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OR

## INDIAN HOME RULE

BY MAHATMA GANDHI.

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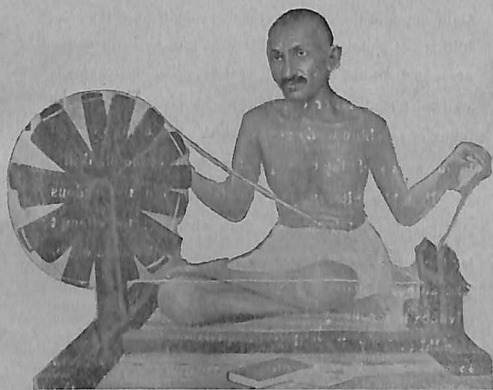


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# ON KHADDAR

BY

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA



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# ON KHADDAR

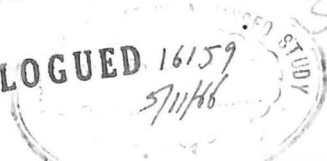
THE beginnings of conquest of any country are generally lost in obscurity but not so those of the economic conquest of India. Amongst the economic products for which India was famous in ancient times, the most notable was undoubtedly cloth. When India lays claim to an ancient civilization, the claim is really for the recognition of the antiquity of her arts and crafts. If we remember that modern industrial progress is after all only a century and half old, we can imagine how all ancient achievements from the wrought iron pillar of Delhi to the muslins of Dacca were wholly the handiwork of Indian craftsmen and artists. It may be news to many in the 20th century to be told that cotton was not known to England prior to the year 1298 when too it was known only as an article used for making candle wicks. Even in the domain of wollen manufacture, it was

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in the year 1331 that King Edward III brought seventy families of Walloons who were weavers and settled them in England under Royal protection. In 1641 a book was published by one Mr. Roberts, named the "Treasure of traffic." It was the first publication which gave an account of the Manchester cotton industry at the time. Very soon England had to take measures in order to conserve its own textile trade and prevent the ingress of Indian cotton goods and silks. In 1666, therefore, an Act was passed by Parliament ordaining that all persons of whatever rank should be buried in wollens. The object of this was to increase the British woollen trade. It was in 1660 that muslins were imported to England and in 1700 the wearing of cotton goods was prohibited in that country. An Act of Parliament imposing a fine of £ 5 on the wearer and £ 20 on the vendor of cotton goods was passed in 1721 while in 1730 another Act of Parliament was passed allowing the goods with linen warp and cotton weft to be printed only on paying an excise duty of 6d per square yard.

Let us see what the conditions were that led to the genesis of these drastic measures in Parliament. It will be remembered that the East India Company was formed in 1600 and that it set foot in India at (Masulipatam) in 1612. It then went to Surat in 1613, to Madras in 1629 and Hugli in 1630. The factories that it established at these various places were not manufacturing centres but were merely depots where they were gathering together all the cotton (Khaddar) goods of India and stocking them for export to England ; and there they were also stocking the spices, the knives and scissors and the broad cloth that they were importing into this country for purposes of trade. It is on record that by 1669 the merchants of the East India Company named Messrs. Stryensham Master, Richard Hatton and Henry Mohan, on the one part and the merchants of Masulipatam on the other, entered into contracts for the supply of Khaddar and these are to be found in Appendix V of the Kistna District Manual. They related to the supply of Kalamkaries, Sutheranjies, Paliampores,

Sasergantis, Diapars, Diamptis, Roomalls, Allejahs, Kalavapovvulu, Percollas, Lungis, Sellas and Ijaris. Fabulous profits were made by the merchants of the East India Company which aggregated sometimes to 600 per cent. over the Khaddar cloth that was exported from India to England. Great was the sensation that prevailed in England that it should have been the misfortune of the people there to dress themselves in silks and cottons manufactured in India. The woes of the capitalists and merchants of England are thus graphically described by Macaulay. (We take some of these historical details from the Prize Essay on Hand Spinning and Hand Weaving by Varadachari and Puntambekar).

“Those, it is said, were happy days for the inhabitants both of our pasture lands and of our manufacturing towns when every gown, every waist coat, every bed was made of material which our own flocks had furnished to our own looms. Where were now the brave old hangings of Arras which had adorned the walls of the lordly mansions in the time of Elizabeth? And was it not a shame to see a gentleman whose

ancestors had known nothing but stuffs made by English hands out of English fleece flaunting in the calico suit and a pair of silk stockings from Morshidabad?" Clamours like this were also raised in an anonymous pamphlet called "The Naked Truth" published in 1696 which complained that the advantage of the Company lay in their muslin and other fabrics. It spoke of the muslin, half in anger and half in contempt. "Fashion is truly termed a witch, the dearer and scarcer any commodity, the more the mode; 30 shillings a yard for muslin and only the shadow of a commodity when procured" ? Only a few years before the appearance of this pamphlet, Parliament had passed an Act making it obligatory that the dead should be draped only in woollens "and there were not sanguine clothiers wanting who hoped that the same obligation should be extended even to the living." It fell to the lot of Daniel Defoe to voice the wrath of local commerce and he wrote in picturesque language that "the general fancy of people runs upon East India goods to that degree that the chintz and painted calicoes which before were made use of for carpets, quilts, etc., and to clothe children and ordinary people became now the dresses of our ladies;



and much is the power of a mode as we saw our persons of quality dressed in Indian carpets which but a few years before their chamber-maids would have thought too ordinary for them ; the chintz was advanced from lying upon their floors to their backs, from the foot-cloth to the pettycoat : and even the queen herself at this time was pleased to appear in China and Japan, I mean China silk and calico. Nor was this all, but it crept into our closets, bed-chambers, curtains, cushions, chairs and at last beds themselves were nothing but calicoes or India stuffs ; and, in short, almost everything that used to be made of wool or silk relating either to the dress of the women or the furniture of our houses was furnished by the India trade."

Queen Mary was taunted that she should have set the fashion by wearing the Calicoes and printed cloths from India on her back and loins which had till then only been considered fit to be spread on the floor. In 1688 there was a great agitation in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Norwich and Spitfield counties amongst the woollen manufacturers against the inroads of Indian cotton fabrics. That was no wonder for by 1667, 160,000 lbs. of cotton fabrics

were being imported into England. A Parliamentary statement was made in 1681 that three lakhs of pounds were being spent on the rugs, printed cloth, bed-sheets and door-curtains that were being imported from India. By that time the dividends on the shares of the East India Company rose so much so that a bonus equal to the share amount was granted to the shareholders. This led to the decay of the woollen manufacturers and the craftsmen engaged in that art. Parliament was moved to pass measures prohibiting the import and the wearing of silk cloths from India and heavy countervailing duties were levied upon the imports from India which ranged from 10 per cent. to 3,000 per cent. Guzerat, the Coramandal Coast and Bengal were the three countries that were largely exporting these cotton goods. A piece of muslin 20 yards long one yard broad took 10 to 60 days to weave. Each muslin was costing 100 to 400 rupees and they received fanciful and poetic names such as Vayuvastra, Upravana, Shabna from their resemblance to the web of a spider, Muslingraj, Aprawana

flowing water. A Hindu weaver was deported by Nawab Aliwardikhan for having carelessly allowed a muslin to be grazed by a cow under the hallucination that it was grass. Aurangazib himself is said to have scolded his daughters for having come to the court almost naked whereupon they demonstrated that they had seven layers of muslins and soothed his anger. Testimony is borne to the excellence of these manufactures by celebrated travellers like Tavernier and Bernier and trade was extensive for the Indian fabrics with Arabia, Persia, Egypt, Pegu, Malaka, Sumatra and the Mediterranean shores. It is hardly necessary to recite the story of the Dacca muslins and how muslins to the extent of a crore of rupees were exported from Dacca of which more than a third were going to England.

It was at this critical stage that England made rapid strides of progress in the domain of industrial development. John Kay of Bury invented the fly-shuttle in 1753 and the Mechanical Carder was invented by Lewis Paul in 1733. A prize was offered in 1761

by the Society of Arts for the best invention in spinning textile fibres by machinery. It was in 1764 that James Hargrives invented the spinning Jenny and in 1767 Arkwright invented his Roller Spinning Frame. The same Arkwright patented a comprehensive piece of machinery for the improvement in cotton manufacture in 1775. One year earlier, Scheele had discovered Chlorine. In 1778 a muslin was woven in Great Britain and the next year Samuel Crompton gave his Spinning Mule to the world. The climax was reached in 1782 when James Watt patented his Steam-Engine and in 1785 by the invention of the Power-Loom by Edmund Arkwright. The cotton trade in England became so far developed by 1791 that she imported American cotton to the extent of 1,89,361 lbs. that year. In 1798 Jacquard made practical the loom appliance now known as the Jacquard machine and organised manufacture was so far developed and the first evils of industrialism were so much in evidence by 1812 that the disturbances in Nottingham District were continued till five years

resulting in the transportation and hanging of numerous workmen. India's fate was sealed in 1814 when Horrocks applied the Power-Loom to cotton weaving and, from that day forward it is a story of new discoveries and inventions, new improvements and patents all of which led to the destruction of the Indian textile trade and manufacture. The course of the stream was really reversed and a study of the development in England reveals the rapid marches made by the beginning of Jute manufactures in Dundee in 1832, the introduction of ramie first to the British manufactures in 1835, the patent taken out by John Mercer for the process known as mercerizing in 1850 and Samuel Culiff Lister's patent for his combing machinery in 1851. The story of the later developments is as much of the destruction of the cotton trade in India as of its development in England.

While thus England was developing from step to step,—indeed by rapid strides in the sphere of industrial organisation and textile manufacture—India which was 200 years ago largely a manufacturing country presents in

its history exactly a contrary course of events. Whatever reverses the Indian crafts might have suffered in the waves of conquest which commenced from the 11th century onward there was a great revival of the handicrafts during the time of Akbar, when the muslins and satins were as much the object of admiration by travellers like Bernier and Tavernier as embroideries, streaked silks, tufts of gold turbans, silver and gold cloth, brocades, network of gold and carpets of silk and gold. Babu Satischandra Das Gupta gives interesting details of the decay of the craft in Bengal in his *Khadi Manual*. Murshidabad was described by H. J. S. Cotton as being as extensive, populous and rich a city as the city of London; only there were individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city." In the words of the historian Murray, India's fabrics, the most beautiful that human art has anywhere produced were sought by the merchants at the expense of the greatest toils and dangers. When the East India Company obtained its charter from Queen Elizabeth

on the 31st December 1600, it was to trade with the East-Indies, not to exchange as far as possible the manufactured goods of England for the products of India, (Report, Para 2) for England had few manufactures then. The English merchants who came to trade in India were not satisfied with the steps that they had taken in England through their Government to kill the Indian trade. They themselves began to oppress the Indian merchants, the moment they attained political power in this country, especially since the battle of Plassey. They freely intrigued in the internal politics of India befriending one party and not seldom causing the betrayal of the rulers by their own men. After Plassey the British traders began to exercise extreme cruelty in securing fabrics for their trade and when Mir Kasim protested, we are told, he was dethroned and the British traders assumed the role of rulers as the Subadar of Bengal in 1765. The oppression was so great that in 1842, one Mr. Francis Carnack Brown appearing as a witness before the select-committee produced an Indian Charka before it and explained how there was an oppressive

Moturfa tax which was levied on every Charka in every house and on every implement used by the artisans. The East India Company deliberately entered into contracts with the Indian princes that they would give them a monopoly of the fabrics produced within their dominions and when the artisans failed to do so, they were subject to great persecution and harassment. A hundred years ago the port of Calcutta alone used to export two crores worth of cotton goods which has been equated at the present value of 10 crores. All that has disappeared, and when people explain that the weavers of Dacca cut their own thumbs, it must be remembered that if they were driven to that act of self-mutilation, the oppression must have been far greater than if the Company itself cut their thumbs by force. Any one that reads the six volumes published by Mr. Martin and Dr. Hamilton in the beginning of the 19th century dealing with the survey of the condition of the people and the industries of India would easily see the dismal ruin brought in by the East India Company by the deliberate destruction of trade



of this ancient and civilized land. The story is told of how 700 families of weavers in the Districts round Jangalbari at once abandoned their country and their profession on account of the oppression of the Company. The atrocities committed by the officials of the East India Company and the Indian rulers at the time, subjugated by them especially in the latter half of the 18th century, are heart-rending and indescribable. The weavers were compelled to part with their goods at impossibly low prices to the Company's Gumastas who were empowered to collect them at the point of the bayonet. They were put in stocks and whipped for not executing contracts into which they had been forced to enter against their wishes and against all human commercial possibilities. The oppression was particularly great in the South of India, in Bengal and in the dominions of the Nawab of Surat. In fact, these were the best manufacturing areas of India. Indian merchants were prohibited from buying cloth from the weavers and they were required to hold a license for the purpose. The weavers

who found that the craft was not paying and wanted to abandon it were prohibited from doing so and were required to take passports if they wanted to leave their ancient abode. Heavy octroi duties were caused to be levied from place to place if the goods were in transit inland without being given to the East India Company. It was a common custom of the day that when the Governor was touring the Indian rulers sent out *firman*s that all cloth available should be given to the Governor and his Gumastas. At one time there was an atrocious proposal to divide the weavers between the English and the Dutch. This was turned down by the Court of Directors. There was the amplest evidence from the minutes left by Munro and other administrators of the time that the weavers were treated as the slaves of the Company's Officers and that the trade was completely monopolised and brought under so that by 1813 it almost perished and by 1829 India witnessed the sad spectacle of 70 lakhs worth of cloth being imported from England. We thus see that the graph of textile manufac-

ture was rising in England by the inventions and discoveries of the 18th century and by the flow of the wealth of India into England in the 19th, the Indian craft of textile manufacture absolutely perished and when in 1851 the first Indian cotton mill was projected by C. N. Daver, and was constructed by 1853, Lord Dalhousie discovered the supreme necessity of monopolising not merely textile trade but also cotton areas in India and took steps against the Nizam in 1853 to wrest the Berars from his possession. The story of this spoliation is to be found in books\* dealing with the conquest of India. The wresting of Berars led only to the wrenching of Nagpur from the Bhonslas in 1854 immediately after the death of the ruling Bhansla by declaring the doctrine of escheat following the failure of right to adopt. Anyone that travels by the Grand Trunk Express notices that from the commencement of the Nizam's territory about 15 miles from Bezwada right up to Itarsi the whole tableland of Deccan

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\* Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown in India—by James Ludlow 1858.

is one vast stretch of cotton producing area and it was this area that was, through the machinations of Lord Dalhousie, seized irrespective of the equities or moralities of such a procedure and absorbed into British Territory prior to the rising of 1857.

The English administrator in India makes no secret of the destruction of this ancient craft in this country. Indeed in a recent lecture (Jan. 1930) Sir Basil Blackett, India's Finance Minister, makes a frank admission of this fact when he says

“ The effect of the West on India and in particular the reaction upon India of the industrial revolution in Great Britain and the consequent influx of machine made goods, while providing the masses of India with better articles at cheaper prices, had during the nineteenth century seriously impaired the village economy of India, and had reduced the output and the value to India of many of the indigenous manufactures, previously exported, for which India was famous, for example, her muslins. The Indian Government of the day was dominated by the ideas of the Manchester school and restric-

ted its intervention in economic spheres and its taxation to the minimum needful to maintain law and order.

What is this influx of machine-made goods and what are these better articles at cheaper prices which are being dumped upon India? From morning to evening the modern English-educated young man and even the rural population, notably young men and women use articles of foreign manufacture in a degree which it is hard to imagine. Euthymol tooth paste, Japan brushes, Vulcanite tongue-cleaners for morning ablutions, Kropp Razors, Strops and Pastes, or self-shaving apparatus of the Valet, Gillet or Jump Junior Brand with blades and machine sharpeners and concave mirrors, Cuticura or Vinolia Soaps, Rubber scrubbing gloves for a bath, Atkinson's vegetable Hair Oil, Hair brushes, Cosmetics, Himalayan Bouquet, Erasmic from London, Ascot Snow Face Cream, French Pompeia or Vinolia Cream from London, Erasmic old Lavender soap for toilet, Rolled gold pins, gold covered points for shirts, Derby ties and high Collars, Crevianette,

Marine and Glasgow for dress, Forks and Knives, Tea-sets, Cruet stands, Marble trays, Cavis Table Water Biscuits, Norwegian Sardines, Morton Herrings in Tomatto sauce, Lunch tongues sliced pine-apple, Cherries and Current Jelley, Desert Prunes, Australian butter,—all for breakfast and lunch and dinner, then, Gandhi Lavender water (Wold's) (Kareschatt-Germany) Heiko Scents of 64 varieties, Swiss watches, Cherry walking sticks, silk umbrellas, Cars of a hundred makes to go out in, overcoats, Dawson's Boots and Christy's hats, Tennis Bats and Hockey Sticks for evening sport, Deitz lamps, Gold medal cots, Mosquito curtains, Trunks, Port-manteaus, Brief Bags, Hold-alls for travel, Table fans, Butter machines, Orange juice squeezers, Swedish Optimus Stoves, Lux for cleaning silk, ironing machines, Jumperfly open knives, Rapid wove Court Note Papers, Cooptu's Penholders, Zqual Book form Patent, Vertilok, folders, Top-match Envelopes, Manilla Cigars and Virginia Cigarettes,—these greet your eyes, captivate your imagination and deplete your purse. Besides you have

Brasso metal Polish, Cobra and Blanco, Coffee-blazing Brussels Carpets, Czecho-slovakian Chairs, Carved tables and Electric Torch lights and fans, Heaters, Teapots, Handlamps, paper clips, Pins, Taga and what not of furniture in the markets—but not a viss of cotton. When all the goods of England and America and the whole of Europe and Japan are available in every village market in India, is it not really comic—rather it is tragic that you cannot get cotton in the Indian Bazaars,—much less hand-spun yarn.

It is to counteract this tremendous drain from India that Gandhi has made a beginning in devising the resuscitation of handspun and handwoven cloth. The proposal was not taken seriously when it was foreshadowed at the Special Congress in Calcutta in September 1920, but at Nagpur in December of that year, it was forced upon the Congress although other varieties of Swadeshi cloth including Mill-spun Hand-woven, Mill-spun Mill-woven, mill woven with foreign yarn, were all included under the heading of Swadeshi. By a huge moral up-heaval the country has

now . . . been got to recognise that Khaddar means Hand-spun Hand-woven cloth, that it is the hall-mark of every patriot and that a Congressman dressed in other than Khaddar habiliments is a target of attack not only by his fellow-Congressmen but by politicians of other schools of thought who have learnt to look upon him as a betrayer of the Congress cause. This development of public opinion has not indeed come in a day ; slowly and steadily had the Congress atmosphere been permeated with this cult of khaddar and in the space of four years, *i.e.*, by the 1st of January 1925, we had made the wearing of khaddar compulsory, obligatory spinning a condition of membership to the Congress executive and finally a quota of self-spun yarn, the one subscription for being or becoming a Congressman. It has been borne in upon the people that the Charka is the only alternative to the sword, that sword of wrath and wreckage which the Congress and the country have once for all abjured. The cult of khaddar has elevated manual labour once again to that dignity which has been



associated with it in the West and was, even in the East from time immemorial. Labour in the West includes all sundry occupations from the penny-liner's to that of the Parliamentary member. With us it is not so. We have taken it one step further. It means to us a contribution of human effort which helps in the augmentation of food and raiment unto man. The import of cloth into India has drained away India's food, India's wealth and India's self-respect. It has brought unemployment into India. The Congress session at Belgaum marked an era in the progress of the cult of khaddar. The men and women of India that were assembled at that Congress swore before God and man that they would make the new franchise a success and ever since have come into existence a series of workers and institutions wedded to the cause of khaddar. The simple philosophy of buying cotton for money, slivers for cotton, yarn for slivers, cloth for yarn and money for cloth, the yet simpler processes of growing the cotton in the backyard, spinning it in the parlour and weaving it in the frontage and

wearing it on the person,—these have been brought home to every member of the Congress and thousands of sympathisers with the cause from outside. In the old constitution of society the village people were not buying their cloth straightway from the markets in towns. When a marriage occurred, they simply exchanged the warps or pooled all those available in the village and avoided the modern process of paying for things in money. If the warps in the various homes were not ready, marriages were stopped for the year and were celebrated only when the village warps could be got together. So it was with ghee. They knew the art of preserving ghee for months together and seldom did they go to markets to buy the ghee adulterated with vegetable oils like vanaspathi ghee which the very Government cannot stop. This ancient practice may not be capable of revival in all its pristine glory and each village may not be made self-sufficient in the matter of food and raiment but the two examples cited here are proofs of the principle of self-sufficiency that ruled village life in ancient times; let us re-

member too how in olden times the bride was not qualified for marriage until she was able to spin and weave,—a tradition that survives till to-day in Assam (Praggyotishpura.) In seeking therefore to revive the cloth industry of India, we are only trying to establish a proved principle and not hazarding an experiment. It is hardly necessary to speak of the amount of leisure that people have in villages which unfortunately they are beguiling in card-play, vain gossip or pernicious gambling at home or in law courts. All this must be put an end to. Administrators like Sir M. Visweswarayya have been hard put to it to discover some collateral occupation for the agriculturists and the women, without being drawn away from the privacy as well as the sanctity of their homes. The genius of man has not been able to discover any such occupation until the resourcefulness of Gandhi hit upon the restoration of this happy craft of Khaddar manufacture. Hand-spinning is a simple process which requires no more capital than a quarter of a rupee worth of slivers or cotton for the instruments are already there

and on the lowest computation there must be in India about 50 million Charkas. Even the blind, the maimed, the disabled and the crippled can spin. It has been said that spinning is not a paying occupation. It is not. It has never been claimed to be such. At best it cannot fetch more than one anna eight pies a day but what is the average income of the Indian? It is one anna nine pies per day and that including the millions of the millionaire, the crores of the Koteswara and the lakhs of the Lakshadikari. They yield the average of one anna nine pies for these millions, and there must be millions of population indeed who are earning nothing. Is it wrong then for these millions who are earning nothing to be provided with an occupation which yields them as much as the average income of a man in India without dislodging them from their homes and families? What India must take notice of is her immense man-power. It is the total out-put of yarn produced, or capable of being produced by the unnumbered numbers of her population that can make India hold her own against any other country, against all

machinery and against the onslaughts of the new-fangled industrialism of the West.

It is not cotton alone that was spun in olden days and provided an occupation to the people of the villages. Gunny in Bengal was one other substance and the spinning and weaving of silk is equally well-known. Professor Ray points out that the hand-woven jute was a great subsidiary industry of Bengal and in 1850-51, Gunny Bags and cloth exported from Calcutta were valued at Rs. 2,159,782. In Patna City in Bihar District alone there were 3,30,426 spinners and the average estimate of the thread spun by each spinner in a year was Rs. 7-2-8 and the total value in the District was Rs. 2,367,277. If out of this amount a half—to be more exact Rs. 1,286,272—was taken away for raw material there remained a profit of Rs. 1,081,005 for the spinners. Nor was there any distinction of caste, for in Behar the spinners are Hindus and the weavers are Mussalmans. They are the complements of each other in life. Imagine a village with a population of 4000 all told being self-contain-

ed in regard to its clothing and if the average of each individual's requirements is 13 yards as has been estimated, the village would require in the year 54,000 yards of cloth costing roughly Rs. 27,000. If a third of this is equated to the price of cotton which in any case is being grown in our country, there is a balance of Rs. 18,000 representing the profits of trade, transport charges, spinning and weaving wages and so on, left in the village, and this by engaging the leisure hours not of all the people in the village, but only 200 spinners in that village. Would you call it a crime? Would you call it bad economics or worse patriotism? Imagine this village being richer every year by an addition of Rs. 27,000 and it is only when you are able to visualise such a condition that you can also picture to yourself the extent of ancient wealth for which this country was noted and the depths of modern poverty from which this country is now suffering. Food and raiment are the two essentials of life and whatever luxuries a country may possess that which cannot grow its own food and manufacture

its own raiment cannot lay title to civilization. The Empire Marketing Board in a pamphlet that has recently been circulated advertising Bengal and Burma rice, has claimed for India that she possesses an ancient civilization and that the rice plant was known so early as 349 B.C. But India's capacity for weaving her own fabrics has been shown to be even older than that and the instruments with which she has been able to achieve her magnificent results are the simple Hand-Loom and the still simpler Charka of to-day. Only the Fly Shuttle which was invented about the year 1733 in the West has been incorporated into the Hand-Loom of India in the beginning of this century and has helped to double or even to treble the out-put of the unsophisticated loom. The tragedy of a country's incompetence to supply its own needs by way of clothing was witnessed by India during the Great War when the prices of all fabrics rose prohibitively high so much so that stories of suicide for want of clothing were to be heard now and again during those years of tribulation. The Hand-loom industry is indeed an

ancient one in India and does not owe its resuscitation to the Non-co-operation Movement as indeed Hand-Spinning does. When the fly-shuttle was introduced even earlier than the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal in 1905 men like E. B. Havell estimated that there were 60 lakhs of weavers in this country and South India has the honour of possessing nearly a quarter of them. To estimate the number of Charkas in the country then even at 500 lakhs would be no exaggeration. On the average a trained spinner is easily able to spin 300 yards of uniform yarn per hour with good twist and of counts between 10 and 15 or even 10 and 20. Reckoning five hours as the period of such work a person is easily able to spin 1,680 yards a day which comes to about 4 lbs. per month or 48 lbs. per annum. A pound yields 4 square yards of cloth and 48 lbs. would yield 192 square yards. If that is so the 5 million Charkas in the country should yield 96 crores of square yards of cloth or roughly 100 crores. We know that in 1906 the cloth that was imported into India was only 107 crores of yards. In 1914 the year of the



commencement of the Great War it was 320 crores of yards while in 1922 it fell to 167 crores of yards of cloth. It is evident then that by mobilising the charkas in the country, we can eliminate almost the whole of the imported cloth from this woe-begone land and the capital we require is easily managed. What we want is the will to spin,—the will to conquer.

When we plead for the propagation of the Charka and Khaddar, intellectual people argue why they cannot use mill cloth. This kind of perverse argumentation is not new to the country. A pure intellectualism supported by a gospel of pure individualism has made people absolutely logical and perverse instead of making them reasonable and practical. Likewise, people argue when you plead for the acceptance of the Sarda Bill and raising the marriage age to 14 why they cannot marry their girls earlier and if necessary perform widow marriage. That looks logical. It is a fine proposition,—fine only for the arguer to get over the present situation but by no means fine when he should

be confronted with that future situation. Mill cloth is not ignored even under strictest Congress resolutions. The various grades of swadeshi have been enumerated and if you consider that there are poor people who cannot immediately afford to purchase Khaddar, or obtuse people who cannot follow its cult, there is no reason why they should not be permitted to wear mill cloth, *i.e.*, cloth woven on handlooms or Indian mills with yarn spun on Indian mills. Naturally such concession must be reserved for the really poor and genuine folks amongst us, not for those who would fain play the part of capitalists and advocate the Western industrialism for this country. But let this much be remembered, that in buying the mill cloth you enrich the 100 rich men of cities while in buying Khaddar you feed and sustain the widowed and the maimed and the helpless in towns and villages. Indeed, it must be owned that the use of machinery is not precluded from the programme of the Indian patriot. If that were so, Professor Ray, as he himself has said, should be belying himself because he

has been the founder of the Bengal Pharmaceutical Works and the patron of several other machine industries, nor should Gandhi be driving in a Motor Car to-day. The fact is there is a clear border-line between industries which permit the aid of machinery and those which involve the play of arts and crafts. Artistic industries are the asset of any nation. A nation is said to be civilized which has its own arts and crafts with their distinctiveness and individuality and variation of taste and temperament. Go to any part of the world ; it is the arts and crafts that invest that part with its own genius. To clear distances rapidly, you may use the Motor Car, to lift water from the canal and irrigate land, you may use the pump, to crush stones or polish turmeric you may use rollers and engines, to save mechanical labour, you may employ the steam Road Roller but when you weave carpets, when you manufacture cloth, when you print fabrics, when you do embroidery, you are in a different domain altogether which forbids the use of machinery. They constitute the craft life of the nation. It is for this that

we are pleading in India. Nor is it a practical proposition that we should be able to supply India with mill made cloth. The same cannot be said of Khaddar. A Charka to be put into operation requires a capital of 4 as. worth of slivers or cotton. A Hand-loom to be put into operation requires a capital of Rs. 3/- worth of yarn. As for the trained skill and expert knowledge, they are there languishing, ready to be availed of, and having the power of being converted into a mine of gold.

That even to-day, a third of the clothing of India is supplied by her own Hand-loom industry is admitted on all hands. Indeed it was Mr. E. B. Havell that contended in 1905 that hand-loom industry any day could hold its own against the Mill industry in India as well as in England. Nor can such a statement be exaggerated because 150 years after the invention of the Steam-Engine and Mechanical Aids to weaving, India cannot boast of more than 344 mills all told and the capital sunk in them is 81 crores and in each of these may be estimated to range from 25 to 40 or even 80 lakhs. On the average then India has less

than one mill to each of the 350 Districts. The output of cloth in each such mill is roughly estimated at 4,800 lbs. equivalent to about 15,000 yards a day; putting the average need per head of India at  $13\frac{1}{2}$  to 15 yards of clothing, per annum, the day's supply is enough for 1,000 people, In a year, therefore, one mill can supply 3,00,000 of people, *i. e.*, 3 mills are necessary to clothe a million people and to clothe 350 million people we require 5,100 mills. In effect, reckoning Indian India as a half of British India and therefore the total number of Districts in India to be 350, it comes to this: each District must have not less than 3 mills, *i. e.*, one mill is necessary for two or three Talukas or Tahsils. How can two or three Tahsils find 25 to 40 or even 50 lakhs of rupees for a Spinning and weaving Mill? Granted that the money can be found, it will take years to collect this and an order entered to-day for the plant is executed only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years hence and when the Plant arrives and is put up and is brought into working order, it will be another two

years so that even if you had the money it would take five years for you to see the mills at work. And then you will have to face the problem of Floating or working Capital, the problem of capturing markets and competing with well-established rivals of reputation and popularity. All this takes 10 years on the supposition that money is flowing evenly from two or three Tahsils, an impossibility in itself, but by that time you discover that you are left behind in the race, that your Machinery is antiquated and that your profits if ever you come to the stage of reckoning any, have disappeared. In the meantime, Lancashire invents new facilities and new short cuts and contrivances so as to steal a march over every other country in the world and over itself and this poor little thing, a mill started in a far off corner of India simply languishes. But even if you succeeded, you would be paying to Birmingham for machinery what you wanted to avoid paying to Lancashire for cloth. There is the other factor still that when the capital has been found, the machinery has been honestly sent and correctly fitted up and

efficiently kept at work, then you have the fear of strikes which have reduced the working time of Bombay mills to half the year in 1928-29. This is the fate of mills on the financial and mechanical planes but on the moral plane, they involve labour divorced from creative capacity, the disruption of families involving injury to morals, the detachment of wife from husband, the bringing up of children in creches and the absence of that satisfaction in the labourer which the craftsman feels in owning the goods that he has manufactured and in endowing them by variations of colour and design, with that living beauty which abounds in all artistic crafts.

What sustains and is sustained by the Hand-loom industry is the collateral crafts of printing and dyeing by which alone you can subserve the tastes and fashions of people which vary from caste to caste and from District to District. And in a country having a population of 35 crores and an area of 18 lakhs of square miles, you can easily imagine what a real variety of taste and temperament, what variations of form and beauty, what

glories of colour and design must have come into existence during the past 5000 years. Indeed, it has been well said that the index of a country's civilisation is furnished by its arts and crafts and the craft of cloth-making has attained in the hands of the Indian weaver and printer a degree of skill and eminence and beauty which is inconceivable to the Westerner. If only we are able to conserve the wages of spinners and weaving involved in the cloth necessary for the whole country we can avoid a drain of 40 crores of rupees annually, for the cloth imported into India amounts to Rs. 66 crores and the yarn to 6 crores. Out of the 72 crores a third represents cotton which we ourselves supply mostly. Therefore, the imports may be reckoned strictly at 48 crores. Out of this we shall not be far wrong in reckoning 8 crores as trade profits and transport charges, leaving 40 crores as the net value of the imports. As against this we export rice to other countries to the extent of exactly 40 crores. The Empire Marketing Board in the pamphlet already referred to has stated, while praising the quality of Bengal and



Burma rice, that India grows more rice than she needs. This is incorrect because men like Sir Charles Elliot and Sir William Wilson Hunter have estimated that a fifth of the population goes with one meal a day which means that six crores of people have no second meal. Imagine a town like Rajahmundry-Rajamahendravaram—situated on the banks of the Godavary with the waters of the river with their unnumbered gallons simply flowing to the ocean while the 68 thousand people of the town have not a drop of water to drink. Why? Because the Municipality has not brought water to the doors of the inhabitants; So it is with the stream of rice that flows away to foreign countries while the crores of people living on the banks are left to starve. Why? Because there is no Government that puts enough money into the hands of the people to buy the rice with. Of rice there is plenty in the country, of hungry men there are enough, yet there is no means of bringing the starving stomachs the food that is next door to them but cannot be taken in because there is no money to purchase the food with. If

only the 40 crores that is being drained away by the cloth imported could be conserved by the support of the Hand-spun, Hand-woven cloth industry, then the Indian people would not be starving and rice would not be finding its way abroad. And too, out of Rs. 100 worth of mill cloth, Rs. 71 goes to the capitalist while Rs. 29 goes to labour. But out of Rs. 100 worth of Hand-spun, Hand-woven cloth Rs. 79 goes to the craftsmen while Rs. 21 covers the remaining expenses. In a Rupee of Khaddar 3 as. 9 p. goes to spinning, 4 as. 9 p. goes to weaving, 3 as. 9 p. goes to cotton, 2 as. for carding,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a. for bleaching, 1 anna for salesmanship,  $\frac{1}{4}$  a. for transport. Thus the Hand-loom industry conserves the collateral industries of spinning, printing and dyeing and bleaching, and through them conserves the food of the country and puts it into the mouths of craftsmen. These are simple propositions in Indian economics. Indeed these constitute the new economics of India of which the writers in the West are woefully ignorant. We do not study them nor does the Government.

All crafts receive support only from a co-operative organisation that finances them but it is singularly sad to note that for a million people and 3,30,000 weavers dependent on this Industry in Madras Presidency there should be only 63 co-operative societies exclusively for weavers while the credit societies of which more than 60 per cent. are weavers are only 76 in number. The working capital covered by these societies is Rs. 1,32,632 yielding a divisible profit of Rs. 3,442 in the year 1927-28. The Townshend Report on Co-operation has stated that steps so far taken to help the weavers' community are not adequate.

Only recently the 1929 Provincial Co-operative Conference assembled in Madras exhorted co-operative central banks to afford special facilities to Khaddar societies and to weaving societies in particular and to primary rural credit societies in general, to help this Handicraft. Public opinion is day by day consolidating in favour of the patronage of cottage industries, people are fast realising in the East, and it is hoped, they in the West are

also alive to the fact, that machine industries have their own limitations and while power is quite good enough to crush stones, to lift weights and to abridge space and time it cannot and ought not to encroach upon artistic crafts. Nor is production in mass and for export any longer the cry of the age. Economists have discovered that production for export or more production to relieve unemployment is merely like the fox hunting its own tail. The industrial civilisation of the West is based upon the theory that the inventions of to-day must destroy the discoveries of yesterday. Thus the battleship was swallowed by the cruiser, the cruiser by the dreadnought and this by the super dreadnought and all by the submarine, the submarine by the torpedo. The gamut of destruction is complete. We see the same nearer home in the motor-car models that change every year. It is said that proprietors of Singer's sewing machines were once collecting old parts and throwing them into the bed of a river in order to compel the purchase of new parts. Indeed the civilisa-

tion of the West is a civilisation of parts rather than "wholes". This had led to the abandoning of land for forests and game, and the making of the country dependent upon other nations for food. England gets its rice from India, wheat from Russia, meat from Australia and New Zealand, Dairy products from Holland and Belgium and Denmark, and now its eggs from Lucknow. Let India not repeat this mistake when England is beginning to see her folly. Norway and Sweden are now producing enormous hand-spun, hand-woven cloth, and the writer saw a bale at Sabarmati with Gandhi. It is exquisite in every way. It is our misfortune that we copy all that is rejected by London (L. R.)—Universities and Education, mills and industry, gewgaws and knick-knacks and L. R. Teakwood.

The next argument that we have to deal with in regard to the manufacture of Khaddar is the argument relating to cheapness. People complain that Khaddar is not sufficiently cheap and that they would gladly buy it if that were not as dear as it is. It is really astonish-

ing to see how simple these critics are. If Khaddar were as cheap as or cheaper than Lancashire cloth, would you require Gandhi, the National Congress and a patriotic cult, to spend their time and talents in propagating the cult of Khaddar? Water flows from a higher level to a lower level and the purchase side of economics always flows from the dearer to the cheaper. Our whole complaint is that our goods are made so dear in England that they could not be purchased by the English people in the 18th and 19th centuries. Our whole grievance is that our goods have been made so dear in India that they have been made to disappear in the face of the competition with those imported from Lancashire. While that is the position, to say that you will wear Khaddar provided it is cheap is to beg to question. Indeed is it not evident to the meanest understanding that things become cheap only when they are produced on a large scale? Have we not made Khaddar appreciably and considerably cheaper during the past eight years? When we started the manufacture of Khaddar, we were selling 25 counts

at Re. 1/3 per yard. To-day, we are able to sell it at 11 as. per yard. The price has come down by more than 33 per cent. The more you use khaddar, the greater will be the fall in its price. That is a proposition which few will dare to controvert. You do not care to use the article yourself and you will not allow it to be used by others. It is required to be manufactured by somebody at his own cost and at his own peril and you want to wait till the day comes when by some magical process the cloth becomes sufficiently cheap to tempt you to buy it. If it is cheap enough to tempt you where is your conscious effort? Where is your sacrifice? Where is your patriotism? Really the argument of cheapness is not sincere for the very man that advances it is dressed in a turban that costs 10 to 20 rupees, a coat made of Marino or Creviannette costing 20 to 25 rupees and which is charged Rs. 6 to 12 for tailoring, in a silk shirt costing about 6 to 10 rupees with gold studs and links costing a couple of Sovereigns. He has an Uttareeyam of Salem Silk costing 30 to 40 rupees and a Dhoti costing about 8 to

10 rupees. If we put the man to auction or even the mere habiliments though not the man, you can easily get a couple of hundreds for he has a gold wrist watch with a goldband not to speak of his diamond ear-rings and diamond finger rings. The argument of cheapness is an intellectual one. At best it can be conceived in the interests of those unfortunate men who are less well placed than we in life and for whose well being, we do not care two raps except when we viciously and perversely argue against Khaddar, nor is cheapness to be dismissed from our minds when we speak of Khaddar. Khaddar is really cheap in the long run. The initial investment may be somewhat expensive and may look even prohibitive but considering the durability of the cloth, the minimum requirements to which you will be soon habituated, the Khaddar mentality that would ere long be developed in you and limit your wants and your fashions to the irreducible minimum of comfort and decency, there is little doubt that over an average of three years the investment in a family budget of Khaddar,



would be considerably less than upon other kinds of cloth. Costly silks are dispensed with; expensive flannels are no longer required; a simplicity of dress and demeanour is soon cultivated and much is saved in the quantity of cloth no less than in quality and only a couple of years' experience can convince the cynic and critic who is not willing to try the experiment but who is free with his arguments of a purely intellectual nature. On the point of cheapness, we might as well be permitted to ask one plain question. Yes, Khaddar is dear, Lancashire cloth is cheap and your position is that you must at once buy Lancashire cloth. So is salt. Our salt is made dear. Liverpool salt is dumped upon us. It is made temptingly white, pure and cheap. Are we not raising a hue and cry that this dumping of Cheshire salt must be summarily stopped? Let that alone. We have all heard and been taught how salt is being imported into this country as keel ballast of the empty vessels that have to come to India in order to carry its vast exports which are not only vast in value but also in volume. Do our friends

know that last year five crores rupees worth of wheat was imported into this country and Sir Basil Blackett has in his last Budget speech pointed out that export of Indian rice was reduced on account of competition with the output of rice from the Mediterranean Sea-Board? It will not be long before the English farmers pressed under unemployment in their own country will be forced to go out in quest of "fresh fields and pastures new" to far off lands like Australia. We have all heard how Colonel Amery former Minister for Colonies has matured a scheme for the emigration of the English unemployed not indeed those belonging to the lower but those who belonged to the upper and the middle classes endowed with funds and invested with prestige. Imagine thousands of these farmers going to the virgin soil of Australia and supplying their machine-made tools, engines and pumps to the art of agriculture and then imagine how much of paddy will be produced and how cheap it will be brought merely as keel ballast once again to this unfortunate country, would the ryots say that the

paddy and the wheat imported into this country are cheaper when brought from abroad than the grain produced here and therefore they should hereafter buy only foreign grain and abandon their ancient fields? What would they then grow in these fields, Ganja, Opium, Jute or Tobacco? The question of cheapness is really an unworthy issue to be raised in this connection as it is an unreal issue.\*

When we exalt the question of Khaddar on to the pedestal of a patriotic plank in the Congress platform and the platform of Swaraj, people will turn round and ask whether it is not the duty of the country to carry on an effective boycott of British cloth instead of making that boycott extensive and apply to foreign cloth and whether it will not be a sufficient retaliation against Britain to abandon the purchase of its goods (cloth) in favour of the cloth imported from other

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\* This paper was written in 1930. It is being published in 1931. And now as feared, a quantity of Japanese rice has come to Bombay and upset the level of prices in India—as has been complained against by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

countries like Japan, Germany and America. Really that is the danger with which the country is confronted at the present moment. There is no doubt that the boycott of foreign cloth has had its own telling effect upon the production and trade of cloth in England.\*

Congress Committees and those interested in the boycott of foreign cloth will read with interest the following remarks made by a British correspondent on the last day of the last year (1929), relating to the conditions of Lancashire cotton industries :—

“ Traders will not be sorry to see the last of 1929, for it has been one of the most depressing periods on record. The trade stagnation has left in its trail bankrupt firms, old-established concerns gone out of business and balance sheets which are anything but healthy.

The spinning section remains in a deplorable position. The production of American yarns is in excess of demand and prices are weak. Egyptian spinners are in hardly a better position.

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\* And upon the politics of India.

From a financial point of view, the past year has been a period of anxiety. According to my records 123 cotton companies have gone into liquidation, but of this number 51 have been formal, for the purpose of reconstruction or amalgamation. The number included 40 spinners, 38 manufacturers, 8 spinners and manufacturers, 4 finishers and 33 merchants and agents. There have been 54 bankruptcies and deeds of arrangements and the unsecured liabilities have totalled to £1,164,921 and the net assets £361,529. The bankruptcies, etc., comprise 1 spinner, 9 manufacturers, 3 finishers, 41 merchants. Receivers have been appointed in 34 cases consisting of 10 spinners, 11 manufacturers, 4 spinners and manufacturers, 1 finisher and 8 merchants. Ninety-eight companies have arranged mortgages, debentures and general charges, etc., amounting to £6,800,000. Forty-one cotton companies comprising of 39 spinners, one manufacturer and 1 spinner and manufacturer have calls on the shareholders of unpaid share-capital, the total amount being £1,492,707. During the year 187 cotton companies have been registered with a nominal capital of £5,869,290, these firms consisting of 13 spinners, 26

manufacturers, 3 spinners and manufacturers, 18 finishers and 127 merchants.\*

While this is so this depression in English trade is no consolation or comfort to us because side by side with it we have the story from Japan and its aggressive invasion of the Indian market both by its yarn and its cloth. In the beginning of this century the Japanese trade in fabric or yarn with India was practically negligible. In 1914, says a magazine, Japan exported 940 bales of yarn into India. These were valued at 216,850 yens. Twelve years later, in 1926, the amount of Japanese yarn imported into India increased to 216,850 bales and their value to 28,086,000 yens (about 42 million rupees). The ratio of Japanese yarn to the total imported yarn of India was a little over 2 per cent. in 1914-15, nearly 45 per cent. in 1922-23, and 65 per cent. in 1925-26.

Out of the total of 50 million lbs. weight of yarn consumed every year in India her mills are calculated to produce not more than half the quantity. The major portion of imported yarn of India comes from Japan and England. It is remark-

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\* All this is nothing compared to the catastrophe created in Lancashire and the rest of England by the Bathyagraha movement of 1930-31 in India.

able that, while the proportion of Japanese yarn export to India increased more than thirty-fold in twelve years' period, that of England decreased from 87 per cent. in 1914-15, to 52 per cent. in 1922-23 and to only 31 per cent. in 1925-26.

The large bulk of yarn imported into India either from Lancashire or Japan is of counts between 30 and 60.

The value of British cotton yarn imported into India in the commercial year ending 31st December, 1924, was estimated at four crores of rupees; while that of British cotton piece-goods was nearly 54 crores of rupees.

Japanese greys have now predominated. They have ousted English makes and the condition of the mills in Japan made it possible for the goods to steadily gain ground. It is reported that about 800/900 bales are being cleared every month."

Then again the latest report from Japan shows how that little country has invaded not only India but England herself. "Not only did Japan threaten Lancashire in her exports of piece-goods, but she bids well to capture the Indian raw cotton market so that Lan-

“Lancashire might have to depend on Japan for Indian cotton” declared Mr. Barnard Ellinger, reading a paper prepared by himself and Mr. Hugh Ellinger, cotton spinners of Manchester, on Japanese competition in Cotton Trade at the Royal Statistical Society, London.

The paper pointed out how Japan is satisfied with the world's demand for cheap bulk cotton by using a type of raw material which, although not so good as that used in Britain, was sufficiently good to satisfy requirements. Japanese spinners also were very clever in mixing cotton. Each mill had its own mixing, which is kept a secret. Mr. Ellinger stressed the advantage Japan held in organisation, for in the British industry it was only the fringe, the finishing sections and subsidiary trade, that was organised whereas Japan had “organised the heart of the industry, cotton buying, distributing and chief productive sections.

The paper concluded thus:—“No problem confronting the British cotton industry was more urgent than that of solidifying small firms into larger units while the rationalisation of



trade must include the distributing section. Advocating the formation of a series of big combines interlocked by the financial community of interests, Mr. Ellinger recalled that Lancashire still exported even now approximately half the cotton goods that were exported from all the countries in the world and expressed the belief that if she had the will and power so to organise as to meet the requirements of the present century, she would regain her former prosperity.

Meanwhile *The Morning Post* draws attention to the sale, in Lancashire cotton-spinning towns, of shirts manufactured in Ireland from cloth imported from Japan which, it says, were sold at lower prices than locally made garments. Cheap Japanese vests are also selling readily. The paper asks if Lancashire is going to submit to the penetration of that home market by cottons of the Orient and opines there is probably little profit on imported shirts which probably represent the dumping of the Japanese surplus.

Shall we transfer our allegiance from England to Japan? Let it be remembered now

at least that it was through cloth that we lost our kingdom. Lord Birkenhead in his Statement to the Commons in 1927 said : " We went to India in that commercial guise which has frequently in history been our earliest approach to future dominions." Shall we knowingly this time and deliberately allow Japan to make a similar approach to India in a commercial guise in order to establish a future dominion or act with the grim determination to get rid of England's domination ?

Great efforts are being made by the Indian princes and the people in order to make India self-contained and restore the self-respect of this ancient country. The Mysore Government has achieved through Khaddar in the year 1928 the task of finding a supplementary occupation for 1,000 families of agriculturists without losing in the attempt a rupee of the State Treasury. We make no apology for inviting the reader to peruse the whole of the scheme and its description as given by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee's Pamphlet No. 2. It is fortunate that Indian States have become awakened to the importance of the

problem. England knows that Lancashire is being hit hard from one side or another. What she is unable therefore to force on British India, she is fast contemplating to dump upon Indian India. The Jamsaheb of Jamnagar while verbally decrying the report of having placed an order for £ 2 million worth of Lancashire cloth, admitted nevertheless that he promised support to Lancashire. Here is an interesting extract from an issue of January 1930 of *The Commercial* (Published by the *Manchester Guardian*) containing an important article discussing some aspects of the outlook for Lancashire trade with India. The author, Dr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, who is Foreign Minister of Patiala State, and whose recent address to the members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce made a great impression on traders here, gives it as his opinion that in British India Lancashire goods not only have no preferential advantage over foreign goods, but owing to the existing political situation, are rather at a disadvantage. "When competition is keen," he says, "and prices approach the same level, political

sentiment may on critical occasions suffice to turn the scale against the United Kingdom." He is careful enough to point out, however, that what is commonly called India is politically not one country but two countries, British India and the Indian States. The Indian States, with their population of 70,000,000 people, embrace more than one-third of the entire Indian sub-continent, and, in Dr. Rushbrook Williams' view, are likely to offer in the near future an increasingly valuable market for British goods. "Moreover," it is added, "there is reason to believe that their influence will be exerted along economic lines, as it has always been exerted along political lines, in a direction fostering and strengthening the ties with Great Britain."

"The present tariff system in India is such that the proceeds of the British Indian tariff which is imposed by a body upon which the Indian States are not represented, and which is levied even on goods consumed in those States—are credited, with certain small exceptions, to the British Indian Exchequer, so that the Indian States are indirectly taxed for the protection of British Indian industries.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Navanagar port of Bedi, which is one of the few possible points at which the Indian States could have access to the sea, should recently have enjoyed a considerable increase of trade. It remains to be seen whether goods entering India through Bedi will continue to be exempt from the British Indian tariff and the position at present is an interesting one."

In this great process of rehabilitation of Khaddar, every man, woman and child in India can render adequate assistance. Yet, the very mill-owners have an opportunity of serving the country through Khaddar, and Gandhi has prescribed the following six methods in which they can render that assistance :

1. They can sell Khaddar through their agencies.
2. They can lend their talents to the movement.
3. They can by a Conference with the All-India Spinners' Association determine the varieties they should manufacture in terms of boycott.

4. They can cease to manufacture Khaddar whether in that name or in any other.
5. They can standardise their prices so as neither to suffer loss nor to increase their profits.
6. They can render financial assistance to the movement.\*

Yes, the Khadi movement is a patriotic movement. Indeed it is a national movement and it is a Swaraj movement. Khadi easily brings the movement into touch with every living soul in India. In speaking of the national movement we often exhort every citizen to do his or her duty by the country. It may not be given to everyone of these to play some part in Non-co-operation but where is the man, woman or child that is not clad and may not be clad in home-spun fabrics? They may be coarse to look at but they are soft to the feel. They may excite the pity of the observer but they fill the wearer with joy and satisfaction. They

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\*Some of these have been accepted by the mill-owners who have subscribed to the declaration formulated by the Congress during the great struggle of 1930-31.

are durable. They keep the body warm in winter and cool in summer. A recent discovery by Dr. J. C. Bose has attributed to them the additional power of minimising sound. They solve the problem of unemployment in India. They raise the standard of self-respect in the country. They constitute the uniform of every soldier of the Non-violent Army of India in the warfare for the recovery of Swaraj. Nay, the constructive programme chiefly consisting of the manufacture and propagation of Khaddar has been well described as the drill and discipline which this non-violent army has to undergo from day to day in its preparation for civil disobedience. The process of spinning is a process that engages your mind, occupies your time, composes your thoughts and subdues your passions. Try it when you are in a bad temper. Have a foretaste of it when you are perturbed in mind and you will find half an hour's spinning has softened your *Tamsik* feelings and transformed you into a *Satvik* creature. It is not given to everyone to be the commander of an army or be the builder of a temple.

But even as a soldier that is truly patriotic would no more complain against the outpost where he is charged with the duties of being a sentinel than the humble devotee against the sort of tabernacle wherein he may have a chance to worship, even so the humble Khadi worker may not complain against the absence of limelight irradiating his sphere of work, for he is contributing to the nation's recovery of its self-sufficiency and self-respect and to the removal of starvation from the hungry stomachs that are helpless. India is truly at the parting of ways. She has to choose between the spinning wheel and the steering wheel, between Khadi and Kaki and to her to-day there is little doubt that her salvation rests in her adherence to the Charka and Khaddar. The last battle has revealed that if only people are serious about Khaddar, they need not lose a single life or shed a single drop of blood in emancipating their country, for an army of 70,000 men, women and children clad in Khaddar has won a notable victory for Sathya over asathya, for dharma over adharma, for ahimsa over himsa, for



unarmed India over mighty England with her puissant armies running into lakhs, finances running into crores, with her bombs, aeroplanes, cruisers, submarines and dreadnoughts.

# The Swadeshi Movement

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