

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

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TWO ANNAS

INDIA, RUSSIA, AND ENGLAND-AMERICA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Guests from Foreign Lands

That leaders of friendly nations and ministers of government should go on tours and visits in one another's countries is a remarkable development of recent growth in the field of international affairs. The Russian Prime Minister Shri Bulganin and Shri Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party, recently paid a visit to our country. So, too did the Maharaja of Nepal, King Saud of Arabia and Madame Sun Yat Sen from China. As it is, almost all States maintain their embassies in foreign countries; but these visits are in addition to their work.

Conferences of friendly nations in order to discuss and consider matters of common interest are also organized in the same way.

This way of conducting international affairs seems to have become more common after the United Nations Organization has come into being. It has its advantages as also disadvantages. One advantage is plain that such visits help spread to a larger extent the principle of Pancha Sheel which forms the basis of our foreign policy. This method of direct contacts by personal visits of leaders and high dignitaries has proved effective and expeditious in bringing about peace in the world. But another characteristic of these visits should not be lost sight of. The method of work has yet hardly succeeded in finding a solution of the differences between the two big camps into which the world today stands divided. Conferences and visits arranged are not yet able to avoid or ignore the psychological atmosphere of the division of the world into two camps. For instance, leaders of both the blocs, who met at Geneva some months ago, were unable to arrive at an understanding. As a consequence both the parties are estranged with each other as before and signs are in evidence that the cold war which seemed to come to an end would start again.

India and Russia

The visit of Shri Bulganin and Shri Khrushchev to India was in courteous return of the one

Shri Jawaharlal paid to Russia. England and America were keenly and closely watching it. India gave an unprecedented welcome to the two guests. Government must have spent lakhs of rupees on the welcome. Mammoth meetings of lakhs of men and women were organized for the occasion. In Calcutta, it is reported, three million people had gathered for the welcome! The two guests should have surely been staggered at such manifestation of popular goodwill! Even for India, where large gatherings of men and women are not rare, the meeting should be called unique.

One asks oneself the question why people rush to these gatherings in such vast numbers. Has the occurrence any relation to our chronic unemployment? Does not a manifestation of such curiosity seem infantile? Are we witnessing an outburst of the old sentiments we had for a monarchical system and kingship? From another point of view, does not such enthusiasm show that we are yet in the primary stage of the development of our democracy? Still, however, it should be recognized that there is a savour of genuineness about the manifestation of popular sentiment; and it has its own value. But the danger, too, lurks in it that in the hands of a skilful leader a dictatorship of the masses also functions in the same way. We are determined not to be driven that way but to develop a mature democracy in our country. We had better leave this at that.

Free Honours and Titles Do Not Do Credit

In order to honour the two Russian guests the Delhi University had offered to confer honorary doctorates on Shri Bulganin and Shri Khrushchev. The reply the guests sent in response to the offer is remarkable. They gently refused to accept the honours. They said that in their country such honours had to be earned and, therefore, they could not take them gratis.

The custom of showing respect to persons by conferring honours and titles on them we have learnt and adopted from the British. Our Universities have started conferring doctorates with

unseemly haste! And Government, too, is creating Padma...and Bharat....every six months or year. Does not the incident mentioned above give us a wholesome lesson when we are falling an easy prey to the monarchical tradition?

The British have a monarchical system of Government. Honours and titles may have a place in it. Though India has given the go-by to the monarchical system of Government it is still there lurking in her blood. She should not, therefore, encourage this imitation of the imperialist British. The policy of the French and the Americans would suit us better. Parliament should, at some time or the other, make up its mind to abolish these titles and honours altogether.

Wordy Shafts of Shri Khrushchev

During their Indian tour Shri Khrushchev made a larger number of speeches than Shri Bulganin. He indulged in some plain-speaking in them which might, perhaps, be reckoned out of place and unbecoming in bourgeois diplomatic practice. Shri Khrushchev had some hard things to say touching the delicate topics of Goa, Kashmir, Pakistan and Pakhtunistan. He condemned imperialism and colonialism. He said that Goa belonged to India and so also Kashmir.

His verbal shafts crossed the oceans and had unbelievably piercing effects. There was a great deal of commotion on account of them, both in England and America. As a consequence the suspicion in the American mind about our attitude was revived. They began to wonder, again, if we had gone communist. They were so annoyed and angry, they began asking to stop the economic aid which is advanced to India. From our side we replied that India could not accept any aid which was conditional or had political strings attached to it and that she would rest content with as much development of her resources as could be achieved by standing on her own legs. In a way, all this was to the good. That our development schemes costing crores should only be possible by foreign aid is certainly not good.

Russian Economic Aid

That subsequent to Shri Bulganin's visit to India we would be receiving aid from Russia is a new beginning not only economic but political also. Seeing this possibility one is inclined to say that America would hardly think of discontinuing her aid. Possibly, she cannot at the present juncture afford to prove to the world that such discontinuation is the result of the ending of her friendly relations with India. Besides, England would stop her doing so. After the initial anger has subsided, America herself would see better.

Our policy is clear. We would accept any aid offered to us unconditionally and in a friendly spirit by any State of the world without involv-

ing ourselves in political partisanship. India believes in achieving her ends by keeping friends with everyone. It is, of course, a difficult course to follow—the course of such equanimity or balance; but is not the course of inspiring the politics of peace in the world equally difficult? There is, however, no other course for India and that is the only way to peace. We have to follow the course even at the risk of misunderstanding and indignation by western nations and giving up aid if it is not available. As time passes, the truth implicit in our policy is sure to manifest itself if we did not swerve from the straight course we have adopted.

Fear of Communist Infiltration

We should examine the big risk we undertake in accepting the way of Russian aid. When aid from America began a question was raised whether if foreign economic aid infiltrated itself here would not the very independence of India be jeopardized thereby? Will not, in the same manner, now, there be a danger of Russian infiltration? Will not Communism find a convenient chance to insinuate itself in our land? Will not a trend develop in our people that there is no harm now in turning towards communism when they have witnessed with their own eyes the grand welcome accorded to communist leaders like Shri Bulganin and Shri Khrushchev?

What kind of foreign policy the U.S.S.R. practises is well known all over the world; to inspire a liking for communism by infiltrating in foreign countries and by fair means or foul is the well-known method she has adopted since long. The organization which works for the purpose and which is commonly known by the name of Cominform is still functioning. So a question is asked: if there is no change in the policy of the Russian State as indicated will it not sneak itself into India through the means of economic aid?

Besides, our new economic Five Year Plan is reported to be following the lines of the Russian one of the same kind. It is also heard being freely said that Professor Mahalanobis, who is supposed to be the architect and seer of the second Five Year Plan, is communistically inclined. And, we have also to bear in mind that political terminology in India which used to be Sarvodaya etc. as taught by Gandhiji is taking a turn towards one of a Socialistic Pattern and such other terms.

Observing all this many entertain a fear which cannot be easily dismissed as mere prejudice or suspicion. That countries like America would become suspicious is beyond the shadow of doubt. But practical affairs of the world cannot be conducted on the basis of prejudices, suspicions and doubts or distrust. Hereafter our country will have to resolve these doubts and suspicions by her actions demonstrating her policy aiming at peace.

End of Colonialism

Viewed from long range the visit of the Russian leaders can be observed to have brought out in clear relief two points implicit in the Pancha Sheel policy of India. The rise of a free India has meant the end of the biggest imperialism the world has known. In other words it means the rise of the continent of Asia and the awakening of the dark continent of Africa. It is as clear as day that the event would mean a serious thing for the nations of the West. It has meant a serious danger for the countries of Europe like England, France, Portugal, Holland and others who have been living on the exploitation of their colonies. It is but natural for them to join together to make vain attempts to give a new life to colonialism which is hastening to its inevitable doom.

What the second world war has brought forth in world politics is the emergence of the United States of America as the patron friend of all these nations of the West. On the strength of her immense wealth America has become the supporter and protector of Western Europe. But America's one anxiety today is Russia going ahead and spreading her supremacy over the world.

Now, observe the utterances of the Russian guests in India. They censured the policy of Portugal regarding Goa by calling it a colonial policy. They reminded the Burmans in Burma of the imperialism of the British and condemned it outright. In Kashmir they reminded the people of the policy of divide and rule pursued by Britain in India and declared openly in so many words that they engineered differences between the various communities of the people of India who form one nation. In short, they boldly declared that Russia stood against colonialism and imperialism. They thus won a place for Russia in the hearts of the people and various nations of Asia and Africa.

In replying to the outspoken criticism of the Russian leaders America was betrayed into a grave error. The Foreign Minister of the Portuguese Government, Shri Cunha and the Foreign Secretary of the United States Government, Shri Dulles together fell victims to such grave indiscretion that there was serious agitation against it in the United States itself. Shri Dulles came out with the statement that Goa is a province of Portugal beyond the ocean! Shri Cunha declared that, come what may, the Portuguese were not going to quit Goa. Goa was not their colony, he said, it was part of their national fatherland!

We in India, on our side, have made the problem of Goa a test. We say that the nation which favours the policy of Portugal regarding Goa proves itself an advocate of wicked colonialism. Poor America could not stand the test. A movement to fight the next presidential elections

on this very issue has been started in the United States itself.

To end imperialism is the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of India. It has, thus, suddenly come to the forefront in world affairs.

Rise of the Pancha Sheel Doctrine

The doctrine of ending imperialism may, perhaps, appear to be a negative one. But we have gone ahead, propounded the Pancha Sheel doctrine, and are now marching forward in the field of international affairs with a positive constructive policy through it. Many countries have begun to come out with statements that they, too, have faith in it. More than half the population of the world, possibly, has thus declared its faith.

The revolutionary doctrine of Pancha Sheel means co-existence, that is, sympathy of all the nations of the world for each other, their promise to help each other, their pledge not to envy or betray each other, and their determination to live together in the world with goodwill for each other and in peace. To recognize the right of every nation to be and progress according to its own view and faith, not to have ill-will for or an evil eye on each other—this *sarvarashtrasamabhava*—sympathy for all nations is the essence of the Sheel or principle of co-existence.

If Russia and China have taken any new step in the affairs of the world it is the public acceptance of this doctrine of Pancha Sheel. It means that communism pledges itself before the whole world to give up its policy of interference in the affairs of other nations of the world by its method of infiltration.

India has taken their declaration on faith and trust; England and America view it with distrust. They say that they cannot persuade themselves to believe in the truth of co-existence. They go a step further and say that the idea of co-existence is as impossible as the idea of the co-existence of fire and water. India does not agree with this prejudice of mistrust. If all the people of the world want to live together in peace all the nations of the world should deal with one another in mutual sincerity, goodwill, trust and faith. America says, that is true, but how could one trust Russia?

There are people in our country also who have a deep distrust of Russia. But the Government of India is not prepared to function on such distrust. India wants to carry on the grand experiment of peace among men and the truth of faith in man by cultivating friendship not only with America and England but also with Russia, China and others. Why should not the America of Thoreau and Emerson and of Washington and Lincoln fail or refuse to understand this high aim and equally high endeavour? If America were to understand it she, the patron-friend of Western Europe, will also bring in the latter in the world effort for peace. May God give enough

strength to India's feet in her march on this new stage in the international affairs of the world.

22-12-55

(From Gujarati)

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DO WE WORSHIP POVERTY ?

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

Speaking at the annual convocation of the Visvabharati University Sardar K. M. Panikkar is reported to have deprecated "the idea of return to the villages and to the simplicity of a handicraft economy", and to have remarked that the doctrine of simple life is but worship of poverty.

One wonders of whom Sardar Panikkar was thinking. Those of us who advocate a handicraft economy are the greatest enemies of poverty. Gandhiji's passion was to abolish the poverty of the poorest. Hence the spinning wheel. The whole idea of the Khadi and Village Industries movement is that compulsory poverty is a soul-killing evil and must be got rid of as quickly as possible from our land ; that our people's primary requirements of food, clothing, shelter, education, health and recreation should be fully met and that no one in our country should lack any of these essentials.

If we who advocate handicrafts are to an extent opposed to large-scale industries it is again because we want to do away with poverty. We are convinced that in a country like ours with its teeming population, centralized factory production will take away employment from our poor, and thus increase poverty instead of abolishing it. How then can it be said that such people love poverty and worship it ?

It is true that under a handicraft economy the emphasis will naturally be on production of essential commodities rather than of luxury goods, and in this sense life under it will be simpler, as Sardar Panikkar suspects. But surely this is not an evil. The modern craze for multiplying wants and producing all kinds of unnecessary goods has led to uncured selfishness and greed, which are at the basis of exploitation, imperialism and war. Is it not better that we restrict production to what we ourselves essentially need than that we produced goods not really required by us, and be plunged in strife and conflict with others for raw materials and markets ? The handicrafts economy is being put forward as the only effective way of rooting out war. In itself, it is true, there is no great virtue in simplifying life. Its virtue lies in the fact that there seems to be no other way of saving life and promoting peace and goodwill among men.

COMMUNALISM TURNED LINGUISM

(By Swami Anand)

The late K. G. Mashruwala used to deplore, and laboured hard to explain, how the exclusiveness and clannishness of the Hindus throughout history had recoiled on themselves like the boomerang and was responsible for the creation of Pakistan. Acharya Kripalani and many other elder statesmen in the country did, during recent years, warn us seriously how the Frankenstein of linguism was going to turn the different states of India into so many Pakistans. We have alas ! lived to witness the truth of these statements in what is happening today in Bombay and many other places as a foretaste of linguism.

Linguistic arrangement of provinces, as against that which came handy to our alien administrators, was conceived by our leaders in the past for fighting the foreign rule more doggedly through helping disintegrated units of our countrymen to combine on homogeneous linguistic basis in their respective areas and conduct our political and revolutionary campaigns, — never to encourage or perpetuate disintegrating separatist tendencies in the nation ; much less promote any notions of the so-called separate linguistic cultures as distinguished from the one common Indian culture. But on attaining political freedom lust for power and pelf has alas ! perverted our better judgment, and we are out today to think in terms of what amounts to a loose federation of separatist, almost sovereign political states. Our cursed exclusiveness has returned to us in all its frenzy and is making short-work of a century of our labours at attaining national unity and solidarity.

That a leader of Shri Deo's stature should switch himself over from Bhoodan to linguism as a more momentous issue and seriously contemplate to stake his life and career over it by fasting is a tragedy too deep for tears. All our patriotism has proved to be a thin cloak indeed !

The virus is being vigorously injected in all spheres of the nation's life. Its hideousness and virulence can be measured when one witnesses men of Shri Jayakar's eminence among its victims. Members of Central and states cabinets and legislatures, of Pradesh Congress Committees, of municipal, district and other local bodies, are being impressed and drafted all over Bombay State to protest against the Central Government's decision and join the 'peaceful and constitutional' agitation against it and against the parent Congress body in utter defiance of their authority, coupled with protestations of their own loyalty !

With the declared aim of compelling Nehru Government to revise its decision, life and property is being made over to unsocial elements to be held at ransom in the city and suburbs of Bombay, as also in the district and country towns. Protests are organized by the hot-gospellers everywhere through meetings, demonstrations

and 'unanimous' resolutions. Minority groups are being terrorized into lining up with the majority under threats to life and property.

I happen to be travelling and have the misfortune to witness these processes at work in the countryside where linguistic minorities with considerable stake and often holding high positions have lived in amity for centuries. But all amity is being consigned to the winds and Pakistans like Dragon's teeth are forming themselves everywhere.

All this, I am afraid, is not going to end with a few civil commotions. From Mr Jinnah's Two Nations theory, — which after 21 days' earnest entreaties by the Father of the Nation was firmly rejected by him (Gandhiji), but was accepted by our leaders despite his warnings, — we achieved Pakistan; and in its wake the minorities in both countries became suspect. The same complex of fear and distrust has seized us, and will progressively seize us, in our daily life and dealings as between communities and communities: Gujaratis vs. Marathas, Bengalis vs. Biharis, Andhras vs. Non-Andhras, Brahmins vs. Non-Brahmins, down to the tiniest community groups in the countryside towns and villages. The caste and community labels and distinctions will become objects of deep seated distrust and discrimination. People will be bullied and terrorized into falling in with the majority. 'Public' opinion thus obtained will be flung in the face of the High Command. Men under 'democracy' will live in hell.

Already the minority groups of Gujaratis etc. all over Maharashtra are being made under the duress to 'fall in' and join the protest against the Centre's decision regarding Bombay city and are being openly called upon by the leaders of Samyukta Maharashtra agitation to uphold their claim. Business establishments and properties of Gujaratis and other non-Marathas are made targets of mob attacks. Khadi caps are regarded as exclusive headgear of Gujaratis, are snatched and burnt in bonfires. Names of Morarji, Nehru, even of dead Gandhi have become synonyms for opposition and are attacked, or their effigies burnt. Their pictures in public offices are demanded by members to be removed. The 26th of January Republic Day will be observed throughout Maharashtra not as a day of celebrations but as a day of mourning!

THESE ARE THY GODS, O ISRIEL!

We have come to a pass where worst communalism has turned itself into linguism, and the contagion is spreading in chain reactions all over the country from state to state. We are losing all sense of proportion and perspective. Yet we have the affrontry to maintain we are patriotic and loyal congressmen, alive to all the larger interests of the nation and are 'peaceful and constitutional' in all our methods! Can travesty go any further?

HOW LONG, O LORD! HOW LONG?

I was brought up in Bombay and in Maharashtra among Maratha Brahmins. In my life of nearly 69 years I have never known any province except Maharashtra as my homeland. I have penned this letter in agony of my soul. I will not enter into any controversy over it.

22-1-56

[The above was penned 9 days ago. Thank God, there appear signs of welcome change in the dismal picture of fanaticism, goondaism etc. that overtook Bombay for about a week. May the Kindly Light that shines in all of us lead us aright in this. I think, the darkest hour of our history after the establishment of the Republic.

31-1-56

M. P.]

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

[We reproduce below the Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, the first volume of which is due to be released on the 12th February. The author's Preface has already been printed in the last issue of the *Harizan*.]

I

Introduction

The author of these pages, for a long time Mahatma Gandhi's private secretary and, after Mahadev Desai's death, editor of the *Harizan* weeklies, which Gandhiji was conducting, needs no introduction. His writings in *Young India* and *Harizan* and several works by him on Mahatma Gandhi published in Gandhiji's lifetime and after have well established him as a faithful and authoritative chronicler and interpreter of Gandhiji's life and philosophy. The present book deals with the last phase of Mahatma Gandhi's career. It is thus a continuation of *My Experiments with Truth* written by the Mahatma himself. That book deals largely with what may be called the formative period of his life, when he was preparing himself for the great work that lay ahead of him. The present book covers the story of the last years of his life in which the results of all the experiments that he carried out throughout his career were put to their severest and final test.

The obstacles which Gandhiji had to surmount were not always only on the physical or material plane; more often than not they were on the moral and spiritual plane. They came not always from his so-called opponents but on many an occasion from those with whom he had worked through the long period of thirty years since his return to India from South Africa, and on whom he counted to hold the torch aloft even after his body was reduced to ashes; whom he would not disown and who could not do without him. It is not possible or even desirable to attempt a summary of what is contained in these pages. I shall only indicate by a few illustrations the difficult and delicate nature of the task, and the beautiful way in which the author has accomplished it, to prepare the reader for the rich fare awaiting him.

The theory of Satyagraha is nothing new. It was elaborated and enunciated long ago by Patanjali. Gandhiji's credit lies in the fact that

he demonstrated its potentialities for solving individual and social problems, not only by living it himself but by evolving a technique by which it could be practised by the people at large and successfully teaching them its use. The method and procedure had to be changed from time to time to suit varied environment, circumstances, causes and problems that needed to be tackled; and above all according to the varied human material involved in each case. But the fundamental principle remained the same throughout. Gandhiji never attempted to write a systematic treatise to elaborate it but provided innumerable demonstrations of it in its application from day to day to the problems that arose and called for solution—problems which concerned individuals no less than the community, the country, and humanity at large. The reluctance was due to the inherent nature of Satyagraha itself. Satyagraha is a living principle; it cannot be summed up in inflexible set formulas. It has to be cultivated by following a discipline, a way of life. It recalls for correct understanding of the principles, but more than that their correct application to different situations and problems. It was, therefore, not the theory that mattered but its practice. "As a matter of fact," wrote Gandhiji, "my writings should be cremated with my body. What I have done will endure, not what I have said and written. I have often said... that even if all our scriptures were to perish—one *mantra* of Ishopaniashad was enough to declare the essence of Hinduism, but even that one verse will be of no avail if there is no-one to live it."

This calls for a comprehensive, authentic and detailed record of what he did, how he did it and why he did it. It is only such a record of the varied and variegated panorama in which small deeds and great fall in their true perspective that a true, faithful and soul-stirring, life-giving and enchanting picture of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teaching can be found, to be contemplated, absorbed and enjoyed (सर्वं शिवं सुन्दरम्). The present work represents such an attempt for those who may be interested in it by one who had the opportunity to observe and know at first-hand the incidents and events which he has described and the acumen and insight to interpret them correctly.

Take for instance Gandhiji's application of the principle of Truth and Ahimsa in life to problems which almost every leader of men and affairs has to face from day to day. He had the unique capacity to carry on his struggle on an impersonal plane so that opponents became less and less resistant and were ultimately won over. In the end there was no victor or vanquished feeling left, both became fellow-seekers of the same truth. In this technique there is nothing like failure; every experience is a discovery and stepping-stone to success. That is perhaps the reason why in Gandhiji's company one never had a

feeling of despondency or defeat but always of steady progress towards the goal in spite of apparent failure and set-backs.

Another universal principle which is only another facet of Gandhiji's fundamental conception of Truth and Ahimsa and which needs to be very carefully studied by every student of Gandhiji's life and teachings, is expressed in the aphorism *व्यापिंते तथा ब्रह्मार्जुने*—as the microcosm so the macrocosm. When things go wrong, Gandhiji said, one should try to look for the cause thereof within oneself, if one wants to realize the non-violent way of life. The same truth is embodied in a host of other sayings, e.g., "Do unto others as you wish others to do unto you"; "Evil done to others comes home to roost"; and finally Jung's: "Anything which disappears from your psychological inventory is apt to turn up in the disguise of a hostile neighbour, where it will inevitably arouse your anger and make you aggressive. It is certainly better to know that your worst adversary is right in your own heart." But it was left to Gandhiji, as the reader will find in these pages, to make a scientific application of it in his life and activity and demonstrate its capacity to open up new avenues of action when otherwise there was nothing but a blank wall facing one.

(To be continued)

WHAT IS AMBAR CHARKHA

[Continued from the previous issue of *Harijan* of 28-1-1956.]

III

Accessories of the Ambar Charkha

23. As was observed above, the Ambar Charkha requires tubular slivers of different thickness in accordance with the counts of yarn desired. To supply these slivers as well as to card the cotton required for them, wooden carding and silvering machines have also been devised.

(a) The Dhunai Modia

24. The Dhunai Modia or the carding machine consists of a large wooden wheel, which is linked by cotton band to a grooved pulley, which rotates a fluted feel roller of about $3/8$ " in diameter and about 3" long. The fluted roller delivers the lint to the wooden cylinder, 3 inches in breadth and about 2 inches in diameter, fitted with tin-spikes. The fluted roller as well as the wooden cylinder are closed except for an opening at the bottom to facilitate the falling of trash. Connected with this wooden cylinder is a small wire-cage, 6 inches wide and 18 inches long and 8 inches high. The cylinder revolves at high speed when the main wheel is operated. The fibres are thrown out by centrifugal force into the cage. The cost of a Dhunai Modia, inclusive of the cage, is estimated at Rs 35.

(b) The Belni

25. The loose, opened-out fibres collected in the wire cage attached to the Dhunai Modia are removed and tubular slivers are prepared on the Belni which is a specially prepared wooden machine. In length, height and width the Belni is identical with the Ambar Charkha. It consists of two pairs of steel drawing rollers about 7 inches long and $7/8$ inches in diameter weighted by springs. The lower rollers are fluted and the upper rollers are covered by rubber. The loose cotton fibres are drawn through these rollers a few times and then are formed into roving by a funnel and collected in a small tin cylinder. The tin cylinder is 8 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter, with a ring fixed at its centre. The cylinder is revolved

by a grooved pulley, which is banded with the main hand-wheel. The revolution of the cylinder twists the roving. The drawing-cum-silvering machine or the Beini, which is principally made of wood, a tin-cylinder and two pairs of iron rollers and rubber bushings, can also be manufactured and serviced by the village carpenter after some initial training. Its estimated cost is Rs 25.

26. An Ambar Charkha set thus consists of a carding and a drawing machine besides the Charkha, collectively estimated to cost Rs 100. The arrangements to manufacture replaceable parts at selected central factories are expected to bring down the cost by Rs 10/20 to Rs 90/80 per Charkha set. Thus, the present four-spindle wooden Ambar Charkha evolved from the original model of it constructed by Shri Ekambaramathan, satisfies almost all the criteria prescribed by Gandhiji.

Comparative Data

27. Since the standardization of the present Charkha, various experiments and tests have been carried out on the counts, quality, and strength of its yarn. It may be mentioned here that experiments carried out at Wardha and Nasik show that although it is possible to spin 3½ to 4 hanks of yarn per hour, the average output per hour is 2 hanks or, on an average, 16 hanks of yarn of 20's per day of 8 hours on the Ambar Charkha as against the average of ¾ a hank of yarn per hour or 3½ hanks of yarn of 16's per day of 8 hours on the ordinary Charkha.

28. The counts of yarn that can be spun on the Ambar Charkha are in the range of 12's to 40's, depending on the quality and staple of the cotton used. At Wardha with temperature at 111°, in summer, yarn of 130's counts was spun from Buri cotton. The same count of yarn was spun also at Islampur. At Wardha and Nasik, during summer which is both hot and dry at both places, counts ranging from 32's to 40's were spun from Jarilla, 52's from Surti and 12's from Kanpuri. Trainees at Nasik Central Vidyalaya today spin counts of yarn in the range of 20's to 52's and villagers in Mungrot, where an experimental centre was recently opened, are now able to spin, on an average, 16's on the Ambar Charkha.

29. Comparative analysis of the yarn spun on the Ambar and ordinary Charkhas shows that the yarn on the Ambar Charkha has a tensile strength of 70 to 100 per cent as against an average of 60 to 70 per cent of the yarn on the ordinary Charkha. Thus quantitatively as well as qualitatively, the Ambar Charkha yarn is superior to the yarn on the ordinary Charkha in as much as it enables a spinner to spin on an average 16 hanks of 20's per day of 8 hours as against an average of 3½ hanks of 16's per day of 8 hours on the ordinary Charkha.

Weaving Experience

While the comparative study of the Ambar Charkha yarn with that of the ordinary Charkha yarn has been satisfactory, it has not yet been possible to collect similar comparative data on weaving. The Board is now initiating a pilot programme to collect necessary data on weaving with Ambar yarn and the experience of the weavers both of Khadi and mill-yarns. The limited experience that has been gained is set out in the Table below:

Place	Width	Texture	Count of Yarn	Yds.	Time Hours
Billimoria	45"	50 x 50	19	15.5	8.5
"	45"	"	19	"	9.08
Guri Hosur	—	Coloured and designed bordered sarees	28	6.0	6.0

The data set out above lend strength to the belief that the Ambar Charkha may provide the key to the revival and development of India's traditional decentralized, cotton-textile industry, that once placed her as the leading manufacturing country in the then known civilized world.

(Concluded)

WHY INSTAL MORE SPINDLES? CANCEL THE LICENCES ALREADY ISSUED

(By Somnath P. Dave)

An inquiry made some time back brought to the light the fact that the Commerce and Industry Ministry of the Government of India have issued licences for installation of about 2 million additional spindles in the Cotton Textile Industry in India. The latest available figures show that the total number of mills in India are 461 of which about 23 are closed more or less permanently and the majority of the rest work two shifts. The following are the figures of spindles being worked in the 1st, 2nd, and the 3rd shift of the textile mills in India:

Shifts	Number
1st	104,02,749
2nd	98,58,848
3rd	41,02,942
Total	243,64,539

The above figures clearly show that a large number of mills do not work the 3rd shift and six lacs of 2nd shift spindles even now remain idle. The total number of installed spindles which can be requisitioned is more than 68 lacs.

The above para gives us a picture of the productive capacity of the Indian mills. It is well known that the textile mills of India produce yarn not only for their own consumption but also supply yarn to the power-looms and the hand-looms. Of the total mills in India 128 are spinning concerns and some of the composite mills also sell their surplus yarn to the handloom factories. No difficulties were hitherto experienced in procuring the necessary quantity of yarn for the handlooms and the office of the Textile Commissioner can easily divert all the additional yarn not required for the mills' own purposes for the consumption of handlooms.

What was then the necessity of issuing licences for 20 lac more spindles? Spinning machines and preparatory machinery are very costly and at a rough estimate it would cost the country approximately Rs 30 crores to instal 20 lac spindles. Was it necessary to allow this additional investment when it is known that even from the total production of 500 crore yards of mill cloth, the industry exports about 90 crores, as people in India have no money to purchase all the cloth manufactured.

In the Second Five Year Plan Government wants to concentrate on two matters: firstly — industrialization of the country and secondly — finding employment for as many more people as possible. After a long and detailed discussion it has been realized that large-scale machine industries have a very limited capacity to absorb unemployed people. It is therefore necessary to resort to the village and the small-scale industries to find employment for the bulk of the population spread in the rural area.

The All-India Khadi Board even now gives employment to over 5 lacs of persons through

their activities and with the discovery of the Ambar Charkha, there is scope to give employment to ten times more persons in the villages. We are heartened to note that our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru looking to the potentiality of the Ambar Charkha as an agency for employment has asked those in charge of the activity to spread throughout the country as large a number of Charkhas as possible even up to 50 lacs and thereby give employment to those who are in dire need of it. The additional spindles in the textile mills if permitted to be installed would however curtail very much the scope of the Ambar Charkha. It is therefore essential to peg textile production of yarn and cloth at the present level and fulfil the growing needs of the country for more cloth through the agency of the Ambar Charkha yarn and handlooms. The mills may continue to feed the power-looms to the extent of 20 crore yards and handlooms to the extent of 150 crore yards but any further production of yarn above this level should be reserved entirely for the Ambar Charkha.

A hue and cry was raised some time back by prominent industrialists creating apprehension about shortage of cloth thereby supporting the need for additional spindles, but the figures given in the first para offer an effective answer as to why no more spindles are required. People normally would not like to work in third shifts, but why are more than five lac spindles idle even in the second shift? If needs be, for a limited period till a sufficient number of Ambar Charkhas are made available any shortage of yarn that may be experienced can easily be made up by running all spindles in the second shift. If necessity arises as a matter of national emergency we can even ask the workers to work in the third shift for a limited period. Why saddle the country with unnecessary costly machinery which curtails the scope of employment and goes counter to the spirit of decentralizing the industry and results in greater concentration of wealth?

India has to work out its economic problems in its own indigenous way. The sheet-anchor of our economic independence rests on decentralization of the industry. A socialistic pattern of society also points towards the same way. Let us not therefore do anything which obstructs decentralization and comes in the way of the employment of thousands of men and women in the villages by permitting installation of additional spindles.

It is understood that even though licences have been granted, even now they can be cancelled. I think this is an occasion where prompt action is needed on the part of everybody concerned to raise his voice against this imposition on the country which would inevitably reduce to a great extent the possibility of giving employ-

ment to people in the rural area. If the money proposed to be invested in the installation of additional spindles were diverted towards the Ambar Charkha programme it would procure employment to over 60 lac persons. Let us resolve that we shall leave no stone unturned and carry on a country-wide campaign against any additional spindles being added to the present textile industry.

Goa and Portugal

The following piece of news will interest us in India :

Paris, January 16, 1956

Fifty-five writers and artists have sent a cable to the President of the Portuguese Republic calling for the release on parole of Portuguese intellectuals jailed for expressing opinions on the Goa issue. Among the signatories are Louis Aragon, Jean Cocteau, Georges Duhamel, Francois Mauriac and Jean Paul Sartre.

The cable said : " We have learnt that several people including Poet Agostino Neto, jailed for having expressed their opinion over Goa issue, are fasting. Hermino Marvao is reported to be in a very serious condition. We respectfully appeal to Your Excellency to intervene so that Hermino Marvao may be admitted into hospital and also that the following may be released on parole : Hermino Marvao, Veloso, Ramos Almeida, Maria Cecilia, Hernani Silva and Neto."

So the justice and the truth of our stand on Goa and the peaceful way in which we propagate it do find an echo in the Portuguese heart. May it increase and overwhelm the fanatic hard-heartedness of the Portuguese rulers.

24-1-56

M. P.

By Pyarelal

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE (Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

Authentic Biography of Mahatma Gandhi dealing with the last phase of his life is in two volumes. The First Volume of nearly 800 pages with 44 pages of photographs will be released on 12th February, 1956, Mahatma Gandhi's Shradddha day. The second volume will be published in due course. It will contain equal number of pages. The volumes are priced at Rs. 20/ each. The registered postage etc. of each volume is Rs 3/-. Advance orders accompanied with the amount of price and registered postage etc. will be accepted and given priority in execution. Amount should be sent by M.O.

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