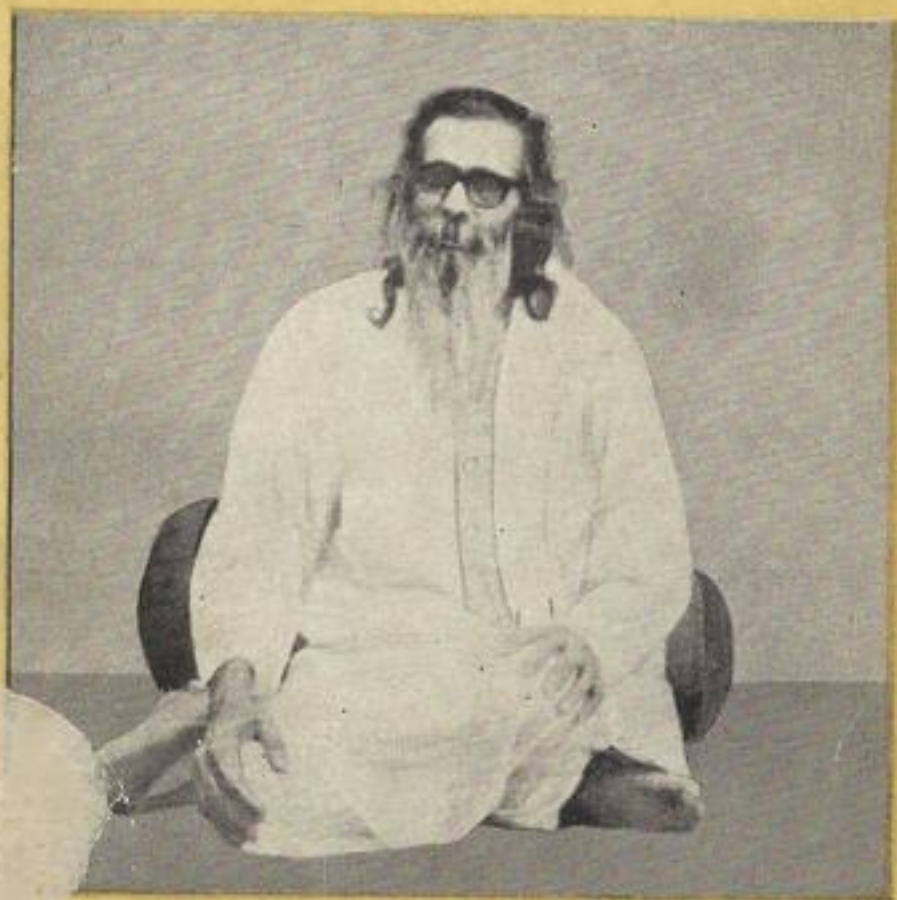


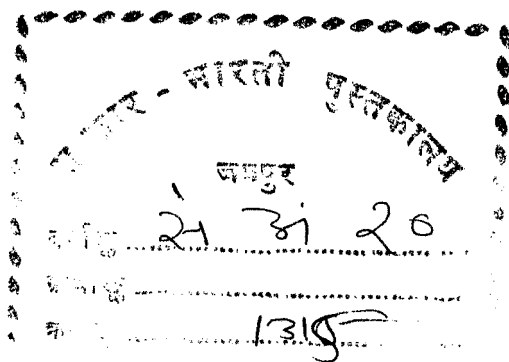
THE GREAT SENTINEL



D.B THENGADI

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THOU ART SUPREME

WHERE

Right sort of emotion is kindled in the heart,
Right sort of thinking has become intuitional
Right sort of action has become instinctive,
Noble aspirations possess the heart unintermittently;

WHERE

Divine determination raises its head
As high as the holy Himalayas ;
Despairs and disappointments dissolve themselves
Like the clouds dashing against the snowy mountains ;
Depth of mind is unfathomable ;

WHERE

All sensual pleasures
Appear as childish as the toys ;
Material ambitions
Too petty to be cherished ;
Malice, envy and jealousy
As ashamed to touch the noble heart ;
Lofty ideals of Human Culture
As reflected in the traditions of Raghu's dynasty
Have become the very part of the nature ;

WHERE

Age long wisdom of a Banyan tree
Is coupled with the innocence of a tender leaf ;
Stern dutifulness of a hero
Is coupled with the soft affection of maternal heart ;
Self-surrender of a sage
Is coupled with the self-confidence of a world-
conquerer ;
Renunciation of Ego
Is coupled with its enlargement
As broad as the entire universe ;

THERE and there alone

Lies greatness, real, genuine,
Greatness unconscious of its own magnitude.
Compassion and fearlessness are its natural
attributes.

THAT greatness is the goal of human life.

AND to that goal is the march of humanity
From the first dawn to the last dusk of creation.

THOU art the embodiment

Of that Divine Goal ;
Thy physical frame
Is but a vehicle
Through which is conveyed and radiated
The concentrated and dazzling Light
Of the Divine Goal.

We have all surrendered our-selves to Thy Will
But devoid of the glimpse of Thy greatness
We are but feeble instruments in Thy hands,
Feeble instrument !
Broken sword !
Cracked flute !
Guitar with a loose string !

BUT wait, wait, O Broken conch
With the Glory of Gita, lo ! comes from yonder
The Master 'Madhava' with reviving lips
To blow you to the world's greatest wonder.

O Mighty Master ! to the tune of Thy finger
The oceans dance and the mountains move
Crowns are raised and melted down
Thou art supreme, —Here and Above.

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GOOD MORNING

The high tower is engulfed in the mysterious silence of night. Loud-speakers on the near-by square are already mute. The last compositors in the newspaper offices have long since thrown themselves in their table-beds, and the hotel-boys who are the first to wake up are still tossing under their worn-out blankets. Streets of Nagpur are fast asleep. Even the ever-alert workers of the cultural organisation are interrupting their sleep on the down-floor only to pick up another cover against the growing cold of the midnight. The whole earth is dead silent. Only the tower-room watching affectionately the historic plains of the Mohite Shakha is showing signs of life. Foot-steps are audible, and in the green-bluish light of the dim table-lamp is visible a person strolling leisurely, as if sleep at that hour appeared to be the most awkward thing for him. He is the Sentinel of Bharat. Through his window admitting but faint light of the distant electric lamp on the street, his mind is glancing over the vast territory extending from the Hindukush to the Hindu Ocean. Millions can sleep, because *he* is keeping awake.

Yes, he is a vigilant sentinel guarding their destinies in this moment of their self-oblivion. He is watching

intently the darkness of the hour with his remarkable eyes that are bright and affectionate. His serene soul is peeping out through them. In this world, to use Gautier's phraseology, there is nothing like those eyes. They have life, brilliance and magnetism. Despite his nightly vigils, the whites of his eyes are as clear and transparent as those of a child. Eyes to see through hills and hearts, to subdue animals ; the eyes of a leader, of a conqueror.

Conqueror he is,—not of lifeless lands, but of human hearts. And it is but proper that it should be so. For, is not his own heart but a vast mirror in which are reflected clearly the smiles and tears of his innumerable countrymen ? Every one knows that there is nothing personal about his thoughts and feelings,—so thoroughly he is identified with his Mother-land and his people.

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Now the dawn is gradually descending upon the earth riding the smooth chariot of the gentle breeze. Life is slowly awakening the land. The childish breeze is happily sporting with his saintly beard. The saint is simply smiling at its childlike hide-and-seek. Number of innocently naughty children are accustomed to enjoy this graceful smile. To their little minds, he is just another, but more agreeable playmate. They never suspect that he is anything more than an amicable member of their little world.

The grown-ups know that, age notwithstanding, he is the peter-pantheism personified.

Within a minute or two a boy from the down-stairs will knock his door, and convey him that one of his best friends is waiting for him eagerly in the kitchen-room. Who is that fortunate 'friend', one may enquire. Well, he hails from Assam, and is popularly known as Mr. Tea.

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A psycho-analyst himself, his mind has been a riddle to many a psycho-analyst. Is he a spiritualist? Yes, but unlike most of the spiritualists he does not keep himself far from the maddening crowd. Is he a materialist? No, but his aptitude for nicest details of any subject that is of the earth, earthy, could have easily earned for him the distinction of being a thorough and scientific materialist. He is nationalist to the core; but his spiritual love has sublimated his mind not only into internationalism but also into universalism.

Slowly but surely, brick by brick, he is laying foundation of the enduring social structure, and yet, curiously enough, it is presumed in certain quarters that he is lacking in faculty for 'Constructive' work.

He has a rare gift of appreciating adversary's viewpoint and of taking a charitable view of the latter's uncharitable gestures. And still his idealism has never been dilute. He is firm without being fanatic, quick without being hasty, cautious without being sluggish, calculating without being cold, affectionate without

being attached, and non-attached without being indifferent.

He loves but does not fondle ; is strict, but not harsh ; a disciplinarian full of humanism. He takes a sympathetic view of human weaknesses, though for himself he is unsparing.

Theoretician of the first order, he is one of a few practical leaders this age has produced. But for his constant pre-occupation with the organisational work, he could have easily equalled Manu.

He is a versatile genius ; and yet his life is a noteworthy example of one-pointed devotion. Though destined to cause historic change in the course of events, his own life is regarded as the least 'eventful' in the crude sense of the term.

He is equally at ease in society as well as in solitude. The conflict between senses and soul has long since been settled. This cannot but reflect upon all his words and deeds.

His mission has become his dominating passion. And yet in December, 1941, when one of his first lieutenants offered to withdraw from the district Sangh-Chalakship, he posed a counter-question, "Who am I to accept your offer ? It is you all who have entrusted me with this work. If you choose to withdraw, well, I will have nothing to do with all this. I can retire still earlier.

For me, the hills and dales of Himalayas have greater fascination.”

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Tea is being served. Inmates of Karyalaya are in good cheer. They are enjoying the usual yet unique privilege of free and friendly talk with the Master. The range of discussions is wide enough. No subject is too small to be ignored or too big to be avoided. All are freely participating in the tea-talk. The Master is unreserved, though discreet. As a conversationalist, he is extremely charming. And as a listener, few would surpass him in patience and liveliness. Even casual remarks of Bal Swayamsevaks do not escape his minute attention.

By the side of the Master is seated the General Secretary of the Organisation. But no-body seems to be mindful of his official status. He himself is not. Even youngsters can cut joke with or give a retort to him. And he receives it in good-humour. Tea-talk is the best equalizer. All officialdom is melted down in a fine cup of tea. Temperamentally, the Master is democratic. Constitutionally, he occupies no official position. Voluntarily, they accept his word as Law. He never commands. But millions get themselves commanded by him.

Quite informally number of subjects are being dealt with.....Ramu is sick, and medical aid is to be

arranged.....Jagdish from Bardi Shakha is to get married this evening, and Krishnarao should visit his place earlier to organise reception...Certain remarks of Pt. Nehru in his last speech are likely to offend the linguistic communalists.....‘One World’ concept is impracticable unless it is pioneered by the Sanyasins of the Hindu pattern..... Andhra has ordered more caps this year...Our Bhandar is running short of the caps...Indiscreet use of streptomycin must be discouraged...Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde normally reside in the same abode...

And, in the meanwhile, Warlu anxiously furnishes the Master with a piece of information which, according to him, is most valuable. His buffalo, he declares, has ceased to take any-thing since a couple of days. Warlu seems to be convinced that his declaration would be as shocking to all as that of the third Global War.

The Master is equally attentive, without losing for a moment his supreme sense of proportion.

His presence is enlightening ; his talk interesting as well as instructive. Whole atmosphere is surcharged with enthusiasm. Every heart is throbbing with innocent joy and redoubled vigour and determination. With the Master in our midst, this is indeed a blessed morning, a Good Morning, indeed !

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From Karayalaya he proceeds homewards. Not a few rush to accompany him on the way. One does not know what all one would lose by staying away for a while from this mine of gold, every particle of which is dedicated to the service of the Motherland. This is her invaluable treasure,—most precious and least glittering. They believe there is much to learn even from his casual gestures. They learn, often without knowing it. He teaches, usually without any conscious effort. Is nightingale conscious of the sweetness of her melody ? It is all spontaneous, instinctive, natural. Nature has moulded him into 'Guruji' ; people were not slow to recognise Her design.

He enters the old-styled residence in an old-styled lane of Nagpur. It is neither pompous nor spacious. Old roof sheltering young generations ! Here his mother is eagerly awaiting his arrival. Her slightly shivering hands are the two mighty pillars of the Hindu Nation.

Bath and ablution over, he is about to enter his private study—his sanctum-sanctorium. Let us leave him at its threshold which is the demarcating line between objective world and subjective self. Here, in the innermost depths of his soul, he will present himself before his revered Gurudev, Swami Akhandanandji, who admitted him before twenty years to the Aristocracy of Divinity. Here the Master will settle his accounts with God. He and God are in constant conspiracy. Glory of the Hindu and Human Race is assured, since God and Guruji are conspiring for it.

ON A HINDU IDEOLOGUE

Revered Shri Guruji has drawn the attention of our research scholars to a 'thesis' on an ideal form of government published by Shri Vishnu Bawa Brahmachari (1825-71) in 1867—a year in which Karl Marx published his 'Das Capital'. The date of its publication is a conclusive proof of the originality of Shri Vishnu Bawa's thesis. His ideas are, in certain respects, parallel to those of Marx.

A Neglected Thesis

The 'thesis' which was first written in Marathi was translated into English by Captain A. Phelps, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Aden. Its copies were sent to Queen Victoria and other public and political leaders of Great Britain, France, Prussia, Russia, America, China, etc. But, unfortunately, it has not received the attention it deserved in our own country.

The Author

Shri Brahmachari was an eminent scholar. Prior to the publication of this document, he had written and published 'Vedokta Dharma Prakash' and 'Bhavartha

Sindhu'. Through this work he has presented to the world the salient features of a socio-economic order which was ideal according to him.

The document is a small one,—only twelve pages in original Marathi. Its purpose is to propagate the desirability of a social order envisaged by the author. The instruments of change are not specified, though the author confidently asserts that it would not be difficult to spell them out. Obviously, he was capable of doing the same. Probably, he did not consider it necessary or appropriate in view of the fact that, in the first place, the concept had not then been sufficiently popular and, secondly, his people were not in a position to become the architects of their own fortune.

Message to the World

Though Shri Brahmachari was addressing mainly his own compatriots through his thesis, its message is meant for all the peoples of the world:

"Therefore, oh! ye kings and subjects, and all, who are scattered over this terrestrial globe, do you all be pleased to make haste, and put a stop now to the acts of tearing and cutting, burning and drowning and hanging, and generally killing one another, by means of arms and machines of the latest invention, and enjoy envy-free, passionless and happy quietude. Lo! this policy does not leave any necessity at all for *Manu's* way of Government, and

cares and anxieties entirely disappear, and the blind, and those under the influence of any lingering or incurable disease, such as, lepers and others, are taken good care of, for there will be departments for the care of helpless victims to the above diseases. Consequently, the meaning of the term 'beggar' will be altogether unknown, and though there will be no purchases and sales, everything will be within the reach of all. There will be nothing like robbery known; in short, man will be above want. Those who do not recognise such a policy and yet style themselves kings, are the only origin of immorality, which itself is the original cause of every wicked deed in the whole of this world. Therefore, to hide the practice of wickedness in this world under the emblem or mark of royalty is in vain. Let kings and subjects act as has been written under these fifteen heads."

Under the ideal social order, "mankind would be in a position to cherish disinterested love towards 'Parameshwar',.....they would be enabled fully to understand and digest the principles of the 'Vedanta Shastra', and to secure, for their minds, that repose and calmness which are attained, in a perfect degree, by following the practices inculcated in the 'Yoga Shastra'; and, as a natural consequence, the whole of mankind would be prone, in a disinterested manner, to speak absolute truth, and to cherish feelings of friendship, humanity, forgiveness, and tranquility, in their intercourse with one another."

An Ideal Social Order

The author wanted such an ideal society to be organised in Bharat first. He was confident that if a kingdom came into existence according to what is written in the 4th line of the 27th stanza of the 10th Chapter of the 'Bhagawad Gita' wherein Parameshwar says, 'amongst mankind, I am the Lord of men', "the English, the French, the Russian, the Chinese kings and the American Republicans and their allies would feel that their policy is wicked". "The Governments of the English, the French and the Russians and Republicans such as the Americans and others shall not even stand in comparison, being what the light of a glow-worm is to that of the sun, or as a thief is before a king," he asserted.

The author is convinced that such an ideal social structure once existed in this country.

Main Characteristics

What are the main characteristics of such an Order? The following chapters of the thesis furnish us with an insight into material aspect of his vision :—

THESIS I— Listen, oh ye people! The King of a country should regard the whole of the subjects residing within that country as constituting his own family, and himself, as the sole master of that family of subjects. Likewise, he should consider the whole of the land in his charge, as constituting but one garden, and should there-

fore do all that is necessary, to the best of his powers, to make the said garden, that is the country, yield as much as may be sufficient to maintain the said family of subjects and keep them happy. Such considerations should first engage the attention of a king, that is to say, he should view the kingdom as one house, and the subjects as one family.

THESIS III—Then, the entire land should be caused to be brought under cultivation by the governed, in such a way, that particular trees and crops might be made to grow in plots of ground favourable to them. Embankments across rivers, as well as reservoirs and tanks, should be constructed, in order that the land might be irrigated throughout the twelve months, and numerous sorts of fruits and bulbous roots, vegetables, grain and wood, and cows, buffaloes, goats and sheeps, horses, asses and camels should be reared, and fodder for the latter should be stored in granaries in every village. All the villagers should be allowed to remove therefrom as much grain as might be required for their maintenance, and as much fodder as might be required for the cattle. Thus, during the cold, hot and rainy seasons, in short, throughout the twelve months of the year, crops should be uniformly raised upon the whole of the land, the produce thereof, being considered as the joint-property of all. It should, however, remain in the custody of one person only, and all should remove therefrom as much as might be necessary for consumption. The king should establish and keep in working order several manufactories for the

manufacture of woollen hemp, flax, silk, cotton and other kinds of cloth, and should have a large stock of them at each of the village depots. From this stock everyone should be allowed to take cloth of any description as might be agreeable to him. The means for the supply of water by the construction of channels should be such, that even if it did not rain for twelve years in a country, they should afford water sufficient to keep the land fertile. Gold and silver ornaments studded with pearls and diamonds of different sorts, should be prepared, placed in each village, and used by women and men alike; and if broken, they should be returned to the royal depot, and new ones taken away for use. In like manner, tools (implements of husbandry) and machines should be made, and placed at every village, and means for all games and sports should be kept as well. Railways and electric telegraphs should also be established. All artisans and cultivators, and the king himself, should use the same kind of food, but no flesh of any description; the said food being removed from one common mess which should be kept for, and consumed by all. The king should bring about marriages of all through the marriage department, and if it should occur that they did not suit, the male should be allowed to take another wife, and the female to take another husband. In fact, there should be free marriage, that is, marriage consummated by the mutual consent of the future husband and wife. When children attain the age of five years, whether boys or girls, they should be committed to the care of king, who after having

them educated in all the sciences and arts, should assign to each that occupation which he or she would seem to show an inclination for whilst studying. When men and women become old, and consequently infirm, they should not be made to work any longer, but allowed to sit at home at ease, provided for, and considered as members of the parliaments for the department in which they had been brought up. They should cherish a grateful remembrance of the obligations of Him who himself appears in the form of the universe, and in order that decomposition might take place immediately after life is extinct, the king should cause the bodies of all to be burnt. In this way, the whole body of subjects ought to constitute one family, all of which should act mutually in the manner described above; so that thefts, robberies, assaults, frauds, murders, and all such other offences, should remain unknown. There should be no necessity for any Courts of Justice. Dearth and famines should be dead words, not worth any consideration, every one's worldly desires being fulfilled. The relations between the king and his subjects which are detailed under this third head, should be firmly established.

THESIS VIII—Thus, the whole of the subjects constitute one family, and the entire land forms one garden, and whatever may be the produce thereof, belongs to all in common. Should such a policy exist, every enjoyment would be within the reach of all, in as much as all would get the best food to partake of; the best, the richest, and the most plentiful clothing or ornaments, etc, would

be had by all for the purpose of decorating their persons. All would be able to see dances, festivals, and amusements of every description at their ease. Everyone would have an opportunity of going in palanquins, driving in chariots, and riding on horses; and above all, of having, when old, the honour of adorning parliamentary assemblies. In fact, no one would think himself to be in want of anything. Thus, the desires and affections of everybody would be fully satisfied, and hence there would be no cause for ill-will which is produced, when men find out that some of their desires remain unsatisfied. No excitement existing, there would be nothing like a grudge likely to draw one to the commission of offences. The true relationship, which ought to exist between the subjects and their king should therefore be of the sort described in this Essay.

THESIS XI—Society being so constituted, people will begin to consider, what good would the proceeds of robbery be? Who would submit to the envyings and strivings of trade? What is the use of hoarding and concealing treasures, when coin is needless? What can be got by killing another? Such a train of thought would have wholesome effect upon the mind. The above misdeeds would be perpetrated in vain, and the mind would be tranquil. It will begin to entertain feelings of gratitude towards 'Parameshwar' for such Government. Verily, when such a policy will prevail, and be carried out for a century, the generations of the next century will pronounce the kings and judges of the present age to have been beasts, not men.

Potentiality of Hindu Genius

On material plane, the similarity of the ultimate vision of these two great thinkers, i.e., Vishnu Bawa and Marx, is unmistakable. That a Hindu ideologue could independently conceive this is the most remarkable feature of this thesis. It is not in keeping with the Hindu traditions to accept any thesis or 'ism' as the last word of wisdom. But the fact mentioned above reinforces our faith in the potentiality and capability of Hindu genius. It was from this point of view that shri Guruji attached so much importance to this thesis. Not that he accepted it as the final blue-print.

His Distinctive Characteristic

The distinctive characteristic of Shri Brahmachari's approach is still more noteworthy. Marx was a materialist, Vishnu Bawa was not. The theories of materialism, evolution and dilecticism constituted the foundation of Marxian thought system. Vishnu Bawa drew inspiration from the Hindu traditions, culture and values of life. As a dynamic thinker he realised the inadequacy of all the current social orders. But he did not divorce his socio-economic concept from the traditional Hindu thought. He blended his new economics with age-old ethics, and asserted that such an ideal social order once did prevail in Bharat.

A research on this thesis would be helpful to the cause of our national renaissance.

FUNCTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Recently, there is a growing realisation on the part of the intellectuals that the parliamentary democratic system, as is being implemented today in India, is not adequate enough to deal effectively with the ever-new challenges of the times. The government we are having is only 'representative', and not truly 'democratic' in character. The State and the entire society cannot be said to be 'co-terminous' in our country. The western type of political party system renders elected representatives least answerable to their real masters whose reactions to various bills and resolutions may not necessarily and invariably coincide with those of the party bosses. Very often the two are not identical, and the elected member is expected to cast his vote according to the directive of his party,—with no reference to the actual verdict of his voters, or their majority, on the point. Our Constitution does not provide for the device of referendum, the right to recall, or the right to initiate. Again, political minorities often fail to secure justice for themselves under the present set-up, which has led some political thinkers to put forth a plea for 'proportional representation'. The cumulative effect of all these factors is discernible in the current, serious rethinking on the very problem of 'representation'. It would be appro-

priate, therefore, to present at this juncture some of the views expressed by Revered Sri Guruji on this subject.

Democratic Discipline : Disciplined Democracy

As is already well known, Sri Guruji's thinking was always comprehensive, integrated, and pragmatic. It had its roots in the culture of the soil.

Sri Guruji was a democrat by temperament. He did appreciate the soundness of arguments in a favour of the rule of the elite, i.e., 'the sovereignty of knowledge', as contemplated by Socrates, Plato or Mill ; but he felt that its advantages were more than outweighed by its corresponding disadvantages, since it did not provide for bifurcation of political authority from moral authority and the social supremacy of the latter over the former. As a realist, he knew that no human system can ever be perfect ; and as a pragmatic thinker he realised that under different conditions different forms of government would be appropriate. But he considered 'democracy' as the least defective system under normal conditions, though he always cautioned that liberty and democracy should not be allowed to degenerate into licentiousness and mobocracy, even as discipline should not be stretched to the point to regimentation. Social discipline was not only compatible with, but even complimentary to the form and the spirit of democracy, he believed. He thus stood for elastic, i.e., democratic discipline and disciplined democracy.

Nevertheless, he was of the view that the democratic set up as introduced in our country was far from being satisfactory.

Discipline of the Elected Bodies

It was at the instance of Revered Shri Guruji that in its 'National Charter of Demands of Indian Labour' i.e., 'An Order of Duties and Disciplines', submitted to the President of India on November 22, 1969, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh included as the very first item the following 'Discipline of the Elected Bodies' :

"The character and composition of Lok Sabha and State Assemblies be changed. The territorial representation should be reduced numerically, each member being required to represent a large electorate. The element of functional representation be introduced. In industrial sector, workers of each major industry and minor industries or their trade groups be given representation in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies respectively. The Organised Labour be given representation on Local Self Governmental bodies and University Senates.

"There should be de-limitation of industrial constituencies on the National, the State, and the Local level for the above purpose.

"On the National level, the number of representatives to be elected by the workers of every industry be

directly proportionate to the extent of its contribution to the national income."

Difficulties Envisaged

Shri Guruji was aware that introduction of the process would not be easy. To classify the entire population on functional basis for purposes of elections was not so simple. Classification of industries particularly the smaller ones—would present some difficulties. To determine the group of an individual is difficult even when the jobs are static. The problem would become still more complicated because of the mobility of individuals from industry to industry.

According to some thinkers, the principle of functional representation is inconsistent with the principle of national sovereignty and contrary to the object of national integration. The functional representation would, they feel, force citizens to give priority to their sectional interests and ignore over-all national interest. They apprehend that this process "would promote a struggle between different interests and forces, accentuate the feeling of antagonism between them, and undermine the sound doctrine that a man's interest in the welfare of the group, class or profession to which he belongs, should be secondary to his interest in the welfare of the whole society".

Objection Foreseen

Shri Guruji appreciated the validity of this view. He could also foresee that functional representation may be objected to on the ground of impropriety. For example, Laski has said, "Why a function, like that of medicine, for instance, is properly relevant to the purpose of the legislative assembly? There is not a medical view of foreign policy, of the nationalisation of mines, or of free trade".

Integrated Thinking

Shri Guruji was fully alive to the other side of the shield. But he also felt that the democratic decision-making processes of the legislature would become lopsided in absence of functional representation. He, therefore, did not lay exclusive emphasis on this principle alone. He stood for interweaving the texture of the functional and the territorial representation.

Dissatisfaction : Its Causes

Dissatisfaction of social thinkers with the system of territorial representation is not a recent phenomenon. In the beginning such thinkers demanded, by way of reform the system of proportional representation. But they soon realised that the latter ensures representation of minorities which are recognised as political parties. It does not give representation to economic, social, professional and other

special interests. The need for such interests being represented was progressively felt.

Some Western Thinkers

MIRABEAU pleaded that a Legislative Assembly should be a mirror of all the interests in society.

SIEYES thought that the great industries should be given special representation in legislature.

DUGUIT advocates that all the great forces of the National life ought to be represented—industry, property, commerce, manufacturing professions, and even science and religion.

GRAHAM WALLAS thinks that while the lower chamber should be elected on the territorial basis, the second chamber should represent various interests and functional groups.

The WEBBS stand for a system in which there should be a Political Parliament and a Social Parliament.

PELLOUTIER introduces the idea of non-political, purely economic interests. The task of revolution is to free mankind not only from all authority but also from every institution which is not for its essential purpose, i.e., the development of production. He stands for statelessness. Trade Unions of producers constitute the

only authority. In the organisation of unions he wanted to combine vocational with territorial representation.

LAVERGNE pleads for the Parliament elected by strictly professional representation. He considers the Parliament of today to be defective. In the first place, legislators are ignorant of economic and social questions. Secondly, social bodies are not integrated in the State. He stands for professional representation by which he meant (i) the representation of professional interests, either individualistic, or syndicalistic, i.e., associational (ii) the representation of technical skills or professional techniques, and, (iii) representation of competences (efficiencies), such as, that of scientific associations, etc. Both the Houses, i.e., the Chamber and the Senate, should be reconstituted, each House to be composed of members, representing half and half, the interests of the individuals as well as of the groups.

The groups would be (1) scientific associations ; (2) economic associations; (3) associations of general interests. Thus reconstituted, they would be with territorial as well as professional representation.

MARTIN stands for representation of professional groups in the Councils of the State. All the members of a profession in every region should be organised as units for the purposes of public life. These should constitute the basis for the electoral and constitutional framework.

LAUTAUD and **POUDENX** also propagate the theory of professional representation. The purely political institutions, according to them, are incapable of solving the economic problems. The idea and fact to multiplicity of corporate groups are to be harmonized with the idea and fact of the unity of the State. Professional representation is the representation of efficiency, interests and professions.

PAUL BONCOUR envisages economic federalism under which social, regional and corporate groups would reconquer the fullness of their autonomy from the centralised state. This would lead to economic decentralisation. It is the professional groups that are most diverse in their tendencies and vary according to the complexity of economic facts themselves.

BOUGLE pleads for a council of professional interests as aid of **Parliament** with territorial representation.

SPANN stands for 'community-state' which would give so much of the economic and administrative functions to communities that the central state itself will be left in charge mainly of the idealistic functions, that is, religion, education (not technical which would be taken up by the communities), law (excluding economic), army, etc. Political parties of the present type have no place in his scheme. The members of his state are not individuals but communities in and through which the individuals have their existence. All these communities function as partial

wholes, within the framework of a larger whole. They have their own administrations, within the framework of the community-state.

BENOIST wants the professions to be the basis of the electoral constituency. Though the relative quality of different professions should also be taken into consideration, the professions should be broadly allowed representation in proportion to their numerical strength and social importance. He was an enthusiastic advocate of Economic Parliament based upon professional representation.

Guild Socialists

Believing, as did Leroy Beaulieu, Gierke and Durkheim, in the importance of voluntary, intermediate, functional associations between the State and the individuals, and developing the concept of industrial self-government as propounded by A.J. Penty, S.G. Hobson, and A.R. Organe and Russel, G.D.H. Cole, who is the chief exponent of Guild Socialism lays great stress upon functional democracy. His theory stands for the combination of the functional and geographical representation reflected in two legislative assemblies, a Political Parliament and an Economic Parliament. The economic sovereignty is to be shared between the Guilds and the State.

Anarchist Kropotkin

The extreme Leftist theory of anarchism stands for statelessness. Peter Kropotkin, who was the first scientific

interpreter of Anarchism which was fathered by Pierre-Joseph-Proudhon and developed by Count Michael Bakunin, envisages the stateless society based upon mutual aid and cooperation of different 'self organisations' of workers, consumers and other interests, which can exist in conformity with the classless society and govern its affairs in lieu of the State and the Government.

Sister Nivedita

Sister Nivedita, an admirer of Kropotkin and also a disciple of Vivekananda, came to conclude that co-operatives and 'self organisations', such as, the trade unions, the peasants' unions, the rate payers' associations, railway servants' associations, etc, must be given important place in the scheme of the State.

French Syndicalists

The French Syndicates Congress at Lyons (1919) demanded nationalisation of land and water transport, mines, water, power and credit organisations, and specified the association of producers and consumers as the Authority.

The Economic Legislative Chamber

The principle of functional representation constituted the basis of the Imperial Economic Council established by Bismark. Subsequently, the Weimar Constitution of Germany, 1919, introduced the National Economic Council representing the interests of labour, capital and

consumers. The Council was, for certain purposes, almost the economic legislative chamber, though, on practical plane, an ineffective one.

Under Fascism

In the official programme of the Fascist Party formulated by Mussolini in consultation with Marinetti, Bianchi, and Rocca, one of the items was "participation of workers' representatives in the technical and organisational management of factories, administration of railways by railwaymen's Union". The Party, however, did not implement this programme after coming to power. Mussolini did introduce the system of occupational representation, but no special significance can be attached to it in view of the totalitarian character of his Government.

In U.S.S.R.

Theoretically, the territorial representation has been replaced in U.S.S.R. by a system based on the functional representation. It is not the district but a particular interest that is represented. But this is also devoid of any significance on the same ground.

Yugoslav System

While changes are still being introduced in the Yugoslav system, one noteworthy feature of the Yugoslav bicameral legislature, as pointed out in the B.M.S.

Labour Policy, is that its one chamber, called the 'Council of Producers', is elected by representatives of Producers. This is at all levels—the commune, the district, and the Republic. The Council of Producers in districts and communes are elected by the members of worker's councils and other self-managing bodies of producers, and the district councils elect the members of the Councils at the Republic level. For the purpose of representation, producers are divided into two groups of industry, commerce and handicrafts, and the group of agriculture. The number of seats for each group at each level is proportionate to its contribution to the national income. This is defended on the ground that man's voice in the fortunes of his community should be proportionate to the value of what he contributes to the national income. Both chambers have equal rights in matters, such as, passing of social plans and of other regulations and decisions concerning national economy as a whole ; but certain questions relating to the work of economic units, Government organisations and self-governed institutions are within the separate jurisdiction of the Council of Producers. This is how the social and economic organs of the People are integrated at all levels of the highly decentralised economy.

So far as India is concerned, what would be the form of 'functional representation' ? Which organs of the society are to get the right of representation through this system ?

Basis For Representation

Though, in ancient India, functional representation meant representation of the four Varnas, the same cannot be reintroduced today for obvious reasons, Shri Gruji thought. No Varna or Caste was in existence today in the true sense of term. He was not apologetic about the scientific character of the Varna system. The so-called 'radicals' condemn the system because they are ignorant of the fact that, in the words of Dr. Mees, "Varnas can never be *instituted*. Simply because they *are* there all the time. Division between men on this basis can never be *made*. It *is* there all the time, and no amount of effort could do away with it". The Varna system cannot be 'established' in the sense in which socialism or communism is sought to be established. The Varna character *is* their right now, and even the worst critics of the Varna system already belong to one Varna character or the other—in spite of themselves. But the fact remains that the system of the four-fold scientific division of society, as envisaged by Hindu seers as well as by Persian-Zarathustrian Sociologists, Plato, Aristotle, Abul Fazal of the "Ain-i-Akbari" fame, or Adam Mueller, the German thinker of the last century, is not in existence anywhere today, and representation on its basis is simply inconceivable.

New Socio-Economic Entities

Regarding castes also Sri Guruji held similar views. With the introduction of changes in the *techniques* of

production, communication, etc., most of the more than 3,000 traditional jobs became obsolete or least remunerative, and new jobs came into being. This resulted in the break-down of the traditional caste-system, though casteism is growing stranger for political reasons. Sri Guruji envisaged emergence of still more and highly skilled jobs as a result of the uninterrupted advance of modern technology, causing ever-increasing inter-occupational mobility. The process of consolidation and organisation of occupational or trade groups must be pursued and the latter given due representation on elective bodies. The role of Trade Unions, Chambers of Commerce, Engineers' Institute, Indian Medical Association, commodity-wise Consumers' Associations, Technicians' Association, etc., was helpful for this purpose, according to him. But the vast majority of our people, such as peasants, the managerial and technical cadre, self-employed artisans, agricultural and forest labourers etc., is still unorganised. Their occupationwise organisation must be expedited, for successful introduction of the principle of 'functional representation', he thought.

The Texture of Hindu Order

The warp of autonomous industrial families from village level upwards, crossed by the woof of regional administration with village panchayat as its base,—thus had been interwoven the texture of Hindu socio-economic order. The similar structure would be beneficial even

for the future, though, as in the past so also in future, the old, fossilised, socio-economic organisms must, in the process, be replaced, from time to time, by the newly born living ones.

Consensus for Criteria

He felt that the criteria to determine the proportion of representation to various functional entities should be worked out through the process of joint consultation and consensus. Once the principle of 'Functional Representation' is accepted, it was not too difficult to work out the details, he thought. He himself did not present any blueprint of the proposed system because, in the first place, he thought that the time was not yet ripe for the same—even the principle not being endorsed by the people so far, and, secondly, the very fact of the presentation of a comprehensive scheme by any person or group of persons would vitiate the evolution of the process. In this context, it would be quite relevant to question whether mere numerical strength of any profession should be the basis for determining the extent of representation it should be granted. Or should there be prescribed any qualitative standards also (to cite a single example, Yugoslavia's representation to various groups proportionate to their contribution to the total national wealth). There can be other qualitative standards also. What is important in this respect is not so much the correctness or soundness of the criteria adopted as its approval by the largest number of people.

It is high time that our leaders of thought and action give serious consideration to these views and do the needful without further delay.