

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

THE 'LANGUAGE LANDSCAPE' OF INDIA

(Continued from the previous issue of 29-10-55)

II

I do not know if you expect me to say something relating to the work on which the Official Language Commission is engaged. If you do, I must disappoint you. You will no doubt appreciate that it will be improper for me, also premature, to express any views on any of the numerous points arising in the detailed consideration of this complex issue, and both the Commission and I as its Chairman must maintain a wholly open mind on this subject at this stage. But when I have a gathering before me of such distinguished scholars from all parts of the country devoted to the pursuit of research in Indian languages, I cannot let this opportunity pass of placing my difficulties before you, so that you may be in a position to give guidance which will be valuable to the solution of the problem which the Commission has to tackle.

Perhaps I may venture to say a few words generally about the way I think the issue should be approached. The task before the Commission is really a pragmatic one as to what should be the position to be occupied by the official language and the other languages, so that the country's business may be carried on with the greatest facility; so that there will be available a suitable means of communication at all appropriate levels of inter-State contact; so that the standards of teaching in universities (on which our scientific and technical progress depends so vitally) are not impaired while we move from the present unsatisfactory position to one in which the official and other languages will have attained their appropriate status in their respective fields in the life of the country.

There is one important aspect of the matter to which I think we must pay heed. The Constitution has laid down, in the directive principles of policy, an obligation on the State to endeavour to provide within a period of 10 years from the

commencement of the Constitution free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. It is obvious that the vast expansion of literacy and elementary education contemplated in this directive of policy can be conceived of only in terms of Indian languages and not in terms of the English language which, after so many decades of official patronage and even imposition, has not permeated beyond an infinitesimal fraction of a narrow cross-section of our society. The people of India have given unto themselves a Constitution of a democratic republic based on adult franchise. We have therefore to view the entire problem of education and public life in our country in a context wholly different from that of centralized foreign rule in which the knowledge of the English language within a narrow group of the community sufficed for all the country's requirements. All this, it seems to me, makes the eventual displacement of the English language from its present position in our society inevitable.

But when I say that the English language will eventually have to be displaced from its present position in the national life of our country, please do not imagine that I am oblivious to the importance of English as a foremost means of international communication in the world today, or insensitive to the beauty of its literature and the wealth of scientific knowledge in it, or forgetful that it has served us as a national platform and been an important element in the forging of our national unity. Nor do I view the matter merely from the point of view of patriotic sentiment. Considerations of national self-respect are undoubtedly important in respect of language, as it touches the entire national life of a people so intimately. A language is not the property of any particular nation, and obviously, it belongs to all who can speak it. We may not reject a foreign language because it is foreign. I have no doubt, besides, that we must equip our graduates both in the natural sciences and humanities with a

sufficient command of English and/or other suitable foreign language or languages to serve as a 'key' to the storehouse of knowledge not yet available in the Indian languages and as a 'window' to the rapid progress of technology and scientific knowledge that is constantly taking place in the world. We must see to it that educational standards do not deteriorate, and our impatience must not affect the efficient training of leaders of men and of the services. But there is a vital distinction between using a foreign language as a second language and its use as the only or principal medium for education or for the conduct of the day-to-day business of the country. The massive resurgence of our national life which we are committed to bring about within a reasonable period following the adoption of adult franchise, free and compulsory education, promotion of social justice and equal opportunity, etc., is inconceivable to my mind in terms of any but the indigenous languages. Indeed the provisions of the Constitution have already settled the issue and it should be unnecessary to restate it.

This prospect of a vast popular awakening and the economic and social enfranchisement of the country's teeming millions has yet another aspect which we must not ignore. While it is clear that we must make special efforts to equip Hindi as well as other regional languages with words and expressions relating to special fields like the scientific, the technical or the legal (from which for historical reasons these languages had in recent decades been shut out) we must not forget that these living languages are intended to be serviceable to the millions of people who will be using them. A living language resides in the currency of daily speech, in the workaday world and in the market-place and not in the dictionaries of the lexicographer. While helping the development of our languages, we must not forget this and proceed to make them merely memorials to our scholarship. The common man, by and large, has no interest in any doctrines of language purism, and perhaps he is right. All living languages are constantly responding to the new needs and stimuli of social situations, and in the course thereof they freely borrow and assimilate foreign terms and expressions. I recall reading that nearly half the words in the English language are themselves or are derived from such loan-words. So what shall we do to avoid the futility of trying to purge living languages or to force them into the procrustean bed of preconceived ideologies of scholarship? I think every new word well assimilated by a language is a conquest made by it, and not an

inroad into it. I find in the Oxford English Dictionary that several hundred, nearly a thousand, Indian words have been admitted into the Queen's English. This is mentioned by G. Subba Rao in his book "Indian Words in English". So, while we try to make up for past deficiencies and to equip our languages with a new vocabulary, should we not choose words and terms having regard only to their simplicity, accuracy, serviceableness and adaptability of the graft to the genius of the host language, regardless of considerations of their racial origin or of doctrines of revivalism? The opinion of scholars like those I see before me on this subject should furnish valuable guidance to the Commission on this point.

Article 351 of the Constitution makes it quite clear that the Hindi language, which is the official language of the Union, is to be developed so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India, and that it has to be enriched by assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms of style and expression used in Hindustani and other Indian languages mentioned. The Constitution has further provided ample protection and guarantees to all languages and scripts. The problem, therefore, though complex, is essentially one to be solved by the aid of light, and not heat! The language problem is a problem of practical policy which must be approached from secular, as distinct from a religious or revivalist standpoint; from a national, as distinct from a provincial or communal standpoint and from a pragmatic, as distinct from an axiomatic or ideological standpoint.

One other thing, moreover, seems to me beyond controversy. In the solution of the language problem many agencies are concerned besides the Union and the State Governments, viz., the Universities, the Judiciary, the legal and other professions, the Press, the scholar as well as the man in the street. In whatever we do, therefore, for the attainment of the final solution, reliance must be placed not so much on the aids of law and governmental support and patronage — powerful and indispensable as these aids are — but on the merits of the solution propounded and the programme chalked out for its attainment; and on the fundamental good sense and patriotism of the people. A complex and detailed linguistic revolution, such as we have to bring about, cannot be enforced merely by the fiat of the State; it is a task in which we must engage the ready and enthusiastic co-operation of the various agencies concerned and of all important elements in the national life. The objectives,

properly viewed, are common and are shared by all Indians of good-will; they are enshrined in the Constitution which the people of India solemnly adopted after mature deliberation five and a half years ago. The problem is essentially one of means and instruments to be used and the pace to be set for achieving common ideals. We have faced many important and difficult issues in the seven years since our Independence. I have no doubt whatever that the political maturity and innate good sense of our people will help us to tackle this issue also successfully. I believe that it is the contemporary generation which will feel keenly the difficulties and inconveniences which any solution of the language problem which we may propose might involve. Succeeding generations will not feel them with the same keenness. Any solution which we willingly and vigorously adopt after due consideration will, when the contemporary generation accustomed to other ways disappears in a few decades, be accepted with the passage of time. While, therefore, there may be honest differences of opinion today as regards the solution adopted finally by the country for itself, it is infinitely more important that the goal and the programme, once determined, are universally and unreservedly accepted all over the country. We must take every possible care to see that our solution is scientific and will not harm the genuine interests of future generations, and here again your Institute can give us very good guidance. I hope and trust the problem will be solved in such a way that the generations to come will say that we tackled this difficult task wisely and well. They should have no cause to say that we were unmindful of long-term national interests or that we were timid, lazy and unwilling to make the effort to acquire new habits of thought and expression, or that we were narrow-minded and bigoted.

We have come to occupy a high position of prestige internationally in the comity of nations. This international position is obviously the result of our highly ethical and disinterested approach and the special viewpoint of tolerance and peaceful co-existence stemming from our cultural inheritance. Obviously, this international position vitally depends on the capacity we demonstrate in tackling our internal problems by dint of the same spirit of tolerance and mutually beneficial co-existence which we preach abroad.

By Vinoba Bhave
BHOODAN YAJNA

[Land-Gifts Mission]

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Cruelty to Monkeys

A friend from Bombay sends a cutting of the following news from NAFEN :

London, October 17

Anti-Vivisection societies are jointly to meet at Caxton Hall, London, this week to protest against the transport of animals, and particularly of monkeys, from India for the purpose of vivisection.

"Although we are quite powerless in the matter," said the Secretary of the National Anti-Vivisection Society to NAFEN today, "we are continually supplying the Government of India with information on the treatment of monkeys."

Dr. W. Lane-Petter, Secretary of the Research Defence Society, which fully justifies the use of monkeys for research purposes, is at present abroad with the object of increasing the export of monkeys for research.

The Secretary of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, interviewed by NAFEN, referred to the recent deputation which his society led to the High Commissioner for India on monkey imports and added: "Although we failed in our major objective in getting monkey exports banned, improvements were made in the methods of transport."

"India has also set up a special committee to consider the whole problem with a view to bringing in legislation. The chairman of this committee is Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon. He is a very enlightened man and we feel that under his chairmanship much will be done."

Commenting on this piece of news, the friend rightly remarks that it is sheer cruelty to sell monkeys this way for securing foreign exchange. It does not behove us who proudly proclaim from the house-top that we are the children of the land of Buddha and Gandhi. Will Government stop this cruelty to the dumb of God's creation?

20-10-'55

M. P.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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HARIJAN

Nov. 5

1955

ORTHODOXY AND REVOLT OF YOUTH

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri A. P. Pattani, ex-Diwan, Bhavanagar State, (Saurashtra) writes as follows:

"The central theme of your leader of 22-10-55 entitled 'Fear, Insecurity and Indiscipline' should arrest serious attention. The falling standards of education, however, were noticed before independence when young blood, like their elders, could not stay out of the freedom movement. The national mind has now to come back to 'making' rather than 'breaking' a government. When a necessity of life like clothes, medical aid, hair-cut or a house is required, no one wants to go to their caste or political centre for it but to a tailor, doctor, barber or building contractor. In the same way, for education we should go to educationists. The education system of our elders was inadequate no doubt, in some ways wrong, but at least they were of one mind on principles of efficiency and discipline, and they knew what they were doing.

Europe, America and Russia are educating their youth for needs of today and tomorrow. That we have yet to do. If people and our Government are prepared to take expert advice in education, as they do in engineering or industry, our five year plans would be still greater successes."

Shri Pattani's letter deserves close attention. I hope he does not suggest, as some superficial observers do, that the part students played in the fight for independence tended to bring about falling standards and indiscipline in education. The advice that Gandhiji tendered to the student world then was that they should quit English educational institutions and join independent national ones which were started as an educational constructive activity. As we know, very few joined them. Though many, on the spur of the moment, left orthodox schools and colleges, most of them went back to them within a year and only a few national educational institutions survived with very few students on their roll. All honour and bravo to these institutions, they continued their free career as experiments in new or truly national education, from which emerged a few new ideas in education like the true medium of education; place in the syllabus, of one common or national language for the country which will not be English but Hindi-Hindustani; need of manual training and instilling dignity of labour; a new approach to syllabuses and curricula mainly from the point of view of rural India, and its actual needs, to name a few out of so many ideas that were brought forth in the educational world. These ideas exposed the serious defects that inhered in English Education which was fast having its social results of educated unemployment, its medium of the alien language leading to fast deterioration in standards of studies and examination and evoking among the student world a righteous

resentment that practically nothing was done to stem the decadence that set in. The national educational movement, though not a success from the point of view of numbers, was very effective in exposing the anti-national character and un-educational nature of what passed on as public instruction in India. The Government did not mind this, perhaps for apparent reasons of politics, and things educational drifted on. It is this drift that was allowed to go on for political reasons on the part of our ex-British rulers that, I think, brought about lowering of standards. There was to be seen a sort of insincerity and untruth lurking in the Government system of education. It lost prestige as a nation-building activity and the foreign rulers could do nothing really worthwhile to remedy the rot that set in, in consequence. Really speaking it was this that brought about a situation of falling standards and it continues more or less up till now.

Shri Pattani is therefore right when he says that now has come the time to 'make' our Government. This, for the student world, means that they should begin to apply themselves to their studies in a disciplined manner. And they do feel so. What is necessary is that the picture of reform and reconstruction of education which suffers from neglect right from the twenties of this century till now, should be clearly drawn out and its programme should begin to be slowly but surely implemented. It is here that we find the orthodoxies and vested interests created by the anti-national system of education set up by our ex-rulers thwarting reconstruction and impeding the onward march to reform and improvement even of the most essential nature like the medium of instruction, introduction of basic education, study of Hindi in schools and colleges, etc.

If Shri Pattaniji at the end suggests importing expert educational advice from outside, I may note that we have had it for all the big educational inquiries since 1948, viz. the University Commission, the Secondary Education Commission, the Higher Education for Rural Areas Committee, etc. All these bodies had on them foreign experts, and we have had their advice embodied in their reports. But the old orthodoxy is too much with us, and I fear we lack courage and conviction to begin a new chapter and hence the powers that be, both at the Centre as well as in the States, shudder to change the old order of education. And a sort of cant and hypocrisy seems to hold the field; we say things of which we are either really not convinced or are not bold enough to execute. This brings about a rot in the educational machinery which drifts on only tinkering with the problems which they, left to themselves, cannot obviously solve, being a departmental machinery under the Government. The whole situation and the times or the new age we are in demand radical reorientation of our basic ideas of, and approach to India's education. This in turn expects a faith and belief in

new values and independent attitude that are necessary to negotiate successfully through a revolutionary stage like the one we are at today. The fears, the insecurities, and the sorts of indiscipline we see today are only the signs and symptoms of this critical situation betokening us to beware before it is too late. Old orthodoxy in education is still too much with the leaders and the workers in the field and I fear this is what sets youth on its turbulent edge of revolting against the killing past.

30-10-55

LATE SHRI JAJUJI

(By Megambhai P. Desai)

We note with deep regret the news of the death of Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju. He was one of the old guards that are gradually passing away from our midst after a strenuous life of more than 30 years in the cause of freedom of our motherland. Jajuji, as he was lovingly called, did not belong to the parliamentary wing of our activities; he was all along a constructive worker, though he ever courted jail when the fight for freedom was launched by the Congress. His main field of activity was Khadi and village industries. Gandhiji entirely depended on his sagacity and wisdom to carry on these activities. He highly respected him and always felt at home with entrusting various constructive activities to his care. Jajuji was a devoted servant of Daridranarayan. He was a deeply religious and highly conscientious worker. As such he was respected by all his colleagues as a revered elder of the all-India family of Khadi and Gram Udyog workers. Their loss is irreparable. I associate myself with, and reproduce below, the resolution passed by the members and staff of the A.I.K. & V.I. Board, Bombay:

"This meeting of the members of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board and members of the staff of its Central Offices has learned with deep regret the news of the sad demise after an operation of Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju. Shri Jaju was a member of this Board and had behind him years of devoted and dedicated service in the cause of the country and especially of the Daridranarayan.

For many years he was associated with Mahatma Gandhi in the promotion and organization of Khadi and village industries in the country. He was also the Secretary of the All India Spinners Association and the spirit and inspiration behind the work of this Association.

In the formation of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, Shri Jaju played a very important role and as the representative of the Sarva Seva Sangh his decision largely influenced the Government of India not only in constituting this Board but also in the selection of its personnel. Though due to ill health and his desire to devote the best of his time to the Bhoodan movement, Shri Jaju ceased to be a member of this Board, the Board had the benefit of his great experience and wise guidance at all times. It may not be out of place here to record that it was largely due to his unremitting effort that this Board is

now enabled to launch on its ambitious scheme of Khadi and Village Industries Technical Research Institute in Maganwadi, Wardha. This has been made possible because of the generous gift of land and equally generous offer of buildings and other establishments belonging to the Sarva Seva Sangh for utilization by the Board's Technical Institute.

This meeting while expressing its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of Shri Jaju, wishes to place on record its appreciation of and gratitude for all Shri Jaju had done in the cause which the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board now seeks to promote and espouses. This meeting conveys to Shri Jaju's family and to the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh its sympathy in their bereavement."

31-10-55

WELFARE STATE v. SARVODAYA STATE

(By P. Srinivasachari)

IV

We have so far seen the aims and the working of a Welfare State. It was also pointed out that the Welfare State can easily fit in with the framework of a capitalist as well as a socialist society. Since some of the salient features of both the systems are found in it, there prevails a notion that the ideals of a Welfare State are the same as those of the Sarvodaya State and the term 'Welfare State' is taken as synonymous with Sarvodaya. This is due to a lack of proper understanding of the ideals for which a Sarvodaya State stands.

Idea of the Sarvodaya State

The Sarvodaya State stands for the happiness of all. It does not represent the rise of the few, not even of the many; and for that matter, its goal is not the 'greatest good of the greatest number'. It stands for the good of one and all, of the high and the low, and of the strong and the weak. In aiming at the happiness of all, it does not go by the utilitarian formula of the 'greatest number', even though the greatest good of all includes the good of the greatest number. It is not merely an economic or political system that the Sarvodaya State signifies, but a non-violent social order and a way of life designed to secure the happiness of all.

High Standard of Life

As the Sarvodaya State represents a way of life, the economic progress of such a society is not mainly measured in terms of production of wealth. The production of wealth is undertaken to increase the standard of living; but it has also to be ensured that any increase in the standard of living should contribute towards increasing the standard of life. As the aim is the happiness of all, the insistence is not only on the pursuit of material welfare, but to a great extent on those activities which create an atmosphere that guarantees maximum freedom and opportunity for the human development of all. Mere insistence on a high standard of living without any consideration of the nature of the economic activities will only spell ruin.

Decentralized Economy

A complicated economic structure resulting in social inequality and exploitation is incompatible with the aims of a non-violent social order. The example of the highly industrialized countries of the West and their pre-occupation with grave social problems and economic ills should be a timely warning. The end sought in Sarvodaya is human happiness combined with full mental and moral growth.

There will be no objection to machinery, but the use of machinery should not run counter to social wellbeing. It should not displace human labour and lead to exploitation.

Since a sense of security and self-reliance are pre-requisites for moral progress, the pattern of production

and the structure of the economy will be organized in such a way that enough work is provided for all and the individual is not made to depend on the State for the necessities of life. In the Sarvodaya State, the production of goods, especially of consumers' goods, will be carried on in homes through individual or co-operative effort. As far as possible, each region consisting of a small area will be made self-contained and self-sufficient at least in articles which are primarily necessary for life.

In fine, the economic structure of a Sarvodaya State will be a decentralized one. The decentralized industries will make use of such of the modern machines and tools as will not stand in the way of our progress.

Industries that cannot be decentralized will also have their place if they are found necessary for satisfying the requirements of the people. But such big industries will not be left to the private sector. They will be nationalized or controlled by the State and will be run, not for profit, but for rendering service to the people.

Absence of Exploitation

The Sarvodaya State which stands for a decentralized economy and a non-violent social order cannot tolerate exploitation in any form. In fact, the structure of the economy is such that there can be no room for any kind of exploitation. There can be no concentration of economic power as the productive power will be dispersed and spread out in all parts of the country.

Ends and Means

A State which is working for the establishment of a Sarvodaya order will lay great emphasis on the means to be followed to achieve the desired ends. Particular care will be taken about the pursuit of correct means, as experience has shown that the results achieved always depend on the means adopted. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to the purity of the means adopted. Sarvodaya rejects impure means in our march towards the ideal.

The Sarvodaya State therefore rejects the philosophy of violence and all that it means, for the establishment of a new social order. There is no place for violence and hatred in changing the present structure. The philosophy of Sarvodaya believes in the conversion of men and not in their destruction. It aims at the abolition and destruction of a wrong system and not of those who are victims of the system. Since people should be converted and changed and not destroyed or wiped out, only peaceful means can be employed to secure social justice. Promotion of class hatred and the adoption of violent methods are opposed to its philosophy.

But that does not mean that injustice will be tolerated. Sarvodaya pins its faith on the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation in opposing evil and fighting for any good cause. It believes that whatever is gained through peaceful means in an atmosphere devoid of hatred and violence will have permanent value, as the reform is carried through with the maximum support of and the least or negligible objection from the parties concerned. As economic power will be widely distributed, no man can exploit another, and the productive activities will be free from the violence that is inherent in the centralized system of production.

Decentralization of Political Power

In the Sarvodaya State, as we shall now see, there will be no concentration of political power. As decentralization will be the hallmark of the Sarvodaya order, there can be no exploitation of the smaller units by the bigger units or of units by the centre.

Just as in the economic field, political power will be largely decentralized. Small regions will have all the powers necessary to manage their own affairs without any interference from outside. The bigger units will enjoy only such powers as are delegated by the regions for the effective management of common affairs. The centre will have powers over such matters as concern the nation as a whole and derive its authority from the units. As the

regions will have wide powers and be economically self-sufficient, the main feature of the political system will be the small regions that will function as semi-independent republics and be bound to the centre, which will command only minimum powers for maintaining national unity. The political life will not be a pyramid with the centre as the apex sustained by the bottom.

In fine, the economic and political framework of the Sarvodaya and Welfare States represents two different extremes. In the former there is diffusion of power, while in the latter there is a manifestation of the concentration of power. In fact even though socially beneficial measures are undertaken by the Welfare State they do not bring about a revolution in the way of life of the people. The welfare measures do good to the people; but while contributing to their wellbeing, they carry with them their own adverse effects as well.

Welfare v. Freedom

The State is concerned with every aspect of life of the individual so much so that it needs a huge administrative machinery for the proper management of things. A large army of men who could otherwise have been constructively employed for more useful purposes waste their time and talents in the routine of office work. The Welfare State is overburdened with officials, dressed in authority and with an outlook that is usually strictly departmentalized. It gives strength to the persistence of a social disease which might be called 'administrative elephantiasis'.

The greatest harm resulting from such a kind of system is the loss of freedom and individual initiative. In order to provide various kinds of relief, the State assumes enormous powers and virtually controls the economic life of the people. The individual's freedom to pursue an avocation of life according to his own aptitude is very much restricted. What is more, people may even find that the avenues of employment are confined to those that the Government opens for them. The concentration of economic power in the hands of the State affecting the lives of the people is such that no single person or organization can resist the policies of the State. Moreover, the centralized system of production, by concentrating the working population in a few parts of the country, prevents closer co-operation and understanding among the various sections of the people.

In a State where political power is concentrated, an individual is one of the many millions in the country. The common man wields no influence at all in the actual framing of policies. He is much more conscious of being governed than of governing. "The government becomes in his thoughts a remote and largely malevolent 'they', not a set of men whom he, in concert with others who share his opinions, have chosen to carry out his wishes." *

Individual Initiative and Self-reliance

Since the State undertakes all the welfare measures, the citizens in course of time depend on the State for everything. They look up on the State not only in times of distress but even in ordinary day-to-day life and have not much initiative of their own to secure the necessities of life without the State coming in for help in one way or the other. This absolute dependence on the State saps their strength of resistance and makes them completely subservient to its power. They have to surrender their freedom to receive the benefits provided by the State. The State, while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, does great harm by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress.

The Sarvodaya State is quite opposite to this kind of order. An individual enjoys maximum freedom in pursuing his activities without any kind of fear or interference from authority. He has full scope to thrive on his own initiative and skill. The only consideration that restricts his freedom is that his actions should not cause

* Bertrand Russell: *Authority and Individual*.

any harm to other members of society. He has the wherewithal to supply his requirements and he does not depend on the State for obtaining the necessities of life. The philosophy of Sarvodaya is opposed to all concentration of power in any form. As more power is vested in the units, every person takes an active interest in day-to-day administration. In a small unit of administration, it is possible for people to maintain personal contact with each other in a way that is impossible in a centralized State and under a large-scale system of production. Problems of common interest are thoroughly discussed and the decisions taken are influenced by the views of the people concerned. The governing authority does not impose its will but carries out the decisions of the popular will. Thus there is enough scope and opportunity for the proper exercise of local citizenship.

Vital Difference

As the citizens are independent of government control and do not look up to it to regulate every detail of life, their freedom cannot be infringed upon lightly by the State. In short, the mark of the Sarvodaya State is not the acquisition of authority by a few but the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused. As the dependence on the State is reduced to the minimum in a decentralized society, the power of the State is also controlled and regulated by the masses.

There is also a great difference between the two philosophies in their approach to the solution of social and economic problems. One symbolizes the concentration of power, hails the centralized system of production and believes that economic activities are meant for the accumulation of wealth, and is prepared to follow any means to achieve progress. The other stands for diffusion of power, carries the message of decentralization, asserts that economic activities should not hurt the moral wellbeing of an individual or society, and believes in the use of proper and peaceful means.

It should, therefore, be clear that we will be deceiving ourselves if we regard the Welfare State as representing the objectives, ideals and aims of the Sarvodaya State. Will those who are wedded to the philosophy of Sarvodaya rise to the occasion and dispel the false notion prevailing in the country?

FREEDOM, BONDAGE AND THE WELFARE STATE

(By Dr Horace W. Stunkard)

Zoology is concerned with the facts and principles of animal life and we find that information obtained from the study of other animals is sometimes applicable to the human species. Although the inter-relationships of human society are more complex than those of lower or simpler creatures the fundamental and basic tenets of animal associations, those which are constantly manifest in all groups of animals, may properly be considered in respect to the species, *Homo Sapiens*. Certain of these associations and their effects appear so constantly, so regularly and so universally that conclusions based on them may be accepted as valid.

In the last stanza of his poem, "Die Weltweisen", Schiller declared that the edifice of the world is maintained by the impulses of hunger and love. If we translate this poetic expression into prosaic terms the primary and impelling motives in the lives of animals are those concerned with self-preservation and reproduction. The basic necessities of individual existence and racial preservation are food, shelter and the opportunity for reproduction. All these perquisites are sometimes included in the term security, which has been much emphasized in recent years and which is connoted in the term, "welfare state". It may be applied to any group of organisms and is not intended to refer merely to political entities, although certain implications may be in order.

All animals seek security, as defined, and in those attempts, they relinquish certain of their freedoms and become more or less dependent. Concomitantly, they accept

certain hazards, associated with the loss of freedom. The advantages obtained are offset by coincident dangers, and frequently by disastrous consequences. The surrender of freedom is often, perhaps usually, the result of fear. The promised advantages are often illusory, and the bondage imposed as a result of dependency is persistent. As an animal or group becomes dependent, recovery of an independent status becomes increasingly difficult.

The welfare state, security with contingent subjection and dependency, offers an easy way of life, but it is a slippery path which, by a slow gradual process, leads to loss of integrity, greater bondage, and eventual degradation. The most conspicuous examples are found among the sedentary, sessile, and parasitic species. All have descended from free-living, independent ancestors. The sessile and sedentary species are largely marine invertebrates, or long if not distinguished lineage.

There is a popular notion that the trend of evolution is always onward and upward, but zoologists are aware that this is not at all true. There have probably been as many retrogressive as progressive changes, and variations occur in diverse and sundry directions, although not entirely at random.

The successive stages in the life-history of the sessile crustaceans, notably the barnacles, portray the scenes in the evolutionary drama and exhibit the regressive changes that follow the surrender of freedom.

Loss of freedom, individual bondage, and the evolution of the welfare state are also characteristic features of the social insects. According to Wheeler, in the last 50 to 100 million years, 24 different societies, each with its own particular features, have arisen in as many different families of insects, representing "Nature's most startling efforts in communal organization."

At first glance, each colony appears to be a busy, efficient, happy family, with members contributing maximal effort to the welfare of the group. Information is probably most complete concerning the common ants and the honey-bee. The industry of the ant is proverbial; (Proverbs, vi 6-8) "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise; Which having no guide, overseer or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest."

But closer examination of social organization among ants reveals that with the evolution of the "welfare state", there is developed a stiff, rigorous caste system, in which individuals are bound to permanent, monotonous conditions of servitude. The royal individuals perform the sexual, reproductive functions, but otherwise enjoy a life of luxurious ease, while the other members of the colony belong to one or another of the sterile "worker" castes. There may be various types of workers; some cultivate a fungus, others tend the aphids, "the dairy-cattle of the ants", according to Linnaeus, others are soldiers, and among the honey-ants, certain individuals serve as "storage tanks" for honey-deew.

These latter members are stuffed until their bodies are enormously increased in size, almost spherical; they are quite unable to walk and hang by their claws from the ceilings of the nest chambers, giving out nourishment to other members of the colony during periods when food is scarce. But under the surface of the apparent, serene tranquility of the ant colony, the most savage and shocking events are taking place; murder, regicide, pillage, and forays against other colonies in which the adults are killed and the larvae and pupae are carried off to slavery.

The honey-bee has been extolled in song and story, even deified, as a virtuous, sedulous, and praiseworthy example of social efficiency. But in reality, she is a most pathetic little creature. Restricted during development to such an inadequate diet that the reproductive organs remain rudimentary, without hope of romance or progeny, she burns herself out and dies exhausted after a few weeks of feverish activity, a martyr and victim of the "welfare state."

But it is in the realm of animal parasites that the

most conspicuous results of dependency are encountered. Swellengrebel defined a parasite as "an organism wholly dependent on another living organism for its food, its shelter and its reproduction." Parasitism is an almost universal phenomenon in the animal kingdom and it is important to inquire into its origin, extent and effects. It has long been recognized that parasites have been derived from free-living progenitors. Moreover, it is certain that parasitic lines have been developed repeatedly, and at various times in most of the several phyla, from protozoans to anthropods.

In any community, and the earliest ones must have been aquatic, numerous kinds of plants and animals live together, and parasitism is an outgrowth of such association. Animals in the same habitat strive for sustenance, for survival. They seek food, shelter, escape from predators, and opportunity for reproduction. It may have been accidentally or incidentally that certain animals found it expedient to attach themselves on or in the bodies of other animals. But acquisition of a host was the first step in the direction of parasitism.

In certain instances, fear may have incited the animal to seek shelter; again, the secretions or excretions of the host may have afforded nourishment, and hunger may have impelled the association. Or the animal may have been ingested accidentally, and in the digestive tract of the host found conditions suitable for survival. But gradually, the incipient parasite became more and more dependent.

When other food sources were insufficient, what would be easier than to feed upon the tissues of the host?

The dependent animal is proverbially looking for the easy way. So parasitism involves a gradual and progressive adaptation to a dependent condition on the part of the animal or species which adopts this mode of life. With protection and food supplied abundantly by the host, the parasite enjoys a condition of luxurious idleness. With nothing else to do, its surplus energy finds expression in enormously increased reproduction.

The parasite no longer need seek food or protection from enemies; it can relax in comfort; the welfare state has been attained. But cessation of an active existence results in characteristic changes in the physiology and morphology of the parasite; the organs which function most vigorously in a free-living existence, which render a species most alert and active, no longer used, undergo progressive reduction and eventual atrophy. Especially is this true of the sensory and locomotor organs. The parasite flatworms have lost their cilia; fleas and lice have lost their wings, the scab mites lack eyes and organs of respiration; while the linguatulids are so highly modified that they have lost practically all of their primitive characters and superficially resemble tapeworms.

With degeneration of the sense organs and muscles, there is a corresponding reduction in the nervous system. As parasitic regression proceeds, one after another of the organ systems suffers reduction and may eventually disappear. Certain groups of which the cestodes acanthocephalans and monstrellid copepods are conspicuous examples, having lost all traces of an alimentary tract. With the disappearance of the digestive system the animal has lost the ability to ingest and digest food and is reduced to a saprozoic type of nutrition. Although less conspicuous, the physiological losses resulting from parasitism are far more important than the morphological ones. The obligate parasite has lost the ability in the absence of other living cells to carry on anabolic phases of metabolism, to synthesize protein or to grow. It is clear that the enzymes concerned in anabolic processes must be supplied by living cells of the host or other associated organism. This inability to carry on constructive metabolism, except when supplied with enzymes from extraneous sources, has stymied attempts to culture parasitic orga-

nisms *in vitro*, and is largely responsible for present ignorance of the physiology of animal parasites.

While certain organ systems undergo reduction in parasitic species, there is a compensatory increase in reproductive capacity. Luxurious idleness with abundant nourishment supports an active metabolism which finds expression in enormously increased reproductive activity. Protozoa may multiply in the host to reach appalling numbers. A malarial patient with one per cent of the red cells infected would have approximately 200 billion parasites in his body. In metazoan species there is a corresponding development of the sexual organs. The number of ova produced by parasitic worms is stupendous; the average daily output of eggs by a mature female of *Ascaris lumbricoides* is about 200,000; of *Ancylostoma Duodenale* some 25,000. This profuse and unrestrained reproduction is essential, since it is necessary to compensate for the mortality of the young stages of the parasites.

In a balanced condition of nature, the reproductive capacity of any species just equals the losses occasioned by death. But the parasite is not concerned with the welfare of the offspring. It lives an entirely selfish existence and in the welfare state the comfort and security of the existing generation is often maintained and enhanced by mortgaging the future of succeeding generations.

It should be remembered that parasites, being wholly dependent, can survive only so long as they find other organisms to support them. They contribute nothing of value, their effects are definitely deleterious, and the defence mechanisms of the host are eventually mobilized against them. So, despite the apparent ease and luxury of parasitic existence, the probability of success in such a venture is exceedingly small. Such a welfare state exists for only those lucky individuals, the favoured few, who are able to cajole or compel others to provide the welfare.

Throughout the animal kingdom, during human history as recorded in written form, and during geological history as recorded in the evolutionary record, independence, with freedom to explore new vistas, has been the essential condition of progress, whereas the surrender of freedom in an attempt to attain security has led to bondage, regression and degeneracy. The welfare state offers security to workers on terms of contingent subjection and dependency, but such a social order reduces the individual to abject subservience, and results in the development of a rigid caste system.

Dependency and degeneration are cognate phenomena, they go hand in hand; either may be the causative agent, and it is often difficult to determine whether in any particular instance, creatures became degenerate because they were dependent or became dependent because they were degenerate. In any event, the well worn attempt to obtain comfort without effort, to get something for nothing, persists as one of the illusions which in all ages has intrigued and misled the unwary.

(From *New Outlook*, May, 1955)

[There is both a warning and a hint or advice in this study from zoology or biological sciences. It is as well we note it at the time when ideas of a Welfare State begin to come to us now.

9-10-55	M. P.]
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