

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

## FEAR, INSECURITY AND INDISCIPLINE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Prime Minister, after completing his Parliamentary duties at Delhi, took occasion to visit South India for a week a few days ago. As he said, such all-India tours that he makes at convenient intervals between a Prime Minister's usual official engagements, inspire him: they give him a sort of spiritual food and tonic; thereby he has the needed opportunity of securing mass contact with his people whom he intensely loves and works for. He therethrough feels the throb and the urge that new India represents to him. These are also occasions to pour out his heart to the people. He almost thinks aloud with them, as if to reorient his plans and ideas in unison with the people whose wishes he almost senses through such gatherings.

On October 2, Mahatmaji's birthday, he was at Madras. The memorable day gave its touch and the spiritual background for the great speech that he made that day. As we know, South India is feeling resentfully these days about Hindi and its teaching in schools. The Prime Minister spoke about it. That part of his speech is reproduced in this issue elsewhere.

In a way, what he said is not a new thing. Very often — why, since the movement for propagating Hindi, the *Antar Bhasha* (अंतरभाषा) or the *lingua franca* for India, began under the leadership of the Father of the Nation, this thing was said by him also on various occasions even from platforms in South India.

Jawaharlalji spoke about the language question in the larger context of the great need of discipline in our people's affairs in general and in the student world in particular. Obviously, the unhappy necessity of recently closing the Allahabad University was worrying his mind. When he saw 'all this vulgarity and indiscipline in the younger generation', as he said, he often wondered what would happen to the country, and rightly. In fact, the Prime Minister said, he was greatly concerned at the fall in the standard of education in India. This is indeed a very dangerous symptom about the mental health and growth of our younger generation.

Discussing the reason for such a state of things, the Prime Minister said that one of the

reasons for the standards going down was the great deal of confusion on the language issue. Nobody knew what language to learn properly and what not to, with the result that they were quite ignorant of every language! And he spoke upon that topic at length, all of which deserves our closest attention at this juncture of our people's history and development.

As I said earlier, the topic is not anyway quite new. But as we know, in the affairs of a nation when it is out to rebuild itself there come certain moments when even things like two and two make four have to be retold or remembered. The language issue is one such thing for our country, particularly at this juncture.

In the speech reproduced elsewhere in this issue, the Prime Minister again assured the people in the South that Hindi, which is one of our fourteen national languages like others enumerated in the Constitution, does not become 'more national' than Tamil, Gujarati, Marathi or Telugu, and that it will not be an imposition coming in the way of any other language of our people.

As we all know, such an assurance has been the common feature of all recent pronouncements on the topic from the President down to almost all V.I.P.'s in our country. They are meant to reassure the people, chiefly non-Hindi-speaking, against their reasonable fears from what has come to be dubbed as 'Hindi imperialism'.

The assurance has a meaning and significance both for the Hindi speaking and the non-Hindi speaking areas. It must be noted by the former that their language is not any way more national than other Indian or, — as the Prime Minister has appropriately begun to term them, — national languages. It should be clearly understood now that if at all the word 'regional' is to be used to describe our Indian languages, the term applies as much to Hindi as to Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati etc. The word might better be replaced now by the truer and more respectable word 'national'. All the languages enumerated by the Constitution in its 8th Schedule are Indian i.e. national languages, and thus they deserve equal respect and recognition and

opportunities to grow and develop, in the affairs of our country.

However, as we well know, history has made us a multi-lingual people; we cannot be uni-lingual like, say, France or Germany. Still for us we can as well secure such a benefit and convenience for us by having one common language for our people's intercourse between themselves. We have till now been saying such a language 'national'; it is high time we revise and restate our terms to suit the right conceptions about the language pattern of our country as it rebuilds itself.

The common language of intercourse is really the *Antar Bhasha* of India. It has to be evolved by our whole people's joint efforts. It is meant to grow, develop and enrich itself with the help of all the languages of India, and it will draw, 'wherever necessary or desirable', for its vocabulary, not only from Sanskrit but also from all other languages of India and the world, if I may say so. This *Antar Bhasha* of ours will be the expression of our one national being and common endeavour in all the spheres of our people's life as a free and independent nation, working in the comity of nations of the whole world. Such an adventure will be the common endeavour of our ancient people who now start again their free career in the modern world. To start on such an adventure now, the present situation requires that an assurance of the kind the Prime Minister gave should clearly come from all concerned.

The Prime Minister's pronouncement is therefore very welcome. I may only add an observation or two in this direction. The general assurance now requires to be worked out actually in some relevant particulars, viz., in which of our official or non-official spheres of public activities the *Antar Bhasha* will not be imposed and displace national languages of their rightful and legitimate spheres? There are genuine fears in the minds of people whether the States will be free to use their own national language for all intra-State purposes like education, administration, justice, legislature etc. in a happy alliance with Hindi which will surely be there for inter-State and all-India intercourse. At least there should be no government measure which will tend to awaken or exasperate this lurking fear in the mind of all non-Hindi regions. Such a fear, along with an uncertainty about the shape of things to come in economic and other spheres, creates a sort of insecurity in the minds of our people at present. This is a cause that, I think, tends to rouse feelings of tension and animosities among classes and language groups amounting to what the Prime Minister described as 'vulgarity and indiscipline'. It is a grave warning. We may well remember that it is a danger to our national unity and even independence.

14-10-55

## WELFARE STATE v. SARVODAYA STATE

(By P. Srinivasachari)

[Continued from the previous issue of 15-10-'55]

### III

It is no longer denied now—in fact, the prevalent opinion is coming round to the point of view—that it is the primary concern of the State to promote the welfare of the people and especially of those who, without some form of assistance, cannot keep themselves fit for service. As has been pointed out, both the Socialists and those who swear by benevolent capitalism claim that they aim at a Welfare State.

Thus a Welfare State can be a Socialist one or can even function within a capitalist economy. The main qualification for a State to be termed a Welfare State seems to be the definite and specific measures taken by it with a view to promoting general welfare and guaranteeing that nobody's standard of living falls below the level that renders it impossible to maintain life with minimum comforts. Social insurance policies fully developed provide income security, protect against the interruption and destruction of earning power and make provision for special expenditure arising at birth, marriage, sickness or death. They are the potential weapons of the State in its attack on want. The more a State is able to achieve this objective in full, the greater is its progress towards the ideal.

#### Working of the Welfare Schemes

In actual practice, in the working of the welfare schemes there is very little difference between socialist and capitalist States. Social insurance schemes like unemployment benefit, old age pensions, national health insurance, care of children, etc. and measures to secure full employment are formulated and implemented by the State.

In a socialist State these welfare schemes come under and form part of State planning as such. The cost of these schemes are calculated beforehand and provisions are made when the general plan for the overall development of the country is framed. The State decides about what kind of services should be provided and at what price these services should be rendered, and allocations are made according to the availability of funds and resources at hand. The various beneficial insurance schemes to be included and the pace at which the welfare measures are to be extended depend on the claims of the development items in the general plan. The State has the final say about the provision and extension of various social measures. If the general development plan would suffer on account of the diversion of the resources, then these insurance schemes are restricted in scope or curtailed in their operation so that the rate of economic development envisaged is not seriously affected. In brief, in a socialist State the welfare schemes are not taken piecemeal, but are included in a well-thought out plan for the general development of the country.

A Welfare State under the capitalist system does not function according to any formulated plan. Social insurance schemes are introduced by the State and the greater part of their cost is met out of taxation and from other sources of public revenue. Special contributions are also levied in some cases.

#### Welfare Schemes in England

To cite the example of England, the principle of social insurance has been covered by the Acts of National Health, National Insurance, and National Assistance and the Children Act. These are the four pillars which support the structure of the Welfare State as it exists in England. Under the National Health Scheme they have evolved a comprehensive health service designed to secure improvement in the physical and mental health of the people. Medical services, for all purposes, have been made free of cost as the charges made for anything supplied under



of the National Health service can always be waived in case of those who are genuinely not in a position to pay. The National Insurance Act provides pecuniary payments by way of unemployment benefit, sickness benefit, maternity benefit, retirement pensions, widow's benefit, guardian's allowance and death grant. By the National Assistance Act, further provision is made for the welfare of disabled, sick, aged and other persons and for regulating homes for the disabled and aged and to assist persons who are without resources, or whose resources (including benefits received under the National Insurance Act) need to be supplemented in order to enable them to meet their requirements. The Children Act is intended for the care or welfare of boys and girls up to the age of 18 and in certain cases, for further periods, when they are without parents or have been lost or abandoned by, or are living away from, their parents, or when their parents are unfit or unable to take care of them.

Thus a fully exhaustive insurance scheme covering all classes of people from a child or a widow to the old man in his death-bed or an unemployed person, is in operation in England. The State sees that the people in distress are given adequate help and each individual is able to provide the minimum for himself and his family.

#### Welfare Schemes under Capitalism and Socialism

In a capitalist society, social welfare measures are taken not according to any general plan aiming at the utilization and development of the resources of the country in a calculated manner and arranging priorities according to social necessities, but according to exigencies and the funds available with the State. But it is also possible for a Welfare State under the capitalist system to undertake the various insurance schemes that are introduced or contemplated by a socialist State. Because, even though the capitalist and the socialist systems differ from each other as regards the ownership of the means of production, the functional operation of the economic system is more or less the same in both. They believe in the large-scale industrialization of the country for the rapid development of the existing and unused resources. Increase of production is the common aim and the industries are run on similar lines making use of modern scientific inventions and the latest technological improvements. Both lay stress on getting cheap raw materials and deriving profit from exporting finished goods. International trade, market operations and the adaptability of a suitable price system influence their calculations. They do not concern themselves with any loss or harm done to other countries in this process.

The economic activities whirl round the production of wealth and depend on the increasing wants of the people to function continuously without any break. Since the mere fact that the State owns and controls the means of production does not automatically bring about a change in the pattern of production, and the functional operation of the industrial system remains the same, the measures taken by a Welfare State—whether capitalist or socialist in structure—to alleviate the sufferings of the economically backward tend to be similar. In fact, one does not find any great difference between the social welfare measures introduced by the Labour Government in England and those undertaken by the Conservative Government. The ideal of the Welfare State, by insisting on measures for social good, considerably narrows down the differences between the working of the two systems. But it should be remembered that in a Welfare State under private enterprise any reduction in the prevalent inequality resulting from the steps taken by the Government, is only incidental, as the main aim is to afford relief to those who are in need of it, and not to wipe out the economic inequality as such. But the socialist State functions and undertakes welfare measures with the sole purpose of reducing inequality.

(To be continued)

## ALL-INDIA SANSKRIT DICTIONARY

To

The Editor, *Harijan*,  
Ahmedabad-14

Dear Sir,

We have been hearing for a long time that the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute at Poona has undertaken a momentous work, viz., the compilation of a comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary on scientific lines covering all the departments of knowledge. During my recent visit to Poona some months back I learnt from one of the scholars working on the project that English equivalents only were being given for Sanskrit words and phrases. When I suggested that a dictionary of the type without Hindi equivalents would hardly serve our purpose and that they should, therefore, be given, the gentleman told me that it was not considered essential by them, as the work in question was meant for international scholarship, and further added that, even as it was, it was difficult to carry on the activity for want of sufficient funds.

Now I understand that the Union Government, with a view to expedite the work, has offered substantial financial help to the Institute. (Even before this they as well as some of the State Governments were already taking interest in the work and giving financial help.)

Would it not be up to the Union Government to require the Institute to give Hindi equivalents along with English ones? Hindi has a superior claim in the interests of Indian scholarship. Will they take the necessary step?

Ahmedabad-14  
6-10-'55

P. G. Deshpande

(I endorse the above suggestion. For a Sanskrit dictionary to be prepared now when we have Swaraj and Hindi is the decided *Antar-bhasha* or the *Lingua Franca* of our country, it would be something unthinkable not to have the all-India Hindi language equivalents. It will not be a national venture, which it must be, if it has to be truly international and self-respectful. However English may also be there; but to think that it will make the dictionary international is too naive to be wholly true if we look at the post-war international world that is coming up before us. However, this is not to say that English might not be there. Obviously, the dictionary envisaged must be a Sanskrit-Hindi-English dictionary.)

7-10-'55

M. P.)

By *Mahatma Gandhi*

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# HARIJAN

Oct. 22

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## THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

[From the speech of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Madras, 2.10.55.]

In the Constitution they had enumerated 12 or 13 languages in India and all of them might be called the national languages of India. Many of them were great and ancient languages "like your own very good language of Tamil" (cheers). They were all national languages in the true sense of the word. They had also said in the Constitution that "Hindi is and should be the all-India official language". "Hindi does not become thereby a more national language than Tamil, Gujarati, Marathi or Telugu. All that it means is that among the national languages of India, Hindi, by virtue of various factors, is the easiest language to be adopted as the official language for all-India purposes. Otherwise, it has no pre-eminence as a language among others."

Shri Nehru gave the assurance that "there is no conflict between Tamil and Hindi." If they went to other countries, he said, they would find that every educated person learnt at least two and usually three languages well, besides having a smattering knowledge of two or three more. The question as to the future of English arose. "But the first thing I want you to remember is that it is quite absurd to imagine that there is any kind of conflict between Hindi, Tamil, Telugu or any other language. Tamil is a great language of this area and I should like people in the North more and more to learn Tamil. At the same time, it is obvious that we must have some common language between us for official purposes. Otherwise, we get so many linguistic barriers that we cannot deal with each other. So Hindi has been chosen as the official language and for practical purposes no other language can serve that purpose. Hindi is not an imposition, coming in the way of any other language. It is absurd and completely wrong to think there is any imposition. In practice, no step is taken which casts any burden on the non-Hindi knowing persons whether in Government service or otherwise."

"I am sorry that some people here, in Madras State, started an agitation against Hindi. It has no meaning, because nobody wants to impose Hindi upon the people. I have no doubt that a knowledge of Hindi will be to the advantage of everybody in every way, just as I think a knowledge of English is also going to be of advantage. Now, this question of English comes up. Obviously, English cannot continue as a national language. You cannot introduce a foreign medium for the masses. But having said that, I want to make myself perfectly clear that

it would be a very bad thing for India and the future progress of India if we ignore all non-Indian languages, all foreign languages. It is quite essential for us to learn foreign languages.

"What the foreign languages should be, I am prepared to leave it to the choice of the people. But it is obvious that for us English is the easiest foreign language, easier than German, French, Russian, Chinese, or Spanish; I hope people will learn these and other foreign languages, because we are now playing our part in the wide world. We want young men who know these languages. We have to train them; we want them in hundreds and thousands for our foreign service.

"And, nobody can learn science, though he may be a scholar in Hindi or Tamil. Neither Hindi will help you to learn science today; no Indian language can help; of course, they might afterwards. You cannot produce out of nothing. You cannot produce just by translating some textbooks in Physics and Chemistry. Therefore, a foreign language becomes essential.

"Obviously, it would be folly on our part to forget the English we know. English after all is not only one of the most important world languages and the most widespread, but, in some ways, the most important language. Therefore, we have to keep up our teaching and learning of English—the proper kind of English, not a smattering knowledge of English; it is not good enough. I say so because I really am afraid that we will not be able to keep up our scientific, industrial and other works unless we have full acquaintance of some foreign language.

"Unfortunately, we have been for hundreds of years, a nation which was rather closed-in. Geography made us so, the high Himalayas in the north and the seas all-round. As you know, however India ventured out to distant countries 2,000 or 3,000 years ago. Indians in those days were not afraid of going abroad. They were adventurous young men. That was a period of vitality. And then came the period when we became more and more a closed-in people. We not only did not know of any people; we hardly knew anything about the outside world, thinking that we were self-sufficient, here even in our own country dividing ourselves up into innumerable castes, barriers and what not. Is it surprising that we fell down, that we became a subject nation? You see the deterioration as we became as 'in-bred' country.

"I remind you of this because we have to profit by our own history as well as the history and experience of others. Now, we have got independence, and that at a time when the world is more and more coming in closely. We have become independent at a time when all these barriers, physical barriers to travel and communications have simply faded away. When all these physical barriers have broken down, it will be a terribly dangerous thing for us to revert to the closed-in mind, the 'in-bred' mind in our



country. We will have to take the back seat then. Therefore, we have to develop the vision of a free nation, the vision corresponding to the modern developments in the wide world.

"There are, in India, powerful tendencies towards unity and progress; they will make good, I think. There are also tendencies which are disruptive and disintegrating. Some of us have been ignoring them. But I do not think we should ignore such forces. We have to be wide awake all the time. There has been a separatist tendency in the Indian mind for a long time past — we have provincial, linguistic and so many other influences that separate us all the time. So, we have to be very wide awake. Because, one thing is certain that India's progress depends upon her unity, her pulling together and upon the way the 360 million people of India work and co-operate with each other. That is the basic factor. The moment it appears that you cannot do it, well it does not matter how clever you are, or I am, it will do us no good. We will go down as a nation."

(Reproduced from *The Hindu*, 3-10-1955)

## THE CULTURE OF INDIA AND RELIGION

(By Vinoba)

[From the prayer-speech on 17-6-'55 at Raygadh camp in the Koraput District of Orissa.]

You just now witnessed redistribution of land in three villages, all land which was given as gift in Bhoodan. In all the three, land was equally distributed to everyone. Those who had land before received less of it and those who had none of it also received it. Thus the old order in land changed basically and all the people in the villages agreed to the change willingly and with love. Now this is no small event. There is a definite idea behind the change. The residents of the villages were persuaded to see the truth of the idea and they recognized it in actual practice.

From very ancient times till today all people in India have nursed and cultivated certain ideas and ideals which have gone to build up Indian culture. All these ideas and ideals are informed by an immense power which we call religion. The sentiment of religion has always quickened the hearts of the people of this ancient land to their duty. Now what is this religion? All wealth that is given to us by God and all the gifts of power and intelligence that are endowed to us by Him are meant for the service of society. That is religion. We cannot be masters of wealth. God alone is the Master.

This idea is not difficult to understand. But social life today is based on the individual's right of property. We believe that where the social order is based on the individual's right to possess things there is nothing like society.

In a village or city where people look to their own individual interests and therefore create the individual's right to own property there is no society as such even though some services may have been organized. If within a family every individual member began to believe he or she had a separate right to property the family would soon disintegrate itself. What is true of the family is true of the whole village. We have not yet realized this basic truth of social life; still when it is explained to the people of India they have no difficulty in grasping the idea. The fact that the people of India would be persuaded to part with the land in the whole village and to give it

as gift to society will be reckoned as a unique event in the history of the world.

2

[From the prayer-speech on 13-6-'55 at Chatikona Camp in the Koraput District of Orissa.]

The practice that has obtained till now in society is that persons who own something believe it is their property and feel they have fulfilled their religious duty when they have helped the poor whenever there was occasion to do so. But this practice touches merely the surface of religion and does not go deep enough. Thus religion consists in our parting with some part of our possessions to be given to the rest of us and thus making every one else owner of property and in a sense divesting ourselves of the right to own property.

"Tulsidasji has said, 'Mercy is the basis of religion.'" But his saying does not mean that mercy is the consequence of the religious sentiment. What he means to convey is that the person who does not have mercy in his heart will not even begin to be religious. Therefore mercy is the minimum of religion to begin with.

Merely remaining owners of property and showing mercy to others on occasions does not serve any social purpose, nor does society progress thereby. Therefore, when we give up ownership altogether we give to society in the best manner possible and truly show the quality of mercy at its best. Could we call it true mercy to keep the parrot in a cage and feed it well? It would be mercy or sympathy for all beings only when we would not keep the parrot in a cage or free it from its prison if we had kept it there through some misconception of the sentiment of mercy. Would it be any speciality of the man of knowledge if people about him remained ignorant so that they would come to him to ask questions and he would reply to their satisfaction? If it were so, people around him would continue in perpetual ignorance. The knowledge of the man of knowledge should be such as to make his ignorant neighbours learned so that they would not need to go about asking questions. Therefore, whatever religious duty one performs should be done basically so that the roots of the misery and poverty of and injustice in society is totally abolished.

3

The Gita has said that trading is a great religious duty. And it is, of course, easy to perceive that it is a great religious duty to bring from other places things that people need and give them to them when required. Whoever carries on trade in this fashion would surely be entitled to some remuneration for his service. Thus the trader is after all the servant of the peasant. The peasant here does not grow wheat but feels the need to use it in between; under the circumstances to export the rice grown by the peasant here and to import wheat for his use is surely rendering service to him.

The peasant is the master and the trader is his servant. But the servant here demands such remuneration in return for service rendered that one day's remuneration totals up to more than a month's labour of the master. I have failed to understand how trading which is essentially a form of service has been converted into a means of hoarding wealth.

The curious conditions prevalent today are such that those who serve the miserable people about them become rich and pile up wealth through the service. If everyone in society minded his own interest and yet everyone were happy we would have no objection to everyone doing so. But today no one seems to be happy. All sorts of people, both rich and poor, come to me and there is no end to the tales of woe they pour into my ears. Some have no end of wealth but the brothers are quarrelling, or the son quarrels with the father and there is an action between them pending in a court of law. But what have the people who have piled money gained if they have also not brought love along with it in the family? They earn ten rupees on one hand and lose tens of lakhs of rupees worth

on the other. What does one care or gain if one loses love? So we have all to realize that we can never attain happiness merely by minding our own interests. All of us could be truly happy only if we learnt to care for all and minded the interests of all.

(From Hindi)

### RANDOM JOTTINGS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

#### Atom Bomb to Prevent War!

The question had again cropped up whether there would be war on account of Formosa. Pandit Nehru had then declared that there was no likelihood of war on that count, but had confessed that the problem regarding Formosa was certainly difficult and intriguing.

Almost at the same time there was news that England was preparing to manufacture the H-Bomb! It was also given out that disarmed Germany would be armed again.

At the time Rajaji started the forlorn cry that the A- and the H-bomb both should be conceded to the waters of the ocean, for otherwise they would, he declared, destroy humanity itself. But who was there to heed such counsel of perfection? The word of India, who too maintained an army, could not, of course, carry that much weight. But on account of her past history India does have some influence for peace. Pandit Jawaharlal is able to talk as Al-Amin to the nations of the world on account of that power. America and Russia, however, are not going to allow anyone to interfere with their policies so easily.

Still however, earnest-minded people feel that there is no likelihood of war. On what do they base their view? It is believed, fear of the H-bomb is preventing nations from rushing into war. For example, Bertrand Russell held this belief. He asked Jawaharlalji to appoint a commission to go into the question of what amount of destruction the atom bomb is capable of and to put the findings before the world which would draw its attention to the seriousness of the position. He has gone a step further. He was responsible for calling a conference of scientists. It was good so far as it went; but it is not enough. One may concede, man can be prevented from doing mischief to himself and others through fear, just as he is believed to be prevented from committing sins by the fear of the fires of hell! But such prevention would surely not start him on the way to heaven. This does not seem to be a good enough way to take humanity to the heaven of peace.

There is another class of thinkers who emphasize the economic aspect for the abolition of war. The causes of war, they point out, are rooted in the blemishes in the economic policies of nations; and they hold out the hope that if these blemishes were removed the psychology of war would subside of its own accord. This is to say that nations should keep under control their self-interest, greed for wealth etc. and should

accept the self-imposed duty of maintaining brotherly relations with other nations. It is true this force of keeping peoples together for peace is active and positive. But that too is not enough.

In order to secure peace in the world, however, ultimately, the sentiment that man shall not be killed or injured under any circumstances will have to be cultivated and made permanent. This is something which can be done by faith and trust in man. It is also something which can be achieved only by the strength of the soul. But does any one of the religions accept this principle? Religions, we know, sanction capital punishment, religious war, the duty of the warrior caste to fight, the duty of self-defence even by using arms etc. How, then, could war be totally abolished? The basis for actually abolishing war from human affairs can be built up only if man comes to believe that man cannot be injured or killed under any conditions whatsoever.

(PS. The note was written about six months ago and is revised by changing the tense of the verbs in some places before reproducing it here.)

19-8-55

#### End of Imperialism

That the conference at Bandung in Indonesia could be successfully concluded is a valuable stage of achievement in the fight for peace in the world. The nations and their representatives who met in conference deserve congratulations for it. The work that the Prime Ministers of India and China put in at the conference has proved remarkable for the success of the conference and the two nations may well take legitimate pride for it.

India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia were the five nations who had called the conference. All concerned are aware that the five inviting powers are not able to see eye to eye on many questions. Ceylon has a difference with India on the question of the right of the Indians in Ceylon to settle there. The quarrel between India and Pakistan is well-known; the difference between them is wider and deeper than that between India and Ceylon. Out of the three nations which took their birth of undivided India the third is Burma besides India and Pakistan. One has to be thankful to God that Burma has good and friendly relations with India. It is to be noted that the amount of attention which the conference drew to itself from nations which did not participate in it was not small. Newspapers have surmised that America was closely watching the proceedings of the conference and sought secretly or indirectly to interfere with and affect its work. It was believed that Ceylon and Pakistan did much to be of help to America in what the latter sought to do. One cannot be blind to the fact that want of full accord between the five nations who had called the conference marred its success to a certain extent. But that



the conference was after all a success is certainly a definite achievement in the world's progress towards peace.

All the nations who met in the conference were not members of the United Nations Organization: They, however, respected the principle of the United Nations Organization while considering the problems facing them.

The most significant feature of the conference was the fact of representatives of many African countries taking part in the work of a conference of this nature for the first time. This feature of the conference implied that the history of the world is, at long last, turning a new leaf. It also forms a challenge to the white nations of the world who have, during the past century, fattened on their usurpation of political power in Asia and Africa. That America has joined hands with the white nations of Europe in the game during the present century is a new feature of events of contemporary history.

#### Asia and Africa

Of the two continents who have fallen a prey to the power of the white nations of Europe Asia is marching ahead of Africa; protest against imperialism is just dawning over Africa. Imperialism is still holding its sway in South-East Asia where in Indo-China, France is not yet in a mood to quit her possessions. Still, the Geneva Conference, which met some time ago, has done a little in support of the need of taking the matter further. Attempts, however, to undo the good work of the conference are still in evidence.

Portugal is not yet showing any willingness to quit her imperial possessions in India as France has done. As a consequence we are witnessing a serious problem shaping itself before the world to solve.

The chief Imperialist powers holding their sway over Africa are two: England and France. Both of them are very unwilling to give up the advantage they have. In South Africa, a brutally naked policy of white racial superiority is shamelessly adopted. The Government of the Union of South Africa has perceived that the rise of a free India and her way of thinking is dangerous for imperialism. That is why that nation never misses an opportunity to injure and abuse us. Kenya behaves a little differently, but at bottom it is the same old story of the whites not wishing to give up till they can hold on to the advantages they possess.

#### India's Foreign Policy

The nations of Africa are neighbours to India. Europe for them is not so. That is why Europe has little sympathy for them, nor does it help them. That is the reason why the neighbourly relations which Africa had with India from times immemorial are again renewing themselves in the new age. The old relations of

India with South-East Asia are not yet quickening themselves in the same manner. The subtle cause possibly is that we have not been able to achieve full friendship and cordial relations with Pakistan and Ceylon.

Both the countries are not yet alive to the politics of the world as we are; both seem to be engrossed in minding their own affairs at home more and to that end their foreign policy is shaped with an eye on cultivating the good wishes of the white nations who, they believe, would help them.

As India wisely decided to be self-reliant in the matter of her internal affairs she was able to avoid taking aid from the white nations. It is no small achievement of ours that we were able to resist falling a prey to the tempting offer of substantial financial aid from America. This was why we were at once able to shape our foreign policy on the basis of peace. That is also the reason why our foreign policy proved effective in the Asian as well as the Bandung conferences and through them in the affairs of the whole world.

Is it possible the march ahead by India in the affairs of the world has been taken as a slight to themselves by the mighty leaders of England and America? They are the powerful nations who prided themselves on the role of leading the world. One can easily understand their feelings, feelings of men like Winston Churchill of England, that 'this country, India, who was till but yesterday in our possessions, does she dare to profess to be wiser than we?' If, therefore, in some predicament of India they seek to thwart her it would be nothing new, because such game is well known in affairs between States.

It is plain that Pakistan, Goa and Ceylon provide good spots for such game. Why, otherwise should they talk and deal with peace-loving India, who is also their neighbour, unfairly or improperly? It would be no matter for surprise if sneaking support from some quarters is misleading Portugal from the path of justice and truth. It is for India to neutralize such support by the truth and fairness of her policy and by her loyalty to the cause of peace. She has already declared her determination not to use armed force for the solution of the problem of Goa. This determination means that she intends to educate world opinion in order to make those who do not want to give up the advantages of imperialism to do so. The foreign policy of India is thus firmly adhering to the basis of unadulterated peace and unequivocal opposition to war. Our people must learn to appreciate this deeply significant fact; that is to say, they should begin to educate and prepare themselves for the success of the policy of peace which their government has adopted.

19-8-'55

(From Gujarati)

## VINOBA'S THREE DAYS IN ANDHRA

(By Damodar Das Mundada)

Mr Gora, a professing atheist in Andhra and his co-workers have joined the Bhoodan movement there. The appearance of the atheists on the platform of Bhoodan in Andhra gave room for speculation and resentment in a section of the Hindu orthodoxy, as also amongst the political workers belonging to both the camps, the Congress and the Socialists. While the orthodoxy was disturbed due to the fear of propagation of the atheists' ideas about Godlessness, the political groups doubted the very bona fides of the newcomers as they included amongst them, it was alleged, some of the ex-communists also. A few went to the length of suggesting a ban on the entry of these new friends. "If Bhoodan was going to embrace these atheists and ex-communists, let us be left alone," they are reported to have expressed.

The question was raised in the workers' meeting by a Bhoodan worker who, unfortunately for him, could not substantiate his statement by any objectionable action on the part of those for whom exception was taken. The audience eagerly looked forward to the reply that would be forthcoming from Vinobaji. He summarily dismissed the apprehension by humouring away the worker to bring to his notice any concrete incident, if and when it occurred. He, however, made it quite clear that he would reject none who came to him. That was the law of his life, let alone Bhoodan.

Although the audience was aware of Vinobaji's stand and did not seem to take any serious note of the point raised, friends did discuss amongst themselves the desirability or otherwise of the approach. Did not Bhoodan and Sarvodaya advocate all these days that it embraced all parties and persons and that no one was deprived of rendering his or her co-operation to the cause? Moreover, how could the bona fides of anyone be doubted, and why? And suppose some of them did exploit the situation for propagating their theories whatever these might be, in what way would they injure the cause of Sarvodaya which had its own positive contribution to make? Sarvodaya never claimed to stand in opposition to any idea or institution. It stood on the strength of its own absolute values and that is why it is being universally appreciated.

### Pradesh Congress President's Right Approach

Shri Satyanarayan Raju, President of the Pradesh Congress Committee, who was present throughout the discussion, rose to the occasion, and proclaimed: "The Congress has not and could not monopolize Bhoodan; it has been recognized as one of our most important programmes, to which priority has been given and we are expected to extend all our co-operation to Vinobaji to make it a success. Similarly, everyone has a right to join this movement and Congressmen therefore could not and should not raise any objection, whatsoever, to anybody's entry into Bhoodan. They should willingly co-operate with one and all, whosoever are engaged in Bhoodan."

This was not all. Shri Raju assured Vinobaji of the full support of his Pradesh Congress Committee and declared that he and his associates will not leave any stone unturned to make his mission a success in Andhra. It needs hardly be added here that the favourable reaction created by Shri Raju's statement, was appreciated by all. His words should indeed be noted by all workers, social or political, all over the country.

During his address to the workers, Vinobaji said that people loosely say that as they were once governed by the Moghuls and then by the British they were now governed by the Congress. Vinobaji warned against this and pointed

out how the present rule was supposed to be the rule of the people themselves, and nothing less than that. Nothing therefore, could be forced upon them against their will.

Secondly, it should be made clear to all that it was not the intention either of Vinoba or of Bhoodan to exact lands from the people. On the other hand, he desired them to share their lands with the landless of their own villages, voluntarily, with all goodwill, and after mutual deliberation only; and thus to establish Gramraj and not Government Raj in the village.

Last but not least, he made it clear that he was not so much anxious about the land problem itself as he was about making people self-conscious and self-reliant, so that they could resolve their problems on their own and with mutual consent. Bhoodan was but an experiment in that direction, he added. It would certainly go a long way to create Janshakti or people's power which alone and no Rajshakti or State power could achieve the object. It was beyond the power of the Government of the day to establish Gramraj, he declared. It could be conceived either through a bloody revolution or through the Government that would follow such revolution. It was, however, amply manifested now how it could be achieved through the non-violent revolution that was Bhoodan.

The present Government he pointed out, could certainly fix ceilings. He was indeed surprised how even the communist friends in Andhra pleaded for a ceiling of 20 acres of wet land. Ceilings, it has been now sufficiently demonstrated, failed hopelessly to solve the land problem, for, the landowners had enough foresight and wisdom to manage their lands before any legislature affected them. It did happen in Hyderabad and in other parts of the country. And granted that ceiling was effective, it could not release sufficient lands for the landless. While Bengal needed twenty to twenty five lakhs of acres for the landless, ceilings, according to the Chief Minister, would procure only four lakhs. It was not his intention to criticize the Governments. What he wanted to point out was that Janshakti succeeded where Rajshakti failed.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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