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in our midst—moral, social, economic and political. They require patient study, diligent research, delicate handling, accuracy of statement and clear thinking on them, and sober, impartial judgment. We may then differ, if necessary, as poles asunder. But we shall surely harm the country, our respective religions and the national cause, if we do not toil to discover the truth and adhere to it, cost what it may.

Young India, 9-9-1926

408. DIGNITY OF LABOUR

We meet every day young men, graduates of our universities, hawking their degrees. They ask for the recommendation of a man who has no education but commands wealth, and in nine cases out of ten, the rich man's recommendation carries greater weight with the officials than the university degree. What does this prove? It proves that money is valued more than intellectual culture. Brain is at a high discount. Why is this so? Because brain has failed to earn money. This failure is due to want of occupation in which intellectual equipment is in demand. Brain which is the most valuable and most powerful force in human society is a waste product for want of a market.

The peasant's assets are his hands. The zamindar's assets are his lands. Culture of land is agriculture. Culture of hand is industry. I am aware that agriculture has been called an industry, but differentiation on the basis of their essentials should not place agriculture in the category of industries. A branch of manual labour which affords facilities for a progressive culture of the hand securing higher wages at successive stages should be properly called industry. This is not the case with the hand working on land. The man who drives a plough, sows seeds or weeds the fields will not earn higher wages by the culture of the hand. There is no scope for attainment of a more remunerative skill in the agriculturist's occupation. Now take the case of a carpenter; he begins by making packing-cases. By culture he may learn to make a tantalus. Mark the progress in the manual skill resulting in a corresponding rise in the daily wages of the man. Let me assure you that the man who made the tantalus with two snakes with their expanded hoods guarding the bottles was first taken into my service for making packing cases. His initial wages were 6 annas a day and in two years' time he was earning one rupee a day and the market value of his handi-work left at least 4 annas a day to his employer. This gives a rise in wages from Rs. 133 to 365 in two years. . . . Over 98 per cent of the population work on land. Land does not grow in

area. Hands grow in number with the growth of the population. A holding which sustained a family of 5 members 30 years back now has to support 12 to 15 members. In some cases this extra pressure is relieved by emigration but in most cases a low standard of vitality is accepted as inevitable.

The foregoing is an extract from Sjt. M. S. Das's speech delivered to the Bihar Young Men's Institute in 1924. I have kept that speech by me so as to be able to deal with the essential part of it on a suitable occasion. There is nothing new in what the speaker has said. But the value of his remarks is derived from the fact that, though a lawyer of distinction, he has not only not despised labour with the hands, but actually learnt handicrafts at a late period in life, not merely as a hobby, but for the sake of teaching young men dignity of labour, and showing that without their turning their attention to the industries of the country the outlook for India is poor. Sjt. Das has himself been instrumental in establishing a tannery at Cuttack which has been a centre of training for many a young man who was before a mere unskilled labourer. But the greatest industry which requires the intelligence of millions of hands is no doubt hand-spinning. What is needed is to give the vast agricultural population of this country an added and an intelligent occupation which will train both their brains and hands. It is the finest and cheapest education that can be devised for them. Cheapest because it is immediately remunerative. And if we want universal education in India, the primary education consists not in a knowledge of the three R's but in a knowledge of hand-spinning and all it implies. And when through it the hand and the eye are properly trained, the boy or the girl is ready to receive instruction in the three R's. This I know would appear to some to be utterly absurd and to others to be totally unworkable. But those who so think do not know the condition of the millions. Nor do they know what it means to educate the millions of children of Indian peasantry. And this much-needed education cannot be given unless educated India which is responsible for the political awakening in the country will appreciate the dignity of labour and unless every young man would consider it his imperative duty to learn the art of hand-spinning and then re-introduce it in the villages.

Young India, 9-9-1926