

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

"UNTO THIS LAST — A PARAPHRASE"

[The influence of this book of John Ruskin on Gandhiji's life is well known. He had translated it into Gujarati, under the title *Sarvodaya*. This word, which has now become a household word in India and well known even abroad, was thus coined long before Gandhiji returned finally from South Africa to India in 1915.

The Gujarati rendering was not a verbatim translation of *Unto This Last*, but a presentation in a manner, which was Gandhiji's own, and which made it almost an original writing meant for Indian readers. Moreover, as usual with his other writings his style has the peculiarity of presenting a difficult subject in a way, which is easily understood even by a non-scholar. The Navajivan Publishing House published in 1951 an English translation of *Sarvodaya*, which thus becomes a paraphrase of *Unto This Last*. Inadvertently, Gandhiji's Introduction to *Sarvodaya* had been omitted in the re-translation. This has been now supplied, and is reproduced below for general information.

It will be also meet to reproduce from the Translator's Note to the book, Gandhiji's Summary of Ruskin's book.

—K. G. M.]

Gandhiji's Introduction

People in the West generally hold that the whole duty of man is to promote the happiness of the majority of mankind, and happiness is supposed to mean only physical happiness and economic prosperity: If the laws of morality are broken in the conquest of this happiness, it does not matter very much. Again, as the object sought to be attained is the happiness of the majority, Westerners do not think there is any harm if this is secured by sacrificing a minority. The consequences of this line of thinking are writ large on the face of Europe.

This exclusive search for physical and economic well-being prosecuted in disregard of morality is contrary to divine law, as some wise men in the West have shown. One of these was John Ruskin who contends in *Unto This Last* that men can be happy only if they obey the moral law.

We in India are very much given nowadays to an imitation of the West. It is necessary to imitate the virtues of the West, but there is no doubt that Western standards are often bad, and every one will agree that we should shun all evil things.

The Indians in South Africa are reduced to a sorry plight. We go abroad in order to make money and in trying to get rich quick, we lose sight of morality and forget that God will judge all our acts. Self-interest absorbs our energies

and paralyses our power of discrimination between good and evil. The result is that instead of gaining anything, we lose a great deal by staying in foreign countries; or at least we fail to derive full benefit from it. Morality is an essential ingredient in all the faiths of the world, but apart from religion, our commonsense indicates the necessity of observing the moral law. Only by observing it can we hope to be happy, as Ruskin shows in the following pages.

Socrates in Plato's *Apology** gives us some idea of our duty as men. And he was as good as his word. I feel that Ruskin's *Unto This Last* is an expansion of Socrates' ideas; he tells us how men in various walks of life should behave if they intend to translate these ideas into action. What follows is not a translation of *Unto This Last*, but a paraphrase, as a translation would not be so useful to the readers of *Indian Opinion*. Even the title has not been translated, but paraphrased as *Sarvodaya* (the welfare of all), as that was what Ruskin aimed at in writing this book.

From the Translator's Note

At the end of that chapter (Chapter XVIII, Part IV, *Autobiography*) Gandhiji gives us a summary of the teachings of *Unto This Last* as he understood it:

1. The good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. A lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.
3. A life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

* Gandhiji had published a summary of *The Apology* in *Indian Opinion* before *Sarvodaya*.

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GOOD VS. GOODS

[Modern science has brought about an age of technology in the human world. It has proved its ability to deliver the goods which, in its wake, has been a pervasive movement in the thought and ideology of the modern men. We might say that there is growing up a view of life and affairs—a philosophy which can be named 'Scientism'. From such a state of thought and affairs a very pertinent question has arisen: Can science deliver the Good? It does deliver the material goods; but what about their just and equitable distribution and about the Good to deliver which is the ultimate and only aim of man on earth? The earthly goods are goods only because and to that extent only to which they subservise this ultimate good of man. This question is fast formulating itself in the mind of the thinking world in the West which has given birth to science as we know it today. Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of a State University in U. S. A., has broached this topic in his book *Education for Freedom*. The following is an extract from this very interesting book of his.]

—M. P. Desai]

I

Science and Scientism

Scientism is a cult composed of those who misconceive the nature or the role of science. They say that science is modern; science is tentative; science is progressive. Everything which is not science is antiquated, or at best irrelevant. A writer in so respectable and learned a publication as the *International Journal of Ethics* has called upon us to follow science in our quest for the good life and the fact that he is a philosopher suggests that the cult of scientism has found members in the most unlikely places. For it must be clear that though we can and should use science to achieve social improvement, we cannot follow it to this destination. The reason is that science does not tell us where to go. Men may employ it for good or evil purposes; but it is the men that have the purposes, and they do not learn them from their scientific studies.

Scientism is a disservice to science. The rise of science is the most important fact of modern life. No student should be permitted to complete his education without understanding it. Universities should and must support and encourage scientific research. From a scientific education we may expect an understanding of science. From scientific investigation we may expect scientific knowledge. We are confusing the issue and demanding what we have no right to ask if we seek to learn from science the goals of human life and of organized society.

II

Roots of Trouble

At the root of the present troubles of the world we must find a pervasive materialism, a devastating desire for material goods, which sweeps everything before it, up to, and perhaps over, the verge of the abyss. Since the desire for material goods is unlimited, it cannot possibly be satisfied. Everybody cannot possibly have everything he wants. Some nations must be denied some things they want and must inevitably try to wrest them from other nations. As long as

this thing prevails, rearrangements of things in the material order must be temporary. They will last only so long as it takes the defeated nations to recuperate and enter upon a new trial of strength.

We know now that mechanical and technical progress is not identical with civilization. We must conclude, in fact, that our faith that technology will take the place of justice has been naive. Technology supplies the goods we want, for material goods are indubitably goods. Technology can give us bigger, brighter, faster, and cheaper automobiles. It cannot tell us who ought to have them, or how many, or where they should go. The notion that a just and equitable distribution of goods will be achieved by the advance of technology or that by its aid we shall put material goods in their proper relation to all others is reduced to absurdity by the coincidence of the zenith of technology and the nadir of moral and political life.

The doctrine by which we have lived is that material goods are an end in themselves. Hence all activity is judged by the profits it brings. The principle is that of the largest returns at the lowest costs. The criterion is purely economic. All extra-economic or non-economic standards, since they impede the struggle towards the goal, must be obliterated.... This is the process of economic rationalization, the process of looking at everything in economic terms and testing everything by economic criteria.... As an Italian economist has pointed out, the most technically perfect economic rationalization of materialism "is the Soviet system, in which all private and public efforts have only one end: The economic rationalization of the whole of life, to the point of abolishing private property and the family, and of attempting the destruction of all religious ideals that might threaten such materialistic rationalization." Communism does not reject the mechanization of life; it completes it. It does not deny that economic activity is the principal basis of civilization; it asserts that it is the sole basis. It does not oppose huge concentrations of economic power; on the contrary, in order to facilitate and control the work of concentration, it accumulates all capital and concentrates all economic life in the hands of the State. Russian communism is simply the logical prolongation of capitalistic materialism. Materialism has captured our culture. It has captured the State. It has captured education; for no one will deny that the test of education is whether the graduates succeed in life, and, even those who argue for intellectual development as the aim of education are constrained to add that the man with a developed intellect will make more money than the man with an undeveloped one.

As materialism has taken over education, so it has taken over morals. It has retained the names of the Christian virtues and changed their meaning to suit its purposes.

Yet now that the triumph of materialism is complete, now that we are all agreed that religion is good for the people, and relief is needed to keep them quiet, and education to teach them to consume and produce, and the family to attach them to their work, and the State to act as the guarantor of an independent autonomous economic machine—the world this spirit has made is collapsing about us and this spirit offers us nothing but gold, with which we cannot buy salvation.

III

The Revolution We Want

It would be laughable to try to build a new order with the old ideals. As Maritain has put it, if we would change the face of the earth, we must first change our own hearts. We are concerned not with a rearrangement of material things, but with a moral and spiritual reformation. This reformation must be intellectual too, for it requires the substitution of rational views of man, the State, and the order of goods for irrational or sub-rational ones... Man is a moral, rational and spiritual being. He needs material goods; unless he has them he cannot survive. But he does not need them without limit. Preoccupation with material goods will hinder and not assist his progress towards his real goal, which is the fullest development of his specific powers. Nature will not forgive those who fail to fulfil the law of their being. The law of human beings is wisdom and goodness, not unlimited acquisition. The economic rationalization of life proceeds in the face of the basic law of human nature. That law would suggest to us the idea of sufficiency rather than the idea of unbounded possessions.

The economic rationalization of life, moreover, proceeds in the face of the basic law of human society. Men are banded together in society for mutual aid towards the objectives of their personal lives, which are, as we have seen, the development of their highest powers. The State is not an end in itself, but a means to the virtue and intelligence, that is the happiness of the citizens. It is held together by justice, through which it cares for the common good. The common good, in fact, is little but justice most broadly conceived: peace, order, and an equitable distribution of economic goods. Since the State is charged with responsibility for the common good, and since the production and distribution of material goods are one aspect of the common good, the economic order must be subordinate to the political order.

The economic rationalization of life makes the political order subordinate to the economic order or confuses the two. We can see this in any campaign, when each candidate tells the citizens of the financial rewards they will reap by voting for him... So we look upon our neighbour either as a customer or a competitor or an instrument of production.

In this setting we may understand the institution of property. Since man is an artist,

an animal that makes things, the individual man is entitled to a sense of participation in the ownership of the instruments of production and in the goods produced. But since the earth was given to man and not to individual men, since man is a social and political animal with social responsibilities, one who acquires property beyond the needs of himself and his family must dedicate it to social purposes. This is the rule of reason, which is nothing but the idea of sufficiency. It is the opposite of the idea of unlimited gain. A violation of the rule of reason is one that nature will not forgive. In this view every act of every man is a moral act, to be tested by moral, and not by economic, criteria. Immoral means of acquiring goods are excluded. The enjoyment of the goods acquired is limited. The exclusion and the limitation are imposed by the nature of man and the nature of organized society. Personal and political rationalization subordinates economic rationalization by relating the material well-being of the individual first to the material well-being of his neighbour, and second to the highest good of the individual and of the whole society. The principle of the good of the person and the good of society is substituted for the principle of the largest returns at the lowest costs. Faith in asceticism and sacrifice is substituted for faith in technology. An order based on charity is substituted for an order based on avarice.

The moral, intellectual, and spiritual reformation for which the world waits depends, then, upon true and deeply held convictions about the nature of man, the ends of life, the purposes of the State, and the order of goods. One cannot take part in this revolution if one believes that men are no different from the brutes, that morals are another name for the mores, that freedom is doing what you please, that everything is a matter of opinion, and that the test of truth is immediate practical success. Precisely these notions lie at the bottom of the materialism that afflicts us; precisely these notions are used in the attempt to justify man's inhumanity to man. The revolution to which we are called must end in the destruction of these notions and their power over individual and political action.

The Root of the Matter

The root of the matter is a very simple, old-fashioned thing, so simple that I am almost ashamed to mention it, for fear of the derisive smile with which wise cynics will greet my words. The thing I mean—please forgive me for mentioning it—is love, Christian love, or compassion. If you feel this, you have a motive for existence, a guide in action, a reason for courage, an imperative necessity for intellectual honesty. If you feel this, you have all that anybody should need in the way of religion.

BERTRAND RUSSEL

(From *The Impact of Science on Society*)

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July 19

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NATIONAL vs. PROPRIETARY ECONOMICS

In my article *Handloom and Khadi* (published in the last issue) endorsing Rajaji's appeal to support handloom cloth, I said that the Government must see that mill-cloth did not kill handloom cloth or Khadi. Let me discuss the subject further.

This is possible only if we revise our current ideas on Economics. Political or National Economy and Accounting must be differentiated from Individualist or Proprietary Economy and Accounting. In Individualist Economy or Accounting, the cost price of an article is calculated by merely adding up the actual out-of-pocket expenses for raw and accessory materials, wages, rent, interest, depreciation, charges of implements etc. To this is added the expected earning of the proprietor. The amount of earning is expected to be sufficient to enable the proprietor to maintain himself and his dependents on a scale to which he is accustomed and to make some saving. If it is so, the industry is considered 'economic', i.e., profitable, or paying. If otherwise, it is 'uneconomic'. The proprietor is not concerned with the 'economic' sufficiency of the labourer's wage. It may not be sufficient even to meet the labourer's dire personal needs. If it does, the wage is regarded as liberal. The maintenance of the labourer's dependents is not the proprietor's concern. His continuous attempt is to reduce the cost price as much as possible and to increase his own earnings as much as possible. It is well known that in every institution, including an industry, the salaries and wages-bill is the biggest item of out-of-pocket expenses. Every economy made in salaries and wages reduces the cost of the article to a greater extent than an economy made on any other item. Hence the proprietor's principal concern is to reduce the amount of the wage-bill. One way of doing this is to reduce the labourer's wage. Obviously, this method has a limit. The other method is to reduce the number of labourers without diminishing the quantity of production, by devising means for increasing the hourly or daily output of each labourer. What is known as the 'industrial revolution' or 'industrialization' is but the extensive application of the second method through power-propelled machinery. Science has enabled the industrialist to devise machines which need only one man to operate them, but can turn out the work of as many as two hundred labourers. The result is that if that one labourer has to be paid even five or ten times more than the former labourer, the proprietor effects a great saving in his wage-bill. The one fortunate labourer who gets the employment feels that his condition has

improved; the proprietor's earning is increased; and, since the saving on the wage-bill is considerable and the production not less than before, he is able to reduce the sale price of the article. This makes the consumer also feel that he is getting things cheaper than before, and he welcomes the machine age. The only people who suffer are the great body of the independent artisans or wage-earners, who have been 'dis-employed' by this apparent economy. Even with all the advances in science, the enormous multiplication of wants, the manufacture of new types of consumer goods, and the creation of new types of social and utility services, it has not been possible to absorb all the persons dis-employed by the various machines. And the competition between the machine and the labourer is not yet over. Every year we see new labourer-reducing devices being invented. As a result all those millions of dis-employed people who were formerly able to maintain themselves and their dependents with self-respect, have now become themselves dependent upon their relatives, friends and the alms-giving public. But in the system of Proprietary or Individualist Economy and Accounting, this is not taken into account. Ultimately the dis-employment of such large numbers becomes an intricate problem and the Government, whether it likes it or not, is compelled to attend to it.

But Government cannot tackle the problem unless it distinguishes between Individualist Economy and Accounting and Political or National Economy and Accounting. The latter is based on the principles of Joint Family Economy. A great and important item which is omitted in calculating the cost of an article in Proprietary Accounting, but which cannot be so neglected in Family Accounting, is the cost of maintaining the dependents of all the persons engaged in producing an article.

Let me explain this by an example.

Suppose there is a family of tailors consisting of ten members, of whom four are capable of doing full day's work, three do some tailoring along with other duties, and three are too old, or weak, or young to do any work, and have to be maintained or brought up by the family. Whether the family trade is thriving or dull, its monthly fare-bill is Rs 200. If it cannot earn that amount, it is forced to run into debt. If it earns more, it can save a little.

Suppose it manages to have a sewing machine. The machine is able to sew six times more than the simple needle. But obviously, only one of the members can sit at the machine at a time. If, formerly, the family could sew six shirts a day, it can easily sew a dozen now. The man who sits at the machine naturally sews more shirts than the rest. But according to the system of accounting followed in an undivided joint family, neither his earnings nor the expenses incurred on his account are distinguished from the earnings and expenses of the rest. All the

shirts, whether sewn by hand or by the machine, would be charged at the same price, and the earnings of the family would be accounted together as common income; so too, all the expenses. If the trade was brisk, the family might purchase a second machine, but that would not be for throwing those who sewed with the simple needle on the street, as no longer required. Nor would they be allowed to sit idle. They would still be sewing as many shirts as they could, and were in demand. If all the shirts they sew, whether on machine or with the hand, cannot be sold, all of them might relax their effort. Assuming that the family could only do tailoring work, and would have otherwise to sit idle, if it found that there was not sufficient work for two machines, it would dispose of one. But in a joint family no member would be turned out of the home. Either the whole family prospered or the whole was reduced to penury. If some members went elsewhere to earn, it would be in the interest of the whole family.

This is the principle of Joint Family Economy and Accounting, and is different from that of Individualist Economy. Political or National Economy is and ought to be an extension of the principle of Joint Family Economy and Accounting, and not of the Individualist or Proprietary system.

Accordingly, the State, as the *paterfamilias* of the nation, must regard all cloth (or any other article) of the same quality, howsoever produced, as of equal value. Let it decide how much cloth it would get produced and by what method. A member of the nation working on power-driven looms or spindles will necessarily produce far more cloth or yarn than one working on the handloom or the *charha*. That does not mean that the value of the former's labour is to be assessed higher than that of the latter, or that the sale price of the machine-made fabric is to be different from that of other cloth of the same quality. If the handicraft mode of production is also needed, either because more cloth is needed than what can be produced on the machine, or because there is no other work in which all able members of the national family can be gainfully employed, that mode of production cannot be dispensed with. The State, as the *paterfamilias* of the nation is in duty bound to maintain all of them, and on an equal level. Accordingly, if say, one crore of people are engaged in the different methods of producing cloth, and 20 crores on producing yarn by the different methods, the wages of all of them must be equal, and the total cost of cloth and yarn must be distributed on the entire production.

To put this in another way, the introduction of a spinning or a weaving mill in the country cannot be for the purpose of competing with loom-cloth or hand-spun yarn by selling its produce at cheaper rates. If the mills make hand-weaving and spinning superfluous by over-production, it should be the mills that should be retrenched and not the weavers and

spinners, unless the State is able to provide alternative employment to the weavers, spinners and others dis-employed by the mills. It should be realized that the persons thrown out of employment by the mills have to be maintained by someone or other, so long as they are not otherwise employed. And if the State does not find food and employment for them, it is not discharging its duty as the *paterfamilias* of the nation. The application of the Individualist method of Economics and Accounting to the State, must cause disruption, chaos and misery in the nation, as it would in a joint family.

It is the duty of the State to see that either every handloom weaver and spinner is fully employed in some occupation, which will give him the same wage as to a mill-weaver and spinner, or to put the price of mill-produced goods on a par with those produced by handicraft methods. All cloth of the same quality is similar, and must have the same price. So too, all producers of cloth must be regarded as on an equal footing and must get equal maintenance. If the implements of production in the hands of the producers are not all of the same type, and if such differences cause difference in the output of each worker in spite of equal labour, this can not be made a reason for giving a less wage to or retrenching some of them.

Any other theory of 'economic efficiency' or 'economically paying' occupation is inconsistent with Political or National Economics and Accounting.

Wardha, 12-7-52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

EVOLVE AND NOT DISSOLVE

A correspondent says:

"Your recent article 'Dissolve Gandhism' is unfortunate. Gandhiji passed away but not so Gandhism, which represents nothing but certain important human ideals.....For a few decades to come we need Gandhism. His writings are so timely; they are like the pole star for Indian day to day affairs. Gandhism is ahead of us not behind us. Please say, 'Evolve Gandhism and not Dissolve'. Gandhism is the highest human thought suitable to present-day conditions."

The writer next discusses some of the problems of the day, such as working for economic equality, sanitation and distribution of land. All these cannot be brought about by mere persuasion. Gandhism should find the *via media* for these. And the *via media* suggested is legislation. The writer proceeds,

"Bapu says in *Young India* (27-8-1925) regarding sanitation. 'Moreover in dealing with this question of sanitation, one has to fight against old prejudices and old habits. It is a matter of sustained education and one that cannot be dealt with without State aid. I regret to have to confess that ingrained bad habits handed down from generation to generation do not yield to persuasion. Legislation seems to me to be the only effective remedy.' Same with land problem. Vinobaji's work is only a token. When will legislation follow?"

"No question of violence and non-violence. You must hammer and din into the ears of our Government that Gandhiji and Gandhism (leave non-violence to gods, if the Government likes!) stood for this, and for the sake of this, certain legislative measures are essential and must be passed immediately.

No Gandhites and any man with common sense can differ on fundamental issues of sanitation, pardah, village uplift etc.

"Gandhism instead of dissolving, must revolutionize itself and struggle till at least some fundamental issues are solved,—where all parties can become one—such as, sanitation, land, ban against costly luxurious cars etc."

The letter itself must convince the reader without further argument that I am justified in asking for the dissolution of Gandhism as a school. The subjects mentioned by him are good, essential and urgent. There ought not to be difference of opinion on them; but one cannot say that there will not be any. There can also be no objection to taking the aid of the legislatures and State machinery in dealing with these problems when appropriate.

But these problems as also the important human ideals for which Gandhiji stood do not need to be solved or evolved in the name of Gandhism. Each problem and each ideal might have been solved or evolved by Gandhiji in his own peculiar manner. We can do so only in accordance with our own lights. We might take the assistance of Gandhiji's writings and methods, but it would not be always correct for any one to assert that he was following Gandhiji's method completely or that Gandhiji would have followed exactly the same method. It is the human ideals and the problems that have to be solved and evolved, not Gandhism.

Gandhism is what Gandhiji wrote and did, and not what we might write or do in his or our name—even if it be for the same ideals and problems.

Wardha, 1-7-52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

"LEARN AS YOU EARN"

[The following is culled from the report (*The Times of India*, 20-3-1952), of the presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions (India) at Aligarh, recently, by Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Director, Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur.]

Dr. Ghosh said that the Universities of India had been since their foundation, the middle class man's stepping-stone to a career, that middle class had often gravitated towards the lower than towards the upper classes. "The Technical Colleges," he said, "have almost exclusively provided the stepping-stone to the career of the lower and the poorer middle classes."

"We, who are assembled here, should always remember that we are teachers of students drawn from these classes. The cost of living today is four times what it was in 1940. Government had hoped at the end of the War that the cost of living would be stabilized at 2½ times the pre-war level. One of the principal causes of discontent in the land is the failure of Government to do so. I state from personal experience that, because of high cost of living today, the lower middle classes send their sons to day institutions for education at the cost of hunger. This state of affairs cannot continue long. It may take a long time to discover and apply a remedy. A palliative may, however, be easier of application. I have recently

visited many colleges in Calcutta teaching Arts, Science and Commerce. I find that more and more students are working in evening classes to secure their I.A., I.Sc., I.Com., B.A., B.Sc., and B.Com. degrees. They no doubt take longer time to get their degrees; the percentage of passes in university examinations is much lower than that of day students. But then these boys have the satisfaction that they are partly earning their livelihood while learning, that they are no longer a complete burden on their parents and guardians. If this is true of Calcutta colleges in Arts, Science and Commerce, how much more urgent it is that we should deliberately encourage this trend in technical colleges?"

"England is a much richer country today than we are; yet in England 80 per cent of the technical personnel are drawn from the ranks of boys who work in the day-time as a paid apprentice and in the evenings as free students of technical colleges. In my frequent visits to England, I have not been impressed by anything more than this system of technical education which has been perfected there. A boy after finishing his compulsory education, often joins a factory as a paid student apprentice. He generally works in the factory for four or 4½ days in the week. He also works simultaneously in a technical school for 1½ or one day in the week as the case may be and also four evenings every week. Such learn-as-you-earn system enables the boy to secure the National Certificate of Proficiency at the end of the course. There is not a town of any importance in England where a technical school of this type is not functioning."

"It is time that in a poor country like India, a serious attempt be made to spread wide this system of technical education. The buildings and equipment of the existing technical institutions represent capital resources which should be put to the fullest use. Evening classes for deserving poor boys should, therefore, be welcomed by such institutions. Government should also be urged to pass an Apprenticeship Act which will make it possible for a young man to work for 1½ days in a school per week for every four days in a factory. There are some enlightened employers in Calcutta who have moved further in this direction. After two weeks' work, they allow one week's leave to their apprentices for study as a day scholar in the Calcutta Technical School. Government may also consider the possibility of making this practice universal. In any case, the expenses for maintaining these classes for apprentices in technical schools should be given the highest priority in the education budget of every State."

[A few words might well be added here to point out that Mahatma Gandhi advocated the method of learning by doing, and what was to be done by students was necessarily to be productive, i.e. it must be earning for the society. This method has wider significance than the mere solution of poverty or high cost of living, which

Dr. Ghosh has in view. It was meant to draw out the whole man in the student. Again the method suggested by Dr. Ghosh well contrasts itself with the wasteful and expensive idleness which we often see on the part of students in our colleges and hostels. In such context the method of learning by doing i.e. earning has definite and very welcome implications in the formation of character of our future citizens too. There is a movement at present going on in our universities to institute external degrees. It is a welcome thing and it should not be restricted to B.A. courses only, but ways and means must be found so as to cover all faculties. — M. P. Desai.]

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR — VI After Sevapuri

Vinoba did not resume the tour immediately after the Sammelan, but stayed at Sevapuri to confer with the workers from the different provinces to chalk out an all-India programme of *Bhodon-Yajna*. He asked them not to leave the place until they had got a clear plan of the work they had to do.

Accordingly, Vinobaji met the prominent workers individually and entrusted to them the responsibility of work. On the 16th April he was busy with them for nearly the whole day. Sitting under the shade of the *pipal* tree, he talked to them for about four hours, answered queries and warned them against pitfalls:

"It is of the essence of the spirit of this work that the worker should realize and establish real kinship with all. When the donor feels that the call to make the offering to the *yajna* has issued forth from his own heart and not from any outside agency, he cannot but give his due contribution."

No Fear of Communism

A lady friend had raised the question: Whether it was tantamount to a threat to warn the landholders of the advent of Communism if they did not participate in the *yajna*. Vinobaji drew the attention of the workers to this question and said:

"I had asked the members of my company to desist from holding out this threat to the people. If we dwell too much on our fears, the probability, that they may materialize, increases. Kamsa was always occupied with the thought of Krishna, as were the Gopis; the former out of fear and hatred, the latter out of love and devotion. The result was, however, the same for both. Both were united with Krishna."

Union of All Parties

Vinobaji asked the workers to note the fact that for some days past the R. S. S. and Jan Sangh representatives had also accompanied his party. They appreciated the programme and also passed a resolution pledging their support. Vinoba said, "We are getting co-operation from all quarters and we should see that this non-party character of our work is kept up. The various Bhodon Committees set up for the province or the district should very carefully observe the purity of speech and of heart. Don't worry about the future. We will face it undaunted. We will fight, if fight becomes necessary, but our approach to the work should be that of love untouched with enmity. Freedom from enmity does not mean that we shall not resist evil. But resistance to evil does not need to derive its force from enmity." Vinoba repeated the illustration regarding the attitude of a person nursing a patient. It must be with the faith that he will recover. Any other attitude is bound to affect his help adversely.

The workers took leave of Vinoba, one by one. These friends, devoted to the cause of building up a non-violent society, devoured full of a new inspiration, with a great message, very much as the disciples of Buddha had done

long ago. Vinoba had himself likened his work to that of Buddha in a speech. He said: "Neither is this work less important than that of the '*Revolving of the Wheel of Dharma*', nor do we, in pursuing it, aim at anything less than that."

They were united with one another by a common aim and a common feeling. They were conscious of the great responsibility which the acceptance of the cause entailed. They knew that they had to change and conform their life to the ideal they were going to preach to the world. They were like pearls woven into the thread of this ideal.

The workers were thus fully instructed about their future work and the way they were to go about it. Then followed leave-taking from our hosts of the Sevapuri Ashram. Speaking on the occasion, Vinoba said: "The people expect to find here a concrete picture of the ideals we claim to uphold. If they get it in the Ashrams, they will feel assured and inspired. These Ashrams are the founts of our strength; they are our power-houses."

Thus came to an end this *mela* of the humble but high-minded men and women which met at Sevapuri for four-five days and discussed the most momentous question before the country and dispersed only after they had pledged themselves to solve it.

In Jaunpur District

Vinoba along with his party now started on his tour of the Jaunpur District. This time, Vinoba permitted some more workers from different provinces to accompany him on his tour. There were Shri Radhakrishnan of Malabar, Shri Narayan Desai and Shri Rajendra from Gujarat, Maharashtra was represented by Shri Premabehn Kantak and Shri Nirmala Deshpande. There was a worker from Karnatak too and from Andhra Shri Vidya Devi. There were also two French ladies.

When Bapuji launched his first experiment of Satyagraha in Champaran, he was accompanied by Shri Rajendra Babu and Kripalanjali. That Satyagraha was the laboratory in which he built the leaders of his future work. Vinoba is doing the same, training workers to grow into leaders of his future work.

The *Bhodon* pilgrimage after Sevapuri is different in character from what it had been till then. Now the work has been acclaimed and accepted by the nation. Vinoba had never felt the burden of the work even before; now that it has been taken over by the country, he feels lighter than ever and, as is natural with him under such circumstances, more meditative.

Voluntary Bhodon at Tikardi

We had a new experience at one of the halts of the Jaunpur District. About four miles away from our halt, there was village, Tikardi. Vinoba did not go there. The workers, however, went and explained his mission to them. Out of 32 families in that village, twenty were those of the landholders, while twelve were landless. When they were apprised of the *Bhodon-Yajna* and explained how it was their duty to part with some of their lands in favour of the poor, they collected among themselves 37 acres for the landless. Now there is none who is landless in that village. Later the people came to see Vinoba.

It is clear from this instance that Vinoba is right in saying that now he does not need speaking. But just as the sea waves rise at the sight of the moon, even so the emotions of Vinoba as he looks at the people. He feels uplifted to an affluence of delight, and as he speaks, which he has to do twice a day, new thoughts and new ideas issue forth from his lips to illumine the speech. He is himself amazed, how he, temperamentally averse to speaking, speaks so much.

R. S. S. Gifts

I have referred to the help received from the R. S. S. The leader of R. S. S. of Jaunpur, Shri Yadavendraji gifted 2,000 acres. We had already received gifts from the Socialists and Communists. Now the R. S. S. was also moved to fall in with us. And it is being demonstrated to

us how this programme can bring together all the diverse parties to unite in a nobly-directed effort. And 'unity' as Vinoba has said 'is the best political activity in the circumstances of our country.'

The officials of the department of village panchayats in this district have decided to distribute a thousand rupees worth of agricultural implements. It is an example which the panchayats in other districts will do well to follow.

Jaunpur is known in history as the seat of the *Shakti* dynasty. The villages have had patriotic traditions of sacrifice from the rebellion of 1857 down to our own August Revolution of '42. They had until quite recently the well-known village industry of the manufacture of *kalins*, which were exported to far off America, and perfumed oils which enjoy even now a country-wide market. The soil is fertile and is well known for some of its high-quality vegetables. But the lure for growing money-crops has upset the balance of agriculture here also, and the region is not self-sufficient in food.

Spirit of Ahimsa

I may mention here an interesting example of how the spirit of Ahimsa has gone deep into the minds of our people. The district has a flourishing fish-trade. We were staying at Badshahpur. Not far from our lodgings, there was a temple with a tank in front. The Fisheries Department put into the tank some of their better varieties of fish, as part of their scheme for the expansion of the fish trade. But the villagers protested against the use of a temple tank for this sacrilege. The Department had to yield to the protest and the temple-lake was left off.

The workers in Jaunpur district showed good enthusiasm. At our last halt in Shahganj all the workers of the district were present. A committee of twenty was appointed to look after the work, and they promised to fulfil the district quota before June 15. The friends from Gujarat, Maharashtra and the South returned from here to their respective places.

In Fyzabad District

From Jaunpur, we entered Fyzabad. Raniwa, the first of a series of Gandhi Ashram centres lies in this district. Most of the U. P. workers have had their training at this centre. It was some four miles away from our route. Therefore, the workers of the centre came to meet Vinoba at his camp. Akbarpur, one of the biggest Khadi-producing centres is also in this district. Khadi-work goes on in every village of the *Tang tahsil*. Akbarpur has the same place in Eastern U. P. as Meerut in the Western.

May-Day Speech

At Fyzabad, on May-Day, Vinobaji delivered a revealing speech on *bhoodan* as a movement for the good of the workers. He gave the historical background of the labour movement and explained how *Bhoodan-Yajna* was a necessary step in its development.* The society was also possessed of a mind, a collective mind, just like the individual. Great men appear from time to time and influence this social mind in their efforts to bring about the reign of Dharma. This leads to the unfolding of the powers of the mind and their refinement in consonance with the aim. Ours is an age of freedom movements, freedom based on equality and justice. *Bhoodan-Yajna* is a part of this great movement. It is an attempt to meet the call of the age.

Tulsi Chaura

On our way to Fyzabad, we crossed the *Tamasa* near Akbarpur. It occurred to me that the residents of Ayodhya had escorted Rama in days of yore to the bank of this

* The speech has appeared in the June issue of the Hindi *Sarvodaya*.

river. Just as in Mathura one is reminded of Krishna, so here every place raises the memory of Rama. Vinoba stopped for a while at Tulsi Chaura—a place where poet Tulsidas wrote a part of his *Ramayana*. Parts of it were written at Kashi and Chitrakut. The sight of the place associated with Tulsi was bound to move Vinoba, himself a devotee of Rama. The place had a very neglected look. Vinoba drew the attention of the audience to this sad fact and advised them about their duty to keep these places not only well-trimmed physically but also spiritually by keeping alive the message of the great man in the life around it.

(From Hindi)

D. M.

THE LAW OF LOVE

(By Leo Tolstoy)

Finding strange the blindness of the men who believe in the necessity for violence, and convinced as I am of the contrary, it is not arguments, however, that can persuade me and convince others of the truth; what determines my belief is the certainty of the spiritual nature of man, of which love is the manifestation. But real love, revealed to us by Christ, excludes the possibility of all violence.

I do not know, and no one can know, if the use of violence or resignation when threatened with evil is useful or useless, harmful or harmless; what I know, and what every one knows, is that love is good; it is good when men feel affection for me; it is much better if I feel affection for men; in fact, the greatest-good of all is my affection for all, not only for those who love me, but, as Christ said, for those who hate me, who injure me.

Strange as it may be to any one who has not felt this, it is nevertheless true; and the more I ponder on it, the more surprised I am not to have felt it sooner.

The real love, which denies self and identifies its "ego" with another is synonymous with the awakening in the soul of the superior, universal principle of life. This love is the true, and gives all the good that it can give when it is only love—that is to say, free of any personal interest. And it is this kind of love that must be felt for the enemy or the offender.

... It follows that the human soul suffers when one opposes evil to evil, and on the other hand, feels the greatest happiness in returning good for evil.

(From *The Aryan Path*, July, '52)

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