

HARIJAN

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 5

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1948

TWO ANNAS

A COURAGEOUS DECISION

It was with a heavy heart that we agreed to suspend the publication of the *Harijan*. It was no easy decision to discontinue after Gandhiji's death a paper which had for years been the vehicle of his thoughts and through which he had preached incessantly his unique message of truth, love and non-violence. But for reasons stated in these columns at that time there was no other alternative pending the decision of the constructive workers' conference that was to meet at Wardha. In that conference it was decided that all those who derived inspiration from Gandhiji and shared his ideals should unite themselves into a fellowship of service — *Sarvodaya Samaj* — and strive collectively to represent what he stood for. The resumption of the publication of the *Harijan Weeklies* is a natural corollary to that decision. There have been numerous requests from all parts of the world, from sympathisers and admirers of Gandhiji and his ideals, to be kept in touch with the course of his various activities in India. It would have been wrong to disappoint that very natural desire on their part. The world has a right to know how Gandhiji's countrymen and particularly those who shared his faith are trying to acquit themselves of the responsibility that has devolved upon them after Gandhiji's death. The various workers in the field too, need a vehicle for co-ordinating their efforts and exchanging notes of their respective experiences. The resuscitated *Harijan Weeklies* will be a mirror of our shortcomings and failures, no less than of our strivings.

The resumption of the *Harijan Weeklies* has been rendered possible only by the courageous decision of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala to offer his services to the cause of the *Harijan* in spite of the handicap of his ill-health. In him, as in Vinoba Bhave, we have a seeker after truth who has not only made a lifelong study of Gandhiji's ideals, but has incessantly striven to translate those ideals into his life. He has a gnawing sense of his limitations. In deciding to resume publication of the *Harijan Weeklies*, the Trustees have relied on the goodwill and active co-operation of their countrymen in general and the readers of the *Harijan Weeklies* in particular. I have faith that it will be forthcoming in ample measure.

New Delhi, 31-3-'48

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

AN URGENT NEED

[The following message from Shri Mangaldas Pakvasa has been received for this number of the *Harijan*.]

—MG. ED.]

I am asked to give a message for the *Harijan*. What message can a humble follower of Bapu give? I have no doubt in my mind that the renewed publication of the *Harijan* under the guidance of able persons saturated with the spirit of Bapu's philosophy will continue to serve the urgent need of the present times. The world today is on the brink of a new war of destruction of property and annihilation of mankind. It almost seems impossible that the world powers will accept Gandhian principles of truth and non-violence and abjure war. The people of this sub-continent of Asia at least should listen to his message of brotherly love and peace and goodwill amongst the various creeds, classes and communities. Bapu strove for unity. Let not anybody do anything which might tend to produce disunity or disharmony amongst our people. May God give wisdom and strength to our people to follow the road indicated by Bapu. Though the message of the Prophet of Peace was for the whole world, in any event, let us prove worthy of his heritage.

Nagpur, 27-3-'48

MANGALDAS PAKVASA

POLICY TOWARDS MINORITIES

The Press reports an Indo-Pakistan joint statement as follows:

"The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan wish to take the opportunity of their meeting on March 19 to reiterate simply and clearly the policies of their respective Governments towards the minority communities in their respective territories. Both the Governments hope and trust that the minority communities will remain in their homes. Indeed, they are anxious to do so. They intend to do their utmost to help members of the minority communities to stay. They are convinced that this is in the best interests of all concerned.

"This does not mean that they intend to put any obstacle in the way of those who, of their own will, decide to migrate from one Dominion to the other."

The statement is good. But what will reassure the common man of the minority communities involved is that the officers loyally carry out the policy announced, the local majority communities heartily respond to it, and also that the leaders and advisers of the minorities concerned are clean in

their heart towards the Dominion in which they live. This is possible only if every one keeps God as witness, instead of power politics and greed.

Wardha, 25-3-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE SEVAGRAM RESOLUTIONS

[The following six resolutions were passed by the Conference of constructive workers which met at Sevagram on the 13th, 14th and 15th of March, 1948. Dr. Rajendraprasad, President of the Congress presided over the Conference.

—MG. ED.]

1. Gandhiji's Death

It is impossible to estimate the loss which the various constructive Sanghs have suffered by the passing away in New Delhi on January 30th, 1948 of Gandhiji who was the very soul of these Sanghs. None can measure the harm done not only to our country, but to the whole humanity by the man who committed the foul deed of taking his life and by those behind him. They have blackened the name of both Hindu religion and the Hindu community.

All thoughtful people must seriously realize that the dark savage mentality which led to the assassination of a great man—indeed, the world's noblest and most pure-hearted, one who was a friend of all mankind and father of his people and who went about fearlessly and trustingly everywhere—was a result of wrong education and narrow communal ideas which foster hostility and discrimination between man and man.

No resolution can wipe out this blot on mankind or undo the harm or diminish the sorrow of the people who were like members of Gandhiji's own family. The only way is to educate the people to follow the principles and ideas of Gandhiji, to popularize his Constructive Programme, to promote friendliness and co-operation between nations, religions and communities and to work for banishment of violent methods of war, tyranny and killing.

The Conference urges the people and those who revere Gandhiji and work on his principles in political, social and economic fields, that in their grief they should take counsel together to determine how they should carry on the work started by him and fulfil his mission.

2. Sarvodaya Samaj

Those believing in Gandhiji's principles have decided to form a brotherhood, which will be a vast organization.

NAME: This organization will be known as the Sarvodaya Samaj.

AIM: To strive towards a society based on truth and non-violence, in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for development both for individuals as well as groups.

MEANS: The following means will be used to achieve this objective:

(1) Communal unity (friendship between followers of different faiths and between community and community); (2) Removal of untouchability; (3) Abolition of caste; (4) Prohibition; (5) Khadi and other village industries; (6) Village Sanitation; (7) Nai Talim; (8)

Equality of rights and status for both men and women; (9) Health and cleanliness; (10) Development of Indian languages; (11) Removal of narrow provincialism; (12) Propagation of Hindustani as the national language; (13) Economic equality; (14) Development of agriculture; (15) Organization of labour; (16) Welfare of the aborigines; (17) Organization of students; (18) Care of lepers; (19) Relief work for destitutes; (20) Cow protection; (21) Naturopathy; and (22) Other similar activities.

Whoever adheres to the above-mentioned principles and tries to work them out will be eligible for membership of the Samaj. Prospective members should intimate the Secretary of the Samaj of their acceptance of the principles as well as the methods, and supply him with their names and addresses which will be registered. To provide an opportunity for contact among the members a meeting will be held on January 30 every year at an agreed place.

This Samaj will be an advisory body and not an executive organization.

This Conference empowers the President and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala to appoint a committee to promote the work of the Sarvodaya Samaj. They should fix the number of members of the committee.

NOTE: Shri Rajendraprasad, President, and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, have accordingly nominated the following persons for the committee:

Shri R. S. Dhotre, Convener

„ Sushilabehn Pai

„ Dharendra Mazumdar

„ M. Satyanarayana

„ Ramdev Thakur

„ A. Vedaratnam Pillai

„ Manmohan Chaudhary

„ Timmappa Nayak

„ Babalbhai Mehta

„ Mahesh Datta Misra

„ Kashinath Trivedi

„ Shreemannarayan Agrawal

with powers to co-opt others upto five more. The function of the committee will be to maintain a Register of Sevaks of the Samaj, to fix the place for the first annual *mela* which will be held on the 30th of January next year and to make such arrangement as may be necessary for it and generally to act as a liaison between the Samaj and its members and otherwise to implement the resolution of the Conference relating to establishing of the Sarvodaya Samaj. The committee will have power to fill up vacancies which may occur and also to appoint any office-bearers if they may consider it necessary.

3. Co-ordination of Sanghs

This Conference recommends that the existing Constructive Organizations should prepare a scheme for unification and form a joint committee as early as possible. Shri J. C. Kumarappa is requested to take action in this matter.

4. Establishment of Centres

This Conference recommends to the members of the committee proposed under Resolution No. 3 and to those who have faith in Gandhiji's ideology that they should establish small centres at various places to carry on constructive work.

5. Communal Problem

This Conference of constructive workers deplores the present atmosphere in the country. The spread of communal hatred and the tendency among people not to distinguish between proper and improper means to achieve their ends are endangering the future of the country. This Conference strongly appeals to every Indian to make it his primary duty to fight this danger. Everyone should strive his utmost to free the country from communal hatred and should resolve that to achieve one's end it is necessary to use only pure and proper means. In other words, it is essential to follow the principles of truth and non-violence.

This Conference appeals to all Constructive Organizations to enjoin on their workers to take up the task of eradicating the poison of communalism, following the ideals of truth and non-violence.

It is in this connection necessary that every Constructive Organization and every worker, with the help of the Congress and the Government, should, as far as possible, assist in the mental and material rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees of all communities. It should be their endeavour to see that people following different religions once again live peacefully and amicably together in full security of their lives, property, honour and religion.

6. Shanti Seva Dal

The real cause of Gandhiji's martyrdom is the widespread feeling of narrow communalism, which must be fought to remove the blot staining India's reputation. To achieve this object it is necessary that the people of the country, particularly the youth, should be organized without any communal distinction on the basis of truth, non-violence and good conduct. This organization should be in the form of a Peace Service (*Santi Seva Dal*) which should strive to create an atmosphere of harmony in the country, give relief to riot sufferers, help refugees and organize singing parties in both towns and villages.

SOME BOOKS WORTH STUDY AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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By M. K. Gandhi

Price Rs. 6-0-0 Postage etc. 0-12-0

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME—

Its Meaning and Place : (New Edition)

By M. K. Gandhi

Price Re. 0-6-0 Postage etc. 0-2-0

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME—

Some Suggestions

By Babu Rajendraprasad

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By Amrit Kaur

(With a Foreword by Pyarelal)

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By Nirmal Kumar Bose

(With a Foreword by Gandhiji)

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NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

THE NATIONAL WEEK

Dr. Rajendraprasad, Congress President, has issued the following appeal in connection with observance of forthcoming National Week:

The country has been observing the National Week from 6th to 13th April every year for nearly thirty years now. It was within this Week that Mahatma Gandhi started his large-scale countrywide movement for the assertion of the right and self-respect of the people of this country and for the achievement of freedom. We had to go through several Satyagraha Movements under his leadership before freedom was achieved. Whenever we were not engaged in satyagraha the Week was utilized for furthering and intensifying work in connection with some items or other of the constructive programme. The Week has a particular and different significance now. It should be a week of remembrance and of rededication. Mahatmaji's passing away gives added significance to its observance. It has, therefore, to be observed with solemnity but enthusiasm. All Congress organizations and others are requested to devote it this year to two things. There should be a countrywide drive in favour of reestablishment of communal peace and harmony. This can be done by propaganda and fraternization among the members of different communities, particularly Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and the removing of local cause of grievances which lead to trouble.

The Week should also be devoted to collection for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. The Central Committee has already appointed Provincial and State Committees which it is hoped will before the Week commences have appointed wherever necessary local committees as also authorized agents for making collection. The Central Committee has appealed to all to contribute at least ten days' earnings to the fund. Steps should be taken to collect these contributions from individuals all over the country. Payments should be made only to authorized collectors and only on grant of receipt. Collectors and committees are required to deposit the collections from day to day in one or another of the banks which have been authorized and whose names have been published. It is feared that it may not be possible for the workers engaged in collections to reach all those who are willing to pay within the Week. The period, therefore, may be prolonged and we may have a National Fortnight instead of a National Week for intensified work. Collection will not of course end within this period but it is hoped that the National Week will give an auspicious start to it.

TO SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers are aware of the circumstances under which the publication of the *Harijan* papers was temporarily suspended. It has now been decided to resume publication from the date on which they will receive this number.

To make up for the gap left by the period of suspension we have decided to extend the period of subscriptions by a month. Thus subscriptions which expire by the end of February, 1949 will now be deemed to expire by the end of March, 1949 and so on.

1-4-'48

J. DESAI

HARIJAN

April 4

1948

WITH TRUST IN GOD

My Trust in God is the only strength on which I accept the responsibility of editing the *Harijan* papers. The external circumstances are not favourable to me — the greatest handicap being my continuously failing health. Besides, I am a poor linguist and a slow writer, and with English I feel least at home. If the English edition was at all to be re-started, Pyarelalji should have continued to edit it. But, rightly, he wishes to devote the best part of his energy and time to the service, which he was engaged in when Gandhiji was alive, and to the collection of material for Gandhiji's biography. He is, therefore, unable to shoulder this responsibility in addition, though he will continue to contribute to these weeklies, which are more his than any one else's. Efforts in other directions having failed, the Navajivan Trust has pressed me to undertake the burden in spite of my limitations.

The question has been put, and quite relevantly, whether an English edition need be issued at all. Gandhiji did not love to write in English for his Indian readers. He wrote in English because he had a message to deliver to the non-Indian world also. His command over that language enabled him to do so easily. Nevertheless, whether one liked it or no, the English edition was as popular and necessary in India as the Indian languages editions. The fact is that there is a large section of Indian readers, to whom the English edition is the only convenient medium of getting acquainted with the mission for which the *Harijan* stands. For the time being, therefore, it has been decided to continue the English edition also. It will go on only if the subscribers maintain it; for, it cannot be carried on if it is not self-supporting. Advertisements are out of the question.

Two factors have encouraged me to undertake this work. The first is that though nature is against me, I feel that society has always been more kind to me than I have deserved. My friends and co-workers, in spite of my several temperamental and intellectual drawbacks, have borne with me lovingly and patiently, and I can expect to get their co-operation. I have also the good fortune of enjoying the blessings of my elders and the goodwill of our prominent leaders irrespective of their political, religious or other labels. I take this as evidence of God's grace. But the second and more decisive factor is that the humanitarian cause, which Gandhiji espoused and laid down his life for, is still unfinished. It was undertaken in the name of God and his life was an offering to Him. I believe in that cause, and feel that whatever little strength is left in me could not be better utilized than in helping that cause. If my body withers away in the performance of this service, it will not have

withered away in vain. I believe that it is not merely political, social, economical, sectarian or ideological problems, that we are confronted with, and solutions based on these considerations alone will not carry us very far. Ultimately, it is the spiritual and moral rebirth of man that is needed. We have dethroned God from our hearts and installed in His place mere knowledge. Respect for life, truthfulness, honesty, regard for age and the fair sex, honour, dignity of labour and various other virtues which ought to be the distinguishing characteristics of all civilization and culture have gone out of vogue. There is no act of inhumanity or barbarism which we will refrain from in order to achieve our object. If by God we understand the aggregate of these virtues, we have run away from Him, and no advancement of learning and no political or economic system will make us happy until we respectfully advance towards Him again. It will be my endeavour to awaken men's conscience in this direction, and so I trust He will help me, — though literally, I am a broken reed.

It will be best to make one thing clear from the very commencement. The reader will not take whatever I or other writers of the *Harijan* say to be Gandhism, or an authorized interpretation of Gandhiji. If he finds an inconsistency between what will appear under our signatures and what Gandhiji said, he should consider each on its merits and accept what appeals to his head and heart. I have no authority to interpret him, and the reader will bear patiently with me if I do not seem to follow him in every detail. What Shri Vinoba Bhave said the other day about himself, I apply to myself also. I have learnt much from Gandhiji — perhaps more from him than others. But I also have got much from others. It has all become blended and a part of my own being. Therefore, what I say may not always be the same as Gandhiji said or might be expected to say. It is sufficient if it is in pursuit of Truth, Love and Peace.

Wardha, 23-3-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE SEVAGRAM CONFERENCE

THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL

Those engaged in various kinds of constructive activities had been feeling for some time the need of a conference where they could exchange ideas and experiences and consider how best they could further carry on the work in the new set up of things. It had accordingly been decided in consultation with Gandhiji that the conference should be held at Wardha early in February, which he was also to attend. All the arrangements had been made at Sevagram but just two or three days before Gandhiji was to leave Delhi for Sevagram the tragedy occurred and the conference had to be postponed.

THE CONFERENCE

After Gandhiji's passing away, its necessity became even more urgent and so it was convened for the 13th, 14th and 15th of March. Not only some 500 constructive workers, from all over the country, but also prominent persons — Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram from amongst the members of the Central Government, Governors of C. P. and Orissa, Prime Ministers of Bombay, Madras and Orissa and other ministers from several other provinces besides leaders like Acharya Kripalani, Shri Jaiprakash Narayan and others attended the Conference.

TWO PROBLEMS

The Conference had two problems before it. Gandhiji had carried on ceaseless activity for over 50 years, while in South Africa and in India. He stood for certain principles and a particular way of life. He had organized the nationalist forces in the struggle for securing the independence of the country. The fight which he gave was not of the type and kind that the world is familiar with. It was of a unique character, in that it stood for Truth and Non-violence against the physical might of a great power.

His teaching was not of the type of a mystic or a saint intended only for those who cut themselves off from the world, but was of intensely practical nature which could be adopted by every one in his life. Much of what he has said and written has been preserved and is available to us and to posterity. There are also many living in this country and elsewhere, who have tried to cast their own lives in his mould and who are engaged in various kinds of activities which are considered necessary and helpful to the growth of the kind of life and society which he envisaged. The problems, therefore, with which the conference was faced were firstly to consider whether it was necessary and possible to set up an organization that would best serve and continue his line of action and thought and if such an organization was to be set up, what its shape and function should be. Secondly, a number of institutions to implement Gandhiji's constructive programme in its various aspects dealing with different subjects had been started by him and had been carrying on their work. The question was how these various institutions and organizations should be continued so that they might further the cause which he had in view.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS

Before the actual Conference met on the 13th, a number of prominent workers who have been associated with Gandhiji, met and discussed the problems in their different aspects and prepared the programme and the draft resolutions for the consideration of the Conference. These preliminary meetings were of great importance in clarifying the ideas and chalking out a practical programme of work. As was to be expected, the discussions were frank and full and all those who attended the preliminary meetings put forward their view-points for consideration by others. The first question was what we could do to encourage the study and practical adoption of Gandhiji's teachings by others. Was an organization necessary for this purpose? If so, should it be a closely knit and disciplined organization whose members would have to work within it or was it to be an association of men

and women who had faith in his teachings and who tried in their own lives to implement them without any other bond than that which was supplied by their common faith and the common ideals which they all held?

SAINTS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

There were difficulties and risks which had to be faced and avoided. History is replete with instances of saints, whose followers after their passing away reduced their teachings to dogmas which had to be accepted by all who professed to follow them. In course of time, these dogmas ceased to have any meaning and professing followers remained contented with the mere form and lost all the spirit of the true teachings of the saint.

GANDHIJI'S METHOD

The members of the Conference were anxious to avoid any such contingency.

Gandhiji had during many years of public life dealt with and covered a vast field in his speeches and writings, and there is hardly a problem which arose in our present day life which has not, at some stage or other, been dealt with by him. Not only questions of public importance, but the problems of individuals also had been constantly placed before him and received his attention, and solutions from the big problems of the State right down to what we consider to be the minute details of a house-holder's life, as for example, set up of his kitchen and the work to be done there, and the way in which the latrines should be cleaned, had all received his due attention. He was never tired of going into the minutest details and nothing was too small or too insignificant just as nothing was too great or too difficult for him. Naturally, his whole life was a series of experiments and he rightly named his Autobiography as 'Experiments with Truth'. As is to be expected in these circumstances, his mind was not static but was growing with experience in life. All that one could say, or he himself could say, was that whatever he had stated in regard to a particular question was his considered judgment at the time when he made the statement, and not necessarily what he would say regarding the same subject at a different time in a different context. This is not what is ordinarily called inconsistency, but the characteristic of one who has fixed principles by which he judged the problems as they arose and was not afraid to take different views at different times, so long as the fundamental principle is not in any way violated. He had been approached with a request for writing out something like a comprehensive text-book, in which he could give the sketch of how his principles could be applied to practical solutions of the various problems: religious, social, political and economic which faced this country and the world at large. But, he had expressed his inability to do so and stated that he had got only fundamental principles which he applied to practical problems as they arose and could not write out anything like a text-book of general maxims. The members of the Conference had to take notice of this, and had to be cautious that nothing should

be done after his death which would be what he himself had refused or avoided to be in his lifetime, namely producing a text-book of generalizations and dogmas. But, more than this, there was also the feeling that any organization in course of time would degenerate into a *sampradaya* or a sect and this had to be avoided at all costs.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME—TRUTH IN PRACTICE

As stated above, Gandhiji was not a mere mystic but an intensely practical man and his teaching was that the principles which he held true and sacred should express themselves in practical form through the life of individuals and of the society, which he envisaged. The constructive work which he had undertaken was, therefore, a practical application of his fundamentals—Truth and Non-violence. A little deeper analysis led to a further synthesis and Non-violence became merged into Truth and Truth stood as the one great fundamental thing to which he held fast. It was not only in an ethical sense that he professed Truth but Truth to him was God, in Whom he lived and moved and had his being. The constructive programme, therefore, had no meaning apart from this fundamental and unless it helped in the creation of a society based on Truth, it would have no fruition. The various items of the constructive programme, were therefore conceived by him as steps in the direction of and leading to the great summit, which had to be achieved and reached by individuals and by society at large. Just as there may be various paths leading to the summit, which may all come from different directions, but must all converge to the same point, so also the different items of the constructive programme were intended to lead to the same summit. It was, therefore, not only a mere intellectual grasp or philosophic satisfaction which should be obtained as a result of hard thinking and concentration that he aimed at, but actual participation in the activities which directly or indirectly would shape life and conduct of individuals and society that he wanted to achieve by the application of his constructive programme. The Conference, therefore, had to consider how this practical application of his principles could best be brought about.

A LOOSE ORGANIZATION

Gandhiji did not have much faith in external sanctions and depended more on the inner sanction or what is ordinarily called conscience for regulating men's conduct. If those who profess to understand and follow his teachings had to depend on external sanctions of an organization, they would at the very outset be denying in a way their professed principles; on the other hand, if there was not any kind of organization of all those who had tried to follow him in his lifetime and for whom he in his body formed the sole binding force would, now that his body had been consumed by fire, be left without any tie between them to be tossed by cross currents. Therefore, the Conference had to steer a middle course and it decided to have a loose organization where the nexus, which would combine the units would be common faith in his teachings and more

or less the common way of life, which he had taught and which each in his own sphere would be trying to live.

WHAT IS EXPECTED OF MEMBERS

One of the questions, which caused some little discussion was whether there should be any membership of this organization and if so whether any conditions would be attached to it and how membership could be secured. One view was that there should be no list of members, because if members had to be enrolled, then somebody would have to decide whether a particular applicant was fit to be a member or not, and if for some reason or other, a particular member had by his action deserved to be excluded from the membership. Others, on the other hand felt that there should be some kind of membership however light the burden it carried might be. Ultimately, it was decided that any one who had faith in Gandhiji's teachings and ideals and who tried to give expression to them in his or her own life by doing something practically of the nature of what was being attempted by various constructive organizations which had been established or which might be established in future was free to regard himself as a member of this brotherhood. It was not to be a membership, as membership ordinarily goes in associations and organizations. It was in one sense, a looser kind of relationship but in another sense it insisted on a stricter adherence not only in faith but also in actual life to Gandhiji's teachings. The adherence would be judged not by external authority but by his or her own conscience. So anyone who judged himself fit had only to send in his name and address to the person who might be authorized to receive them for record. The word 'member' or *sadasya* was purposely avoided and the word *sevak* or 'servant' or 'worker' used.

THE NAME

So also in the name of the organization the word *Sangh* which implies some sort of organizational compulsion was avoided and the looser expression of *Samaj*, which corresponds more to brotherhood than to association, was used. The name of the Samaj was also a matter of discussion and the expression Sarvodaya Samaj was ultimately adopted as the best not only because the word *Sarvodaya* had been used by Gandhiji himself to express in a word the concrete result of his teachings but also because it would best serve to keep before the *sevaks* constantly the practical aspect of Gandhiji's teachings. Thus the Sarvodaya Samaj has been established to strive as the resolution says, towards a society based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation, and full scope for development both for individuals as well as groups. The resolution recounted the various means which are the various aspects of the constructive programme for achieving this objective. The resolution declared that whoever adhered to the principles and applied them for himself would be eligible for the membership of the Samaj.

THE ANNUAL FUNCTION

To provide an opportunity for contact among the members it was decided that a *mela* would be

held on January 30th every year at an agreed place. This *mela* would be unlike all modern Conferences or Congresses for which extensive and expensive arrangements have to be made by Reception Committees for the lodging and boarding of the delegates. This *mela* would be held on the appointed date at the appointed place and those who will come to it will have to make their own arrangements, just as all those who attend the various fairs do. The only arrangement which might have to be made by others for them would be such as sanitary arrangements etc., which individuals cannot manage. The *sevaks* would meet, exchange ideas, share each other's experiences and go back to their respective fields of work with fresh inspiration. There might also be papers published which would give the members the benefit of each other's thought and experience.

THE COMMITTEE AND ITS FUNCTION

The President and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala were authorized to appoint a committee to give effect to this resolution. It was specially stated at the Conference that this committee should not constitute itself into a body which would give authoritative interpretation of Gandhiji's teachings or act as a sort of court of reference for getting disputes about interpretations settled. It should not also organize the Samaj in such a way as to make it a party for political or other purposes or convert it into a sort of religious sect. It was accepted unanimously that neither the Samaj nor this committee would do any such thing. Its function would be to keep a register of *sevaks*, to take such steps as might be considered necessary for the annual *mela* and to act as a sort of liaison between members who will be spread all over. In forming the committee care has been taken to select workers who are actually engaged in constructive work of some kind or other and who have been trying to live the life that Gandhiji would have liked us to live, who have kept themselves in the background so that they have not yet come into the limelight and have no adventitious value attached to them but would be acceptable only to the extent they carry conviction.

THE SARVODAYA SAMAJ

The Sarvodaya Samaj will not act as an organization, it will not undertake any work or programme by itself although all *sevaks* are expected to be doing some thing or other in furtherance of some constructive work. While every *sevak* will be free to do work what suits him best — of course consistent with the teachings of Gandhiji — he will not do anything in the name and on behalf of the Samaj. It is hoped that men and women, who have the faith and the will, will join the Samaj and will freely and of their own accord without any fear or favour carry on in their own lives the teachings of Gandhiji. The number of such people all the world over must be very large and it is hoped that the Samaj through its members will be able not only to keep the torch burning but also to spread its light farther and farther.

CO-ORDINATION OF CONSTRUCTIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The second point which came up for consideration was the co-ordination of the various organizations engaged in constructive work like the All India Spinners' Association, the Gramodyoga Sangh, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, the Goseva Sangh, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha etc. These different organizations had been started by Gandhiji at different times under the auspices and with the blessings of the Congress and had been concentrating on the particular items with which they were concerned. There are many workers who are interested in more than one such organization. It was felt even by Gandhiji that something should be done to bring them closer together and co-ordinate their activities so as to be of assistance to one another. Gandhiji during his lifetime was the President of some of these, and even where he was not the president, he was the guide and director to each of them. Co-ordination of their activities and the appointment of some individuals or the establishment of some organization that could undertake to guide and direct them as Gandhiji had been doing was necessary all the more after his passing away. The Conference could not take any decision because each of these was an autonomous organization and the Conference as such could not take any decision which would bind them. The members present who represented them, not formally but in fact, were all keen on having some such body set up. It was, therefore, decided that Shri J. C. Kumarappa be entrusted with the work of taking such steps as were necessary to bring this about in consultation with these bodies.

As the constructive programme is an ever expanding programme, there is no limit to the number of organizations which may be considered necessary and the co-ordinating body that would be appointed will, therefore, not only confine itself to the existing organizations, but will also make provision for other organizations which would come into existence hereafter.

COMMUNAL PEACE—THE ONE TASK

The Conference devoted much time to the consideration of these two items. But all through its discussions and throughout the period that the members were present they were all feeling that it was absolutely necessary to do some thing to establish the communal peace to which Gandhiji in his last days was almost exclusively devoting all his time and as a result of which he lost his life. The communal problem has been there for a long time and throughout his life Gandhiji had given it a most prominent place in his activities. But, unfortunately, in spite of his efforts it has become more and more complicated and his work and even his motive have been distrusted by some group or other. The Hindu-Muslim tension, as a result of which the country has been divided, leading to the establishment of two States, has become very much aggravated within recent months. It is not necessary to go into its history.

RESULTS OF PARTITION

Since shortly before and after the partition immense suffering has been caused. Thousands of men and women and even children have lost their lives and crores worth of property has been lost and destroyed by loot and arson. Millions of Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Musalmans on the other have left their original homes and moved in the midst of immense suffering and disaster to Eastern Punjab or other parts of India and Pakistan respectively. The movement has not yet ended and lakhs of Hindus and some Sikhs are left behind in Western Pakistan waiting to be evacuated to India. The number of people who have thus been evacuated from Western Pakistan to India and vice versa is roughly estimated to be five millions on each side. Seven or eight lakhs of Hindus are said to have migrated similarly from Eastern Pakistan to West Bengal. The misery involved in the uprooting of such immense populations from their original homes and moving them to distant places hundreds of miles away can very well be imagined. It is therefore not unnatural that they should have anger and bitterness in their hearts. The reports of sufferings of their co-religionists have embittered the feelings of both the Muslims and non-Muslims wherever they are. The division of the country, accompanied as it has been by these events, has not solved the communal problem, but has given it a different turn and also aggravated it in some respects.

GANDHIJI'S WAY

It was against this embittered feeling that Gandhiji pitched the whole force of his great personality, and every minute of his time during the last months was devoted to re-establish good, brotherly relations between Hindus and Muslims. He was trying to solve the most intricate social and psychological problem by the application of his inimitable and unfailing principle of *ahimsa*. He believed and preached with irrepressible firmness that if Hindus and Sikhs and others in India could ensure safety to Muslims and restore confidence in them, the Muslims in Pakistan could not fail—in fact could not help—reciprocating on the other side of the border. He was, therefore, insisting that we on this side should treat the Muslims fairly and like brothers irrespective of what was being done on the other side.

One evil act cannot justify another evil act; a good act is its own justification, and does not stand in need of being reciprocated. It was this insistence which alienated some from him and the general atmosphere of distrust and hatred which have been generated, made it possible for one to contemplate and perpetrate his murder.

ERADICATE THE POISON

The Conference felt that the most stressing problem was the eradication of this poison from our social life. It can be achieved by men and women of faith and goodwill, devoting themselves in their own spheres and in their own lives to it. The Conference, therefore, insisted that all who had faith in Gandhiji's principles and who

professed to follow his teachings should treat this as the most urgent work and devote themselves to it.

REHABILITATION OF IMMIGRANTS

It was also felt by the Conference that it would be most difficult to restore sanity in our communal relationship, if there were millions of men and women with bitter memories of unspeakable atrocities and unbearable suffering rankling in their hearts and without any satisfactory arrangements for their rehabilitation. It was, therefore, necessary that service should be rendered to all immigrants and sufferers without distinction of caste and creed. The problem of their relief and rehabilitation is so vast and tremendous that it is not possible for any non-official organization to tackle it. Even the Government, with its utmost will and with its vast resources has found it a most difficult task. It is doing its best and using all its resources for this purpose. But, non-official organizations and individuals can help the Government and its machinery and also independently render valuable service to the sufferers in other ways. An appeal was, therefore, made to the workers present to take up the work of service to the immigrants. It is satisfactory to note that as a result of this Shri Vinoba Bhave, with a band of tried and experienced workers, is proceeding to study the problem of relief and see where and in what way the constructive workers can render useful service.

SHANTI DALs

Gandhiji had for a long time been considering the desirability and feasibility of raising a band of workers who would devote themselves more or less exclusively to the maintenance of peace amongst people. He had on more than one occasion suggested the organization of a 'Shanti Sena'. But, for some reason or other, this could not be accomplished during his lifetime. If the communal tension has to be removed, some organization of this sort would be of immense help. It was, therefore, decided at the Conference that efforts should be made to organize 'Shanti Seva Dals'. It should be understood clearly that the Shanti Seva Dal is nothing like a police force or a body of volunteers whose function may be to suppress riots and disturbances. The function of the 'Seva Dal' will be, by constant work among the people, to create an atmosphere of peace and goodwill so that communal riots and disturbances may not occur at all and, if they unfortunately do occur, to throw itself between the fighting forces and thus prevent or at any rate reduce the intensity of the clashes. The Seva Dal being without any arms, and thoroughly non-violent, will be able to achieve this.

RAJENDRAPRASAD

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