

# HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

## LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND STATES REORGANIZATION

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

[From the press report of his speech in the Lok Sabha on 21-12-55.]

One must not lose oneself in passionate excitement as to where the boundary of a State should be, provided "we have this fuller conception of India, provided we have a constitution, a convention or otherwise the fullest guarantees that whether a person lives on this side or that side of the border of the State, he will have the fullest rights and opportunities of progress according to his own way. In this sense, I try to approach this matter. I felt that perhaps this larger outlook was sometimes lost sight of."

Some people stated that the principle of linguism should be extended more and more. "May I say quite precisely that I dislike that principle absolutely 100 per cent. I want to make it perfectly clear that this does not mean that I dislike language being a very important matter in our administration, education or culture. I do think that the language of the people is a vital matter for their development, educational or administrative. But I do distinguish between the two things."

"I dislike this passion for putting oneself in a linguistic area and putting walls all round and calling them borders of a State, and developing the language to the fullest, though I do not think that people can really grow except through their languages. I accept that completely. But that does not follow in my mind that in order to make them grow through their languages, you must put a barrier between them and others."

"It is my privilege, however unworthy I might be of being the president of the Sahitya Akadamy. There we deal with all the languages of India and try to encourage them. The more we discuss these matters, the more we see that every encouragement, development and growth of one language results in the other Indian languages also getting some advantage and growing. I go a step further and say that the knowledge of a foreign language helps the growth of an Indian language."

"If we are cut off from foreign languages, we are cut off from the ideas that come in those foreign languages, not only from the ideas but the technology which is part of modern life."

Therefore, let us not think of excluding a language."

"I do not understand, for instance, if I may be quite frank, the way some people are afraid of Urdu. I am proud to speak Urdu. I just do not understand why in any State in India people should consider Urdu either a foreign language or something that invades their own domain. I just do not understand it. Urdu is a language mentioned in our Constitution. Is it mentioned only to live in the upper atmosphere or stratosphere without coming down to earth? It is this narrow-mindedness that I object to."

"It is no good going into argument in regard to philology. Take Punjabi language. We have learned arguments about the origin of Punjabi in the Gurumukhi script, how far it is akin to Hindi, how far it is independent of Hindi, whether it has descended from Sanskrit and so on, as if that has the slightest significance. What matters is what people do today."

"Let scholars go into the past of Gurumukhi, Hindi or anything. If people in Punjab or elsewhere are accustomed or they wish to speak a certain language and to use a certain script, I want to give them every freedom, every opportunity, every encouragement to do so."

"As a matter of fact, speaking from the strictly narrowest, practical and opportunist point of view, the more you try to suppress it, the more opposition there is and the more it survives that suppression. Everybody knows that."

"In regard to language, there are rather intimate, passionate ideas connected with it in peoples' minds. I can understand the passion for any language, Hindi or any other; but the person who feels passionately about a language must also remember that the other fellow also feels passionately about it. That is the difficulty. Therefore, the safest and the only course is to give full freedom and opportunity to all of them."

"Let them develop. In the natural course of events, they will adapt themselves. They will affect each other and influence each other and either grow more and more important, if they have the capacity, or remain less developed."

"It is not for me to go about saying that any particular language, let us say, Punjabi and Gurumukhi is an undeveloped language. It may be, but it does not matter. We should try to develop it then. Allow natural forces to increase the use and importance of these languages. Any at

tempt to decry or deny a language is bad not only from that language's point of view but from the point of view of the other languages and those who use the other languages."

The question of language, had somehow become associated with the question of States reorganization. But he would repeat that while he attached the greatest importance to language, he refused to associate it necessarily with a State.

Inevitably, of course, in India, as it was, there were bound to be States where one language was predominant. "That is so. Let it be so and we encourage that there. But there are also bound to be areas where two languages subsist. We should encourage both.

"We should make it perfectly clear that the dominant language of that State should not try to push out or suppress or ignore in any way the other languages of the State. If we are clear about that, then the language issue at any rate does not arise. Other issues may arise, economic and others.

"With language, of course, come other things like cultural issues, which are connected with that. Those too should be treated on the same basis as language; that is to say, every culture and every manifestation of culture should be encouraged.

"Culture is not an exclusive thing. The very definition of culture is that the more inclusive you are the more cultured you are, and the more barriers you put the more uncultured you are. Therefore, culturally too we should encourage every aspect of culture.

"If, as the world develops and changes, something falls out of step, well, it falls out. Let it fall out. But if you try to push it down or push it back, then you are probably not likely to succeed. You only bring a conflict which injures your own culture, possibly."

#### GIVING EYE-SIGHT TO THE BLIND

(By Sorabji R. Mistry)

London *John Bull* newspaper (received from England by the English mail which arrived in Bombay last Friday, 23-12-55) has published the following letter from an Englishman who first gives God thanks for his good healthy eyes and says:

"I feel that I should like to bequeath my eyes to someone who may need them. How do I go about it?"

And the Editor of *John Bull* replies:

"Doctors and hospitals all over England will make arrangements for the nearest Eye Bank to remove the useful portions of a person's eyes *within ten hours of death*. The operation is not disfiguring. The donor should give his or her next of kin and executor copies of a note with the name and address and the request that after death my eyes shall be used for therapeutic purposes..."

There are in India, unfortunately, thousands of blind persons whose eyesight can be restored to them by the operation of grafting the cornea of a dead man's eyes on a blinded eye by an eye-surgeon.

It is to be hoped that many men in India having healthy eyes will, at their death, in their

will bequeath their eyes to give sight to the blind, as stated above.

In Bombay the eye-surgeons of the King Edward Memorial Hospital at Parel Road will be pleased to give intended donors of their eyes necessary information in this matter.

Governments should arrange to use healthy eyes of lonely beggars found dead in streets for purpose of giving sight to the blind and making the blind able to see.

#### DECENTRALIZING CLOTH INDUSTRY

[Resolution adopted by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board at its meeting held at New Delhi on 13th and 14th December, 1955.]

Having considered the Report of the Karve (Village and Small-Scale Industries, Second Five Year Plan) Committee, the Board wishes to express its general approval of the principal recommendations, subject to the memorandum submitted to the Planning Commission by the Sub-Committee appointed by the Board at its last meeting, with which the Board is in complete agreement. The Board particularly welcomes the emphasis laid by the Karve Committee on the importance, in the interest of national economy as a whole, of ensuring that the future development of the consumer goods industries of the country should be largely on a decentralized basis and that in various spheres steps should be taken to prevent the expansion of the productive capacity of the large-scale industries. The Board endorses all the specific recommendations made in this behalf by the Karve Committee, particularly for the stoppage of the issuing of any fresh licences for hullers, hullers and shellers and sheller mills.

It is the considered view of the Board that, in the past, the development of various village and cottage industries has suffered from lack of adequate attention in the absence of a single Ministry both at the Centre and in the States responsible for their progress; and, for this reason, the Board supports the proposal of the Karve Committee to set up at the Centre one Ministry which should be entrusted with the development of various village and small-scale industries and for the co-ordination of the activities of the different All India Boards constituted by the Central Government.

Among the recommendations of the Karve Committee, the Board considers those relating to the cotton textile industry as of outstanding importance. Principal among these is the reservation for the handloom industry of the entire additional demand for cloth during the period of the Second Five Year Plan. This involves the continuance of the present policy of not issuing any licences for the installation of additional looms in textile mills as also the non-expansion of the production of power-looms. The productive capacity of both the sectors of the industry should, in the opinion of the Board, be limited, as recommended by the Karve Committee, to 5,000 million yards and 200 million yards, respectively.

The Board notes that, pending the results of the technical tests that have been undertaken on the Ambar Charkha on behalf of the Government of India, the Karve Committee has not deemed it proper to examine the Board's programme for the supply of yarn for the handloom industry through the large-scale introduction of the Ambar Charkha, all over the country. Since it will take some time to complete the tests and to examine the acceptability of the yarn to the handloom weavers, the Board concurs with the view of the Karve Committee that the decision on this part of the Board's programme may be deferred till the end of April 1956. In order, however, that such delay may not be detrimental to the prospect of developing and extending the decentralized method of yarn production, the Board agrees with the recommendations of the Karve Committee that no further licences for mill spindles should be issued by the Central Government



at least till May 1956. The justification for such action, according to the Board, is the fact brought out in the Karve Committee's Report that the existing spinning capacity of mills supplemented by that of the spinning units that are expected to go into production is adequate to cover the yarn requirements of the expanding handloom industry till about the end of 1957. In the opinion of the Board, the issuing of licences for additional spindles, taking into account the existing and potential yarn production in mills, will have an adverse effect on the prospects of developing decentralization of the spinning section of the industry and through its medium providing suitable employment for large numbers in rural areas.

While along with the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Board has fallen in with the wishes of the Central Government about the conducting of tests into the mechanical structure and productive capacity of the Ambar Charkha, the Board believes that the tests should be carried out on a more comprehensive basis. Undoubtedly, aspects such as the cleanliness of yarn, count variation, tensile strength should be examined by Government's technical experts. But the Board desires to point out that the examination should be conducted keeping in mind the objective in view. This objective, the Board notes, has been properly set forth by the Karve Committee, as the search for a spinning unit complying with the main tests, namely, low cost, technically sound but simple mechanism, easy to operate and to repair and capable of producing yarn of proper quality which will be generally acceptable to the weavers.

For the carrying out of the investigation on this basis, the Board recommends to the Ministry of Production to appoint a small team composed of nominees of that Ministry, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Ministry of Planning to complete the investigation before the date indicated by the Karve Committee with the following additional terms of reference:

"(1) Whether the different tools or machines comprising the set are capable of being worked with hand?

(2) Whether an able adult can work them for 8 hours with reasonable intervals of rest say 15 minutes after every 2 hours and a recess of one or two hours after 4 hours without any particular feeling of fatigue?

(3) Whether the tools or machines can give a production of about 8 hanks, starting from cotton and up to production of yarn, or a production of about 16 hanks if the rovings are separately prepared and supplied, for 8 hours effective work by a person who has received training for 6 weeks and has regularly practised on the Charkha for a further period of 6 weeks?

(4) Whether the tools or machines are capable of producing yarn of coarse, medium, and fine counts with necessary adjustments—the range being 6 to 18, 18 to 32 and 32 to 48?

(5) Whether the yarn is fairly even for the purpose of weaving on handlooms i.e. it does not result in too many breakages while passing through the reeds because of the variations in the counts. (It is a common experience that there would not be excessive breakages if the variations are from 4 to 6 counts).

(6) Whether the yarn is fairly strong for the purpose of weaving on handlooms i.e. it does not give any particular difficulty in sizing and weaving. It should be capable of being woven more or less as easily as the average reeled yarn available to handloom weavers in the market and with more or less as much speed. An efficient weaver, on an average weaves 8 to 10 yards per 8 hours excluding time required for preparing the warps and weft bobbins. It is desired that Ambar Charkha yarn gives at least 75 per cent of this production.

(7) Actual practical tests may be carried out in the workshop both in respect of the working of the Ambar Charkha set and the handloom, weaving Ambar Charkha yarn and mill yarn.

(8) It is necessary to fix up the varieties of available cotton for different counts of yarn. (There is no question of preparing of any mixings of cotton as in the case of the mills. Different kinds of cotton will have to be used as such for the different counts). A list may be prepared to indicate which varieties of cotton are suitable for spinning different counts with the Ambar Charkha set.

(9) Regarding weaving tests, a list may be prepared of suitable cloths of specified reeds and picks to be woven on the handloom from Ambar Charkha yarn and mill yarn.

(10) The Ambar Charkha yarn may be tested for itslea, strength, count variations and compared with such tests on average reeled yarn of mills of identical counts.

(11) A study may be made regarding percentage of waste at different stages in spinning and weaving and compared with similar wastage in producing mill yarn of identical counts from the same variety of cotton."

The postponement of a decision on the Board's programme for the Ambar Charkha should not involve, the Board would emphasize, the contingency of work on the Ambar Charkha being suspended for purpose of either demonstration or production. The Board is confident that the favourable atmosphere created by the introduction of the Ambar Charkha should be taken advantage of by expanding production with its aid, particularly to prepare the ground for its adoption as an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan. Even, otherwise, the Board would strive for its gradual introduction among traditional hand-spinners so as to improve the quantum as well as the quality of production and to secure better earnings from spinning. Hence the Board requests the Central Government to accord their approval to the First Year's programme of the Ambar Charkha already submitted to Government and to make suitable provision for the same in the next year's budget.

The Board desires to make it clear that this programme is based on the production of yarn with the aid of the Ambar Charkha as it is designed, because the Board is convinced that it is capable, as it stands, to yield the production that has been claimed for it. But the Board recognizes that technological progress is always possible and that the Ambar Charkha can be improved as an instrument of production worked by the hand or the foot, or electric power. Included in the terms of reference to the team of advisers whose appointment has been proposed by the Board is a directive to indicate the scope for immediate adjustment in and improvement of the present mechanism. In addition, the Board proposes to take up as one of the first items in the programme of the Research Institute, shortly to commence functioning at Maganwadi, Wardha, scientific research in the improvement of the processes and tools involved in decentralized spinning as well as in other aspects of the development of the decentralized cotton textile industry. Such investigation, the Board hopes, will result in increasing the earnings of the self-employed producers and in reducing the cost of the output. In as much as a decision on the inclusion of the Ambar Charkha as a part of the integral plan for the village and small-scale industries in the Second Five Year Plan has been deferred till May 1956, it is presumed that the Board will have the opportunity, later, to furnish to Government its estimate of the financial implications of the programme. There are two aspects of the position to which, however, the Board would wish to invite attention. The allocation of funds involved in the Board's proposals for the supply of Ambar Charkha yarn is of a fairly high order. That is because the numbers for whom part time or the whole time employment is expected to be provided run into nearly half a crore of persons. The organizational effort will have to be correspondingly great. The Board's present programme provides for the payment of a rebate at the rate of 3 annas in the rupee on sale of

Khadi cloth, cotton, silk or woolen on mixed. The present programme of the All India Handloom Board as well as its proposals for the Second Five Year Plan involve the payment of a corresponding rebate at the rate of one anna and a half to two annas on the sale of handloom cloth. On the expansion of these two programmes according to the accepted policy will have to be incurred outlay of a large order. The financial provision that the Board has estimated as required for its Ambar Charkha programme thus viewed will represent the additional amounts that would be needed to supplement the payment of rebate under the two schemes. Since the policy of granting a rebate on the sale of Khadi and handloom cloth was decided upon by Government, the question of providing for employment on an increasing scale has claimed special attention on discussions on planning. The Board would urge, therefore, that the additional funds that have been asked for should be treated as expenditure incurred on the provision of an essential element of social security for the most depressed strata of our society.

## HARIJAN

Jan. 7

1956

### ILLUSION OF PROSPERITY

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Advocates of modern economics and mechanized industries have begun arguing these days that if we took to encouraging small-scale cottage and village industries our production will suffer, with the result that we will be distributing poverty among our people instead of prosperity. Some responsible ministers of Government also seem to have got themselves involved in the argument. We should try to find out and understand whatever truth the argument might hold.

The argument is based on the assumption that factories yield goods on a huge scale because machines are employed in them and that village industries which are supposed to be run on a small scale cannot do so. If a machine or the man who tends it is compared to the handicraftsman or his tool the point stated above seems obvious. Because the machine is driven by the power of coal, oil, etc., its operator produces much, while a handicraftsman who operates his tools by his hands certainly cannot produce as much.

But here we have to take one fact into account. The strength of the handicraftsman lies in his numbers. If, therefore, we multiplied the produce turned out by one handicraftsman by the number of the innumerable unemployed in our country, the amount of the produce would work up to the desired limit. So, the main argument in favour of the machine does not hold when it is viewed from this angle.

But one can object by asking whether the huge number of the unemployed would engage themselves in production and what the state of affairs would be if they did not do so. And it is generally taken for granted that they would not do so.

So the argument proceeds a step ahead and declares that we would then suffer from an acute shortage of goods. Therefore, it is further argued, production by mechanized industries should not be restricted; handicrafts and village industries may be allowed to work, nay, may even be encouraged; but let there be no restrictions on the machine and its products.

If we conceded the truth of the argument for a moment another big difficulty crops up before us. Where are we to find the huge capital we would need in order to set up and work the machines? Besides, the machines are also not known to work to order. And the labourers, too, are not so docile. The other and the real difficulty, however, is that the machine does not engage men in sufficiently large numbers. And modern scientific trend is towards inventing machines which would require the minimum of hands to work them or rather would be automatic — requiring no hands at all to do so! What would be the fate of the crores of the unemployed in the country in such an eventuality? How long could mere production of goods by machines be maintained and on what strength if the population were not gainfully employed? Exporting goods produced to foreign lands has its natural limits. And how could such exportation help the unemployed? The best such export may achieve would be to profit a few industrialists and bring some revenue to government. But how and what would the common people of the country profit thereby?

The industrialists and the advocates of large-scale mechanized industries have no reply to this dilemma. And here their whole chain of argument gives way. They then avoid or ignore it altogether and repeat the argument stated above that there would be a shortage of goods if the unemployed could not be organized into working the needed village industries and that, therefore, production of goods by machine industries should not, under any circumstances, be restricted. And these friends have confidence that they are sure ultimately to succeed in a competition between the two. They earn double credit by arguing thus in that they seem to have the credit of favouring village industries advocated by Gandhiji and also secure the development and continuation of industries which have profited them so well till now!

The problem which faces us today is, therefore, different. Orthodox economists and industrialists assert that prosperity lies the way of increased production. The communists in Russia proceeded on that faith in their planning. Those who know say that Prof. Mahalanobis has prepared the new Five Year Plan on that orthodox faith. He has been good enough to add one thing more, however. He has conceded that it would be advisable to take recourse to small-scale village industries in order to increase the supply of goods necessary for domestic consumption under the present conditions. That such



procedure would help remove unemployment would be, according to him, an added valuable advantage under the prevailing circumstances of the country. And Government believes that it is essential.

In short, the advocates of industrialization give primary importance to production and only a secondary one to removal of unemployment. Everyone argues that unemployment is utter ruin. And there can be no objection to arguing that prosperity lies the way of increased production. But if production were to be increased by machines and if direct remedies for removing unemployment were not employed, the way amounts to basing prosperity on ruin. And that way is not only obviously wrong; the very prosperity sought would prove fraudulent and illusory. The measure of the removal of unemployment should be the true measure of the prosperity of our people. The idea of merely increasing production any how could succeed only if we turned capitalist or imperialist or if we gave up democracy and employed the coercive technique supposed to have been successfully used by Communist Russia. We have, however, deliberately given up these two ways. Only one thing then remains to us. We have to plan the inevitable economy based on a countrywide and broad organization of village industries and to call upon the unemployed and the idle in the villages to shed their indolence, to apply themselves to work and produce goods and things in abundance. Government, they should be reminded, has shown its readiness to give all the necessary help. If in spite of the call and in spite of the help offered they were not to see their way to work, it should not cause worry, nor should, as an alternative, machinery be encouraged to add to unemployment; nor should a false fear of shortage of goods be entertained. What kind of fear does this one resemble? The British used to frighten us, 'If Swaraj came to you Indians, you are sure to fight among yourselves, because you are not united; you had, therefore, better be united first.' But Gandhiji in the end told them, 'Let there be anarchy, but you please quit and let us fend for ourselves as best as we can.' We have to handle this demon of unemployment with clarity and firmness in the same manner. Unemployment is utter ruin — not only economic but social and cultural also. We have to be free from the illusory attraction of seeing prosperity on the foundation of 'technological unemployment'. Otherwise, economic freedom and equality would be an empty dream.

An explanation with a view to clarify the idea presented here is necessary. It should be obvious that the arguments presented above apply only to consumer goods industries which produce food, cloth etc. and not to those key ones which produce iron, electricity etc. and which are but few.

28-12-'55  
(From Gujarati)

## NOTES

### Hiroshima's Cenotaph

The people of Hiroshima have erected a cenotaph in the centre of that atom-bomb blighted city, directly under the place where the bomb exploded on the fateful August 6 of 1945. Over it are inscribed this message of repentance and assurance for the future: "Rest in peace, for we will not repeat our sin."

Kiyoshi Tanimota, a Japanese Christian priest of that illfated city, is one of the few survivors of that day's Atom-bomb hell-fire. He describes, in an article, the day when the hell-fire swept his city, under the heading — 'We Will Not Repeat Our Sin'. But at the end, with heart-breaking poignancy he notes that the world has not still given up war. Therefore, one does not know whether 'we will not repeat our sin' of blighting away mankind to death by exploding Atom and Hydrogen bombs. This is undoubtedly a Satanic thing to do; it is surely not a Christian deed. The Pope has well told the Christian States of the World, who devise, test and secretly own these infernal weapons, to ban their use altogether. Will they heed to it and not repeat the sin?

31-12-'55

M. P.

### Hindi in Tamil Nad

The 11th Tamil Nad Hindi Pracharak Conference met at Trichy under the presidentship of Shri Anantshayanam Aiyangar, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha. It will interest the reader to know that the Conference passed resolutions welcoming the appointment of the Official Language Commission and requesting Government to make Hindi a compulsory subject of study right from form I in the High School, and allot 5 periods a week to it, and to appoint at least one first grade Pracharak in every full-fledged High School, — to mention a few points out of the many concerning Hindi Prachar, that were touched by the Conference. A resolution worthy of special note says, "This Conference recommends that the international technical words in vogue in all the branches of study be adopted in Hindi; adopt common script for all the Indian languages to facilitate the readers to pick up any language with ease".

This should dispel from the mind of some people in other parts of the country that Tamil Nad was hesitating to take up learning the all-India Antar-Bhasha Hindi.

30-12-'55

M. P.

By Mahatma Gandhi

### LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

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## "NOT BY BREAD ALONE"

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The reader of this paper knows Mr Wilfred Wellock from his deeply thoughtful writings reproduced before in these columns. He has recently issued a brochure\*, *Not By Bread Alone*, which is a study of America's expanding economy. As he notes, "during the last 28 years I have undertaken four lengthy tours in U.S.A. The last one has just terminated, and the previous one was five years ago." The above study is the result of the last of these.

### 1

#### A Very Apt Question

The brochure raises a very apt question :

"It is said that the American way of life is the standard to which all should aspire, the world's hope against the spread of Communism. But who can calculate the consequences of a world struggle for the earth's resources, were every nation to embark on an economy after the American pattern? Within twenty years the world would be in a morass of economic tensions such as had never been known. Many far-seeing Americans are now asking, how long can the world support America's present living standards?"

"The question which must be asked, and answered, emerges: Is America's way of life the good life for man? Does it insure and nourish man's spiritual existence as completely as his physical existence? Does it yield that deep satisfaction which the thinkers and prophets of all ages equate with fullness of life? Does it promote friendliness, neighbourliness, co-operative activity and general goodwill? Or does it encourage selfishness, self-indulgence, extravagance, wastefulness, profiteering and the vices of abundance?"

"Man does not live by bread alone, and when it comes to the intangible values of human experience, most European peoples, large numbers of British and West Europeans, and not a few Americans, find the latest trends in American life too materialistic, and its tempo too breathless and too exhausting. Too many quiet, familiar values which contain the salt of life are being swept away. If today the urgent needs of the East are material, those of the West are spiritual."

"It therefore becomes important to consider the relationship between America's way of life and her role in world politics, conditioned as it is by a powerful fear of Communism, of Russia and increasingly of China."

### 2

#### American Economy and Way of Life

What is this American economy and way of life? What is its nature? Can it bear to be adopted as a world formula for the cure of our evils on an all-nations-adopting-it basis? The author discussing the question at length says :

"The key word in American life today is expansion. America's latest triumph is her expanding economy. This is how it works. As machinery becomes increasingly automatic or specialized, many workers are thrown out of employment. In order to re-employ them, new gadgets have to be invented and industries for their manufacture established. Then in order to insure that the new gadgets are bought on a large scale, the advertising agencies are brought into action, while at the same time, insurance agencies make it possible for everybody to purchase the new gadgets on credit, or 'on time' as the Americans say. ('Hire pur-

chase' in Britain.) Should the necessary gadgets not be forthcoming, the gap would have to be filled by Government spending, on roads, housing etc.

"Theoretically there is no limit to industrial expansion on these lines, for there is no limit to the multiplication of wants, given a way of life which promises and demands maximum consumption of goods and services and perpetually rising standards of material living."

"Under this process of an expanding economy the main concern is to keep all the available labour and capital profitably employed, as that is the only way to insure prosperity. But if it is to succeed in its purpose there must be no 'loose screws'. As machinery becomes more automatic, new gadgets must be forthcoming, and when manufactured must be sold. This task is entrusted to the advertisers, and by them to the newspapers (especially the huge Sunday editions), to the scores of magnificently produced magazines, to radio and to television. Through all these mediums the American mind is pounded mercilessly and ceaselessly, until the goal of universal or almost universal acceptance has been reached. The work of the advertisers is completed by the retailers and insurance organizations, who display the goods and make them immediately accessible to a public trained to believe in their right to share in all the good things that are going, on what are called easy terms, but which, in fact, heavily mortgage their future."

"By these means a distinct mentality or attitude to life has been produced. The average American now takes the view that if a labour-saving gadget appears, it is far better to get it while he is young and pay for it in future instalments, than spend years saving the money in order to buy it when he is much older."

"What is involved in this magic cycle of an expanding economy? American gadgets are very expensive, for all these advertising and insurance costs have to be added to their price, and today advertising is one of America's big industries. Further, it is one thing to buy one or two gadgets, but quite another to buy seven or eight, and a car, in addition to mortgaging a house and taking out several insurance policies. Hence for most people in the lower, and often the higher, middle classes, every gadget has to be purchased 'on time'."

### 3

#### American Family Budget

Having stated the general nature of the prevailing economy in U.S.A. the author describes the average family budget :

"American society may be described as a vast middle class with a rather small poor class at one end and a very small rich class at the other. This middle strata includes a considerable artisan class, craftsmen of all kinds. Let us examine their demands, restricting our inquiry to those whose incomes range between \$3,500 and \$6,000 a year—probably the biggest section of the American public."

Against this income, if the normal charges for housing, gadgets, holidays and education, automobile, sickness etc. are reckoned up it will be seen that

"They will absorb more than half a weekly income of from \$80 to \$120, leaving from \$30 to \$60 for food, clothing, household requirements, lighting and heating, newspapers, books, magazines, amusements, societies, churches, clubs, and life insurance. Life insurance of the husband is a necessity under the American system of domestic economy where spending is abreast of earnings, and frequently exceeds them."

"Forty or fifty dollars for housekeeping would seem to be a hefty sum to an English family, but not to an American, which spends its money differently. More and more the American housewife buys canned, frozen,

\* It can be had in India from the Sarvodaya Prachurayam, Tanjore (S. India), Price As. 4; Postage As. 2.



and packeted foods, processed, 'fortified' and 'preserved'; they save time but are more costly, while the chemical additions are a heavy risk to health."

And what about families that have higher incomes — are very well-to-do? The author says for them:

"Strange as it may seem, much the same situation arises for the people with higher incomes. All their expenses, including taxation, are relatively higher. They live in better houses, wear more expensive clothes, keep a better car, and send their children to the more expensive colleges."

"The habit of saving for a rainy day, or for old age is relegated to the history books. Increasing demands are also ensured by the fact that the American population is steadily rising. The U.S. birth rate per 1,000 population in 1953 was 24.7. This is almost as high as that of India, as against 15.4 in Britain."

## 4

### Effects on American Mind

Having noted the nature of America's expanding economy, Wellock discusses how it affects the American mind and says that

"(it) is doing incalculable harm to the spiritual condition of its people. Because the system of retail credit absorbs nearly all income as fast as it is earned, the people, although they have a relatively high standard of material living are always short of cash and conscious of being heavily in debt. These two facts drag down the mind to mundane things, and force upon it a materialistic outlook and concern."

"The fact that peoples' circumstances compel them for ever to be thinking about the increase of earnings dulls spiritual interest and perception, lowers the quality of mind and spirit, and jeopardizes the spiritual quality of the home. Less and less interest is taken in public affairs, as a result Governments meet with less criticism, which in times of crisis may be disastrous."

"Accompanying this depressed mental and spiritual condition is a fear complex often so marked that people cannot refrain from expressing it: 'What shall we do if there be birth, death or sickness, or a trade recession? If there is unemployment, what will happen to our mortgages, insurances and the gadgets bought 'on time'?'"

And he concludes it is thus that the "American way of life has become a colossus of materialism" and says that "Britain too is on the American road, and will be overtaken by the same problems". And we may well be forewarned that we in India also, at least in large industrial cities, — our middle class, are also on the same slippery way.

## 5

### What Should We Do Then?

What should be done then? Wellock discusses this also and says:

"The modern problem is thus largely one of spiritual deficiencies which Capitalism, Socialism and Communism have so far failed to solve. At present several Communist countries are remodelling their agricultural policies because of the revolt of the peasants against regimentation and the loss of vital community relationships. They are discovering that when the soul of the peasant passes out of his labour he ceases to be profitable and becomes an insoluble economic problem. And in the West it is being discovered that when work is reduced to monetary terms the outcome is slacking, absenteeism, unofficial strikes, perennial discontent and restlessness."

"The country which solves this outstanding human and social problem will have found the key to the

Communist-Democratic deadlock. When we give up trying to condition people to function subhumanly and aim at developing whole persons by creative functioning in a creative society, we shall have found the road to social and international peace."

"Freedom to become a whole person is far more important than freedom to become rich. In all the civilizations that have left their mark in recorded history creative activity, from fertilizing the earth and erecting serviceable and beautiful buildings to painting pictures and writing poetry and music, has been the secret of their greatness, the foundation of which was human wholeness and neighbourly functioning in an organic society. In contrast, at every stage in the process towards automation throughout the Industrial Revolution, the status of the machine has risen while that of man has fallen, as has also the quality of his life."

"The time has come to reverse this process and make the transition to a qualitative civilization. Craftsmanship and small workshops aided by new mechanical techniques under new forms of easily distributable power must replace automation wherever desirable. A more vital personal and community life would follow. To extend creative activity, automatic factory labour should be performed in short shifts or on alternate days. Workers would devote some of their time to the production of things of high quality and distinction. All manner of small, co-operative or community enterprises would then be possible."

"This prospect calls for a new culture as a necessary preparation. Schools and colleges would study the art of living, comparative values material and spiritual, and all the factors which belong to the good life."

This is what we in India generally understand as the Sarvodaya way of life. May we adopt it and save not only ourselves but the world also. Thus acting only can India justify her freedom and independence which we have secured in the service of the whole world.

26-10-'55

### BEE-KEEPING AS HOME INDUSTRY

Increasing population of the country requires more and more food and so more should be produced on the existing land or more land should be brought under cultivation. But the latter is not possible to an unlimited extent, so whatever can be produced without making use of land has special significance. From this point of view, fishery and bee-keeping industries have special importance for mankind. Both of these industries supply food for human consumption, without making use of land. Bee-keeping has additional significance that it supplies nutritious food in a non-violent way. It does not require any special training and not much capital. It can be undertaken as a supplementary industry, along with the main industry and honey can be produced. Moreover, agriculture will be benefited through cross-pollination by bees.

Bee-keeping is an old industry. But the old method was unclean and violent, while the modern method is clean and non-violent, which should be propagated. It would give additional income to the cultivators who can do it in their leisure hours at their homes. With this aim in view, the A. I. K. and V. I. Board has offered some suggestions for the next Five Year Plan. At present, 2½ lakh lbs. of honey is produced in the

country from 27,313 bee-hives, by modern method. This production comes to 9.15 lbs. per hive. In U.S.A. this average comes to 20 to 40 lbs. per hive. 30 crs. lbs. of honey is produced from 80 lakh hives in that country.

If encouragement is given to this home industry in the next five years, by providing facilities for buying equipment and by opening training centres etc. 5 crs. lbs. of honey can be produced in 50 lakh bee-colonies by 5 lakh families. This would add to the income of the people, and help agriculture to become self-supporting, and also give to the people good nutritious food.

A trained bee-keeper can nurse 10 to 15 hives and earn Rs 200 to Rs 300 per year thereby. He has only to devote to that work 2 hours daily in the season for 3 months and ordinarily 1 hour daily for the rest of the year.

This would give full-time work to 10,000 carpenters, smiths and other artisans, over and above part-time work to 5 lakh families.

If any one desires to undertake this work as a full-time job, he can nurse 75 hives, and earn yearly about Rs 1,500/- after getting himself trained for three months.

It is estimated that Rs 72 lakhs will have to be spent in the next five years—and it ought to be spent—for the development and encouragement of this home industry, which bears special significance from the national point of view.

V. M. K.

#### CONTROVERSY ABOUT AMBAR CHARKHA (By Roop Narain)

Vain efforts are being made to strike a balance between the mode of production of cloth through handlooms and Ambar Charkha on one side and the textile mills on the other. Nay, in a way preference is being accorded to the production of additional quantity of cloth needed by the country through mills.

In a country like India production of additional articles of daily consumption like cloth has little meaning if the purchasing capacity of the millions of the people is not simultaneously increased by providing them means of immediate employment. Immediate social objective of any national plan for development must be to provide full employment to the citizens of India within the shortest possible time. A democratic State cannot afford to keep its millions of people starving through forced unemployment by promising a bright future. Minimum requirements of immediacy cannot be sacrificed for a distant future though prosperous-looking. Cloth produced through handlooms and Ambar Charkha, while it ensures additional production, at the same time, plans to give employment to millions of starving citizens comparatively at a small cost.

India with huge population and immense unemployment cannot profitably follow the

method of production either of Russia or of the Western countries. While the former brutally sacrificed the millions of its innocent lives in a totalitarian way to finance its big industries, the latter had numerous Asian and African colonies under their control for ruthless exploitation. India has to evolve its own pattern of production as dictated by the objective conditions. Here we need only such machines which are cheap and labour-intensive and not costly though labour-saving. Production through small technique like Ambar Charkha is in the right direction and needs encouragement and protection.

We must discourage conditions which may lead our people towards a violent revolution if the problems of unemployment and semi-starvation are not satisfactorily solved latest by the end of the Second Plan. No price is too heavy to prevent such a catastrophe.

The utility of Ambar Charkha should be viewed in the above perspective.

Charkha Walan,  
Delhi, 24-12-'55

#### in the Cause of Sarvodaya

Shri M. K. Sen writes that a press agency devoted exclusively to the cause of Sarvodaya has been set up, with the aim to pool and collect news, information, and articles on Sarvodaya ideals and distribute the same to news-papers and periodicals. Its office is at C-52, College Street Market, Calcutta-12.

I may along with this add further good news that the Sarva Seva Sangh has begun to issue in English a cyclo-styled bi-weekly bulletin, by name *Bhoodan*, from Hyderabad, last month. It is also devoted to the cause of Sarvodaya through Bhoodan.

We wish them success.

20-12-'55

M. P.

#### By Mahatma Gandhi

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CONTENTS	PAGE
LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND STATE REORGANIZATION .. Jawaharlal Nehru	353
GIVING EYE-SIGHT TO THE BLIND .. Sorabji R. Mistry	354
DECENTRALIZING CLOTH INDUSTRY ..	354
ILLUSION OF PROSPERITY .. Maganbhai P. Desai	356
"NOT BY BREAD ALONE" .. Maganbhai P. Desai	358
BEE-KEEPING AS HOME INDUSTRY .. V. M. K.	359
CONTROVERSY ABOUT AMBAR CHARKHA .. Roop Narain	360
NOTES:	
HIROSHIMA CENOTAPH .. M. P.	357
HINDI IN TAMIL NAD .. M. P.	357
IN THE CAUSE OF SARVODAYA .. M. P.	360