

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

DARE TO WALK ALONE

When I was in prison in 1941, I wrote out some thoughts on non-violence as a creed for my own benefit and at the request of co-workers. The gist of the whole argument spread over many pages was that as a makeshift policy non-violence was doomed to failure. If it could succeed at all, it could do so only when a particular society was to treat it as a creed and act upon it accordingly. I also suggested that when Gandhiji himself had explained the implications of non-violence, so to say, in compartments, there was still some vagueness left and it might be desirable if under his guidance some competent authority were to present to the world a complete picture of a society based upon truth and non-violence and non-co-operation with evil, as Gandhiji himself envisaged it. On my release I submitted the manuscript, through Shri Kishorlalbai, for Gandhiji's consideration. He liked it and he published a part of it in the *Harijan* in April 1942 with a prefatory note of his own. About my suggestion for an authoritative interpretation, he remarked that I had better set about it myself. I felt quite unequal to this task. Anyway, soon afterwards the great Quit India movement was started and all of us found ourselves in prison again.

The last seven years look like almost so many centuries, so world-shaking and fast has been the march of events. It seems as if the shape of things has altered completely. Great world powers like Germany and Japan have seemingly crumbled to dust, and not only other powers have come to the front but other ideologies too occupy men's minds and as for non-violence, we have seen the birth of the pretentious atomic age.

Up to the last Gandhiji remained like a rock true to his principles but I do not know how other minds were affected. It is no doubt true that after his death there is a growing recognition in every country in the world that the way to preservation of mankind lies through non-violence, though may I add that I do not see much stress being laid anywhere on truth and non-co-operation with evil. That is a crucial fact, because Gandhiji considered all three as the integral parts of a complete whole. One element by itself had no meaning to him.

It is indeed a curious world. While everyone contemplates with horror the possibility — some

even say the inevitability — of another world conflict, and while everywhere lip-homage is paid in language of varying emphasis to the doctrine of non-violence, every country is arming to the teeth, professedly in self-defence and for self-protection, and statesmen proclaim loudly that it is the strength of arms that can make any country respected in the counsels of the world and guarantee peace and security. No nation is prepared to take the risk of renouncing all force and violence as an instrument of national policy. Gandhiji used to say again and again that non-violence of his conception required courage and fearlessness of almost of a superlative order, and making a people non-violence-minded of Gandhiji's pattern requires high training of body and mind. You cannot create a non-violent society overnight. Violence has been glorified by mankind ever since the dawn of recorded history, and non-violence of the brave coupled with non-co-operation with evil has not had, if I may say so, even a flying start.

It is saddening to reflect that all disarmament talks seem to end in futility. No nation is prepared to take the risk of unilateral disarmament and world-wide disarmament by common consent seems to be a vain hope.

I think, to be truthful with ourselves we must face a critical alternative. Failing a world agreement, any country which devoutly believes that the only way to save humanity both from moral and physical wreckage lies through the path indicated by Gandhiji, then that country must take the risk and follow that path even if it has to walk alone and take appropriate measures to train its citizens accordingly. It will not be an easy job. We will have to reconstruct and reshape the existing structure of society. Our standard of values will have to be radically altered. Our notions of economic progress will have to be revised. It will be a tremendous task and taking a bold action indeed. If we are not prepared to take it, then it seems to me that our pious invocations of non-violence will not carry us far. Indeed they may not only be ineffective but sound hypocritical.

I imagine Gandhiji had a very complete picture in his mind of the non-violent society of his conception. In such a society one may assert that the end and the means must go together. Non-violence excludes not only aggressive ends but also

the adoption of untruthful and violent means, and the moment we permit the use of violence in any shape or form under any circumstances, then to that extent we also give the go-by to the sanctity of righteous means. Violence does not stop short anywhere and devours everything.

KAILASNATH KATJU

THE CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA

How the solution of the world problem lay in the concept of Sarvodaya (the good of all) and not in the Western theory of the greatest good of the greatest number, was explained at length by Shri Vinoba at the Friday prayer meeting at Rajghat on the 24th December, '48 — the Christmas Eve.

He had been to Jaipur, Shri Vinoba said, to perform the opening ceremony of the Sarvodaya Exhibition. As he had not been able to participate in the Rajghat prayers for the past two months, he thought of availing himself of an opportunity to do so by making his return journey via Delhi.

The condition of the world today, Shri Vinoba said, required anxious consideration. There were violent conflicts everywhere. The struggle in Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs continued as before. The fratricidal war in China had reached a climax. The Dutch had made a wanton attack on Republican Indonesia. With these new conflicts, the memory of the war that had just concluded was also being revived. After staging a drama of judicial trials, the so-called war criminals had been condemned to death in Japan. It was sought to be suggested that Japan alone was responsible for breach of peace in Asia, and that those who were to execute her leaders were messengers of peace, and that with their death peace was going to be established in the world.

Even in India, violence had to be resorted to in the case of Kashmir. On whom lay the blame for this conflict was a different question. The fact remained that the Kashmir issue could not be resolved non-violently. Political unity appeared to be growing in India. Smaller States were being merged and transformed into larger groups. But mental unity was not in evidence to the same extent. He would give only one example. The Madhyabharata Union had been formed, but it had given rise to two new groups, viz. the Indore group and the Gwalior group. The problem of Hyderabad had been resolved in the larger context, but internally the Congressmen there had divided themselves into two factions. A fissiparous tendency was thus gaining strength in all directions. There was a race among various political parties for capturing students, as if they were but fish to be caught in nets. Labour too was similarly exploited, and the problem, instead of being resolved was getting more and more complicated.

The issue of linguistic provinces was a simple and innocent one, but even that was made intricate. No one felt like instantaneously accepting the other man's proposal. What harm would really be done if a few lakhs belonging to one province had to remain in another? Since all power was at the Centre, there could possibly be nothing to lose if an agreement, acceptable to the other party, was reached on the issue

of the common boundary. But their obstinacy and uncompromising attitude had created a deadlock and the creation of commissions and committees.

The Hindi-Hindustani controversy was more for the name than for its form. No one cared to ponder as to what after all was the objective of the national language. Was it not national unity? How then could they afford to allow the devil of controversy to get into it? But obstinacy had made all of us blind. People did not seem to realize that every thing had its limitations and if they wasted away their energies on trifles, they could have left nothing in reserve to face the bigger problems. As they had met on the Christmas Eve, it reminded Shri Vinoba of what Jesus had said: "Agree with thine adversary quickly". He asked the audience to think well over it.

All that, said Shri Vinoba, was not intended to make them feel despondent. He was not a pessimist, for, he knew that the soul was at the bottom all peaceful and undivided whole, and that the conflict and divisions which appeared on the surface were after all trivial. But like a tiny lot on a very clean cloth, it at once drew one's attention. Shri Vinoba knew no despair even when the world war waged. He had then believed, and did so even now, that the world wars were divine, maybe, they were inflicted as a kind of divine punishment to man, but intended ultimately for his progress. However large they might appear, they occupied but a small point of that vast eternal soul, and made their appearance only to disappear after some days. His purpose, Shri Vinoba continued, in referring to these matters was to make them ponder, and not to make them lose their hearts. To him the solution seemed to lay in the concept of the Sarvodaya Samaj. People asked him about the nature of the organization of the Sarvodaya Samaj. He told them, it was a revolutionary *idea* and not an organization. It was a thing to be thought over, and acted upon.

The Western idea of the greatest good of the greatest number, contained in it the germs of minority and majority problems. But the idea of Sarvodaya, as preached by the *Gita* was to merge oneself in the good of all. This of course demanded on their part, absolute faith in truth and non-violence. Never should they resort to untruth in their private and public life, nor in their business or other occupations. They should try their best not to allow violence a place in their life. The constructive programme which was meant for the uplift of the society, should be carried out in part or in full, individually or with the co-operation of friends and colleagues, as also by establishing local institutions wherever necessary. They should meditate over the great thought that was behind all that, and should give expression to do it, and remember it at all times.

If they could rivet the attention of the young and the old on this great concept, Shri Vinoba concluded, the solution of all the problems of the world would be found therein. The present political methods which were being tried all over the world would be of no avail.

D. M.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

THE DOWN - TRODDEN

I

The real producers of wealth are those who co-operate with nature and through the operation of natural forces transform various elements into such shape as to make it possible for human beings to satisfy their immediate needs. This type of operation is the normal working of agriculture. The farmer, who prepares the land, sows the seed, nurtures it and ultimately harvests the produce, is the real producer of wealth. Man and nature — which latter includes air, water and land — combine together in these operations.

In olden days when man lived in comparative isolation there was no legal proprietorship on nature, but as time went on man began to claim ownership of the land. As population began to increase, society created values in land. These values being ultimately a creation of society it follows that land itself must be a social asset, used for the purposes of society and not for individual profit. From this it follows that a person can cultivate land for his own use and any surplus should be controlled by society. Therefore, private property in land is an anti-social arrangement. It is also an unnatural situation.

Not only has the present social organization allowed misappropriation of land, but it has also provided sanctions for individuals to exploit the land for their own benefit. This has resulted in several types of injustices being showered on the weak by the strong. A great many influential and educated people own land and they are using it to exploit the labour of the weaker ones. In many cases, this has resulted in not giving the workers on the land even the status of the animals with which the cultivator performs his operations. For all practical purposes such field labourers are slaves bought at nominal cost by the landowners. Legally these may not be called slaves. They are usually merely styled debtors. The debt itself is, as a rule, a small one of Rs. 40 or Rs. 50, incurred, very often, for the marriage of the debtor. With this petty amount the landlord purchases practically a lifelong right over the bride and the bridegroom and their progeny!

In most cases these loans are never repaid. The debtor is illiterate and ignorant. He gets no receipts for any amounts that he may have returned, with the result that he is at the tender mercies of the landowner. Hardly any credits are given by the landlord sufficient enough to work out the debt. The debtor labours and labours year in and year out, loyally to serve his faithless master getting a mere pittance in return. Occasionally such labourers are given a set of clothing once a year at the time of festivals, such as Divali. The rate of remuneration differs from place to place, but it is generally given in kind in amounts hardly sufficient to maintain the labouring families in a healthy condition. The result is in some cases labourers are put to such stress as the *gobris* of Gorakhpur.

These *gobris* collect cow dung at certain seasons of the year, wash out the undigested grain passed out by the cattle and dry these grains, grind them and prepare their food from the flour. From about half a dozen heads of cattle they can glean, during the season, about a maund or a maund and a half of grain. They say that although there is not much difference in the taste of such grain from the natural produce, yet it has a "heating" effect on the body.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

HIGGLEDY — PIGGLEDY

I happened to look in at the Dehradun Military Dairy a short while ago, in order to see the little calf "Mira", who had an interview with Rajaji last autumn. She was in a yard with a large number of other youngsters. Several of them were male calves. This struck me as something new. "So you are no longer sending your male calves to the slaughter-house," I said. "That has been stopped," I was told. "But what is to happen to these male calves when they grow up? Is anybody prepared to buy them?" I asked. "Nobody," was the reply, "and what is more, nobody wants to take them as a gift, because they are useless for draught." "Then what is going to be done?" The reply was simply, "We don't know. We are keeping them and feeding them, but it can't go on like this for long." "But how is it you have not yet stopped using these foreign (Holstein) bulls? The whole thing is absurd, and will lead to much worse cruelty than the slaughter-house."

People who are pressing for laws against cattle slaughter, should first think what they are doing. Regulations for the stoppage of slaughter of male calves in the military dairies have been passed, but the breeding of useless male animals has not been checked, with the result that hundreds and thousands of unwanted male calves are still being brought into the world who are practically bound to die of starvation and neglect. Or are we to build concentration camps for all these miserable unwanted animals, in order that the dairy farms may go on having fancy cows? It should be remembered that it is not only military dairies that have up to now sent their male calves to the slaughter-house.

If slaughter of cattle is to be prohibited, then breeding of anything but dual-purpose cattle must also be prohibited. Unless we develop cows, the male calves of which are useful animals, prohibition of slaughter will turn into creation of torture.

Would-be benefactors of the cow beware!

Pashulok, 28-1-'49

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HARIJAN

February 13

1949

SEVAGRAM PACIFIST CONFERENCE

The readers of the *Harijan* are aware that in 1947 it was proposed that some persons earnestly interested in peace should visit India and discuss with Mahatma Gandhi the problems of world peace. Mahatma Gandhi advised that the Conference should be held not in 1948 but after the British army had withdrawn from India and January 1949 was fixed. Unfortunately, however, before the Conference could be held Mahatmaji was assassinated. It was felt by those in India and elsewhere that the project should not be given up and that it was all the more incumbent upon those left behind to carry it out. For various reasons among which the principal were our own unpreparedness and the difficulty in securing ship passages for those coming from foreign countries, the Conference which was fixed for the middle of January 1949 had to be postponed. It was decided however to have a preliminary conference to consider and undertake the necessary preparation for the postponed World Pacifist Conference. This Conference accordingly met most appropriately at Sevagram on the 26th, 27th and 28th January last.

The first question that the Conference took up was that of fixing a date and the programme of the World Conference. It was decided that the World Conference should be held in two parts, the first part being held at Shantiniketan as had been originally arranged and the second part at Sevagram. The Conference at Shantiniketan would meet from December 1 to 8 and after about three weeks' adjournment during which the foreign delegates might visit various places in the country where they could not only see something of the life and culture of the people, but also have talks and discussions regarding the objects of the Conference, it could meet again for a few days in the first week of January 1950 at Sevagram. A resolution to this effect was passed and the public were invited to take part in the preparations for the World Conference and to form local groups or committees to discuss the application of the principles of non-violence to the conflicts amongst classes and nations. Some fifty active workers for peace have been invited from Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia to attend the World Meeting of Pacifists and it is estimated that even when the expenses of the delegates from some of the countries like the U. S. A. and England will be met by those countries, the Invitation Committee will need about 2½ lakhs to meet the other expenses of the Conference in India and a request has been made to the public interested in world peace to help raising this fund by responding generously to the appeal that had been made.

The Conference then discussed for two days the various aspects of the problem of peace with special reference to the practical application of non-violence, the relation of constructive work to it as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi. Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Secretary of the Gram Udyog Sangh (All India Village Industries Association) founded under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, opened the discussion and finally a resolution was adopted urging Governments and peoples to remind themselves constantly of the remarkable success of the use of non-violence in the attainment of Indian freedom and earnestly to seek those forms of non-violent expression to settle difficult problems and situations. The desire of the Conference was expressed to unite with all men of goodwill in seeking for positive measures to induce peace-mindedness in the people generally, especially in the rising generation. It was decided to form a fellowship in India whose primary concern will be to help in the realization of a world order based on Truth and Non-violence, to strive for the realization in India of such an order of society, to work for the removal of causes of conflict among groups and nations, to promote international understanding and to organize local peace units for allaying conflicts in an effective manner.

Indian members of the Conference felt and expressed their anxiety regarding the situation in India and confessed to a certain incongruity in it in the land of Mahatma Gandhi's birth and activity in that both the people and the Government were not able to implement in actual life the lesson of *ahimsa* which the Mahatma had taught and practised. The tendency towards militarization as witnessed by schemes for military training in educational institutions and the continued heavy expenditure on development and equipment of the armed forces was noted with concern. It was felt, however, that although unable to implement non-violence, the Government were ever conscious of Mahatmaji's teachings and the leaders of India were constantly reminding themselves and the people of the success achieved through non-violence, and it was hoped that they would be able to rise above the circumstances which were forcing their hands at present.

The work before the Indian lovers of peace at the present moment is to prepare for the World Conference, and for this purpose not only the necessary finances have to be raised but even more important than that is the creation of the necessary atmosphere by public and group discussions amongst all classes of people. It is hoped that the country will respond and prove its abiding faith in the teaching of the Master by establishing effective peace and goodwill among all its inhabitants and thus opening the way for its wider operation.

OBITUARY

For various reasons I was unable to take note of some of the eminent persons and valuable workers who died during the last month. Even now, I must just console myself by briefly alluding to them with respect.

G. A. NATESAN

The services of the great Madras publisher, Shri G. A. Natesan, are well known. It was his publications of speeches, writings and biographies of eminent Indians, which gave inspiration to many a youth of the last generation.

D. SESHAGIRI RAO

The All India Spinners' Association has suffered a great loss by the unexpected deaths of two of its valuable workers. Shri D. Seshagiri Rao was a lifelong worker in the *khadi* field in Andhra. The organization of the *khadi* movement in the Godavary District of that province was mainly due to his efforts. He died on the 6th January through sudden rise of blood-pressure.

GULAM AHMED

Shri Gulam Ahmed, Secretary of the A. I. S. A., Kashmir Branch, died on the 16th January under tragic circumstances. He attended the Jaipur Exhibition with his party of workers, and returned up to Jammu after the close of the Exhibition. The motor road from Jammu to Kashmir was blocked by snow, and it was arranged that the party should fly to Kashmir. As all could not go together, they went one or two at a time. Shri Gulam Ahmed was the last to start. His plane was caught in a snow-storm, and crashed. Gulam Ahmed's body was found in the debris when the plane was traced. The Branch has suffered an irreparable loss by his sudden end. Both D. Seshagiri Rao and Gulam Ahmed were of middle age, and the mainstay of their families.

JAMNADAS GANDHI

P. S. Closely following upon the despatch of the above came the information of Shri Jamnadas Gandhi's death in New Delhi. His father Shri Khushalchand Gandhi, one of Gandhiji's first cousins, had placed all his sons at the disposal of Gandhiji, while he was still in South Africa. Shri Jamnadas was the youngest of them. He was one of the party who came with him from South Africa, and for some time used to move with Gandhiji in his tours. During the non-co-operation movement he started the National School at Rajkot, and conducted it for a few years. Later, he took to business in Bombay. After earning some money he retired from it some years ago.

During my recent stay in Bombay he constantly helped me in the editing of the *Harijan*. He took keen interest in the preservation and collection of Gandhiji's relics and pictures. His health was far from satisfactory for some years past, but he was a Nature-curist and did not take kindly to drugs. Work took him to New Delhi, where he developed enteric fever and had to be removed to a hospital.

After more than six weeks' illness, he succumbed to it this morning.

Shri Jamnadas was associated with Gandhiji, while he was still not much known in India, and was therefore in a position to throw light on several matters briefly alluded to in Gandhiji's letters, notes, etc. of the time. With his death we lose one more person capable of assisting Shri Pyarelalji in writing Gandhiji's biography. He was under 55 and having regard to the general longevity of his family, must be regarded as having died quite young. This increases the intensity of the loss.

Wardha, 4-2-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru who passed away at Allahabad on the 20th January 1949, after a prolonged illness, was truly *un knight sans peur et sans reproche*. An ardent patriot and a doughty fighter for the country's freedom, according to his lights, the closer in contact one came with him, the more one learnt to reverence him for his purity of character, uncompromising integrity and sturdy independence of mind, which refused to bow to fear or favour. Very few people fully understood this characteristic of his, and many misunderstood his actions during his lifetime. It is very little known, for instance, how it was his fearless opposition that ultimately forced Lord Reading's Government to reverse their decision to arrest Gandhiji at the time of the Prince of Wales' visit to India in 1920. When General Smuts tried to browbeat at the Imperial Conference in London, it was he who stood up and hit back undismayed and unsubdued. Equally sturdy was the fight which he put up when, at the Second Round Table Conference, Sir Samuel Hoare and India Office sought to force upon the country provincial autonomy without responsibilities at the centre. He left the Congress on the issue of non-co-operation and joined the Indian Liberal Federation. But his independence of mind would not let him rest there and in the end he broke away from them too.

His unblemished personal life and uttermost purity of motives, in which nothing sordid or mean could ever enter, put him on a pedestal where few could rival him. His love of truth and love of the motherland forged between him and Gandhiji ties which no amount of political difference could weaken or sever. And so in spite of their sharp difference in regard to Direct Action, there never was a crisis in Gandhiji's life in which Dr. Sapru failed to rally to his side and do his bit. The part he played in the negotiations in the Yeravda Central Prison during the first Satyagraha struggle in the year 1930, then again at the time of Gandhiji's epic Harijan fast, and finally in the Leaders' Conference at the time of Gandhiji's 21-day fast in the Agakhan Palace is too well known to need recounting here. When I approached him in July last for information about certain episodes of Gandhiji's life, in

connection with the writing of his (Gandhiji's) biography, he was bed-ridden. But he promptly wrote back that not only did he regard it as a privilege but a sacred duty to give all the help that he could in the task. I felt overwhelmed at the way in which he gave hour after hour to satisfy my thirst for facts about Gandhiji's life. The muscles were all paralysed, he could hardly sit up or even lie down in bed without help, the speech was fumbling and at times, required the trained ear of his intimate attendants to be intelligible, but the mind was crystal clear and as vigorous as ever, and the memory had lost none of its pristine sharpness and pungency. He recalled with an amazing precision the minute details of the incidents which he described, even the date and time when he met certain eminent British statesmen, and their exact words during the talks. After three days he let me go, but asked me to come again and gave orders that all his archives and personal correspondence from 1905 onwards be placed at my disposal. I had hoped to be able to get lots of more information from him, which probably no one else could have given. But that was not to be. When I saw him for the last time on the afternoon of 20th January, there was only a faint gleam of recognition in his eyes. At night, however, I learnt subsequently, just a few hours before the end, he rallied once again and remarked that he wanted to go where Gandhiji was, for there, there are no ailments.

Dr. Sapru was the finest product of the British liberal tradition in which our political leaders in the pre-non-co-operation era were brought up. It has been noted that since then revolutionary ardour has crowded out the solid attainments—erudition, balance of judgment, industry, hard study of facts, and healthy respect and regard for tradition, which constructive statesmanship requires, and which was so remarkably typified in his person. May his example serve as a beacon light and inspiration to the younger generation for the attainment of these qualities, which the country needs so sorely at present.

Delhi, 27-1-'49

PYARELAL

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ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

VI SWADESHI (Concluded)

Khadi has been conceived as the image of Swadeshi, because India has committed a heinous sin by giving it up and thus failing in the discharge of her natural duty.

The importance of khadi and the spinning-wheel first dawned on me in 1908, when I had no idea of what the wheel was like and did not even know the distinction between the wheel and the loom. I had only a dim consciousness of the condition of India's villages, but still I clearly saw that the chief cause of their pauperization was the destruction of the spinning-wheel, and resolved that I would try to revive it when I return to India.

I returned in 1915 with my mind full of these ideas. Swadeshi was one of the observances ever since the Ashram was started. But none of us knew how to spin. We therefore rested content with setting up a handloom. Some of us still retained a liking for fine cloth. No Swadeshi yarn of the requisite fineness for women's *sadis* was available in the market. For a very short time therefore they were woven with foreign yarn. But we were soon able to obtain fine yarn from Indian mills.

It was no easy job even to set up the handloom at the Ashram. None of us had the least idea of weaving. We obtained a loom and a weaver through friends. Maganlal Gandhi undertook to learn weaving.

I conducted experiments at the Ashram and at the same time carried on Swadeshi propaganda in the country. But it was like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark so long as we could not spin yarn. At last however I discovered the spinning-wheel, found out spinners and introduced the wheel in the Ashram. The whole story has been unfolded in the Autobiography.

But that did not mean that our difficulties were at an end. On the other hand they increased, as such of them as were hidden till now became manifest.

Touring in the country I saw that people would not take to the spinning-wheel as soon as they were told about it. I knew that not much money could be made by spinning, but I had no idea of how little it was. Then again the yarn that was spun would not at once be uniform as well as fine. Many could spin only coarse and weak yarn. Not all kinds of cotton were suitable for spinning. The cotton must be carded and made into slivers, and in carding much depended upon the condition of the cotton. Any and every spinning-wheel would not do. To revive the spinning-wheel thus meant the launching of a big scheme. Money alone could not do the trick. As for man-power too hundreds of workers would be needed, and these men should be ready to learn a new art, to be satisfied with a small salary and to live out their lives in villages. But even that was not enough. The rural atmosphere was surcharged with idleness and lack of faith and hope. The wheel could make no headway.

if this did not improve. Thus a successful revival of the wheel could be brought about only with an army of single-minded men and women equipped with infinite patience and strong faith.

At first I was alone in having this faith. Faith indeed was the only capital that I had, but I saw that if there is faith, everything else is added unto it. Faith enlightens the intellect and induces habits of industry. It was clear that all experiments should be conducted at and through the Ashram which indeed existed for that very purpose. I realized that spinning should be the principal physical activity of the Ashram. Thus only could it be reduced to a science. Therefore spinning was at last recognized as a *mahayajna* (primary sacrifice), and every one who joined the Ashram had to learn spinning and to spin regularly every day.

But *yajna* implies skill in action (कर्मसु कौशलम्). To spin some yarn somehow cannot be called a *yajna*. At first the rule was that members should spin for at least half an hour every day. But it was soon found that if the spinning-wheel went out of order, one could not spin even a couple of yards in half an hour. Therefore the rule was modified and members were asked to spin at least 160 rounds, one round being equal to 4 feet. Again yarn was no good if it was not uniform as well as strong. Tests of strength and uniformity were therefore devised, and we have now made such progress that spinning yarn coarser than 20s does not count as *yajna*.

But granted that good yarn is spun, who would make use of it? I was sure from the first that the person who does spinning as a sacrament must not use his own yarn, but I was unable to carry conviction to others. Where was the harm if the spinner paid the wages and purchased his yarn for himself? I deceived myself and agreed that one who paid the wages and bought his own yarn should be considered a spinning-sacrificer. This error has not still been fully rectified. Errors not dealt with with a strong hand at their first appearance tend to become permanent, and are difficult to eradicate like chronic diseases.

As a consequence of this *yajna* spinning has made great strides in India, but it has still to take root in each of our villages. The reason is obvious. My faith was not coupled with knowledge. Some knowledge was acquired after mistakes had been committed. Co-workers have joined me, but too few for the great task in hand. There are hundreds of workers but perhaps they have not in them the requisite faith and knowledge. The root being thus weak, one may not expect to enjoy the ripest fruit.

But for this I cannot find fault with anybody. The work is new and wide as the ocean and it bristles with difficulties. Therefore though the result of our activity is not gratifying, it is still sufficient for sustaining our faith. We have every right to hope for complete success. Faithful workers, men as well as women, have joined in adequate numbers and have accumulated a fund of valuable experience, so that this movement is certainly destined not to perish.

Khadi has given rise to quite a number of other activities at the Ashram as well as elsewhere in the country which cannot here be dealt with at any length. Suffice it to say that cotton crops are raised, spinning-wheels are made, cloth is dyed, and simple hand-operated machines are manufactured for all the processes from ginning to weaving. These machines are being improved from time to time. The progress made in producing a more efficient type of spinning-wheel is a piece of poetry to my mind.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G. D.)

(To be continued)

THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION*

I

We write to draw attention to a great and growing evil, a menace not to the animal world alone but also to humanity. Especially because India is increasingly following, blindly as far as most of her people are concerned, in the lurid track of Western biological science and was only recently announced as starting, with Government approval, the manufacture of a vaccine against tuberculosis, the time seems ripe to examine the facts and the implications of the practice of vivisection.

The term has a wider accepted application than cutting or operating on a living animal, as its derivation connotes. It includes any painful experimentation upon living animals in the supposed or alleged interest of science. The average layman is as serenely unaware of the extent of the practice as he is of the cruelty involved.

An inquiry in the House of Commons on October 24th, 1947, as to the number of experiments performed in 1946 (allowed under the Cruelty to Animals Act!) brought from the Secretary of State for the Home Department the reply that in that year experiments had been performed on 231 cats and 620 dogs without anesthetics and on 2,111 cats and 411 dogs with anesthetics. These figures, it will be noted, cover only species of animals often made pets. They do not include rats, guinea-pigs, rabbits, mice and other laboratory animals which are very largely used, nor do they include monkeys, of which thousands have been exported from India. It was admitted in the Simla Assembly a few years ago that research laboratories were the probable destination of most of the 22,544 monkeys exported from India in 1936-37. §

It was estimated in a recent popular article that laboratories in the U. S. A. spend a million dollars annually for research animals. The four medical schools of Chicago alone were allotted 9,000 of the city's unclaimed, unlicensed dogs in 1943, and a defender of vivisection complained in *The Scientific Monthly* for December 1947 that the number was "actually not sufficient."

The nobler a man is, the more objects of compassion he hath.

— BACON

*This article is reproduced from Theosophical Free Tract No. 13 of the 25th July, 1948. It is prepared under the auspices of the United Lodge of Theosophists, Bombay.

§According to a recent note in *The Times of India*, 16,000 monkeys were exported to America from this country during the last year.

RAMANAMA*

[Note — I desired the following to appear in the issue of the 30th January. I regret it could not be so done. However, it will be valuable even now.

— K. G. M.]

At Amki I could not get goat's milk for Bapu. I tried my best to procure it but failed. So I had to inform Bapu who said to me, "What does it matter? For goat's milk the white juice of the coconut will do as well and fresh coconut oil will serve the purpose of ghee."

Bapu showed me how to prepare them and accordingly I gave them to him. As he usually took eight ounces of goat's milk he took the same quantity of coconut milk too. But he could not digest it and so had an attack of diarrhoea. The frequent motions made him weaker and weaker till in the evening when he was coming back to the hut he felt a reeling sensation and was about to fall. Generally symptoms like yawning, perspiration, coldness of hands and feet etc. would precede such a reeling sensation in his case. I thought from his yawns that he was about to feel giddy but I was mistaken. Bapu who was walking with my support was already collapsing. I held his head with care and shouted for Nirmalbabu. He came and we both helped Bapuji to bed. Then it struck me that I should call for Dr. Sushilabehn who was in a village near-by; I feared that I would be taken for a fool if Bapuji's illness suddenly took a serious turn and if I did not call for her in time. I wrote a chit and just as I was giving it to Nirmalbabu for despatching, Bapu woke up from his trance and called out, "Mānudi" (that was Bapu's term of endearment for me), "I do not like your calling Nirmalbabu. As you are still young, however, I can excuse you. But at such a time I expect you to do nothing else but take *Ramanama* with all your heart. As for myself I was already engrossed in taking His name. I would have liked it immensely had you started taking *Ramanama* instead of shouting for Nirmalbabu. Now don't inform Sushila or call her. The real doctor is Rama. As long as Rama needs service from me, He will keep me alive. When He does not, He will call me back to Himself."

A shiver passed through my body when the words "don't inform Sushila or call her" struck my ears. I snatched the chit from Nirmalbabu and tore it to pieces. Bapu saw this and remarked, "So you had already written to her." I had to admit the fact. Then he said, "Today the Lord has saved us both. On reading the chit Sushila would have left her work and immediately

* This article forms one of the chapters of a book by the writer which in its turn are only fourteen of the chapters of the diary which she kept during the long period she toured Bihar, Noakhali and other places in Gandhiji's camp. The book is published by the Navajivan Press under the title *Bapu — My Mother*. Price Twelve Annas. Postage Extra. — J. DESAI.

run to us. I would not have liked it at all. That would have made me angry with myself and you. Thank God I was tested today. I am convinced that I shall not die of sickness if *Ramanama* has penetrated deep down into my heart. This rule is for everybody. One has to suffer for one's mistakes and in that spirit I passed through the pain. One should have *Ramanama* on one's lips till one's last breath but it should not be repeated parrot-like; it should spring from the heart as was the case with Hanuman. When Sitaji presented a pearl necklace to him he broke the pearls to see if the name of Rama was written in them. We need not care to find out whether the incident actually happened or not. We may not be able to make our bodies as strong as that of Hanuman but we can certainly make our souls as great. One can realize the devotion of Hanuman if one is intent on it. If one cannot reach that height it is enough if one makes a sincere attempt. Has not Mother *Gita* taught us to make every effort and leave the result in the hands of God? We should try our very best to follow that teaching.

"Now you have understood what my attitude is towards the sickness of anybody, be it you, me or anyone else." And that very day he wrote to an ailing sister: "There is only one panacea in the whole world and that is *Ramanama*. But His name could only prove effective if the rules pertaining to it are strictly adhered to. But who cares to do so?"

Strangely enough the above incident occurred on the 30th of January 1947, exactly a year before his death.

That unshakable faith in *Ramanama* remained with him till his last breath. I did not then imagine that on the same day a year later I should have the heart-rending experience of hearing *Rama, Ra...ma* as the last audible words of the great departing soul. Mysterious indeed are the ways of the Lord!

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