practiced outside marriage it would be punishable. The Justice of Islam denies that a person be punished for a wrong deed and not rewarded, correspondingly, for a correct one.

The idea of the Hereafter in Islam is not simply for prohibition and incitement but is basically meant to be an embodiment of the idea of justice. If tyrants, robber-barons and others manage to escape punishment in this life the whole edifice of justice will seem to be shattered. Likewise, the sweat and effort of millions of unknown soldiers who have spent their lifetime working in silence would be mere folly, or at best an irremediable form of injustice. The idea of Paradise and Hell evens the scale that was not balanced in life. Those who went unpunished will get their fair trial and those who went unrewarded will be recompensed.

All these illustrations show that justice is not a characteristic of Islam which deals exclusively with the economic but that it is in fact at the very heart and essence of Islam.

Islamic Treatment of the Trade Union Crisis

Recognition of Islam by the unions as the ultimate source of inspiration will settle most of their problems and solve the crisis in the following way:

- (1) Trade unionism will no longer be a mere practice, but will acquire a theory.

The search for such a theory is no easy task. In fact there are only two theories—communism and religion. Liberalism is not a theory. Actually, it is a negation of theory, based on the idea of laissez-faire or letting everyone do as he wishes. Even if such wishes and practices are contradictory, the mechanism of reactions will settle their difference. In such a situation the privileged, whether by inheritance, position or exceptional intelligence, will win the contest. This is why trade unionism hates capitalism, which is the economic aspect of liberalism. The communist theory is governed by the necessity of the one ruling party, and its tutelage over trade unionism. This leaves us with no choice but religion. After all, unionism is not far from religion. The first trade union in the world was born in the Printers' Chapel, according to the Webb's. Religion is a divine mission. It has a Holy Scripture, divinely endowed Prophets and ancient traditions. If all these are pro-labour, why doesn't trade unionism adopt them? This would supply it with devotion, a sense of belonging and self-esteem.

- (2) Trade unions will be freed from basing their claims upon subjective considerations. They would be able to dispense with the TO TAKE function and the MORE slogans. Their claims would be based on an objective standard, the noblest and most rational, namely Justice. No one can deny such a standard unless he is ready to be stigmatized as "unfair", thereby challenging the uppermost ordinance of religion.

As earlier mentioned. Islamic justice is an objective one, ordained by God and established in the Quran. Thus, there is little possibility of its being tampered with.

It may be said that all these are precarious hypotheses and that the only guarantee for workers is the power of the union and its decisive weapon, the strike. Islam does not refuse the idea of the strike, but considers it the last resort, and if the true principles of Islam are applied there would be no need for it. On the other hand, let us also consider the dark side of the moon. The strike is a hateful method, which injures the workers themselves, annoys citizens and may even lead to some losing their lives, such as was the case in the doctors' strike in Nigeria. It must be agreed that in many cases this

practice has been misused. P.F. Drucker noted in his book, 'The New Society' that the General Motors strike of 1946, which continued for four months, was over one cent on the hourly wage, claimed by die workers. He says that Walter Reuters used the 1945 strike as a tactic to regain his leadership over the General Motors workers. He also mentions that die strikes in the iron and steel and motor car industries in 1946, the miners¹ strike that was an annual event in the