

1947

Constituent Assembly.
Reports, Minutes etc. of the
consambly meetings regarding
the allocation of seats for the
States in the consambly.

1

Added Pages

2-A

203-1

204

SANGLI STATE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE.

Out No.2.

D/- 19-1-1947.

Dr. Pattabhi Seetaramayya,
President All India State People's Conference,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Sir,

I am herewith sending you a copy, with English translation, of the resolution regarding the Deccan States Union passed at the 20th Sessions of the Sangli State People's Conference held at Kadoli, Tal Shanspur, on 17th instant.

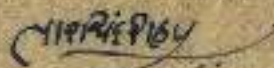
As stated in the resolution the Committee mentioned therein wish to have an interview with you at New Delhi. I, therefore, request you to inform me the date and time available to you.

I have also requested Shri Shankarrao Des to see you and get the date and time for the interview fixed.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Sangli State Peoples'
Conference, Office
Main-Road, Sangli.
(M.S.M.R.)

Yours sincerely,



General Secretary,

*You can come
at any time
S.B.T*

From,

Dr. G.A. Deshpande,
Working President,
Sangli State People's Conference,
SANGLI.

To

Dr. Pattabhi Seetaremayya,
President,
All-India States Peoples' Conference,
17 York Road,
NEW DELHI.

Respected Sir,

I am highly obliged to you for your kind invitation for an interview in connection with the proposed Union of the Deccan States. I am sorry I cannot avail myself of this opportunity to express my views on the matter personally as the sad death of my brother compelled me to rush to the aid of his bereaved family. However I am writing this letter to you in order to place before you some points for your consideration before you come to definite conclusion regarding the proposed union of the Deccan States.

(1) Almost all the State Peoples' Conferences of the Deccan States have passed resolutions opposing the Union of the Deccan States in any form. They are all for the merging of these states into the provinces of the British India.

(11) The old regional council has also once passed resolution opposing the Union. But later on some workers manoeuvred to get the support of the regional council. They carried on negotiations with Princes on the one hand and with the top leaders on the other and when a certain stage was reached the members of the regional council were

2-A

consulted. The Regional Council, taking into consideration the opposition of the peoples of all States, called a conference of workers and members of the assemblies of Deccan States. The consensus of opinion of this conference was against the Union, yet the conference was dissolved without arriving at any decision. It was then decided that one more such conference should be called and the matter be finally settled there.

(iii) The Deccan States, as you know, consist of people speaking two languages, - Marathi and Kannad. The Rulers being Maharashtriyans the Kannadigas have so long been treated as conquered people by them. They are therefore deadly against the Union of these States which will put them in a pitiable plight for the long time to come. This union will be a bone of contention between the people of speaking two different languages. Especially the Kannadigas in the Deccan States are organizing themselves to oppose this union as it is a question of life and death with them. The Union, they think and rightly too, will undermine their strength and they will be made to live the life of a disorganized people. This position they are not willing to accept and they say that they will fight the union with tooth and nail. Moreover the Provinces are going to be re-constituted on linguistic basis and this Union will be a definite hindrance and stumbling block in the path of progress of the people speaking both the languages. As Kannadigas are much aggrieved by the fact of their Homeland being divided into as many as twenty parts under twenty governments, they are definite on the point that they should be allowed to live the united life with their brothers in the United Karnatak ~~Provincial Governments~~ ~~in which they want to merge~~. Liberal promises are being given to Kannadigas of these States. But once their

3

organized strength is undermined by such promises and if they are made to satisfy themselves with whatever they get under the Union Government, they will be sadly disappointed and led to desperation. They will then be the most unfortunate and unhappy people who will have to bear the sting of a sort of Maharashtrian dominance.

(iv). We had a meeting of Deccan States workers at Sangli. These workers were from the villages and they represented the view of the people as a whole. They all unanimously opposed the scheme of the Union of the Deccan States. The workers expressed that determined opposition of the people to the Union and in the event of a Union government would be thrust upon the unwilling people they would take resort to Satyagraha and even no-tax campaign. In addition, they said they would pay the taxes to the respective Provincial governments in which they want to merge.. The views of the sincere workers who have constant contact with the masses should be considered very seriously before finally settling ~~this~~ ⁱⁿ this important question simply in consultation with old workers/whom the people have no faith now-a-days.

(v) In support of my last statement I would like to draw your attention to the fact that many of the supporters of the Union were not only unsuccessful in recent election of Regional Council but some of them had to withdraw their candidature as they found that they could get no support at all. If you take the opinion of the newly elected Regional Council ~~I feel confident~~ you will come to know that majority unequivocally opposes the Union. Thus the people and their accredited representatives are against this proposed union. 4

(vi) You will ~~now~~ greatly be interested to know that all persons - great and small - who are now hankering after the Union were deadly against it at the first instance. It was their spontaneous and well founded reaction which represented the will of the people. But later on not ^{know why} only they have changed their minds and now have become the staunch advocates of the union. With all the due respect for their past services and sacrifice, I say that they are mistaken patriots and with all the best intentions they are harming the cause of the people of the Deccan States and it is because of this that they have earned disrepute with all their sincerity and goodwill.

(vii). It is not necessary for me to point out to you that apart from the fact that there are in the States people speaking two different languages ; the territory itself is scattered, the distance being hundreds of miles between them with tracts of provinces of British India in between them. Thus even though all the Deccan States are united they are not able to form a geographically one ~~contiguous~~ territory suitable for carrying on an efficient administration satisfactory to all the people.

(viii) . The Union problem of the Deccan States is quite different from that of the other small States. The small states in Central India, Kathiawar, Orissa, etc. form geographically contiguous area and consist the people speaking the same language. Here in case of the Deccan States their union will be a sort of permanent foreign rule over Kannadigas and geographically it will serve as a buffer state between future Maharashtra and Karnatak. This will cause the permanent rivalry between the two provinces and the history of Europe will be repeated on the soil of Southern India.

5

(ix). It will be against the principle of Self-determination to force the union upon the people who think it to sign a death warrant to remain willingly in the Union. I, therefore, request you to send an impartial delegation consisting outside eminent persons to study the minds of the people, to collect the facts for and against the Union and form the considered opinion in the matter, so that those that oppose the Union will have ample scope to represent their case.

(X). I would suggest one more way to settle the problem and to allay the fears of the people. Elections to elect the accredited representations of the people on the issue only be held in each state on any franchise you think suitable and let these representatives be given full freedom to settle the question in free atmosphere.

(xi) Meanwhile I request you to see that Rulers of these States declare full responsible governments in their respective states. They make so much show of their enthusiasm for parting with power from ^{the} ~~time~~ ^{the} ~~question~~ question of Union came to the front but they have, except one or two, shown no sign whatsoever of declaring the full responsible government in their own states even to prove their sincerity. When I say this I full well know that some States are too small to make the people's government successful. But that also the people themselves are to decide and not the Rulers. All the same, you may be knowing that many Deccan States are grater in area and revenue than Aundh State where people are given all power possible.

I have placed before you facts bluntly and plainly. In doing so I might have injured the feelings of selfless workers for which I am extremely sorry and have done so with a sense of duty.

Yours truly,

Sengli,

C. D. D. D. D.

Daugli. 22nd Jan 1947

My dear Doctor Sahib,

I am sending my friend Shri Laxman²²⁰ Gadgil with one lengthy letter in Marathi addressed to Shri Harimbhan Masurkar. I must admit that I am poor in English. I feel for it. The letter is for you and Shri Masurkar^{to you} will, I hope, will explain it in full in English. Shri Gadgil will give you more details if necessary. I wish that our Union Scheme should at any cost be come into being and worked. That will give most constructive lead to all the Peasants & the 'Khat' people as well. I am sure that you will try your most to get this done. With best regard, yours sincerely,
B. V. Githare

Rao Bahadur K. V. Godbole
DEWAN, PHALGAN STATE

Phone No.
5867

Warden's Hotel
Delhi.
28th January 1947

*Madharam
Chopra
Kolhapur*

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my yesterday's letter, Point III in the proceeding of the meeting held on the 26th afternoon was recast today by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Mr. Diwakar. I am therefore enclosing a fresh copy of the whole proceeding embodying Point III thus revised. Therefore the accompanying copy of that proceeding may kindly be considered final and substituted in place of the earlier one.

2. I venture to make a suggestion for your approval. A concluding paragraph may kindly be added in which it may be made clear that on being consulted by me at the Decan States' Rulers' direction, it was decided that if the Rulers of the participating States were prepared to make a declaration as above, the leaders consulted would on their part recommend the scheme for acceptance by the people of the states concerned. The acceptance might conveniently take the form of a resolution passed at a convention to be called by one of the leaders at a place best suited for the purpose. ~~It may also be made clear that~~ If the resolution is in favour of the formation of the Union, the scheme may immediately be proceeded with, in the manner proposed at the Rulers' meeting held at Kolhapur on the 12th January 1947. I may add that I have suggested this procedure as it will enable me to convey to the rulers your authoritative decision on matters referred by me to you. The proceeding may kindly therefore be returned to ...

to me duly approved and signed by you and the other leaders who were consulted.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Alfred Lloyd

Dear Sir, I learn from Shaukhar Das
that the Deccan States' Regional Council
has appointed a delegation to meet
the members of the Congress working
Committee, and the Sangli Praya Parishad
has appointed a committee to see
the President of the Congress and
the President of the DSSPC.

Dr. Pattathi Sitaranayya

President, All India States' Peoples' Conference,
19 Conning Lane, New Delhi.

I am willing to see you any day
in Delhi.

459

Rao Bahadur L.V. Godbole

Maiden's Hotel,
Delhi.
1st February 1947.

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith for your kind information a copy of the letter which I have sent to-day to Mr. Nijlingappa. You will see that in that letter I have requested him to sign the letter which you were good enough to address to me as also the draft of the proposals framed by you all in the matter of the formation of the Deccan States Union. I hope you will also kindly write to him in the matter and request him to sign those papers, copies of which have been sent by me to him for the purpose.

2. In my letter to Mr. Nijlingappa I have made it clear to him that in view of the discussions that took place between the leaders concerned and some rulers, in the Imperial Hotel on the night of the 29th January, it was settled that the rulers acceptance of the proposals was to be signified after and if a favourable popular attitude was displayed in the proposed convention regarding the formation of the Union. No doubt it was also pointed out that it would be an advantage for the rulers to informally meet amongst themselves even before the convention to consider the proposals framed by the leaders and see if some modifications ^{are} ~~was~~ thought desirable by them.

3. I have to thank you once again for all the trouble taken by you in the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely
L.V. Godbole

To

Dr. Pattabhisitarameyya,
President, All India States' Peoples' Conference,
19, Canning Lane, New Delhi.

Rao Bahadur K.V. Godbole

Maiden's Hotel
Delhi
1st February 1947.

My dear Mr. Nijlingappa,

I hope you received the copy of the draft of the proposals which Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Mr. Diwakar and you had framed in connection with the formation of the Union of the Deccan States while you were here. But after you left some slight changes were effected in the draft by your colleagues and I am therefore enclosing the final draft of those proposals. I also enclose a copy of the letter which they have jointly addressed to me. As you were not here I am sending copies of the two papers for your signatures thereon. You will see that the papers remain incomplete without your signature and hence the request.

2. Your telegram addressed from Bombay to Dr. Pattabhi and the other two leaders was very kindly shown by them to me and I conveyed your message to Shrimant Rajasahab of Phaltan. No doubt we all and particularly the Rajasahab very much regretted your absence on the occasion but he and we all could very well understand your difficulty. Shrimant Rajasahab and I hope that Mrs. Nijlingappa is much better by now and there is no reason for you to worry about it.

3. I wish to intimate to you in this very letter the developments which took place after your departure. You know while you were here it was thought that the rulers' reactions to your proposals should become known before convening the proposed convention and in your telegram you have naturally expressed a desire to know those reactions. But when Dr. Pattabhi, Mr. Shankarrao Deo and Mr. Diwakar met the few Deccan States' rulers who were present in Delhi on the 29th January it was settled that the convention should be held first and if the people seemed favourable to the formation of the Union on the principles laid down in your draft then the rulers should proceed to declare whether they were prepared to accept the proposals or not. For unless the consent of the people was assured on the basis of the principles laid down in your draft it was thought that it would be premature for the rulers to make a declaration in that form. No doubt it was also suggested on the occasion by the leaders that it would be an advantage if the rulers informally met amongst themselves even before the convention and considered whether they desired

some

some modifications in the draft of the proposals framed by you all.

4. Perhaps you might receive a letter from Mr. Diwakar in this matter but any way I am desired to send official copies of the letter and the proposals for your signatures. I hope you will kindly return to me the two papers duly signed by you to the address given below as I am leaving Delhi to-day.

May I in conclusion say how very thankful I am for the troubles you have taken in the matter ?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

33/- R.V. Godbole.

My address:

Rao Bahadur R.V. Godbole,
895, Shivajinagar,
Poona. Deccan Gymkhana.

S. Bijlingappa, Esquire,
Member, Constituent Assembly,
Chittaldurg.

203

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PATANKAR SANGLI

N. B. - The name of the Director of Telegraphs, should be written below, and separated from, the text.

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मयहिंदू

राष्ट्रीय गिरणी कामगार संघ सांगली

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यह. याला

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राष्ट्रीय गिरणी कामगार संघ

१५

संस्थानी प्रदेश जलच्या हिंदुस्थानच्या प्रांतांत निमीन वसित असे
 सांगली संस्थानच्या प्रजापरिषदेच्या या समितीचे काम मन असल्यामुळे
 दक्षिणी संस्थानांच्या संघराज्याची जी गोजाला घातत आहे व त्या
 संघराज्याच्या २६ संस्थानांचे संस्थानिक व रेसिडेन्ट यांच्याकडून
 जोराने प्रयत्न जात आहेत त्या संघराज्यास या परिषदेच्या नमूने
 विरोध आहे मित्र भाषा भाषी व भौगोलिक दृष्ट्या सुद्ध
 प्रदेशांत विभागलेल्या दक्षिणी संस्थानांचे संघराज्य जास्तलात
 येण्यास प्रजेचे हित मुद्दीचे साधक जाणार नाही असे या
 परिषदेचे निष्पत्ती पुर्वीक झालेले मत असल्याने लोक मताला
 हातबुत प्रजेवर संघराज्य लादण्याचा प्रयत्न न करता सर्व
 संस्थानांचे प्रदेश जलच्या प्रांतांत विभाग करायला व दाख
 जी संस्थानी मुलुख प्रजातन्त्रात्मक स्वतंत्र हिंदुस्थानच्या प्रांतांत
 व जलज प्रदेश वचून राहता असा या समिती आर्ग्युमेंट आहे
 सांगली संस्थान प्रजापरिषदेचा संघराज्यास असलेला हा विरो
 ध लक्षांत घेऊन प्रजापरिषदेचे हे मत न आ देशी लोकस
 ण्य परिषदेचे अध्यक्ष कॉंग्रेसचे अध्यक्ष कॉंग्रेस कमि
 कमिटीचे सभासद आता देशी लोकसंघ परिषदेची स्टॅंश
 कमिटीचे सभासद आता कम्बुन या पुढे निमीन होणाऱ्या प
 रिषदेची मदत त्यांचा सहा घेऊन ते प्रजापरिषदेच्या मध्य
 वर्ती मंडळपुढे मांडण्या करता या परिषदेचे अध्यक्ष कार्यक्ष
 मी जमवण्यास कुठकर्मि न श्री जी जी नाईक या चौघांची
 एक समिती ही परिषद नेमिल आहे व प्रांताची एक सभासद
 सभाविह करून घेण्याचा या समितिसि प्राधिकार देत आहे

As the Sangli State Peoples' Conference is of the opinion that the areas of the States be merged in the - - neighbouring provinces, this Conference strongly opposes the Scheme of the Deccan States' Union that the rulers of eleven States and the Resident are trying their best to bring about. It is the considered opinion of this Conference that this Union will bring about no good to the people as the Deccan States consist of people speaking two different languages and their regions are scattered wide apart. Under such circumstances instead of trying to thrust the undesired union upon the people of these States, their regions should be merged in the neighbouring Provinces of free Indian Republic.

In view of this opposition of the Sangli State People's Conference to the Deccan States, Union this Conference appoints a Committee of four persons, with power to co-opt, one more member to communicate this opinion to the President and - - Standing Committee Members of All India States' People's Conference, the President Indian National Congress and the Members of the Working Committee and seek their advice - - regarding the consequent developments and place it before the Central Body of the Sangli State People's Conference.

This Committee consists of following persons :-

1. Shri Yashavantrao Chavan, PRESIDENT.
2. Dr. G.A.Deshpande, Working President.
3. Shri. Jayadeorao Kulkarni.
4. " B.G.Naik.

ठराव.

आज ता. २०।५-४० इ. रोजी शेतकरी कामकरी संघातर्फे
जाहिर सभा भरून, सर्वांनुमते रवाना व ठराव पास झाला.

मिरज शहर व संस्थान या हद्दींत आज पर्यंत झालेला व सध्या
चालू असलेला काळाबाजारा संबंध पडाचा. व ज्यांनी तो केला, त्या जबाबदार
व्याप्तिविरुद्ध योग्य व न्यायामार्गाने चौकशी करून त्यांची दुष्कृत्ये उजेडांत
आणून, त्यांना योग्य ते शासन द्यावे, या हद्दीने शेतकरी-संस्थाने मोहिम
सुरू केली आहे. त्याला मिरज दरबारने जरूर ते साह्य द्यावे, सध्या जी ~~काम~~
~~करावे~~ ~~काम~~ ~~रद्द करावे~~, त्या ऐवजी ब्रिटिश-चौकशी कमेटी नेमिली आहे.
त्या पैकी काही लोकांचा सर कृष्णाजी प्रबुद्ध ना अग्रबुद्ध संबंध पोचत
असल्याने असल्याने, सर कमेटीवर या सभेचा विश्वास नाही. ती रद्द करावी.
तसेच तालुक्यांतीलही चौकशीचे काम रद्द करावे, त्या ऐवजी ब्रिटिश-सिपाही
मार्फत चौकशी होऊन, गुन्हेगार लोकांना न्यायासना समोर खेचावे
व काळाबाजाराशी संबंध असणाऱ्या अधिकाऱ्यांना सस्पेंड ठेवावे अशी
ही सभा मिरज दरबारला शिफारस करित आहे.

ठराव मांडणार -

शंकरराव गोविंदराव भाने

अनुमोदन देणार

गुलाब मिरसाहेब चिनापडे.

Prakashan
20/11/2020

MAHARASHTRA
ARCHIVES

The following resolutions are passed in a public meeting held in Uchagaon on behalf of the people of Angol - Talika on 24-2-1947.

.....

President: The meeting was presided by Sri -- Gajananrao Bhatkande, the President of Belgaum Municipal Borough.

RESOLUTIONS

- 1) This meeting resolves that Sri Balavantrao Bhomanna Pavase has been selected by the Rayat Sabha on behalf of Angol - Taluka recommending for the Ministership and sent for -- sanction. This public meeting declares its full support for the said selection.
The meeting understands that the Working Committee of the Praja Parishad of Kurundwad Senior State is thinking to - break the solemn agreement made with Rayat Sabha of Angol Taluka on 18-1-1947, and therefore protest strongly that - their present policy will only lower the prestige of -- Praja Parishad.
- 2) This meeting resolved that it is quite unjust to deprive - the agriculturists of their grains stock which is quite - insufficient not making proper arrangement to provide Jawar, Kerosene, etc. not supplying the rayats the necessary -- requirements of their daily use such as Sulphate, Iron, -- Cotton Seeds, Oil Cakes etc. etc., at controlled rates. This meeting shows its full opposition for collections of Food grains unless the above requirements are supplied at - controlled prices to Agriculturists.
- 3) There is no market in Angol Taluka for selling jaggery and the Rayats always have to rely on the Belgaum Market only. Under such circumstances the monopoly of purchasing Jaggery has been given to a man quite unconcerned with the Rayats. For this state of affair this meeting regrets. It is not at all convenient for the agriculturist to see the Jaggery at the very low rates published in Government -- Gazette since the rayats had had to purchase the necessary things to grow the Jaggery at quite high prices. So, this public meeting requests the Government to increase the rates of Jaggery.

1st Resolution proposed by: Sri Rajaram Sohani, Kudremani.
Seconded by: Sri Prabhakar Marathe, Angol.
: L. V. Kulkarni, Angol.
: Sri Jotiba Donakari, Uchagaon.

2nd Resolution proposed by: Sri D.A.Kadam, Uchagaon.
Seconded by: Sri Somanna Patil, Kudremani.

3rd Resolution proposed by: Sri Balu Bhashkal, Bijagarni.
Seconded by: Sri Ningappa Patil, Kudremani.

All the above resolutions have been unanimously passed by the meeting.

G. M. Bhatkande
President.

The Mysore Progressive Party

“ದಿ ಮೈಸೂರು ಪ್ರೋಗ್ರೆಸಿವ್ ಪಾರ್ಟಿ”

J. T. GOPALAKRISHNAN,
President.

G. S. SUDRA RAO,
Deputy President.

H. RAMAKRISHNA RAO,
Genl. Secretary.

K. T. NAGABHUSHANA DHATTA
Treasurer.

(ಪ್ರಗತಿಪಕ್ಷ)
No 25 1st Cross Street,
Basavanagudi (P.O.)
Bangalore City.

Dear Sir,

I have herewith enclosed a copy of
resolution No4, passed at the Party meeting held on
22nd and 23rd Feb 47, for your kind information and
necessary action in the matter.

Yours in service,

H. Ramakrishna Rao

Genl. Secretary.

19

Copy of Resolution No 4, Passed at the meeting of the
Mysore Progressive Party, held on 22nd and 23rd at ^{25/2/51}
Bangalore:-

No4. That the "All States Praja Parishat" of which
Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah (a prominent leader of the
Indian National Congress) is the acting President, and
is about to convene a meeting of the Peoples'
Representatives from all over the States, at Gwalior,
has for the purpose of getting the representatives of
the people of Mysore entrusted to the Mysore State
Congress, (one of the political parties in Mysore),
which has only 118 members in the Lower Chamber which
has a strength of 312 members, and only 20 members in
the Upper Chambers which has a strength of 68 members,
and the Mysore State Congress having preferred to send
in only their representatives without consulting the
other political parties in the States and giving them
an opportunity to send in their representatives, this
party holds that Representatives so chosen will not be
fully represent the political opinion of the people of
the Mysore State and requests the All States Praja-
Parishat Executive to immediately direct their represen-
tation in Mysore, i.e., the Mysore State Congress, to
put themselves in contact with the other political
parties also and secure representation for these parties
also at the Gwalior Conference.

"COPY"

H. Ramesh Chandra Rao

GEN:SECRETARY. 25/2/51

L.V. Kulkarni.

SHREE RAM

ANGOL-MAL, P.O. Thalavadi
(Belgaum)
28th February 1947

The President,
All India State People's Conference,
Allahabad

Dear Sir, Sub: Establishment of Interim Govt. in S.M.C.
STATES

I am writing this to express my views on the above subject which I hope you will please consider.:

First, I think that there is no urgency to establish Govt. of Interim type as in the British ruled areas, but if at all it is desired and also eminent to establish responsible Govt. of the public at large election ought to have been ~~made~~ resorted to. It was alright in the British Govt area where public organisations were working wide awake upto date and such organisations were able to undertake and work up with responsibility and full confidence of the public, but the situation in Native States is quite different. It was directed that the respective bodies of "PRAJA - PARISHAD" in the different States ~~xx~~ should form the Govt. but no consideration was made whether these bodies were really effecting and able to enjoy the confidence of the State subjects; on the other hand, these organisations were out of touch with the public at large for a very long period and the ~~general~~ general public were not aware of even the existence of such organization and under such circumstances, it would be not good to force any Govt. on the public which will be against their will and which will not be called a public responsible Govt. It will be simply changing hands of the existing rulers. Under such circumstances, it will be better if the Ministers and Parliamentary boards be elected.

I have to write this not on any imaginary basis but I can quote a concrete example. I am a State subject of Kurundwad Senior State and reside at Angol a Taluka Place in that State. When it was decided by the ruler to transfer power in the hands of the public, he had to do so in the hands of the existing "PRAJA PARISHAD" at Kurundwad. There was a strong protest by this Taluka and nearly all the villages met together and started an organisation to represent their views. The population of nearly 25,000 are by a big majority opposed and there are about not more ~~than~~ than 1000 members of "PRAJA PARISHAD" here. The Parishad is not prepared to accept the public candidate which they want. I hope you will guide the Parishad and do the needful.

Yours truly

L.V. Kulkarni

only 300 -

21

Revered Sir,

I gather from reports in the Press that the Deccan States Union Scheme has been blessed by you and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I would be highly thankful to you if you would kindly let me know the Scheme to which you have expressed your consent. In the absence of any authoritative information from you people are being misled and hence this request.

I humbly beg to lay the following facts and objections about this scheme for your kind consideration:-

- (1) The territory of the States including the Deccan States Agency is scattered over more than nine Districts in the present Bombay Province. These States are like islands spread over here and there. The territory of these States is so intermixed with British territory that the best way would be to merge them into the nearest Districts.
- (2) The territory of these States consists of people speaking Kannad and Marathi. Already there are very bitter jealousies and animosities between the two. The Kannadigas feel that they are being oppressed by the Marathi speaking people and the Mahashtri rashtrians feel the other way. Why should these people who are both culturally and linguistically apart from each other, be forced to live under one Union against their wish. Is it not necessary and natural to allow these people to be one with their linguistic brethren in the nearest provinces. I do not think that the division of the Deccan States territory into Kannad and Marathi Districts would help much. It will lead to territorial factions.
- (3) The proposed Union is to be of the States excluding Kolhapur which is both geographically and economically the biggest State in the Agency. With the exclusion of Kolhapur the Union would be economically too weak. The Ruler of Sangli in his speech dated 5th October 1946 emphatically stated that he would join the Union only if Kolhapur is excluded from it. Even with Kolhapur I think there would not be Regional Self Sufficiency. Sardar Patel in his interview with the Deccan Princes stressed this point.
- (4) These States are at present knit together in an agency simply because of the convenience and the vagaries of the Political Department of the Union Government. Naturally the British Government did not look to the convenience of the people and hence they put these States together even though they did not possess the qualifications indispensable for a Unit. Why do you allow the same state of affairs to continue by accepting the Union of these States. Is it not our duty to dissolve the high breed combination and allow the people of these States to merge according to the desire in the nearest provinces.
- (5) You have admitted in your statement to the Press issued immediately after you were elected as the working president of the A.I.S.P.C. that some of the States to be merged in the nearest British Provinces are the geographical, linguistic and economic. These States I think that these are in this category.
- (6) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Udaipur Conference
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Buffalo	NY	Erie	42° 50' N	78° 08' W	192 m	250,000	2,000 km²	Second largest city
Rochester	NY	Monroe	43° 07' N	77° 29' W	166 m	150,000	1,000 km²	Third largest city
Syracuse	NY	Saratoga	43° 05' N	76° 05' W	146 m	100,000	1,000 km²	Fourth largest city
Albany	GA	Douglas	31° 12' N	84° 12' W	100 m	100,000	1,500 km²	State Capital
Atlanta	GA	Fulton	33° 45' N	84° 14' W	320 m	400,000	2,000 km²	Largest city
Savannah	GA	Chatham	32° 08' N	81° 08' W	10 m	100,000	1,000 km²	Second largest city
Augusta	GA	Richmond	33° 27' N	82° 02' W	100 m	100,000	1,000 km²	Third largest city
Waycross	GA	Wilkes	30° 35' N	83° 05' W	100 m	100,000	1,000 km²	Fourth largest city

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CITY OF NEW YORK - DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY CLERK - NEW YORK

PLEASE, WIRE IT - KATHY VALAE, JUDITH - PROFESSOR

COULDN'T OF 'GIVEN' HIM I CAN SEE YOUR 'SHAMING' TAG

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO MAY 1958 29 ED

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By I LEARN THIS MORNING THAT SHANGARRAO DED VISITING BOMBAY AND OTHER PLACES

TOMORROW. HENCE HAVE TO ABANDON MY DELHI VISIT STOP PLEASE FORV =

FORGIVE FOR

X 40 1000

CONSTANT CHANGES HAD TROUBLING YOU SO OFTEN = GODBOLT

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CANNING LANE NEW DELHI

YOUR TELEGRAPHIC REPLY THANKS ACCORDINGLY SHALL TRY SEE YOU ALL ON

WEDNESDAY TWENTYSIXTH = GOODBYE =

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AND PHALTAN COULD SEE HIM AT DELHI ON 5 TH SEPTEMBER OR AFTER STOP WOUNDER
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86

Kathiawar Rajya Parishad
Rajkot Date 20-3-47

Respected ~~Mr~~ Vallabhi Sahib

I have to communicate to you a piece of information

With a view to accomodate some of the Princes of Kathiawar especially Junagadh Nawab. The Chamber - really Maghsoob Mahmood is trying to reduce the population ratio for representation for 75 to 65. That will mean an additional seat for a Muslim state with a non-muslim majority.

Similarly they are thinking of distributing the remaining 3 seats out of 4 allotted to W.A.S.A. 2 among maritime states and one among non-maritime states. For the former they have suggested Junagar (161) and Bhavnagar (160 or 50). For the non-maritime states they have

Behringguthra on their list. But
none of Cutch is also mentioned.

I have this from a reliable source.

Another information

At the recent meeting of Cutch
Kathiravoor, biggest states ~~was~~ held
in Bombay it has been resolved
to exclude completely 'maximum policy
and Revenue' from the field of
confederations, which in the former
analysis means, All Indian Union.

If my information is correct
Princes appear to be striving for
covering the minimum of 75 and also
introducing the principle of weightage for
certain interests, one of them having
maritime states. There will also be a
gesture of maintaining strength in the states
which is Gungagadh with a population
of 6 lacs or so, also gets a seat.

That is all Hoping you
health.

Yours truly
J. N. Sheth

गांधी जी से भी भूल हो सकती है

वर्तमान सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन पर श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द का मत

[युवक ग्राम के मूलपुत्र कांघेसी मंत्री श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द ने वर्तमान सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन पर अपने निर्भीक और स्पष्ट विचार प्रकट करते हुए बनारस के 'आज' पत्र में एक लेख लिखा है, जिसमें अपने कबिले के वर्तमान भाषण स्वातन्त्रता के आन्दोलन की राष्ट्र की शक्ति का अर्थव्यवस्था करते वाला और आन्दोलन की प्रगति को असमर्थोपजनक बताया है। उस लेख का पुरोधा इस प्रकार है—]

इस एक देश में ही गया है कि जो जेल से निकलता है वह कहता है—'मुझे महत्मा गांधी में पूर्ण विश्वास है।' हम प्रधानमंत्री से ऐसा नहीं कह सकते। इसमें महात्मा जी के व्यक्तित्व का धार का धन नहीं है, न उनके राष्ट्रीय देश का जो अप्रतिम कल्याण हुआ है उसपर शंका करने की बात है। हम यह सब स्वीकार करते हुए यह नहीं मान सकते कि उनसे भूल नहीं हो सकती, या उनके पिछा कोई और व्यक्ति देश के राजनीतिक अभ्युदय की बात नहीं सोच सकता।

इसमें अन्वेष नहीं कि हमारी राजनीतिक शब्दावली में 'अहिंसा' यह पहले पहल गांधी जी ने ही परिभाषित किया और इस प्रकार हमें एक नया शास्त्र प्राप्त किया, परन्तु यह नहीं माना जा सकता है कि अहिंसात्मक प्रयोग गांधी जी ही कर सकते हैं। वही से नई वैज्ञानिक और आध्यात्मिक तथ्यों के आविष्कार और प्रवर्तक भी ऐसा दावा नहीं करते। हम यह मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं कि महात्मा जी को इस काम में ईश्वर से प्रेरणा मिलती है। पहले तो यह तक ही अदार्शनिक है कि ईश्वर इस प्रकार संवारी बातों में हस्तक्षेप किया करता है। फिर, यदि ऐसी होती

भी हो तो यह मानना कठिन है कि वह सदा सदात्ता जो को स्मृति देता रहता है। यदि ऐसा होता तो उनकी यह कभी करना पड़ता कि मुझ से कई बार हिसा-लव जैसी भारी भूलें हुई हैं? राजकोट-कारण तो अभी हाल का है ही। उस समय ईश्वर की प्रेरणा कहाँ थी? इन सब बातों

कि 'दोषावस्था गुरोरपि'—शुरू के भी दोषों की ओर से आँख नहीं बन्द की जा सकती।

कांघेसजनों की श्रेणियाँ
इस अवसर पर मुझे कल्पित की एक कहानी का स्मरण हो आया। उसका कहानक यह है कि जिन दिनों अफगानिस्तान के अमीर अब्दुर्रहमान आगरे आये

मेरे पास मेरा कोई साथी मरता है और उसका खस देख पड़ता है तो मैं चला जाता हूँ। हमारा देश ऐसे वृषभुजि सन्तुषों से भरा पड़ा है। बोद्ध ने कहा है कुछ आका पीछा नहीं सोचता। मुझे अपने सवार पर पूरा भरोसा रहता है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि वह जिगर संकेत करे उधर जगा ठोक ही होगा। हाँ, जब सवार नहीं होता तब मैं अंधोर हो जाता हूँ। इस कष्ट में मैं उन लोगों को रखता हूँ जिनको महात्मा जी या किसी अन्य नेता पर पूर्ण ब्रह्मा है। हाथों ने कहा कि मेरी चर्ची विपत्ति है। मैं अपनी बुद्धि में काम लेना छोड़ नहीं सकता। महाभारत के संकेत पर चलता तो हूँ पर यह भी जानता हूँ कि वह कभी कभी भूल कर सकता है और भूल के परिणाम का निच मेरी जानों के सामने रहता है। इस वर्ष में मैं उन कांघेसजनों को रखता हूँ जो आकाशों का पालन करते हुए भी नीति की आलोचना करने रहते हैं, क्योंकि उनकी कक्षा मेरी गहरी नहीं है कि उसके कारण मेला में दोष न देख सके। लिपानी का काम आका मानना हो सकता है परन्तु उसका मतलब है कि अपनी बुद्धि में काम ले। यदि वह ऐसा नहीं करता तो कांघेस जी की लोक-संवादन सभा के साथ अन्याय होता है।

सत्याग्रह की प्रगति सन्तोषजनक नहीं

मेरा और मेरे जैसे और लोगों का यह रुढ़ मत है कि सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन की प्रगति सन्तोषजनक नहीं रही है। गांधी जी कहते हैं कि उनका काम 'रिकाडिंग तु-आन' चल रहा है। कुपलानी जी के मादरों में यह बात पड़ते पड़ते ही आ गया। यह वाक्य इस यूरोपीय लड़ाई से चल पड़ा है।



श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द जी

को देखते हुए हम ऐसा मानने पर बाध्य हैं कि यद्यपि उनका व्यक्तित्व बहुत केंद्रा है, उसकी बुद्धि बहुत सूक्ष्म है, उनका हृदय बहुत विराज और पवित्र है, फिर भी वह मनुष्य के काशों की शक्ति ही देखना होगा। और ऐसा कोई मनुष्य नहीं है जिस पर आँख बन्द करके ब्रह्मा की वा सके। इसीलिए तो शास्त्र कहता

श्रे, एक रात बिजली की मशीन एकाएक दिगद गयी। सारे शिबिर में आँधरा हो गया। इस मौनमाल में ब्रिटिश सेना के तोपखाने के कुछ जानवर इधर उधर भागे। उनमें से कुछ अचरमात् एक जगह मिले। उनमें एक तो बैल था। उसने कहा कि मैं लड़ाई से चिन्तित नहीं होता। लोग लड़ते हैं, उससे मुझको क्या? हाँ यदि

इसका अर्थ है 'अपने पहले से सोचे हुए क्रम के अनुसार।' बार बार यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे सत्याग्रह संभार को यह विशेषता है कि वह सेनापति के पूर्व निश्चित क्रम के अनुसार चल रहा है पर इसमें विशेषता क्या है? यदि रुख यह तय कर लेता कि प्रत्येक रुखी अपने घर पर तीन बार 'छिटलर का सत्यानाश हो' कह दिया करे, जर्मनों के आक्रमण का यही प्रत्युत्तर है, तो रुख भी यह सकता था कि हमारी लड़ाई निरन्तर के अनुसार हो रही है। मुझसे किसी से लड़ाई है। मैं यह तय कर लू कि मैं उसके सत्याचारों के प्रतिवाद में नित्य पाँच बार कान पकड़ कर उठ बैठूंगा तो यह काम तो निश्चय ही हो सकता है और मैं सगर्व कह सकता हूँ कि मेरी लड़ाई 'प्रकाशित दुष्प्रान' सफल हुई। प्रश्न तो यह होता है कि प्रान-योजना है क्या? और लड़ाई का अर्थ क्या है? उस योजना से अर्थ की सिद्धि हो भी सकती है या नहीं?

आन्दोलन किसलिये

इस समय सत्याग्रह स्वधीनता के लिये नहीं बरन भाषण-स्वातन्त्र्य के लिये हो रहा है। मेरी समझ में वह उद्देश्य ही गलत है। ये भाषण स्वतन्त्र्य को निर्विशेष स्वतन्त्र नहीं मानता। यदि देश में स्वराज्य हो जाय और तत्कालीन सरकार किसी मुद्दे में लगी हो तो वह वह तो कह दे सकती है कि मुद्देमात्र अप्रामाण्य है पर यह स्वातन्त्र्य नहीं दे सकती कि लोग उस मुद्दे विशेष के विरुद्ध जनता में आन्दोलन करे। कोई सरकार ऐसा करने की अनुमति नहीं दे सकती। परन्तु जब हम विदेशी सरकार से स्वाधीनता के लिये लड़ते हैं उस समय इस स्वातन्त्र्य की माँग को भी अपने मुद्दे का एक साधन बना सकते हैं, क्योंकि हमका साम्राज्यशाही की लड़ाई में सहायता नहीं देनी है। भाषण-स्वातन्त्र्य मेरी बुद्धि के अनुसार ऐसी चीज नहीं है जो स्वतन्त्र लक्ष्य बनाया जा सके। सन् १९३१ में हमने नमक सत्याग्रह आरम्भ किया था। नमक

बनाना हमारा मुख्य ध्येय नहीं था, लड़ाई का एक हथियार मात्र था। हम भाषण-स्वातन्त्र्य को इससे अधिक महत्व नहीं देते। हमारा अनुमान भी यही था कि यह मुद्दे का शीगरेला मात्र है। पर महात्मा जी स्पष्ट कहते हैं कि इस समय—जब तक यूरोप की लड़ाई समाप्त नहीं होती तब तक—यह एक मात्र स्वतः लक्ष्य है। हमारी समझ में इसके पीछे पड़ना राष्ट्र की शक्ति का अपव्यय है। आन्दोलन छिड़ने के समय कार्यसमिति के कुछ सदस्यों तक को, जो महात्मा जी से बहुत निकट हैं, यह भ्रम था कि भाषण-स्वातन्त्र्य की बात आगे चल कर फैल जायगी। १९३१ में हम नमक से लगानवन्दी तक पहुँच गये थे।

बाधा न डालने की बात

आवश्यकता पड़ने पर आग में भी कूड़ा जा सकता है परन्तु जल मरना स्वतः कोई प्रशंसा की बात नहीं है। महात्माजी कहते हैं कि सदाका लड़ाई में शत्रु के फँसाव से लाभ उठाया जाता है, आदिशात्मक लड़ाई में नहीं। यह बात मैं नहीं समझ पाता, हम अपने लक्ष्य को जानते हैं। देखना केवल इतना ही है कि हम अपने विरोधी के बल को बढ़ाने दे कर लक्ष्य के पास पहुँच रहे हैं या नहीं।

आन्दोलन को व्यापक बनाने, उसे जन आन्दोलन का रूप देने के विरुद्ध एक बड़ा तर्क यह पेश किया जाता है कि इस समय साम्प्रदायिक वैमनस्य बहुत तीव्र है, गृह-युद्ध छिड़ जायगा। साम्प्रदायिक वैमनस्य हमारे दुर्भाग्य से कटु सत्य है, पर इसका क्या भरोसा है कि लड़ाई समाप्त होते ही वह भी समाप्त हो जायगा? इसका अर्थ तो यह हुआ कि जन आन्दोलन मुस्लिम लोग की अनुमति के बिना कभी छिड़ ही न सकेगा। हम यादवीय नहीं चाहते परन्तु हमारा मार्ग साफ है। हम स्वराज्य स्थापित करें। जो भारत-राज्य हमारे साथ आता है वह हमारी सिर आँखों पर है, पर यदि कोई विरोध करना ही चाहता है तो हम तैयार हैं। गृह-कलह बड़ी भयावह चीज होती है। परन्तु

इसका डर भी हमको स्वराज्य के लिये बल करने से रोक नहीं सकता। उल्टे, एक बात होती है। जितना हो हम ऐसी शक्तियों का लिहाज करते हैं जितना ही इनकी शक्ति बढ़ती जाती है और साहस भी बढ़ता जाता है। जन आन्दोलन यदि असफल भी हो जाय तो उससे लाभ होता है। सब को अपनी शक्ति भर बल करने का



अवसर देना चाहिये, ऐसा विचार बहुत से लोगों का है और लोग समझते थे कि ऐसा ही होगा। मुझे बाद है, प्रयाग में प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कांग्रेस की कार्यकारिणी की बैठक थी। उस समय राष्ट्रपति आज़ाद वहाँ उपस्थित थे। उन्होंने स्वयं ऐसे विचार प्रकट किये थे।

रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम की बात निस्सार

यह बार-बार कहा जाता है कि सब लोगों के लिये रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम तो है ही। फौज की चोलों में इसकी उस काम से तुलना की जाती है जो ब्रिटेन आदि लड़ने वाले देशों में फल-कारखानों और जेलों में हो रहा है। यह सब बात अतिमधुर तो है पर इनमें उतना सार नहीं है। रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम के बहुत से अंश ऐसे हैं जिनकी उपयोगिता आज भी है और आगे भी रहेगी। हिन्दों की सेवा होना चाहिये, सभी सम्प्रदायों में मेल होना चाहिये, अछूतगाव दूर होना चाहिये, यह सभी अच्छी बातें हैं पर इनका हमारी लड़ाई से प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध बहुत कम है। यह ऐसी बात नहीं

है कि सेना में इतने लाख सिपाही लड़ रहे हैं, अतः इतना मन अग्र इतनी बन्दूकें, इतने टैंक तैयार होने चाहिये। सामान्य अर्थ तैयार है, यह बिना लौला जा सकता है। तैयार होने पर सेना बढ़ाई जा सकती है। परन्तु रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम में सिचा सुत के और कोई नापने लौलने की वस्तु नहीं है। यह नहीं कह सकते कि आज हिन्दू-मुसलिम एका हो गया, राष्ट्र भाषा का प्रचार पूरा हो गया, अछूतपन के पक्ष टूट गये, चलो सत्याग्रह शुरू करें। इन बुराइयों को पूरी तरह खत्म करने के लिये तो कई शताब्दियाँ चाहिये। एक और बात है। इस कार्यक्रम को सक्रिय सत्याग्रह से सहायता मिलती है। अछूतोंद्वारा में जितनी सहायता गला फाड़ने और जगह जगह समा करने से नहीं होती पतनी जन आन्दोलन में सक्रिय अछूत के मिलकर फैल जाने और अन्य प्रकार से विरोध करने से होती है। रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम के कई अंग ऐसे हैं कि इनको राष्ट्रीय सरकार ही ठीक चला सकती है। मुझे नहीं पता है कि किसी और कान्ति में भी पहले इस प्रकार का कोई कार्य-क्रम शीत बनाया गया था लोगों के उत्साह को इस आँर से फेर देने का परिणाम अच्छा नहीं हो सकता। १९३१-३२ का अनुभव बतलाता है कि जो लोग जेल नहीं गये—और उनको ही संख्या बहुत बढ़ी थी उनसे सत्याग्रह की बहुत सहायता मिली। वैसा ही अब भी होगा, आशंका का कोई कारण नहीं है।

जो लोग ऐसा मानते हैं कि आन्दोलन पूर्व निश्चित योजना के अनुसार चल रहा है वह तो इसे असफल मान ही नहीं सकते। परन्तु ऐसे बहुत से लोग हैं जो यह समझते हैं जितनी सफलता की आशा की जा सकती थी उतनी नहीं मिली। न उतने लोगों ने सत्याग्रहियों की सूची में नाम लिखाया, न जनता में पिछले आन्दोलनों जैसा उत्साह दिखा। इसका दोष प्रान्तीय शासन में भाग लेने के सिर मढ़ा जाता है। सम्भव है इससे सुधारवादी मनो-

वृत्ति बढ़ गई हो और क्रांतिकारी मनोवृत्ति दब गई हो, पर इससे भी बड़ा दोष संभ्राम की संचालन विधि का है। जब मन्त्रिमंडल का इस्तीफा हुआ उस समय बड़ा उत्साह था पर आन्दोलन आरम्भ न किया गया। हमारे कुछ प्रांत में तो लोगों ने समझा कि अब युद्ध छिड़ने वाला हो है। वैसी ही तैयारी की गई। पर कुछ न हुआ। प्रांतीय दफ्तर बार बार लोगों से कहता था तैयार हो जाओ। ऊपर से हुक्म आता था ठीक। अन्त में कुछ सन्धियों की साथ मानकर प्रांतीय कौन्सिल ने प्रांत की जनता से तैयार रहने की अपील करके काबू समिति को विश्वास दिलाया ठीक समझा कि हम तैयार हैं, बार बार भेड़िया आया, भेड़िया वाली बात हो गयी दूसरी सेनाओं में सैनिक को गायबशी ही जाती है उसका उत्साह बढ़ाया जाता है। हमारे यहां शुरू से ही यह राय आलापा गया कि तुम निकम्मे हो, तुम उत्साह के योग्य नहीं हो सुनते सुनते यह बात मन में बैठ गई और बहुतों का उत्साह मर गया। वेदांत की पुस्तकों में यही उदाहरण दिया जाता है कि सिंध के लक़्खे को भी यदि बराबर भेड़ कहा जाय तो वह अपने को भेड़ समझने लगेगा। यह कहा गया कि यह लड़ाई स्वाधीनता के लिये नहीं, भाषण स्वातन्त्र्य के लिये है। ऐसे बहुत से लोग हैं जो स्वाधीनता के सिवा और किसी लक्ष्य के लिये अपने को झगड़े में डालने को तैयार नहीं हैं। फिर शतों कैसी वेदन लगायी गयीं। एक बार प्रार्थना पत्र देने पर घर न जाना होगा, जेल से छूटने पर एक उत्साह के भीतर ही फिर जेल जाना होगा, इत्यादि। लोग इससे बड़े काम कर सकते हैं। बरसों लक्ष्य खोजा हो जाय, सारा घर नीलास हो जाय, लड़ों से अंगभंग हो जाय, गोली से प्राण जाने का अवसर आ जाय, पीछे न हटेंगे, उफ न करेंगे। परन्तु पहले से ऐसी शर्तों पर हस्ताक्षर करना कठिन होता है। मैं न बहुत अच्छा आदमी हूँ न बहुत बुरा। मुझसे बड़े हजारों स्वामी तपस्वी कर्मठ कांग्रेस में

मरे पड़े हैं पर कांग्रेस की आजाधियों का मैं भी क्या सम्भव पालन करता ही रहा हूँ। मैं स्वयं ऐसी शर्तों पर हस्ताक्षर न कर सकता चाहें आवश्यकता पड़ने पर यह सब काम कर डालता। यह जितनी बातें मैंने गिनायी हैं वह ऐसी हैं कि मुझे तो प्रतीत होता है जैसे जानबूझ कर मानव प्रकृति के विरुद्ध आक्रमण किया जा रहा है। कांग्रेस में जेलन भोगी सिपाही काम नहीं करते। हमारे स्वयंसेवक गृहस्थ हैं। बाल-बच्चों का पेट पालते हैं। पारकी आजा के अनुसार सब कुछ सह लेते हैं और आन से पैसा नहीं मांगते। पर उनके सिर ऐसा बोझ लादा जाय जो उठाने के योग्य नहीं है और अनावश्यक है? जितने लोगों ने इतने पर भी नाम लिखाया और इंसालतारी में शर्तों का पालन किया मैं उनकी प्रशंसा करने का तैयार हूँ, जिन्होंने नाम नहीं दिया उनका दोष नहीं दे सकता। मुझे उनके त्याग और शौर्य का पूरा भरोसा है। हमने 'डिडिसिनि'—अनुशासन—शब्द तो सीखा पर यह भी जानना चाहिये कि अनुशासन को उतना और वैसी ही आशा देनी चाहिये जो मानव स्वभाव के अनुकूल और आवश्यक है। जो जेल में है उसके बालबच्चे मूछों मर जायें, माफो मांग कर बाहर नहीं निकलवा, निरिक्त विधि पर, घर की चाहे जो दशा हो, हँसता जेल चला जायगा। परन्तु जेल जाने के पहले रोगी बच्चे को छोड़ना कठिन होता है।

उत्साह की कमी का कारण

सभा जुलूस आदि के न होने से भी उत्साह कम हुआ। यह सब कारा खेज तमाशा नहीं है। ऐसा कहना मनुष्य स्वभाव से अशुभिकता दिखलाना है। आज रुटेन, जर्मनी रुस चीन, जापान क्या इसी खेज में लगे हैं। वह क्यों अपने अपने यहां प्रचार में करोड़ों रुपया लगाते हैं? उनके पास और हमारी सरकार के पास अवसर है, आवश्यकता है, रेडियो है। हमारे प्रांतों में सुंदर पर सरकारी चाला है, सभा जुलूस बन्द हैं, व्याख्यान ही नहीं सकते, सत्याग्रह करने वाले को अपनी

बुद्धि से काम लेने की आज्ञा नहीं वह तो केवल एक वाक्य रटकर सोते की भाँति दुहरा सकता है। फिर भी जनता में उत्साह हो यह आश्चर्य की बात होगी।

सम्भव है मेरी आलोचना में तीव्रता की अतिमात्रा आ गई हो पर कभी कभी ऐसा करना भी अनावश्यक होता है। कांग्रेस हम सब की है और स्वराज हम सब का होगा अतः सब को ही अपनी बुद्धि लगानी चाहिये।

इस प्रकार के आन्दोलन में एक बड़ा दोष यह है कि वह हमारी प्रमुख अथावसर प्रतिष्ठा को खगाने नहीं देता। पिछले आन्दोलन में स्वयंसेवक और सरकार की बुद्धि का सामना होता था, 'स्वरिता-युद्ध' का सा मया आता था। अरिज का विकास होता था। वह सब तो बन्द हो ही गया जो सेनापति हैं उसके हाथ में भी लड़ाई का सूत्र (अंग्रेजों में 'इनिशिएटिव') निकल गया। इस समय लड़ाई का सूत्र सरकार के हाथ में है, गांधी जी कुछ नहीं कर सकते। सरकार ने सीमाप्रांत का आन्दोलन महीनेभर में समाप्त कर दिया। लोगों को पकड़ा ही नहीं। महीने भर घूम घूम कर लाम बक गये, घर आ बैठे। यदि दूसरी प्रांतीय सरकारों ने भी ऐसा ही किया होता, अवश्य भी सारा काम कब का ठंडा पड़ गया होता। हम अपने को यह कह कर समझा लेते कि हमारा उद्देश्य सफल हो गया, भाषण स्वातन्त्र्य मिल गया पर सरकार का क्रोध न निगड़ता। उसको कससा झिल्ला जाता, रंगरूट झिल्लते जाते।

नैतिक प्रभाव की बात

यह कहना निरर्थक है कि सत्याग्रह का नैतिक प्रभाव पड़ रहा है। जो कुछ प्रभाव पड़ रहा है वह मन्त्रि-मण्डलों के कार्यविरत होने का, जवाहरलाल जैसे स्वातन्त्रता तथा अन्य लोगों के जेल जाने का। यह गिने गिनाये आदमी तो हर दशा में आगे आते, चाहे कैसा भी आन्दोलन होता यह जेल पहुँच जाते। परन्तु यह नहीं माना जा सकता कि ५००० अद्वितीयों के जेल में होने

का प्रभाव अधिक पड़ रहा है और यदि १,००,००० होते तो प्रभाव कम पड़ता। बाहरवाले हमारी चारीकियों की नहीं समझते। वह यही जान सकते हैं कि भारत में स्वाधीनता के नाम पर इतने आदमी जेल गये। जितनी ही संख्या अधिक होगी, अन्धोलत जितना ही व्यापक होगा उसका रूप जितना ही जानक रौलमय होगा, सरकार को जितना ही दमन करना पड़ेगा, उतना ही बाहरवालों का ध्यान हमारी ओर जायगा और उनको हमारी खबाई पर विश्वास होगा। हो सकता है कि इस परफेक्ट आन्दोलन के रहने या अन्धोलत परिस्थिति ब्रिटिश शासकों को मुक्तने के लिए विवश करे, पर इसके लिए हमारा आंदोलन थोड़ा का पाव न होगा। हम ऐसी व्यावसायिक के सरोसे नहीं बैठ सकते। अपनी ओर से तो हमकी इस सुयोग से लाभ वाटने का पूरा प्रयत्न करना चाहिये।

33

सेना के लिए

गत महायुद्ध के कुल उत्पादन से भी अधिक

युद्ध विजय के समय से भारत में सेना के लिए इतने अधिक कपड़े बने हैं कि जिनकी संख्या गत महायुद्ध के समय १९१४ से लेकर १९१८ तक के किसी ऐसे महीने की तुलना, जिसमें कपड़ों का उत्पादन अपनी चरम सीमा तक पहुँच गया हो, यदि वर्तमान युद्ध के किसी महीने से की जाय तो यह कहीं अनोखेजक सिद्ध होगा। गत महायुद्ध के अन्त में महीने जून १९१७ में कपड़ों का कुल उत्पादन बीस लाख कपड़े प्रति मास के चरम सीमा पर पहुँच गया था, किन्तु नवम्बर १९४१ में सेना के लिये कपड़ों का उत्पादन सत्तर लाख कपड़े से भी ऊपर पहुँच गया और यह कपड़े वर्तमान युद्ध का २४वाँ महीना ही था।

सुन के आत्मनः सितम्बर
१८३५ से कर्णों का व्यादन इस
प्रकार रहा है:—

काट छुटि करने के बाद ये कपड़े
उत्केदारों को आवश्यक सामग्री
के साथ अस्थित रूप देने के
लिए दे दे गे। यह व्यवस्था सस्ती
के साथ ही साथ उत्तम भी सिद्ध
हुं है। रसद विभाग की कपड़े
सम्बन्धी शाखा प्रति साल सस्तर
लाख से अधिक कपड़े तैयार करा
रही हैं मुद्र के आरम्भ में प्रतिमान
केवल १,२०,००० कपड़े तैयार होते
थे। उत्पादन की उपर्युक्त संख्या
धोरे भी निवृद्ध हये पहची है।

आजकल रसद विभाग की मातहत में कपड़े के ११ कारखाने काम कर रहे हैं। यह सम्पूर्ण व्यवस्था कपड़े वाली शाखा के डायरेक्टर को हैदराबाद में है। कपड़े वाली शाखा के डायरेक्टर और उनका कर्मचारीमंडल रसद विभाग के डायरेक्टर की जनरल मातहत में हैं। कपड़े वाली शाखा की मातहत में ४ कपड़े नियन्त्रण अफसर हैं, जिनमें कतिपय बातों के सम्बन्ध में अपने अपने क्षेत्र के कारखानों का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये पूरे अधिकार प्राप्त हैं। वे लोग अपने क्षेत्रों में सिलाई के ठेके भी दे सकते हैं।

कपड़ों के जगदन के सिल-मिले में कार्य क्लिमे विस्तृत परिमाण पर हो रहा है इसका पता ऐसी बातों से नहीं लग सकता कि अग्रस्त में सत्तर लाख से अधिक कपड़े तैयार हुये अथवा १९४१ के पहले छः महीनों में भारत ने तीस लाख नेकर और तीस लाख कमीजें तैयार कर के भेजी। कुल मिलाकर लगभग ४०० विविध प्रकार के कपड़ों का काम हुआ, जिनमें सिले हुये कपड़े सम्मिलित नहीं हैं।

इन सब बातों से जाना जा सकता है कि किस प्रकार के ठेकेदारों को चुना जाता होगा। ठेकेदार चुनाव के पहले सड़की आर्थिक स्थिति, उभारत, सामग्री तथा मशीनों की जाँच पर ली

जाती है और स्थानीय अधिकारियों से पूछताछ कर ली जाती है। पहले से कावम कर्मों को विशेष तरजीह दी जाती है। कुछ क्षेत्रों में आरम्भ में कुछ ठेके विज्ञापन द्वारा दिये गये तथा अन्य क्षेत्रों में ठेकेदारों से बातचीत करके तथा स्थानीय अधिकारियों से पूछताछ करने के बाद दिये गये। प्रत्येक ठेकेदार से अपना नाम दर्ज कराने के लिये कहा जाता है।

शाजकल भारत भर की ८० फर्में ६५ विविध प्रकार के कपड़ों का कार्य कर रही हैं।

इस व्यवस्थासे दर्जियों को बहुत लाभ हो रहा है। लगभग ५५००० दर्जी इस व्यवस्था से लाभ उठा रहे हैं। इन लोगों को ठेकेदार के मातहत लगातार काम रहता है और नियमित रूप से वेतन भी मिलता जाता है। इतना ही नहीं ठेकेदार से उन्हें वेतन भी अधिक मिलता है।

वर्मा रोड पर टक्की हुई

गाडियां

उधार पट्टा कानून के अनुसार

चीन की सहायता

रगून ।

अमेरिका के पक्षर पट्टा कानून के अनुसार आक्रमणकारी राष्ट्रों के विरुद्ध सहायता करने की जो व्यवस्था हुई है उसके अन्तर्गत चीन को दक्षिण गोलार्धवर्द्ध तथा रक्षा की अन्य सासथी अमेरिका में कभी एक प्रकार की "बकी गाड़ियों" में भेजी जा रही है। ये मोटर के ठेले अमेरिका में बने हैं और जाशियों से युक्त किंवा तक १,४०० मील लम्बे मार्ग से युद्ध सामग्री ले जाते हैं। इन ठेलों में अमेरिका में कभी चीजे भरी रहती हैं। इनके दल का चीन के

युद्ध प्रयत्नों के लिये जितना महत्व है उतना ही सच्चा इनका दृष्टि भी है।

अमेरिकन मान के शोधन से आने के कारण ठेलों का यह दल बहुत तेजी से बढ़ रहा है। इस तेजी का अनुमान हम ठेलों की संख्या जान कर नहीं लगा सकते।

चुंगकिंग में प्रकाशित जाने
थाकितों से ज्ञात हुआ है कि कर्मा
भाग पर ८,०६६ मोटर टोले काम
कर रहे हैं।

यह भी बताया गया है कि इस मार्ग पर विविध स्थानों पर टूटे फूटे ठेलों की मरम्मत के लिये सड़क केन्द्र खोल गये हैं।

ठेलों की संख्या में वृद्धि के साथ ही साथ कुलमिग और चुंग क्रिग पहुँचने वाले मान की यात्रा में भी वृद्धि प्रवृत्ति हो गई है। जुलाई में रंगून और लाशियों से ३,२०० टन मान उधार पट्टा कानून के अन्तर्गत कुलमिग पहुँचा था, किन्तु अगस्त में आने वाले मान की यात्रा ३,५६३ टन और सितम्बर में आने वाले मान की यात्रा ११,२०६ टन तक पहुँच गयी। अनुमान किया जाता है कि वर्ष का अन्त होते होते १२,००० टन का वार्षिक औसत पट्टा जायेगा।

यातायात के अपर्याप्त साधन

किन्तु इतना माल भी चीन की आवश्यकताओं को देते हुए काफी नहीं है। अमेरिका से आने वाला माल रंगून, रेल्ब से अन्तिम स्टेशन लाशिंग और उत्तरी इन्वा-वदी के बन्दरगाह भासो में पहुँचा हुआ इकट्ठा हो रहा है और इसे चीन पहुँचाने के साधन अब भी अपर्याप्त हैं।



7 Bengal A ✓
Bikan ✓

16 Malabar A ✓
Vidarbha A ✓

Utkal A-B

3/4

C.B.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

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K M MUMTHI ~~XXXXXXXX~~ BIRLA HOUSE TURQUERQUE ROAD NEW DELHI

~~XXXXXXXX~~ DR PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA 19 CANNING LANE NEW DELHI

~~SHANKARRAO DED GENERAL SECY ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE NEW DELHI~~

OUR COMING DEPT UNAVOIDABLY POSTPONED SHALL RE-APPEAR ON 25TH CODELE
OF PHALGUN -

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram, is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any), and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

G. & M. G. Ltd. Lahore—(173)—29-1-40—15,200 Ds.

41

B.



No

2086

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.



Sent at _____ H. _____ M.
 To _____
 By _____

X SG BUDHGION (SAT) 25

 DR PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA 19 CANNING
 LANE NEW DELHI

CANNOT VISIT DELHI FOR THE PRESENT OWING DISTURBED CONDITIONS THERE PLEASE

OTHER THREE LEADERS-----GODBOL S-----LN 589

42

446

Resolution passed by the Convention
held on 8-12-46
NEW DELHI.

Whereas "in India there are only a number of administrative areas which have grown up almost haphazard as the result of conquest, suppression of former rulers or Administrative areas"* ;

Whereas "Federation schemes usually start with a number of clearly defined States, each already possessing individuality and consciousness".*

Whereas Provincial Autonomy which forms the basis of a Federation requires a homogeneous population with a common language and culture for the efficient discharge of its educational, legal, administrative and constitutional functions,

This Convention of representatives of the Nation, composed of Members of the Constituent Assembly, of the Central Legislature and of Organisations wedded to the cause of linguistic and cultural redistribution of provinces in India, recommends to the Constituent Assembly that at its plenary session it do accept the aforesaid principle as the basis of the future constitution of the Government of India and set up the necessary machinery for effectuating such a redistribution of provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis.

* (Quoted from Sir John Simon's report Vol. II page 15)

43

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

President :

S. K. PATIL

Vice-President :

M. V. NURIE

Gen. Secretaries :

S. L. SHAM

P. S. THAKKAR

Treasurer :

S. A. KHIMJI

CONGRESS HOUSE

Vithalbhai Pabai Road

Bombay-4.

Telegrams: "CONGRESS"

Telephones: 45211

42956

Dated 24th April 1947.

Personal & Confidential.

My dear Pattabhi,

I am sure you must be knowing our friend and colleague, Shri Bhawanji A. Khimji, who is the Treasurer of the Bombay P.C.C. and a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. He is the tower of strength ~~for~~ the Congress organization and a great personal friend of mine. He hails from the State of Kutch and is a personal friend of Maharao. He is popular alike with the Prince and the Praja Mandal. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Working Committee have a very high regard for him. His mission is as follows:

The State of Kutch is fighting for a seat in the Constituent Assembly. It has got less than a million population. If Pakistan is going to materialize, Kutch will have the rare privilege of being the boundry of Hindustan. I have to request to strongly support the claims of Kutch so that our friend Mr. Bhawanjibhai may get a chance to be sent to the Constituent Assembly. He is one of us and I am sure ~~you~~ will spare no efforts to use your undoubted influence in getting him there. I shall see you when I come to Delhi in a couple of days.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

S. K. Patil

(S.K. Patil)

44

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya,
25, Queensway,
New Delhi.

ALL INDIA CONSTITUENT STATES UNION,

SOLAN (Simla Hills)

Dated April 28, 1947.

Your Highness,

You will be glad to know that the meetings of the State Negotiating Committee with the corresponding Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly have been successful in framing a tentative scheme for the allocation of the 98 States seats in the Constituent Assembly.

This Scheme which has been generally accepted by the Rulers Conference places Your Highness's State in the Residuary Group No. XVII consisting of all the "Other States" which have not been specifically mentioned in the scheme and have been allotted four representatives for a total population of approximately 8.77 million people.

The two Negotiating Committees had also formulated a scheme for the selection of the States representatives. According to this scheme representatives of the Residuary Group No. XVII were to be selected by the two Negotiating Committees in consultation with such persons as they may choose and then decide upon the four representatives to be selected. As the Chairman of the All India Constituent States Union, 77 States of which have been placed in this Residuary Group, I took exception to this mode of selection suggested by the two Negotiating Committees in respect to our representatives and protested to His Highness the Chancellor that the States in the "Residuary Group" will select their own representatives without interference from any outside agency. His Highness the Chancellor has agreed to this demand and I take this opportunity of requesting Your Highness's to co-operate with me and my brother Rulers of the Group, in the selection of the said four representatives.

The All India Constituent States Union nominated a Special Committee consisting of Shri Thakur Sahib of Godasar as the Convener, Mr. B. M. Buch, Legal Advisor Lathi State, Mr. N. D. Buch Dewan Manavadar State, Mr. S. Jang, Dewan Alipura State and Mr. Mahabir Singh, Secretary, All India Constituent States Union, to formulate a scheme for the selection of the 'Residuary Group's' representatives to the Constituent Assembly. Their recommendations which have since been accepted by the Union are stated below :—

"This Sub-Committee recommends that a General Convention of representatives of States in the Residuary Group XVII be called at the earliest possible opportunity at Delhi.

The Sub-Committee further recommends that each State should send two nominees one of which should be a public person.

The Convention so constituted shall elect the four representatives to be sent to the Constituent Assembly as under :—

The Four members elected should represent :—

- (a) The Panjab State ;
 - (b) The Central India and Rajputana States ;
 - (c) The Constituent States in Western India and Gujerat and
 - (d) The Non-Constituent States of Western India and Gujerat."
- 45

In pursuance of their recommendations I am calling a General Convention of the representatives of the States placed in Residuary Group No. XVII to meet at Nirula's, New Delhi, on Monday and Tuesday the 26th and 27th of May, 1947.

I would request Your Highness to kindly nominate two representatives to attend this Convention one of whom must be a representative of the people elected through either the State Legislature, the Praja Sabha, the State Panchayats or through the village Lambardars in the State. The names of the two representatives so elected and nominated may kindly be intimated to me by the 20th of May latest.

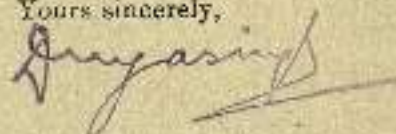
Each one of these representatives should be in possession of a copy of notification issued by the Darbar stating the names of person elected or nominated as the State's representative to the Convention for the selection of the four representatives to be sent to the Convention on State's behalf. A model notification is attached for perusal.

This Convention of States Representatives shall elect the four representatives to be sent to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of this 'Residuary Group'.

In this connection I will be glad to give all possible information as may be desired by Your Highness and my Secretariat will give all possible assistance in elucidating the details of the proposed plan.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,



To
The Ruler

Raja of Baghat,
&

Representative Member on the Standing Committee
of Princes and Chairman,
All India Constituent States Union.

State

DRAFT NOTIFICATION

The Darbar hereby appoint.....
as the States nominated/elected member to the General
Convention called at 'Nirulas' New Delhi on Monday and
Tuesday the 26th and 27th May, 1947, for the selection
of 4 representatives to be nominated to the Constituent
Assembly on behalf of the Residuary Group No. XVII of
which the State is a component member.

Ruler,

Seal

Date

State

46

Aundh,
31st May 1947.

My dear Doctorsaheb,

From the accompanying letter of Mr. D.G. Kulkarni the Political Secretary of our State you will know that Shrimant Appasaheb Pant of Aundh has through the pressure of us - the Ministers and the people of Aundh State - ~~has~~ decided to stand as a candidate & contest the election of the member for the Constituent Assembly on behalf of this Group. As there are several local currents not only linguistic and communal but also sectional running across in the Deccan States politics it is but essential that there should be clear indication from some influential quarter like you in state politics in favour of his candidature which he rightfully deserves. It will not only help his cause but also strengthen our hands in our effort to make him successful in this contest. Considering the old relations that exist between you and the state we strongly hope that you will

47

send your message of support for the candidature of Shrimant Appasaheb Pant to help us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

10th Feb 1844

Minister Aungh State.

To,

Dr. Pattabhai Siteramayya,
19, Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

8/2

Personal

Aundh,
31st May 1947.

My Dear Doctorsaheb,

You might be aware that the Deccan States Rulers have decided to join the Constituent Assembly & have agreed to send one of their representatives out of the two allotted to this Group from amongst the peoples representatives. The other representative would be sent by the Rulers in consultation with the peoples' representatives. An electoral college consisting of the elected members of the legislatures in the Deccan States has been formed for that purpose. You will be glad to learn that Shrimant Appasaheb Pant, B.A., Bar-at-Law of Aundh has been elected to this Electoral College by the Aundh State., Assembly. The State Legislature has also prevailed upon him to stand as a candidate as a peoples' representative for the Constituent Assembly & he has consented to stand for this election. It is likely that many mushroom candidates with local

49

interests at heart may contest this election.

You will however agree that people like Appasaheb alone would most fittingly fulfill the obligations that are attached to this membership. Shrinant Appasaheb has for the last eight years strenuously worked for the people's welfare & their cause in the Deccan States & what ever life and agitation that is visible on this side in these states is due to him because of his complex character as a prince and a Commoner. It is needless for me to add that his prospects at this election would be highly enhanced by your support of his candidature.

Hoping you will do the needful & inform me to that effect.

With great respects,

Yours sincerely,

D. G. Kulkarni

To,

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya,
19, Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

Jani Building, RAJKOT

12th May 1947.

To,
The PRESIDENT,
All India States People's Conference,
17, York Road, NEW DELHI.

Ref. Residual Seats.

Re. Nominations on behalf of Kathiawar Gujrat
Group of States.

....

Dear Friend,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th
inst. (SP.84/469)

I take it that all the sub groups in the Residual Groups are
to nominate 2 persons out of whom the Negotiating Sub Committee of the
Princes & People of India will select 2 persons for the Constituent
Assembly.

Here are the names that I would suggest:

1. Sjt Balwantrai Gopalji Mehta,
age 48, Bhavnagar.
Vice President, A.I.S.P.C.,
President, Bhavnagar Praja Parishad,
Joint Secretary, Kathiawar Political Conference.
2. Sjt. Uchhurangrai Sawalshanker Dhebar,
age 41 Rajkot
Joint Secretary, Kathiawar Political Conference,
Joint Secretary, Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee.

I reached Rajkot only on the 10th and hence the delay in
replying to you.

I have informed you about this telegraphically today.

Yours sincerely,

(Gopaldas A. Desai)
President, Kathiawar Political
Conference.

P.T.O.

P.S.

I may draw your attention to your letter ref. No. 1 SP/24/1425 in which you said in reply to my letter of the 9th April, that you would raise the question of proper distribution of multi-representation seats allowed to Western India States Group before our sub committee when the time would come for it. I shall be glad to hear about it if any thing has happened in relation thereto.

Copy of my today's telegram to you:-

- * REFERENCE RESIDUAL STATES NOMINATIONS KATHIWAR POLITICAL SEM
- * CONFERENCE SUGGESTS SALWANTRAI GOPALJI MEHTA AND UCHERANCHRAI
- * HAWALSHANKER DHEBAR. LETTER FOLLOWS. BARBAR GOPALENS DESAI."

(101/25.71).1001

52