

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)  
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

## ENGLISH TEACHING IN BOMBAY STATE (By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Government of Bombay, it is reported, is studying the decision of the Supreme Court on its appeal in the case of admission of students in Anglo-Indian schools in Bombay State. The case arose from an order of the Government asking primary or secondary schools "where English is used as a medium of instruction" not to admit students whose mother-tongue was not English.

In Bombay State there are in all 1,403 secondary schools of which 118 have adopted English as the medium of instruction. Of these 118, only 30 are what are called Anglo-Indian schools.

In these 30 schools there are 3,000 Anglo-Indian students forming 37 per cent of their total strength. The rest 63 per cent consist of, what may be described as non-Anglo-Indian students.

The Supreme Court has ruled that the said Government order is bad in law in its application to the Anglo-Indian schools as these bear certain privilege and protection under the Constitution.

The question arises, what about the remaining 88 English-medium schools? These English teaching schools do not have the constitutional protection as the Anglo-Indian schools. These schools grew up as such, because of English being the language of our ex-rulers. And the lure for English still continues, as we still cling to that language both in administration and education. The infatuation and glamour for it will disappear with our implementing the language policy of the Constitution and our Universities giving it up as their medium of education. This must now be expedited both by the Government and the Universities.

And how will the Anglo-Indian schools behave? Will they honour the medium policy of the Government, even though the order is invalidated for them? We hope the Anglo-Indian community will decide the matter wisely and well. Numerically speaking, these schools are more than necessary for the community, as can be seen from figures quoted above, even allowing for the constitutional requirement of at least 40 per cent of places being available to non-Anglo-Indians. We hope they will not be misled in their decision by the present apparent rush of non-Anglo-Indians for admission to them, and

they will chalk out their path and policy as a long-range measure.

People are worrying about another thing also vis-a-vis the Supreme Court decision and its effect on English teaching. They ask whether the teaching of English in schools that is declared to begin from Standard 8 and not earlier, will hold or not. To my mind, this is quite a separate matter which is in no way affected by the Court decision.

We hope the Government will decide these two questions in keeping with their declared language policy.

14-6-'54

## ATTEND THE COMMON MAN'S ECONOMY FIRST

[The following is from a speech of Shri Khandubhai Desai, M.P., in reply to a remark made in Parliament by an industrialist M.P., that the system of taxation has worked against those who are supposed to advance industrial progress. *Ed.*]

### National Income and Taxation

The figures that I have got before me tell a different story. Certain figures have been supplied by the National Income Committee. I find that

The National Income in 1941-42 was Rs 65 per capita; that income has risen to Rs 263.

The direct taxes then were about Rs 73 crores. This has gone up to Rs 231 crores, that is, an increase of 316 per cent.

Indirect taxes which were Rs 82 crores, have gone up to Rs 428 crores, meaning an increase of 521 per cent.

The total taxation has gone up from 168 crores of rupees to Rs 758 crores, that is, 521 per cent more.

Indirect taxation is responsible for an increase of 521 per cent. Taking only the figures of central taxation, some years ago, direct taxation yielded about Rs 100/- crores. Today it is only Rs 110 crores. Excise duty alone, which was about Rs 50 crores, has today been budgeted at Rs 106 crores. This means that the burden of taxation has certainly increased on the poor people.

We must also realize that the sales-tax in all the States has gone up. The octroi duties in all the municipalities, corporations, etc. have gone up, which means that very definitely, the taxation on the poor has increased.

There may have been a particular policy for the time being, that is, to remove the burden on the direct taxpayers so that capital is formed and employment is increased. Let us see what are the results of this policy.

We have been able to see that the money that has been given to them in the matter of relief has not created additional employment. As I had occasion to say on the demands for the Commerce and Industry Ministry, the total national income that is added by the large-scale industries is about Rs 550 crores; whereas the small-scale, village and cottage industries are adding about Rs 900

crores to the national income; while agricultural production yields an income of over Rs 4800 crores.

### Central Government's Duty

I would like to place this poser before the Hon. Finance Minister whether the activities of our administrative machinery are directed towards increasing the national wealth by the latter two sectors which are giving us Rs 5,700 crores in the same proportion as the activities of both the State and Central Governments are devoted to, or concentrated on an attempt to increase the national wealth through the large-scale industries. My plea is that we have done what could be done, or I may say, what should have been done, for the larger industries for the last five or seven years. We as wise people have now to decide whether it has yielded results commensurate with the attention we have paid to the large-scale industries. I think that the results have been very unsatisfactory and so we must change our outlook for the future. Let the attention of the Central Government be directly now paid to the small-scale, village industries and also to agriculture. And if that is done, I think the national wealth of the country can increase much more than by the attempt, or fruitless attempt that has been made during the last five or seven years.

### Increasing Purchasing Power

It has been asked how we were going to advance unless the purchasing power was injected somewhere. I ask, how are you going to inject the purchasing power unless the unemployed and the underemployed are given employment? The real capital formation in any undeveloped country like India is, in my opinion, the useful utilization of the tremendous labour that we have got in this country. Labour is really capital in this country, though it may not be so anywhere else. They, in the course of their support of large-scale industrialization with the latest mechanical devices, are quoting to us what has been done either in the United Kingdom or America or France. But, at the same time, they forget that those countries could develop in this way because they had control over large areas of Asia, like India, China and Indonesia to be exploited, and they were developed in that way. We have got to develop our economy in this country in our own way.

### Credit to Small-Scale Industries and Agriculture

In order to produce only Rs 550 crores of income in this country, as I said, the banking institutions, the insurance companies, all our officers, and all our Ministers are utilizing their intellectual and physical energy. But the question is whether these credit institutions are being used assiduously and to the same extent to increase the wealth of the rural areas. Can we say with the hand on our heart, that we have been able to supply credit to the agriculturists or the people engaged in the cottage industries? A few months back, an amending bill was brought before this House, enabling the Reserve Bank of India to release Rs 5 crores for rural credit. When products worth about Rs 5,700 crores are being given by the small-scale industries and agriculture, what is this paltry sum of Rs 5 crores that is being made available to the rural population? How is that credit going to support them in any way? I would therefore, urge that more rural credit should be given, and further, that credit should be given, in my opinion, with the same attention, if not more, that is being paid to the credit facilities for large-scale industries.

### Plea of Capital Formation Analysed

A plea is being made out that unless tax relief is given, there would not be any capital formed, and no industrial advancement could take place. I would like to say in this connection, that the capitalists or the people who have got money to invest, would like to invest that money only in the consumer goods industries, because that gives them immediate profits. Whatever facilities Govern-

ment may give to them, they are not going to invest their capital in any of the basic industries. These basic industries, whether we like it or no, would have to be developed only in the public sector. So I would say that I shall be completely satisfied if my capitalist friends here will give me the commodities which they are producing today. Let us keep them at that, and let them make certain improvements that are possible. But any hope concentrated on them to advance the economy of this country is, in my opinion, hopeless, and I would therefore suggest that we need not concentrate on them.

There is one last point to which I would like to make a reference, and that is in regard to transport. It is suggested that if transport is given over to private enterprise, it would increase employment. The same thing can be done by the nationalized sector also. The State or the Central Government also can make progress in giving transport facilities, not particularly private enterprise. I believe transport in the whole country should be nationalized. The Railway, of course, is nationalized; the Air Services are nationalized, and I think the road transport should be nationalized. That is the policy, and I feel that this policy should stand and the Government should not be cajoled by the private enterprise into giving up this sound policy.

Therefore I think it is better, that the nation itself decides to make economic progress, to remove unemployment or underemployment; let us concentrate on that aspect and trust the common man.

### MY QUAKER FAITH

(By Horace Alexander)

It may be good for us sometimes to try to put our faith into words, but it is not easy. Words seem very inadequate.

First, it seems to me important to distinguish between faith and belief. A man's belief consists in the things his intellect assents to; but his faith is what he lives by. Intellect, emotions and will are all involved. The early Quakers considered that a religion of intellectual assent alone was a "notional" religion. Most of them did, in fact, accept most of the orthodox Christian dogmas of their day and generation; but they called men to a faith of experience. The Christian, in their judgment, should be a man who shared the great experiences that Jesus had known, one who lived a Christ-like life. This, and not intellectual conformity, was in their view what really mattered.

The Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends (London Yearly Meeting) contains no credal formulations. In the introduction we read: "Dearly beloved friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by, but that all with the measure of light that is pure and holy may be guided; and so in the light walking and abiding, these may be fulfilled in the Spirit, not in the letter, for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life."

William Penn, one of the outstanding early Quakers, wrote: "It is not our opinion, or speculation, or notions of what is true, or assent to or the subscription of articles or propositions, though never so soundly worded, that makes a man a true believer or a true Christian. But it is a conformity of mind and practice to the will of God, in all holiness of conversation, according to the dictates of these Divine Principles of Light and Life in the Soul, which denote a person truly a child of God." Such a faith must continue to grow throughout a man's life, in response to the experience that life brings him.

I was brought up as a Quaker, and as all my forebears had been Quakers for six or eight generations, the Quaker view of life was, so to say, in my blood. My parents, my father in particular, held to a fairly orthodox theology, so that when I began to think for myself, and found that I could not readily accept such things as the Bible stories of miracles, or even the extreme view of the

"divinity" of Jesus, I began to pass through those deep waters which, I suppose, nearly all thoughtful young people experience at one time or another. But as there was no Quaker authority, neither a priest nor my father nor anyone else, who condemned these heretical thoughts as wicked, I soon came to see that there was no reason to resign from the religious society in which I had been brought up. When I was a student at Cambridge I remember attending a meeting of a society called the Heretics (I was not a member of it; I did not feel any urge to stick the label "heretic" on my jacket) where a proponent of the idea that Jesus never lived propounded the so-called "Christ myth". As we walked back to college afterwards a friend said to me: "I wonder what would happen to Christians if it were finally proved that Christ never lived". "It would not disturb my faith in the least", I retorted. I should not speak with such dogmatic assurance today. But I recall the incident as showing that I had already learnt the truth for myself of this Quaker conviction that it is not belief in certain historic facts, important as they may be, which forms the final anchorage of the faith in God, or, if you like, the Christian faith as I at least understand it. It is the witness of the heart, of daily life. We call ourselves Christians, not because Jesus lived two thousand years ago, and performed certain miracles but rather because the New Testament seems to us to be true in the fullest meaning of truth; not just historic fact, but living truth, that can be and must be perpetually tested afresh in the life of the world.

My father, I have said, was a fairly orthodox believer; but what really impressed me in my father was that he had friends who did not share his faith, or rather his belief. He spent himself in many public activities which he hoped would help to bring peace and goodwill among men. Among his colleagues were men of other faiths—he had, in particular, many Chinese friends who came to stay with us; and some of his colleagues and intimates in the international peace movement of those days were Agnostics or Sceptics. His warm heart embraced them all. If they were fighting the same great battles, they must be good men, and it was not for him to judge them on theological grounds. Then, at Cambridge, I was taught by a well-known English author, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson. He called himself an Agnostic. But he seemed to me to be very much like my father in many ways. When the war of 1914 broke upon us, he withstood the hysteria of the time, and braved bitter unpopularity by keeping his mind clear and alert and free from passion and hatred. He had too much compassion for all men to hate any man.

Many years of my life have been spent in close contact with Christian theologians and some of them have become my close colleagues. Who can but admire the work of men like the late William Temple and many more of our generation? But theology alone does not seem to be an adequate guide to a man for keeping him in the path of truth and righteousness. Karl Barth is truly a great man. But it comes as a shock to discover one who, in the conventional sense, might well be acclaimed as one of the outstanding Christians of our day, pronouncing that, after all, there is some justification for anti-Semitism. With all respect to Karl Barth, I would say that either you are Christian or you may condone anti-Semitism. But it is a case of either—or. If Karl Barth wants us to take his Christian profession seriously I beg him to recant from such an unchristian statement. Perhaps, after all, my teacher Lowes Dickinson, was a better Christian than some of those who are active "Christians". I suppose the awful fact we all have to face is that our Christian profession may have just the opposite effect to the one we would wish, namely, that we may drive people away from Christ. I am reminded of the young West African I met a few years ago, who said: "I shall never become a Christian; I have met too many missionaries."

But these matters need not be central to our life of faith. What are the things that have come to mean most

to me during my life? Life today seems to paralyse many men, because we are hemmed in by vast impersonal forces. Our newspapers tell us, day by day, of vast forces at work in the world; mighty military and economic powers are being manipulated this way and that by—by whom? If you read most daily papers, you imagine that a few statesmen are deciding our destinies. Or, if you read certain other papers, you will be assured that the strings are really being pulled by cunning financial dictators, by a few great capitalists or other men of extraordinary power. Most of this is just dramatic nonsense. There is an element of truth in the assertion that huge power is concentrated today in very few hands. But it is almost equally true that the men who appear to be deciding our fate are, most of the time, just about as helpless as the rest of us. They are not statesmen, but only political economists. However this may be, I have come more and more to the conviction that life is in a great degree a testing ground for our moral fibre. If we say: "Life is really too difficult; there is nothing I can do either to assist mankind or to deflect the course of history; therefore I will just live to myself", then I believe we are failures. The history of mankind is, I believe, the history of all of us. It might seem that a man who is in a concentration camp, waiting for death, can make no further contribution to the story of mankind. But even that is not the whole truth. Though the vast majority of those who have thus been condemned to an anonymous death have left no sign that we can detect; yet a few, here and there, wrote something which is by way of becoming immortal literature. These one or two thus symbolize the unknown but deathless courage or endurance of thousands more. Very few of us will leave immortal names to rank with the great men of old. But the modern age still calls for just the same personal dedication, the same joyous living, the same love of truth and beauty that have inspired men in past ages. The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb may have made nonsense of most of the old time courage of combat in wartime; but the courage of peaceful citizenship is no more out of date today than it has ever been.

The eternal things remain: human love, the pursuit of truth for its own sake, the appreciation of beauty, the creation of new beauty, and all the rest. Each day we live can be a day of glory. Probably each of us has known love incarnate in a man or woman, perhaps in many. Each generation has its new witnesses to the glory of God. These are the things that sustain us.

"Our little systems have their day,  
They have their day and cease to be;  
They are but broken lights of Thee;  
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

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## HARIJAN

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### PHILOSOPHY OF BHOODAN

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Acharya Narendra Dev, the P. S. P. leader and Marxist doctrinaire, has raised a question about the philosophy of Bhoodan. He is reported to have told pressmen at Poona, June 7, that

"He did not believe that the Bhoodan movement would give rise to a new philosophy of life.

"He explained that he was not opposed to the Bhoodan movement as such, but he could not subscribe to the view that it had any philosophy of its own. He felt that by its very nature it was limited in scope. The movement was based on change of heart. A firm believer in class struggle, he could not agree with the view that persuasion alone would bring about the desired social and economic changes.

"It was true, he said, that the movement had created confidence among the landless and awakened in them a sense of fellow-feeling. It was also true that a few rich landowners helped the movement by munificent gifts. But on the whole, the change of heart was not so noticeable among the rich as in the poor."

We all know that the Bhoodan idea had its birth in Telangana, in a peculiar and psychologically tense situation. The violent activities of the Communists, staunch believers as they are in the theory and technique of class struggle, had created a highly panicky situation both for the people as well as Government. It was there and in those circumstances that at a happy moment it occurred to Shri Vinoba that land which the landless people really wanted might be asked for directly from landowners and it be distributed among the former. The idea proved a capital one and it worked and so succeeded that today within the short period of two years it has caught the imagination of our people and abroad, lakhs of acres have been already donated by people; prominent people in the P. S. Party as well have come to like the work so much so that one of its leaders, Shri J. P. Narain has declared that he will devote his whole life to this movement; and, in a broad manner, a philosophy of its own is taking shape at the hands of its leader, Shri Vinoba, which he has described in the following words: 'A non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yajna and with village industries as its mainstay'.

However, Shri Narendra Dev is right in a manner when he says that there is nothing new in the Bhoodan philosophy. None, I think, has made such a claim. Bhoodan is the new phase in the old technique and philosophy of Gandhiji's Satyagraha and Sarvodaya—a new version of the same suited to the present needs of our national work. For the matter of that, even the Marxist doctrine of class-struggle is no new

philosophy. And we know that Gandhiji claimed no newness for his doctrine of Satyagraha which was as old as the eternal life-principles of truth and non-violence. What he did, he said, was to adapt them for their mass use and application in solving group problems of our corporate and national life.

Similarly it may fairly be claimed for Bhoodan that these old principles of Gandhiji are being tried to solve one of our most intricate problems of New India, viz. the land question. And it has proved successful. Lakhs of acres have been donated by the land-owning classes. A climate of the need for equitable redistribution of land in the country has been engendered and popular opinion for it is intensified by it. This is achieved not through class war ideas, but by provoking the philanthropic virtues of love and charity and mutual aid. Therefore, the movement undoubtedly presents as if a new philosophy of life, which was surely shown to us first by Gandhiji; and if there had been no Bhoodan, we would not have perhaps remembered the Gandhian philosophy and programme nor thought about it as keenly and urgently as we do at present. Gandhiji taught us to note that India was a land of villages; our true policy should be to raise them from their slough of dependency and make them truly experience the glow of Swaraj; this should be achieved through truth and non-violence, through love and peace, and in such a way that freedom of man and his humanity are further enlarged. Therefore we would not accept the faulty creed of capitalist and centralized industrialism, but would aim to evolve a decentralized and self-reliant economy. To do it, we shall have to give land and village industries and Khadi to those who are today un- or under- employed and are landless. Without it, no true Swaraj can be felt to have come to them; nor can we remove age-old unemployment from our midst. To rebuild India on these lines is a great venture, requiring a philosophy which is different from that of the industrialized centralist West.

Therefore it will not be wholly true to say that, if Bhoodan succeeds, as it should, it would not give rise to a new philosophy of life. This cannot be obviously achieved by legislation alone. For law to be helpful, it must be preceded by necessary public opinion and change of values and ideas. This is surely not possible to do by State power, which could come in only if there is adequate change of public opinion, except perhaps that we choose autocracy or dictatorship. Bhoodan is a non-violent movement, which means that it chooses democracy. 'Land to the landless' is its slogan. And because these people have enough time with them they should devote that time to produce their needs of cloth etc. through small-scale village industries—this is its cry for a new and revolutionary industrialism. To do these things by going to and working among the

people so that they become State policy as well for rebuilding new India, is surely a new thing in Indian politics. That the Bhoodan movement seeks to do this without itself becoming a political party, is surely true. Bhoodan aims to be a non-party i.e. an all-party movement. This is again a novel idea to work with, — whether one agrees with it or not is a different matter.

It is very necessary now to expound the philosophy of Bhoodan to our people. That will help the movement also to advance further by clearing probable misunderstandings or apprehensions about it. As President Shri Rajendra Prasad said in his recent message to Bhoodan work, now "this great movement is entering its second phase. This is no less difficult than the first." Its success essentially depends upon our explaining to the masses the philosophy of Bhoodan.

10-6-54

(From the original in Hindi)

### RECOGNIZE THE SIGN OF THE TIMES \*

(By Vinoba)

In every good deed, when one starts doing it, there is first an initial period of hard labour, suffering and sacrifice. But if one is firm and continues to press forward undismayed, the difficulties melt away and one has a feeling of the grace of God helping one's efforts which then begin to bear fruit. The same happened in the case of Bhoodan. There was first a long period of hard preparation. We worked ceaselessly day after day forgetful whether it was summer or winter or the rains. We are now passing through the next period. People are listening to us and responding generously. It is a matter of delight that the Bhoodan message is making its way into remote villages. There are about five lakh villages in India. I suppose that our workers have by now visited about a lakh of them. The actual figure may be less or still higher, but anyway we have achieved noteworthy success.

Those who have realized the importance of this work have given with open hands. It has been borne home to the poor that this is specially their movement and I am happy to say that wherever they have had this realization they have willingly come forward to donate to the Yajna whatever they could, even though it meant great hardship to them. There are innumerable instances of the owners of tiny holdings of three or four or less *bighas* donating a portion of their land to us. These donations from the poor are to me like the little drops of rain which, seemingly small as they are, can fill in oceans. It is the most positive sign of the success of our work that the poor are waking up to their rights and to their duty.

The big landholders appreciate it rather slowly which is understandable because the more wealth a man has, the greater is his attachment.

But amongst them too, those who have understood it have contributed quite liberally.

I have received quite a good amount of land from your village today. But I understand the bigger ones among you have not given. They were willing to give a little, but our workers refused. This was quite right. If it were for the construction of a temple or a mosque we would agree to take that little. But our position is vastly different. We ask for it in the name of the poor of India and not as a gift from a donor to a beggar, but as a right which is their due and which, therefore, should be restored to them as soon as possible. We therefore insist on one-sixth portion from the big landholders. And I am sure if they once understand its meaning and purpose they will give. For they do not lose anything in it but gain a lot. They do good to themselves as well as to the poor. There is an impression that for an increase in agricultural production, one must have more land. This is not true. One can increase production even on the amount of land one has by adopting better agricultural methods and by better management. This has been our experience everywhere — in Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar etc. So the donors need not fear any loss to themselves even materially.

The Bhoodan Yajna is not aimed at merely collecting and distributing land and wealth. We intend it as the means of reconstructing the society on the basis of love and justice. The present inequalities have split up the society into so many bits in which everyone cares only for himself. This is not the way men should live nor is it the way to achieve happiness. The society is consequently faced with a great danger which can be averted only if we all agree not to keep with us anything more than our actual need and to give the rest in the service of the society. This is the only way in which we along with the society can go forward and attain real peace and happiness. We should enjoy whatever God has given us through offering it to all.

Then we want to change the values. Today money which is only a material possession, which has nothing to do with inner worth of man, has superseded even the virtues as the object of respect. This has to be changed. There was a time when people thought a man who owned more wives — who had more queens in his harem, was greater than others who had less. The situation has changed today. Today if he had even two wives, he would feel ashamed. Similarly respect that is now being paid to money should go and it will. What is needed is for the villagers to grow conscious of their power to realize that the real wealth lies not with the moneyed but with themselves. They produce everything necessary for the maintenance and enrichment of life. They produce grain, fruits, milk and ghee. But they sell it all for money. That is the real trouble. And why do they need money? Because they do

\* From a speech at Sadokhar (Shahabad) on 11-5-54.

not have industries. They purchase cloth from the cities, get their rice pounded and their wheat floured in the mills. If they would begin doing all these things locally they will not need money. And then they will be like kings holding all happiness in their possession. I assure you that you have all you need for your taking it, for you have the capacity for labour. You need not demean yourselves before the idle rich. Realize the value of labour and learn to respect it. It is really strange that while people flatter and adulate a man young in years, with only a smattering of education but occupying a well-paid post which enables him to live comfortably without any hard work, they look down upon one old in years and earning his bread by the sweat of his brow.

I want the poor to develop the awareness of their rights and the way to achieve them. The time is wholly on their side. They have the right of vote, that is, they can choose the Government they like and determine the way it will carry on the administration. Then it is they who produce all the necessities of life. If they sink their differences, live harmoniously and work in co-operation, there will soon rise up a new society in the villages and where today there is want and poverty there will be plenty and prosperity. If the big landowners give away willingly one-sixth of their land, the labourers will continue to work on their fields as before. If they do not, the day might come — in fact I see it approaching fast — when they will stop working for them. I want to create love and sympathy between the rich and the poor and build up a peaceful society based on equality. The poor who receive lands will ever remain grateful to the donors, ready to die for them.

(Adapted from Hindi)

#### REHABILITATION OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

[Shri Ramdharisinha alias poet 'Dinkar' is a member of our Parliament. He had come to Gujarat a few days ago and addressed a conference of Hindi workers at Bhavnagar as its president. The following which is reproduced from his printed speech on that occasion deserves serious thought on our part. It is hoped that advocates of Hindi as the medium of instruction in non-Hindi areas will give special attention to the views expressed here. The Wardha Samiti of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and some of the Sammelan people, not content with Hindi occupying its due position as our inter-provincial medium, are longing to put it in all those places which rightly belong to our various Indian languages. It should be obvious that this would be a step in the wrong direction for our national progress and create a most formidable impediment in the task of building up our common national or inter-State medium, our unity and the development of real democracy in our country. We are very thankful to Shri 'Dinkarji' for having drawn our attention to this danger-spot in our work of rebuilding India of our dreams. — Ed.]

Another argument advanced in support of keeping English in its present position of supremacy is even more dangerous than others. It is said that if English were to be immediately removed, the vacuum thus caused might be filled in not by Hindi but by a regional language. This is a strange fear inasmuch as we are striving to

remove English exactly in order that the regional languages may occupy its place. English will not vacate its entire position in favour of Hindi alone, nor can Hindi occupy whatever of its place except with the consent of the regional languages. Really speaking it is only the regional languages, and not the national language, which can successfully undertake the task of removing English for the simple reason that the love and ardour which can be roused in the people for their mother-tongue cannot be so roused for the national language. I do not believe that some day Hindi will begin to be used in the States for all purposes for which English is used at present. This is a wholly wrong and unbecoming desire and all true lovers of democracy must oppose it. Freedom has not come merely to help Hindi to develop and take its rightful place. It must enable all other languages also to make similar progress. We are adopting Hindi essentially as an inter-provincial medium for purposes of an all-India character. But, it should be clearly recognized that for a majority of purposes in the States, their regional languages will be quite proper and desirable. So long as we do not thus define the limit of the use of the national language, the campaign for the spread of the national language in non-Hindi areas will undoubtedly remain beset with distrust and suspicion.

In fact, we have to carry forward the movement for growth and advancement of the national language simultaneously and side by side with the movement for all other Indian languages. The fate of the national language is tied up with that of these languages; and the sooner did our people realize this fact, the earlier would all language controversy, which is raging at present, cease. At the root of linguistic awakening which we find taking place in India today, there is at work the will for freedom and self-expression. Rather than shrink from it, we should welcome and respect it. Every Indian language is weighed down by a huge stone placed on its head which it is trying to throw off so that it may stand erect. This stone is not that of the national language but of the English language and of the English spirit.

The national language has not done any harm to any regional language. The truth of the matter is that all the Indian languages are writhing under the dead weight of English and as long as it is not shaken off, their agony will persist. In the linguistic battle which is at present going on there are on one side all the Indian languages including Hindi and on the other English fighting from within the fort which is under her occupation. It is therefore urgently necessary, in the interest of national solidarity, that we remove English from its undue position at the earliest opportunity and install the Indian languages in its place. This is the task which

should receive topmost priority and be accomplished without further delay. The next step in the programme, that is, the question as to which of the vacancies caused by the removal of English shall be filled in by the regional languages and which others by the national language should be left to the convenience of the country. We have a glorious future before us and we are determined to remain one and united, come what may. Each province of our vast land is a beautiful flower, a mellow pearl, which are all strung together in one wreath and the country is firm in its will that this wreath shall continue to adorn the proud head of the King of Mountains — the Great Himalaya.

(From Hindi)

### JAPAN'S ECONOMIC PLIGHT

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

Japan's problem No. 1 is economic. Her population of nearly 85 million is cramped within an area too small for their adequate sustenance. Most of Japan is mountainous. Only 15.5 per cent of her land is cultivable. Through intensive cultivation, the people try to obtain the maximum yield from the land. But in spite of it, the soil does not provide enough food for them.

Consequently they have had to obtain food also from the sea, and have developed a strong fishing industry. But defeat in the last war spelled to Japan the loss not only of 3,00,000 tons of fishing boats, but also of important fishing grounds off the coasts of Soviet territory, the northern Kuriles, southern Saghalien, Korea and of Formosa, and in the Antarctic ocean. The annual catch of fish in these fishing grounds was approximately 3,200 million lbs. Japan has no access to these fishing grounds any more and so has to do with so much less fish. Formerly when Japan had a navy, her fishermen were safe from molestation by her neighbours. But now, it is reported, Japanese fishermen are being driven out even from their very limited legitimate fishing grounds, or are arrested and captured by unfriendly neighbours. Besides, this industry was hit hard recently by hydrogen bomb tests. It is well known that the explosion of a hydrogen bomb off Bikini in the Pacific last March not only killed large quantities of fish in that region, but also made the fish radio-active and unfit for human consumption. This practically ruined the fishermen of Japan, who form the most poverty-stricken people of the country; and everywhere one went in Japan, one heard vehement protests that hydrogen bomb tests were destroying the already too scarce food supply of the people.

Seeing that sufficient food is not available for the Japanese from land and there is chronic food shortage of 20 per cent on an average even with the present population, the only way of survival for them is to import food as well as raw materials such as cotton, rubber, wool, minerals and oil required for industries, from abroad, in

exchange for manufactured goods. This is what Japan did in the days previous to the War when she developed her large industries and tremendous foreign trade. The plan worked for a time and brought her a sufficiency of everything. But it tempted her to step into other lands and take possession of them for raw materials and markets. She did this successfully in Formosa and Korea, but not so successfully in China. In the meantime the war broke out and put an end to her ambitions. The Western nations took over Japan's colonies and confined her to her own native islands. Even the lands which were not her colonies before the war, but which supplied her raw materials, e.g. China, Indo-China, Malaya, East Indies and Burma, could not trade with her any more, for they were either in enemy hands or conditions in them were so disturbed that trade with them was impossible. Besides, Japan was not permitted to establish any relations with them. Moreover, her navy was completely destroyed by the U. S. A. the occupying power, so that Japan had no ships whatsoever to carry her merchandise. Japan's economy was so dependent on foreign trade that by these measures, her very life stream was cut.

Besides, Japan had with great effort and self-sacrifice built up her heavy and chemical industries, such as iron and steel, ship-building, chemicals, light metal, automobile and aeroplane manufacture. Her principal customers were her own army and navy. But with them disbanded, these industries were crippled greatly.

On top of all this, as a result of the War, Japan was left with her land devastated, many of her young men killed and her homes and public buildings in ruins. She had to rebuild at enormous cost. With her foreign trade gone and her industries shattered, her economy was altogether dislocated and she was faced with starvation and despair.

At this point, the U. S. A. helped to save Japan. She propped up Japan's tottering economy with American capital, amounting to almost half a billion dollars a year. The American military bases and tourist traffic have also stimulated Japanese industry. By such methods, the country has been kept from complete collapse.

But how can a nation depend thus altogether on the tender mercies of a foreign Power? Japan's economy has to be built on a more permanent basis. She feels humiliated by her present state of dependence, but finds hardly any way out of it. Her condition strikes a visitor as most pathetic. She is trying her best to pull herself up. To give some examples, in 1949 Japan resumed her ship-building, and today she has more than 90 ship-building dockyards with a total estimated annual capacity of 8,00,000 tons. She realizes that without recovery of her ship-building industry, she cannot achieve economic independence. So she is putting forth strenuous

efforts to revive her ship-building. She is also doing her best in automobile manufacture. She is specializing in baby cars which are light and low in price, and in Diesel-engined vehicles which are fueled by light oil, and are therefore suitable in a country like hers which has to import nine-tenths of her petrol from abroad. She holds frequent exhibitions to advertise her wares, and is ever seeking to make improvements. At one such exhibition in Tokyo I saw a car with a very light body of aluminium, and seats with springs and nothing but a thin plastic quilt over them, and over the back. The car could seat five comfortably, and even six if needed. I thought such light economic cars may be more suited to India than the large heavy ones we now import from the U. S. A. I saw also a radio factory, where complete radio sets with all the necessary parts are manufactured under one roof from start to finish. It is surprising that with all the handicaps under which Japan is suffering she is applying herself with such doggedness to re-establishing her industries. Japan is trying very hard also to revive her great textile industry. Much of the machinery of her spinning mills was made into scrap during the war and most of the remainder was bombed and burned. But soon after the war, Japan resumed her production rehabilitation. Her cotton textile output in 1945 was only 55 million square yards. This increased to 1,525 million square yards by 1950. She has imported the latest machinery from the U. S. A., which, we were told at a textile mill we visited in Osaka, is several times more efficient than the machinery obtained from Britain, but also very much more expensive. From enquiries we understand that the textile industry was finding it hard to recover for lack of its former markets. Labour is poorly paid. The industry is trying to keep its production costs low, in order to re-enter some of its old markets abroad. There was a large textile exhibition held in April in Osaka, where Japanese textiles of every conceivable design and quality were placed on view and orders taken. One could not but admire the earnestness with which the Japanese went about the task of reviving their industries.

But as already said, all this is proceeding with American aid and it is not known for how long this state of dependence is to continue. It is obvious that Japan's economy can be built upon a more lasting basis only if she established trade relations once more with her neighbours, such as Korea, China and South-East Asia, exchanging her manufactured goods and machinery for food and the raw materials she requires for her industries. She realizes now that it was wrong for her to have gone into these territories to colonize them for purposes of exploitation, and that her future trade with them will have to be

on a basis of co-operation and mutual benefit. There seems to be no other way for Japan's survival. And yet under the present order, Japan is not free to establish trade relations with most of her Asian neighbours. She has to buy American rice, for example, at a high price, while Chinese rice would be much cheaper. Japan has no grudge against China and would be glad to re-establish friendly relations with her. The two countries have close cultural and historical affiliations, and can undoubtedly work together to each other's mutual advantage. But the political barriers set up by the Big Powers in Asia make this impossible and Japan is being most unnaturally hitched on to the U. S. A.

Further, the Japanese bear a grudge against the white races who have taken possession of all the sparsely populated areas of the world, like Australia, New Zealand, Africa and North and South America, and refuse free entry there to Asians. Asia is overcrowded, and more especially Japan. But her people are forced by the whites to remain within their own boundaries leaving vast stretches of unpopulated land as a preserve of the whites. The Japanese feel this injustice greatly, as among the Asian nations, they are the most over-populated, and the ones most equal in modernization to any Western Power.

Japan's economic reconstruction and advancement though hampered greatly is thus proceeding in spite of all odds. Any other country faced with such overwhelming obstacles would have gone under. But Japan is used to periodic catastrophes and blank despair. She manages to get out of them with perseverance and industry, and takes her afflictions with a smile. She may still find a way out of her dire economic plight. But at the moment the prospect of her being able to build her economy on a stable and lasting basis seems rather remote. She realizes that she can achieve this only when she can shake off her present dependence, follow a policy of non-alignment with either of the two power blocs and establish friendly relations with her immediate Asian neighbours.

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