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मन्थुआरी - ४८

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सरदार बल्लभ भाई पटेल का ~~विशेष~~ माषण संग्रह

१७.१.४८ - २२-१-४८

म. १ सं १८

પ્ર. સરદારશ્રીનાં સાવજીની વાહી

૪-૧-૪૬	આર્મી કોર્સ એકેડેમી દહેરાદૂન	અગ્રણી
૨૬-૫-૪૬	રીપ્રેઝન્ટેટીવ ઓફ માઇનોરિટિઝ ; કો-સ્ટીટ્યુશન એસેમ્બલીમાં	"
૨૫-૨-૪૬	બેંગલોરમાં	"
૨૩-૨-૪૬	મદ્રાસ	"
૨૨-૨-૪૬	સાઉથ ઈન્ડિયન ગ્રેન્ડપ્રાઇઝ ઓફ કોમર્સમાં	"
૨૨-૨-૪૬	રાજાજીની પ્રતિમાની અનાવરણ વિધિ	"
૩૦-૧-૪૬		
૨૪-૧-૪૬	સોરાઠ બૈધારણસભાના ઉદ્ઘાટન વખતે	ગુજરાતી
૨૨-૧-૪૬	પ્રજામંડળના કાર્યકર્તાઓને મકરપુરા પેલેસની સીન ઉપર	"
૧૪-૧-૪૬	જાહેરસભા ઉદ્દેપુર	(હિંદી)
૨૧-૧-૪૬	લક્ષ્મી વિલાસ પેલેસમાં બપોરના લંચ પરના મહારાજાનાં સમાજીના જવાબમાં	ગુજરાતી
"	સુરત સ્ટેશને વડોદરા જતાં : સવારે દસ;	"
૨૦-૧-૪૬	બારડોલી પાટીદાર ક્લબમાં : જાહેરસભા બ. રા. ૧;	"
૧૭-૧-૪૬	સુરત, ભરૂચ, પંચમહાલના કાર્યકર્તાઓની સભા આશ્રમના ડહેલામાં. બપોરે ૩ વાગે	"
૧૬-૧-૪૬	ગુજરાતના કાર્યકરોની સભા : અમદાવાદ, ખેડા; દેસી રાજ્યોના કાર્યકર્તાઓ. બારડોલી બપોરે ૩ વાગે.	"
૩૦-૩-૪૬	જયપુર	(હિંદી)
૬-૫-૪૬	ઈંદોર	"
૬-૫-૪૬	ચંદીપુર	"



પૂ. સરકારશ્રીનાં ભાષણોની યાદી

૨૨- ૧-૪૮	અમદાવાદમાં પુરુષોત્તમ ખીલનાં કમ્પાઉન્ડમાં મહાનગરો તરફથી માનપદ	ગુજરાતી
૨૩- ૧-૪૮	બલુખાઉ ગો. હોસ્પિટલનો પાયો નાંખવાનો સમારંભ	"
૨૧- ૧-૪૮	લાલ દરવાજાના મેદાનમાં સભા	"
૨૧- ૧-૪૮	બલુખાઉની પ્રતિમાની અનાવરણ વિધિ કામગીર	હિંદી
૧૯- ૧-૪૮	હ-કુ હોસ્પિટલનો પાયો નાંખવાના પ્રસંગે	"
૧૮- ૧-૪૮	શિવાજી પાર્કમાં ભાષણ	"
૧૭- ૧-૪૮	ચોપાટી પર મુખ્ય કોરપોરેશન મેયર-શેરીફ તરફથી જોઈ-૮ મીનિંગ શહેરીઓની ઉપવાસ અંગે	ગુજરાતી
૧૬- ૧-૪૮	મુખ્ય કોરપોરેશન તરફથી આગ્રાદ મેદાન પર માનપદ	"
૧૫- ૧-૪૮	રાજકોટમાં જાહેર સભા	કદમિ, ગુજરાતી
૧૫- ૧-૪૮	ભાવનગર ગાંધી મંદિરની ઉદ્ઘાટનક્રિયા	"
૧૫- ૧-૪૮	ધારાસભા સમક્ષ દરબાર હોલમાં	"
૨- ૧-૪૮	શીર્ષોગ	
૩- ૧-૪૮	કલકત્તા	હિંદી
૫-૧- ૪૮	ઈન્ડિયન મરચેટ બ્લબ પાટી	"
૭- ૧-૪૮	ભખનો	"
૨૬- ૧-૪૮	પટના રેડિયો સ્ટેશન બુલ્ડે પૂકર્તા	"
"	" જાહેર સભા	"
૧૩- ૨-૪૮	જામનગર જાહેરસભા	ગુજરાતી
૧૬- ૨-૪૮	" માનપદનો ઉત્તર	"
૧૫- ૨-૪૮	દરબારો સમક્ષ	"
૧૮- ૨-૪૮		હિંદી-અંગ્રેજી
૨૦- ૨-૪૮	એ. આઈ. સી. સી. દિલ્હી કો-સ્ટીટ્યુશન બ્લબ	"
૨૫- ૨-૪૮	અલ્વર જાહેરસભા	"
૨૫- ૩-૪૮	મયુરી ઇન્ડસ્ટ્રીયલ ઓફર-સ	"
૧૭- ૭-૪૮	પતિયાલામાં	"
૨૫-૧૧-૪૮	બનારસ યુનિવર્સિટી તરફથી ડોક્ટરની પદવી	"
૧૨-૧૦-૪૮	દશેરા	"
૩૦-૧૦-૪૮	ચોપાટી જાહેરસભા મુખ્ય	"

૩-૧૧-૪૮	નાગપુર વિદ્યાપીઠ	(ઉદ્દોગ)
૪-૧૧-૪૮	નાગપુર જાહેરસભા	"
૪-૧૧-૪૮	નાગપુર પોલીસ પરેડ	"
૪-૧૧-૪૮	સ્ટેટ એડવાઈઝરી બોર્ડ	"
૨૧-૧૧-૪૮	બનારસ યુનિવર્સિટીમાં કોંગ્રેસ કા. મોની સભા	"
"	" જાહેર સભા સચિ ૪ વાગે	"
૨૭-૧૧-૪૮	પટેલ અભિનંદન ગ્રંથ, ગર્વમે-૮ હાઉસ	"
૨૪-૧૨-૪૮	ગ્વાલિયર ધારાસભાની ઉદ્દઘાટન વિધિ	"
૬-૧-૪૯	પોલીસ પરેડ અરવિંદ સ્ટેડિયમ	"
૨૦-૧૨-૪૮	જયપુર અધિવેશન	"
૨૭-૧૨-૪૮	પીલાની ગર્લ્સ સ્કૂલ	"

પૂ. સરદારશ્રીનાં ભાષણોની યાદી

૨૫- ૫-૪૭	કોંગ્રેસમાં	
૨૦-૧૦-૪૭	દિલ્હીમાં ગાંધી ઝાઉ-૬ ઉપર	ગુજરાતી
૧૨- ૮-૪૭	દિલ્હી રામલીલા ઝાઉ-૬ ઉપર : જાહેરસભા-ગાંધી-જયંતિ:	હિંદી
૨-૧૦-૪૭	દિલ્હી ગાંધી ઝાઉ-૬, જાહેર સભા ગાંધી જયંતિ:	"
૨૨-૧૦-૪૭	પાંતયાલા ગુરુવારામાં : બપોરે બાર વાગે:	"
૨૨-૧૦-૪૭	પાંતયાલા જાહેરસભા : બપોરે છ વાગે:	"
૨૬-૧૦-૪૭	હોડલ : ગુરગાંવ ડિસ્ટ્રિક્ટ : બપોરે અઢી: ઝોરેસ્સા	"
૧૫- ૧-૪૨	વધાં એ. આઈ. સી. સી. માં	
૬- ૮-૪૫	પનાલાલ ડેરેસ ઝા-૮૨૦માં	ગુજરાતી
૩૦- ૬-૪૭	અમૃતસર	હિંદી
૧૨-૧૧-૪૭	રાજકોટ જાહેરસભામાં	ગુજરાતી
૧૬-૧૨-૪૭	વનસ્પતી, બપોરે ૧૧ વાગે	હિંદી
૧૭-૧૨-૪૭	જયપુર જાહેરસભા-પ્રજામંડળ તરફથી	"
૨૬-૧૨-૪૭	મહેરોલી પુસ્તકાલયનું ઉદ્ઘાટન	"
૩૧-૧૨-૪૭	ગોહાટી જાહેરસભા, સંજી ૪૧૧	"

# પ્રસરદારશ્રીનાં ભાષણોની વિગત

- ૧ ૨-૧-૪૦ ડોપાટી ઉપર કાનડું ભાષણ
- ૨ ૧૨-૧-૪૦ પોલીસ વડાઓની કો-કર-સ દિલ્હી. અંગ્રેજ  
: પ્રસ ઇ. બ્યુરો ગવર્નમેન્ટ ઓફ ઇન્ડિયા
- ૩ ૨૨-૧-૪૦ ગાંધીજીની પ્રતિમાની અનાવરણ વિધિ દિલ્હી. (હંદલ)
- ૪ ૨૧-૧-૪૦ ટેબોરેટરીની ઉદ્ઘાટન વિધિ વખતે આપેલું ભાષણ  
તેનું છાપેલું પેમ્ફલેટ " "
- ૫ કલકત્તાનું ભાષણ
- ૬ ૨૬-૧-૪૦ સ્વાર્ણમય દિન એંધે સંદેશો અંગ્રેજ-ગુજરાતી
- ૭ ૨૬-૧-૪૦ પ્રદર્શનના ઉદ્ઘાટન વખતે
- ૮ ૧૬-૩-૪૦ પોલીસ પરેડમાં ભાષણ (હંદલ)
- ૯ ૨-૪-૪૦ કોરેક્ટ રોસચે ઇ-સ્ટીલચુટના કો-વોડેસન પ્રસંગે
- ૧૦ ૨૬-૪-૪૦ બનાનના ડાન્ટાન બાબતે
- ૧૧ ૨૧-૪-૪૦ ક્રોડકાસ્ટ કલકત્તા
- ૧૨ ૨૨-૪-૪૦ બોમ્બે હોસ્પિટલની ઉદ્ઘાટન વિધિ વખતે મુંબઈ
- ૧૩ ૨૪-૪-૪૦ બાળકો માટેનાં પુસ્તકાલયનો પાથો નાંખ્યો મુંબઈ
- ૧૪ ૭-૧૦-૪૦ શેકાબાદ
- ૧૫ ૬-૧૧-૪૦ સ્વામી દયાનંદ સરસ્વતી નિર્વાણ ઉત્સવ પ્રસંગે

૫. સરકારશ્રીનાં ભાષણોની વિગત

	૪- ૧-૫૦	મોપાટી ઉપર આરજી લાખડા.	
૧.	૧૨- ૧-૫૦	પોલીસ વડાઓની કો-ઠર-સ દિલ્હી. : પ્રસ ઇ. બ્યુરો ગવર્નમેન્ટ ઓફ ઇન્ડિયા	મંત્રી
૨.	૨૨- ૧-૫૦	ગાંધીજીની પ્રતિમાની અનાવરણ વિધિ દિલ્હી.	દિલ્હી
૩.	૨૧- ૧-૫૦	લેખોરેટરીની ઉદ્ઘાટન વિધિ વખતે આપેલું ભાષણ તેનું છાપેલું એમ્પ્લોયેટ	"
૩A		કલકત્તાનું ભાષણ	
૪.	૨૬- ૧-૫૦	સ્વાતંત્ર્ય દિન અંગે સંદેશો	મંત્રી-ગુજરાતી
૫.	૨૬- ૧-૫૦	પ્રદર્શનના ઉદ્ઘાટન વખતે	
૬.	૧૯- ૩-૫૦	પોલીસ પરેડમાં ભાષણ	દિલ્હી
૭.	૨- ૪-૫૦	કોરેક્ટ રીસર્ચ ઇન્સ્ટીટ્યૂટના કોન્વોકેશન પ્રસંગે	
૮.	૨૬- ૪-૫૦	પ્રેક્ષાના પ્રસંગે	
૯.	૨૧- ૪-૫૦	પ્રોડક્ટાસ્ટ કલકત્તા	
૧૦.	૨૨- ૫-૫૦	બોમ્બે હોસ્પિટલની ઉદ્ઘાટન વિધિ વખતે મુંબઈ	
૧૧.	૨૪- ૫-૫૦	બાળકો માટેનાં પ્રસ્તુતકાલેખનો પાયો નાંખ્યો મુંબઈ	
૧૨.	૭- ૧૦-૫૦	હેઠાબાદ	
૧૩.	૯-૧૧-૫૦	સ્વામી દયાનંદ સરસ્વતી નિર્વાણ ઉત્સવ પ્રસંગે	

8 21  
Two sets of Bapu's  
speeches in 1950

- i) 15 speeches
  - ii) 18 speeches
- 

Numbers given according  
to the statement placed  
with speeches on each set  
separately.

# LIST OF SPEECHES OF SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL IN 1950.

## January 1950

- 4th Speech on Chowpatty, Bombay.
- 12th Conference of Police Chiefs in Delhi; Press Information Bureau, G. of I.
- 13th Speech before the representatives & Teachers of Colleges (Calcutta)
- 13th Speech before the meeting of the members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.
- 22nd Unveiling the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi.
- 23rd Printed pamphlet about the opening ceremony of Laboratory.
- Calcutta Speech.
- 26th Independence Day message.
- .. Performing the opening ceremony of the Exhibition.

## February 1950

- 2nd Reply to Shri Khandubhai Desai.
- 25th Preventive Detention Bill
- 26th Fast of Shri Shibban Lal Saksena.
- 26th Special Criminal Courts (Jurisdiction) Bill

## March 1950

- 1st Fast of Shri Shibbanlal Saksena.
- 6th Condolence motion over the death of Shri Sachhinanda Sinha.
- 7th Hyderabad (a) & (b)
- 19th Police Parade in Delhi.
- 21st Debate in Parliament on White Paper.

## April 1950

- 2nd Forest Research Institute, Dehradun- message.
- 21st Calcutta Broadcast.
- 26th Planning Commission.

## May 1950

- 12th On INS Delhi.
- 13th Speech at Ernakulam & Wellington Island.
- 14th Trivandrum.
- 16th I. N. S. Delhi.
- Message after Travancore-Cochin Tour.
- 22nd Opening Ceremony of the Bombay Hospital.
- 24th Children's Library, Bombay.
- Speech at Charni Road Garden.

पूरी पंजाब के कृत्रिम वाले जमा हुये हैं । कुछ बंद बाते में आप लोगों को कहूँ । एक बात आप लोगों को मैं कहूँ । जो सुनने के लिये है । असल में तो मुझे आपकी बात सुननी चाहिये लेकिन आम चाहते हैं । कि मैं ही कहूँ । क्योंकि आप लोग आसमें बात करने लगे । तो मेरा स्थान है कि कोई बात का अन्त नहीं आयेगा । और आप एक दूसरे की शिकायत करने लगे । लेकिन पंजाब की जितनी बात मैं जान सकता हूँ देखी मैं बैठे हुये उसमें से बंद बात में कह सकता हूँ । क्योंकि मैं तो सिर्फ आपको सलाह दे सकता हूँ । और क्या कर सकता हूँ । क्योंकि मैं इधर होता और आप लोगों के बीच मैं रहता तो कुछ रस्ता बता सकता । लेकिन बाहर बैठे हुये मैं जो रास्ता बताऊँ उस रास्ते पर आंचल सके तो मेरा पक्का विश्वास है कि पंजाब को बहुत फायदा होगा । लेकिन मुझे अहिंसा है कि जिस ढंग से काम चल रहा है उसमें शायद मैं कुछ भी कहूँ तो आप लोगों के लिये चलना मुश्किल होगा । पंजाब के लोग जो हैं । मेरा अनुभव है कि बहुत ही अच्छे लोग हैं । भले लोग हैं और बड़े श्रद्धा वाले लोग हैं । कृत्रिम पर उनकी भक्ति पूरी है । और यदि उन लोगों को सीधे रास्ते पर चलाने की चेष्टा की जाये तो जितनी कुरबानी करनी हो वो करले । और असल में तो पंजाब ने जितनी कुर्बानी की कौन कर सकता है । काफी चुनौती की । जितनी भी मुसीबत पंजाब पर पड़ी कभी और प्रान्त पर आई होती तो उसके लिये उठना मुश्किल होता । लेकिन यह सब कुछ बरबास्त करते हुये भी इतने दुख आप पर आ पड़े । लेकिन मैं पंजाब के लोगों को देखता हूँ मेरा दिल भर जाता है । कैसे बेचारे भले लोग हैं । कैसे श्रद्धा वाले लोग हैं । और कैसे मजबूत लड़े लोग हैं । तो इन लोगों को मैं कहूँ गा हमें काम करना है । काम करना होगा । तो यदि एक ये लोग एक तरह लिये । दूसरी तरह दूसरे लिये । तीसरी तरह तीसरे लिये । तो किस तरह चलेगा । उसने लिये कही मुसीबत हो जाती है । और अगर आपको पंजाब के इस काराईसिस में खेवाकरनी है । तो आप लोगों को समझना पड़े गा । कि हम सबको साथ मिलकर काम करना है । अगर इस तरह काम नहीं करेंगे तो न अपना काम होगा न लोगों का । तो पहले तो मैं कहूँ गा । कि हमारी जो सरकार है इकूमत जिसके पास है उसकी क्या हालत है । क्या एक आवाज़ से बोल सकती है । क्या उनके उपर ये लोग भरोसा रख सकते हैं क्या उनको जो उनकी जो पार्टी है । या लोग सहायता करती है । उसमें से तो पार्टी जो स्पोर्ट होती है । सहायता होती है । तो चलती है । तो मैं कहूँगा कि जो बातें मुझे सुनने में आई हैं । देखी मैं मुझे आती है । अबबारी में आती है । मैं उधर की बात नहीं कहता मैं मानता हूँ कि इस तरह बात नहीं चलती । तो जो पार्टी के मेम्बर हैं यदि उसको अगर पंजाब का काम ठीक करना हो तो अलग २ दल बन्दी से काम नहीं लेगा । और एक दल बनना चाहिये । और उसमें से पार्टी में से एक गुरुप बनाया जाये । फिर पंजाब में हमारे पास इतने आदमी हैं । हमें मिनिस्ट्री में से इतना हिस्सा दो । दूसरा दल बनाया । हम को इतना हिस्सा दिया । तीसरा दल बनाया फिर हमको इतना हिस्सा दो । तो यह बटवारा का काम नहीं होगा । बटवारा तो पंजाब का हो गया । अब हमारा किस्मत



का बटवारा करना है। इस तरह से काम नहीं चलता क्योंकि हमें पार्टी में एक लीडर चुनना है। तो हमारी पंक्ति जो असम्बली की है। उसका अर्थ यह है कि लीडर चुन ले। चुनने के बाद उसको यह बताना है कि आप जिसको मिनिस्ट्रर बनाना हो उसको बनाओ। यदि इतना विश्वास न हो तो उसको लीडर नहीं चुनना चाहिये। जिसपर विश्वास हो उसे चुनो। जो असम्बली के मेम्बर बैठे हैं मैं उनसे कहूँगा ये आपका काम है। कि आप को एक लीडर चुनना चाहिये। चुनने के बाद उसको सहारा देना चाहिये। भरोसा रखना चाहिये। यदि ये न करो। और लीडर अपनी लीडरशिप के लिये एक ग्रुप के दल पर भरोसा रखे। उसका साथ देने के लिये कोशिश करे। और एक लड़ी में किसी न किसी तरह बलि देने की कोशिश करे।

तो मेरी राय यही है कि आपको एक लीडर चुनना चाहिये। और उसपर भरोसा करके मिनिस्ट्री का काम सौंप देना चाहिये। लीडर का काम ये होगा कि मैं किस तरह मिनिस्ट्री बनाऊँ। लेकिन हमारा काम ये है कि एक दफा एक लीडर चुना। तो उसके बाद फिर उसको जितना हमारे से हो सके साथ देना चाहिये। खान न करो। तो मान लीजिये कि जो हमारे कर्मचारी जो हकूमत में सरचिस्ती वाले लोग हैं वो समझ जायेंगे ये बूझकों का गैवारों का गठ जोड़ है। उसमें किसी भरोसा करे। ये आब है कल बला जायेगा। दूसरा आयेगा तीसरा आयेगा। जो काम करने वाले सरचिस्ती के लोग हैं वो पुराने लोग हैं वो अपना काम जानते हैं।-किस तरह काम करना है किस को राजी रखना है। यदि ये कांग्रेस में जो असम्बली में है। समझे कि यह जो कलक्टर डिप्टी कमिश्नर है। या इसके नीचे या उपर जो कुछ है। उसको मेरी बातें माननी चाहिये। क्योंकि मैं असम्बली का मेम्बर हूँ और उसे मैं ऐसे कहूँ उसी तरह मानना चाहिये। यदि हर मेम्बर इस तरह समझे तो यह काम नहीं चल सकता। उनको कुछ अधिकार दिया है। उस अधिकार के बीच मैं उन्हें काम करना है। और उसमें हम दखल देते रहें तो हमारा काम चल चुका। और न चलना चाहिये। अब उसके बाद हमारा दूसरा एक काम हो जाता है कि हम मिनिस्ट्री में बैठे। उसके बाद एक काम का इतना और एक काम का उतना होना चाहिये। इस तरह से हर काम कीमी दुष्टी से देखें तो एक काम का काम हो गा न दूसरी का होगा। लेकिन एक काम के बीच में फूट पड़ जायेगी। तो हम ने इस लिया कि कीमी के बीच में फूट पड़ने से क्या होता है। तो ये देखकर भी हम अगर इस तरह चले। तो दूसरी फूट पड़ेगी। दूसरी फूट पड़े तो क्या होगा ये आपको सोचना चाहिये।

तो मेरी राय यह है कि मिनिस्ट्री इस दुष्टि से काम न करे। उनको तो पंजाब के भले के लिये ही काम करना चाहिये। और जो मिनिस्ट्री में गये। उसके बाद जो असम्बली में गये। उनसे अगर हर चीज में यह सवाल पूछते रहें कि एक काम का कितना है दूसरी का कितना है। एक को क्या मिला। दूसरे को कितना मिला। उसको क्या हुआ तो ये जो हमारे अमलदार हैं। इस तरह काम करते रहें। क्योंकि हमें अपनी हिन्दुस्तान को उठाना है। कीम को उठाना है। और अगर हम इसी तरह छोटी २ चीजों में फँस जायेंगे तो बड़ी चीजें रह जायेंगी। और बड़ी चीजें हमें अगर मिल गईं। तो छोटी चीजें

की परवाह नहीं रहेगी। इतनी चीज़ें हमको मिलने वाली हैं उसका काफी कायदा है।

तो पहला तो हमारा क़दम है कि जल्दी से जल्दी पंजाब का भला किस में हो। और और पंजाब में जो लोग ज़्यादा तर बर्हा से होड़ कर आये हैं। वो लोग दुकी है। और हम इसे छोटे मक़दों में पड़े रहेंगे तो जो समझेंगे कि हमारा तो काम होता नहीं। ये लोग अपने मक़दों में पड़े हैं। अपने अपने। और उसके पीछे जो रिफ़्यूजी लोग हैं। उनके पास और उधर लोग जायेंगे। उन्हें कहेंगे और उनके दुकी दिल को और कष्ट देंगे।

ये तो है असम्बली की बात। कहते हैं। क़रिब करकर। मैं नहीं जानता कि क़रिब करकर कौन लोग है। एक आदमी ने पूछा कि आप कहाँ जा रहे हैं। तो मैंने कहा कि क़रिब करकर की मीटिंग में। तो उस ने कहा। करकर की मीटिंग। तो उसने कहा क़रिब करकर तो देता नहीं पंजाब में। ये कैसी बात। अगर पूर्वी पंजाब में क़रिब करकर होते तो ये ग़लत क्यों होती। ये तो मक़द ही करते हैं। तो मुझे बहुतदुख हुआ। कि क़रिब करकर की या रेपूटीशन क्यों बन जाये। ये तो ख़राबी है। इसकी वज़ा क्या है। तो फिर मैंने सोचा कि क़रिब वाते ही देता करते हैं। एक ग़रोह की बात दूसरे ग़रोह से। अगर हमने काम करना ही है तो इस तरह हो सकता है। अगर एक क़रिब वात्ता दूसरे क़रिब वाते की बुरा भला कहता रहेगा तो इस तरह क़रिब बदनाम होगी। क़रिब की परेस्टिज बढ़ाने से काम हो सकता है। असल में जो क़रिब वाते लोग हैं। उनको क्या काम करना चाहिये। दूसरा क्या करता है। सब इसकी परवाह छोड़ने की चाहिये। क़रिब के पास कांसट्रक्टिव प्रोग्राम होना चाहिये। अगर हम एक दूसरे को बताते रहेंगे कि इस तरह काम करना है। इस तरह काम करना है तो काम तूनी होगा अब आप समझें कि पंजाब में तो कई आदमी हैं। कुछ कई रिफ़्यूजी स्कूल। लोग कह सकते हैं कि काम नहीं हो रहा तो वो ठीक कहते हैं। कोई दो हज़ार एकड़ ज़मीन होकर आया है। कोई पौ सौ एकड़। जबतक उतनी ज़मीन उसे न मिले वो खुश नहीं होगा। पंजाब में उतनी ज़मीन है ही नहीं उधर। लेकिन इस ज़मीन के वैरीफ़ाई के मक़द में हम पड़े रहेंगे तो ज़मीन कहाँ से मिलेगी। क्योंकि ग़वर्नमेंट के पास जितनी ज़मीन पंजाब में है उसका उसे वटवारा करना पड़ेगा। कोई कहेगा हमको इतनी ज़मीन दो। कोई कहेगा इतनी देदो। कोई कहेगा कि उसके प्रॉपोज़ीशन में जगह देदो। कोई सी एकड़ मंगिया और कोई पचास एकड़। इस तरह बराबर तो ज़मीन नहीं मिलेगी। इस प्रकार एक राये भी नहीं होगी। अगर हम इस तरह के मक़द में पड़ जायेंगे तो काम नहीं होगा। तो हमने जो मिनिस्ट्री बनाई वो मिनिस्ट्री बैठ के अपना काम करे। और मुनासिब फैसला करे। बाकी लोगों को समझना चाहिये कि अगर उन्हें ज़्यादा ज़मीन मिले तो वो बाहर जासकते हैं। रियास्तों में काफी जगह पड़ी है। इस तरह उनकी काफी मदद हो सकती है। और जो जो सुल में पड़ा रहना चाहते हैं वो थोड़ी २ ज़मीन देता। थोड़ा २ देता। क्योंकि जहाँ जगह कम होती है। मैं बम्बई की मिसाल आपको बता दूँ। वहाँ एक क़ानून बना है। कि एक आदमी के पास पचास एकड़ से ज़्यादा ज़मीन नहीं रह सकती। इस तरह मेरे प्रान्त के लोग बाहर चले जाते हैं। ज़्यादा किया जाये। जगह नहीं है। आक्सिर इन्सान क्या करे यदि जगह थोड़ी है। और आदमी ज़्यादा। ऐसे इस्ट बंगाल में।

पर मैं लोग थिड्थियों की तरह मरे पड़े हैं। इसलिये तो जाना नहीं है। आप लोग बहुत मेहनत करने वाले हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में होशियार और मेहनती किसान हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत कम हैं। आपकी हिम्मत नहीं हारनी चाहिये। ये वक्त बदल जायेगा। जितना हमें मिला है हम उसकी तै तै। फगढ़ा होठ दो। और काम करने लग जायेंगे। पंजाब के दुकड़े होने से हिन्दुस्तान की बहुत चोट लगी है। हिन्दुस्तान की उन्नति और आर्थिक दशा बूट गया है। पंजाब हिन्दुस्तान का अनाज घर था। अब वो हिस्सा उस तरफ चला गया। पंजाब तो एक गरीब आदमी बन गया। हम पंजाब से अनाज लेते थे। लेकिन अब इसकी अनाज देना पड़ा है। और उधर जो हिस्सा पड़ा है उसकी जितना धन जमीन में पैदा होना करना चाहिये उतना धन पैदा नहीं हो रहा है। क्योंकि हमें पता नहीं कि हमें कितनी जमीन मिलेगी। और कितनी परमानेंट तौर पर मिलेगी। इसलिये किसान दिल लगा कर काम नहीं करते। क्योंकि अभी हमारा दिमाग नहीं लगा। हमें पता नहीं कि हमें कितने साल के लिये जमीन मिली है। और उधर सिंध से लोग आये। बंगाल से आये। अनाज उन के पास नहीं। हिन्दुस्तान में अनाज का तोड़ा है। चारों तरफ से हमारी मुसीबत बढ़ती जा रही है। मुसीबत का एक ही उपाय है कि जितना अनाज हो सके पैदा करें। काम में लग जायें। दो तीन साल काम करें। तो मुसीबत सत्तम हो जाये। बहुत लोग कहते हैं कि सुराज मिलते ही लोगों को अधिकार मिलना चाहिये। हिन्दुस्तान के पास साफ़ होता तो वो झुर्र देता। ये चीज आपको समझना चाहिये कि कांग्रेस के जो काम करने वाले लोग हैं जो मिनिस्ट्री हैं। अगर मिनिस्ट्री में फगढ़ा ही चलता रहेगा तो काम नहीं चलेगा। इस तरह तो काम और मुश्किल हो जायेगा। कांग्रेस की आरगनाइजेशन और मिनिस्ट्री में कोर्पोरेशन होना चाहिये। अगर हम लठ्ठे फगढ़ते रहे तो ठीक है। दूसरे इलेक्शन में अगर हमारी हिम्मत रही तो हम आ जायेंगे। जिस शख्स को पंजाब की पड़ी है उसकी समझना चाहिये कि जंग से काम लेने से काम बिगड़ेगा। इलेक्शन का समय जब आयेगा यह तो मैं नहीं जानता। अभी इसमें देर है। लेकिन हँचर तो मैं एक साल, दो साल, ये जो क्रिसिड का समय है। इसकी फगढ़ में नहीं कटना चाहिये। एक एक मिनट हमें काम में लगना चाहिए। अगर काम करते हुये बुरा समय आये तो फिर देखा जायेगा। पंजाब की जो चोट लगी है उसकी ठीक तरह से संवारना है। लेकिन पंजाब के जितने कांग्रेस में हैं उनको एक सलाह दे सकता हूँ। कि एक दूसरे की बुराई करने से कोई फायदा नहीं। आप अपना काम संभालो। दूसरे की बुराई छोड़ो। हमारे सरकिस में और कांग्रेस वालों में लोग कहते हैं कि अब कोर्पोरेशन पुस गई है। ठीक है एक बुरा है दूसरा बुरा है। अगर मैं अच्छा हूँ और दूसरे खूब बुरे हैं तो दूसरे कहें कि मैं बुरा हूँ। हम सही रास्ते पर चलें और दूसरे को भी अपने साथ लें। मैं जो कांग्रेस का आरगनाइजेशन है। उसे यही कह सकता हूँ कि आपका और आपकी मिनिस्ट्री का कोर्पोरेशन होना चाहिये। अगर साथ नहीं दे सकते तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा मैं यही कहूँगा कि उठाओ इसकी। और खुद संभालो।

और बुराई करता है। इस प्रकार की बुराई का आपके पास सबूत है।

उसे निकालो। लेकिन मैं नहीं

लेकिन ये भी न करो तो आपकी सम्पत्ति लेना चाहिये कि आप कांग्रेस की सेवा नहीं कर सकते आप सरविष के बारे में जो सम्बन्ध लोग हैं। मुझे कहा जाता है कि इसको भी कुछ कहो मैं कैसे कहूँ। क्यों कहूँ। उनको तो सिर्फ वही कह सकता है जो उधर अधिकार में पंजाब में बैठा है उसको हलम है। कि सरविष क्या करता है सरविष के लोग क्या करते हैं। लेकिन उक्त सामान्य कहावत है कि ऐसा लोग है ऐसा राज होता है उन लोगों का। जिसकी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ हैं वेही ही हकूमत मिलती है। लेकिन इधर उल्टा हुआ। लोग मते हैं और ऐसा राज वरु बाहरी है विसा उन्हें मिलता नहीं। यह बहुत बुरा हुआ कहते हैं। *Papa Get the Govt to leave* लेकिन इधर लोग मते हैं और जो हाकिम हैं वो इतने लोग जिस प्रकार का राज उन्हें चाहिये विसा राज नहीं मिला। वो कहते हैं कि वो खुद अपनी एक दूसरे की शिकायत करते हैं। क्योंकि काँग्रेस के भी लोग मते हैं तो पते ही है। तो मैं क्या करूँ। मैं आप लोगों को दोनों को तो मैंने कहा लेकिन सरविष को तो कहने की बात नहीं। सरविष का जो सम्बन्ध है उनके पास तो एक इश्वर और हकूमत चलाने वाले दोनों यदि हकूमत चलाने वाले ही अच्छे नहीं हैं तो मैं सरविष को क्या कहूँ। और उसके पास क्या कहूँ। और उसे कहने से मेरा काम नहीं हुआ लेकिन इससे पहले तो सरविष के पास मुझे सहना चाहिये। मैं कुछ कहूँ तो उसकी बात सुनना चाहिये। कि क्यों माँ है कि इस शिकायत के बारे में आप क्या कहते हैं। लेकिन वो खुद कहें कि मेरी शिकायत क्या है। उन लोगों की शिकायत सुनी। वो तो बहुत बुरा हुआ। तो सरविष के पास कोई प्रकार की आपकी शिकायत हो तो उसका कोई भी गुनाह हो तो उसे विमहना चाहिये और आपकी पास हकूमत है उसकी सज़ा दे सकते हैं लेकिन ऐसा नहीं सम्भना चाहिये कि सरविष में आसानी से सज़ा हो सकती है मुश्किलत मुश्किल है। उनके लिये जो कायद कानून ऐसा है कि जल्दी २ जिस तरह अपने घर के नीकर को निकाल सकते हैं इस तरह से नहीं निकाल सकते। और उसके पास जो हकूमत दी हुई है और उनसे जो हो सकता है वो अपनी मर्यादा के बीच में मला अब कर सकता है। मला आदमी मला करेगा। बुरा आदमी बुरा करेगा। लेकिन जल्द उसे हटा नहीं सकेंगे।

तो सरविष को मैं अपील तो कर सकता हूँ क्योंकि सरविष में बहुत से तो पंजाबी हैं बाहर के बहुत कम हैं। और मैं इतना कह सकता हूँ कि मेरी इस जगह पर इस कराईसिख में पंजाब की कफायती नहीं करेगी। तो इधर तो माफ हो जायेंगे। लेकिन प्रमात्मा माफ नहीं करेगा। कमी नहीं करेगा। तो आज तो सरविष में पंडा है इसका यही धर्म हो जाता है कि अपनी सब चीज़ें होकर कांग्रेस में की गल्ती को लिये जाये। कुछ हमारा थोड़ा नुकसान हुआ उसे भी बरदाश्त करना है लेकिन लाहौर पंजाबियों का जो दिल गँबा थाये है उसे ठीक करने की कोशिश करनी है। तब खुद राजी हो गा। दूसरे तरीके से नहीं हो सकता। वो मैं कह सकता हूँ। इससे ज्यादा मैं क्या कहूँ। क्योंकि मैंने इसकी बात नहीं सुनी। तो मैं उसको कैसे कहूँ कि वो गुनाहगार है लेकिन हम तो गुनाहगार हैं क्योंकि हम तो एक दूसरे के सामने सबूत से देते हैं। आपस में। तो हम तो गुनाहगार बैठे हैं यदि हम बैठे हैं तो हमें अपनेआपको साफ कर लेना चाहिये। अगर हमारा दिल साफ नहीं करेगा तो काम नहीं चलेगा।

तो जो कुछ हम से हुआ सो हुआ अब जो इतने कांग्रेस वाले यहाँ बैठे हैं उनका एक बात कहूँगा।

दि गांधी जी को याद करो । इश्वर को याद करो । और कांग्रेस को बदनाम करने वाला काम न करो । जिससे कांग्रेस की हज़ूत पर बटा लगे । बच्चा लगे । तो मुल्क को नुक़्तान होगा । आपको नुक़्तान होगा । प्रान्त को तो होगा ही । आज आपकी सामने ऐसा मीका बाया है कि ये स्वतंत्र भारत के इतिहास का नया बाब हम लिखते हैं । एक तरह से इतनी मुसीबत पड़ते हुये मीपजाब की हज़ूत बनी है । उसका दो टुक़टा हुआ और इतना खून किया और इतना होते हुये मी बहादुर लोग अपना काम चला रहे हैं मुसीबत उठाकर । अपना बोम जो ठीक उठा रहे हैं इस चीज़ को हमें समझना चाहिये । और हमारी हज़ूत बढ़ती रहे वैसी हमारी कोशिश हो तो हमारी एक दूसरे की बुराई करना छोड दें । और जितने लोग हमारे हैं उन्हें समझना चाहिये कि हमें काम करना है । अब दो चीज़ें हमने इस प्रान्त में संभालनी हैं । एक तो कीमी भावना को छोड देना चाहिये , क्योंकि यह बहुत बुरी है और अब उसके लिये ज़ा नहीं है क्योंकि हमारे पैद अकाली माई वो ऐसी बहादुर कौम है लेकिन बहादुर होते हुये मी उसे डर लगा कि ये हिन्दू लोग इतनी बड़ी ताक़त में ज़्यादा होते हुये हमें ला जायेंगे । मुझे बहुत दुःख हुआ कि क्यों उसे ऐसा स्थाल हुआ । और फिर कांग्रेस में रहते हुये ।

हमारा तो यह फ़र्ज़ हो जाता है कि जहाँ तक हो सके उन्हें आगे रखो लेकिन उनका भी एक फ़र्ज़ होना चाहिये कि कांग्रेस पर मरोखा रखो । कुछ ग़ल्ती हो तो उसे सुधार सकते हैं । लेकिन कभी तलवार नहीं बताना चाहिये , जो अपनी ह्कूमत हो उसे तलवार बताना तो समझने कि ह्कूमत ख़त्म हो जायेगी और अगर ह्कूमत होगी तो यह नहीं समझना चाहिये कि हम को मिलेगी । वो ज़माना चला गया ये दूसरा ज़माना है चाईना में , हन्डी नेप्पिया में , बर्मा में मलाया में , यह सब चल रहा है । ऐसी हालत अगर हम धर बंदा कर देंगे तो आज तो कुछ दुनिया में भी लोगों को उम्मीद है कि हिन्दूस्तान एक ठीक है , जो ठीक रास्ते पर चल रहा है और हमारे मुल्क में भी काफी लोग ये उम्मीद रखते हैं कि हम कितने मी पिछड़े हुये हैं लेकिन हमारी एक ह्कूमत है । एक तरह से मज़बूत है और हम गिरते पड़ते चलते हैं और आगे उठते हैं तो वो काम हमें संभालना है । एक कम्यूनलिज़्म और एक कम्युनिज़्म । जो कम्युनिस्ट लोग हैं वो जो रैड फ़्लैग वाले , वो लोग ने चाईना को तो कर दिया बर्मा का हो रहा है अब हिन्दूस्तान का है । तो ~~हिन्दूस्तान के~~ हिन्दूस्तान के में तो मैं तो अभी आया हूँ हैदराबाद से । दो डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैं हैदराबाद के , तो जिस में यह तीन चार महीने हमारी पुलिस ऐक्शन जो वहाँ हुई । उसके बाद हमने तीन चार महीने में , दो सी अट्टाई सी कांग्रेस में को मार डाला । यदि डिस्ट्रिक्ट में अट्टाई सी कांग्रेस में का खून किया । उसको मारा है तो ये तो आज़ाद हिन्दूस्तान नहीं हुआ । क्योंकि ज़ेला गुलाम था वैसा सब मी नहीं हुआ था । यदि हमको आज मिली तो हमसे इस तरह चलाने वाले हैं । तो इस तरह चलायेंगे तो हमारे पीछे लोग कहेंगे कि गुलामी अच्छी थी । बहुत बुरा हुआ । तो मैं अपील किया एक कम्युनिस्ट जो है ~~हैदराबाद में~~ हैदराबाद में उससे कि ये मार पीट का रास्ता छोड दो । इस तरह से कोई ह्कूमत नहीं छोड़ेगा । हम नहीं छोड़ेगा यदि आपको ह्कूमत में हिंसा लेना हो तो ये रास्ता छोडकर आओ हमारे साथ । क्योंकि हम किसी कम्युनिज़्म या इस से मी आगे बढ़ने वाले से नहीं डरते । उसके साथ हम हरीफाई करने के लिये तैयार हैं । लेकिन इसका हथियार भला है । उसे छोड देना चाहिये

उसके साथ हम इरीफाई इस तरह नहीं करेंगे। कि जो हमारे माहियों को मारकर काम करता है उसे जंगल में फलकत्ता में देखिये। एक कारखाना में मटी में चार पांच आदमियों को हिन्दा जला दिया। यदि मछुनों को इसी रास्तेसे काम लेना है तो कल एक कारखाना में परवों दूसरे में तीसरे में तीसरा। बपी में एक मिनिस्ट्री को कल किया। इरीफाई इधर भी करेंगे। उसे गांधी जी को मारा है दूसरे को भी मारेंगे। मारते मारते फिर क्या होगा। सत्तम होगा। आइयादी तो चली गई। समझ लेना फिर गुवामी में प पड़ेंगे। कहें मैं नासायक लोग थे, काग्रेस की जुम्मेवारी है और हम लोगों की तो मैं कहता हूँ कि अटक जाओ, समझ तो किकहाँ तक हम आये हैं। पीछे हटो, हम गलत रास्ते से आये हैं इसे छोड़ दो। इसलिये हम लाचारी से बहुत रोके दिल से मास्टर तार सिह को फलकना पड़ा।

आर. ऐस. ऐस वालों को भी फलकना पड़ा। कि तुम लोग मुल को कहाँ ले जाना चाहते हो। क्या चाहते हो। जिस से लहते हो, क्यों हमारे साथ ऐसा करते हो, ये मार पीट का रास्ता छोड़ दो। और जो हमारे मोले भाते लोग हैं उसको नीज्वानी को यह रास्ता न सिखाओ कि हम तेलवार से लेंगे। ये तो हर आदमी ऐसा करेगा। वो गलत तरीका है।

जो कुछ आसानी चाहिये, आपस में बैठकर समझौता करके काम कर सकते हो। लेकिन दूसरे रास्ते से नहीं। लेकिन दूसरा जो कम्युनिस्ट का रास्ता है मार पीट का रास्ता है। उसको भी कहो कि तुम भी भीतर आओ क्योंकि हमारे पास कम्युनलिज्म से कोई बैर नहीं। कम्युनिस्ट आखिर चाहता क्या है। कि सबकी ठीक हिस्सा मिले। हम भी यही चाहते हैं क्योंकि यही रास्ता गांधी जी ने बताया कि अपने पास कुछ रखो नहीं। ठीक है यही रास्ता। लेकिन गांधी जी ने जो रास्ता साफ २ आपको बताया था वही रास्ता आपको लेना चाहिये। यह मार पीट से नहीं। मुहब्बत से, प्रेम से अपने लोग हैं, अपने मुल्क के लोग हैं। अपने माई हैं। तो मैं एक दूसरे के मार पीट करने का काम नहीं सीखा। ऐसे तो हमारे मुल्क में कोई राज नहीं चल सकता।

आप पूरे हस्तयार से काम नहीं लेते हैं। तब मैं कहूंगा कि मुल्क में दो चीज का खतरा है। एक तो कौमी वाद, और दूसरा साम्य वाद। यह दोनों वाद से हमें बचना है। तीसरा जो हमारा वाद है वो अजीब है, वो आर. ऐस. ऐस वालों ने बताया है। आर. ऐस. ऐस वाले हैं ये समझ बैठे कि हमारी संस्कृति दूसरे पर ज़बरदस्ती से काम लेना है। जितने लोग ज़बरदस्ती से काम लेना चाहते हैं वो सब डुरे हैं। अगर हम ये वैस से ज़बरदस्ती करते थे तो ठीक था। अबतो मुल्क आजाद हुआ परदेसी से ज़बरदस्ती करने को छक करते थे लेकिन अगर हममें हम ऐसा करेंगे तो बहुत नुकसान होगा। मर जायेंगे। ये जो आर. ऐस. ऐस वाले हैं कहते हैं कि हिन्दु-मुसलमान और हिन्दु राज होना चाहिये। तो मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जितने मुसलमान हमारे मुल्क में हैं उतने पाकिस्तान में बटवारा हो गया। इधर जो मुसलमान पड़े हैं अगर हम उन्हें फगहा करे तो काम नहीं चलेगा।

जिस प्रकार का हम हिन्दुस्तान बलानी चाहते हैं वो नहीं चल सकेगा । जो हिन्दुस्तान का कफादार नहीं वो हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ दें । जो मुसलमान हथर रह गये हैं वो अपने आप को हिन्दुस्तानी समझते हैं उनको जगह मिलनी चाहिये और जितने भी काम हैं । सिक्ख हैं , इसाई हैं , पारसी हैं , कोई भी हो सब यह समझें कि हिन्दुस्तान के रहने में कोई खतरा नहीं । हमारा मज़हब ठीक है । हमारी कौम ठीक है अगर कोई कहे कि गुरु सेपल्ले हमारा राज था तो अब हमारा राज होना चाहिये । यह तो गलत रास्ता है अगर ऐस . ऐस वाले ऐसा कर रहे हैं , अगर . ऐस . ऐस वालों को फकट से किस किस को फकट अगर . ऐस . ऐस वाले को फकट कम्युनिस्ट को फकट , हम अकाली लीडर को फकट इस तरह फकटते फकटते हमारा नाक में दम आ जायेगा । अगर राज लेना चाहते हो तो खेतों में मित्रि, दी को यह सलाह दूंगा कोई कहे कि हम जो कहते हैं उसी रास्ते पर चली तो इस तरह काम नहीं चलेगा । बार बार गवर्नमेंट को बदलना अच्छा काम नहीं । एक दफ पसन्द करके गवर्नमेंट साफ कर दो । नहीं तो आप खेतों । अगर नहीं लेते तो शिकायत करते रहना भी बुरा है , कांग्रेस की इस तरह हज़ूत गिरती जा रही है । और बहलवा बाबू लोग कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस वाला ऐसा ही है तो फिर मला कौन छी । और बुरा कौन है । सभी इस प्रकार की निन्दा करते रहते हैं । इतना होते दूये भी लोग हमारे पीछे लोग लगे हैं । छोड़ते नहीं हैं । कांग्रेस की जो परेस्टिज है । जो हज़ूत है इसको संभालना होगा । तो संभालना हमारा धर्म है । हमें एक ही रास्ते पर चलना होगा । मैंने जो मोटी मोटी बातें आपसे सामने रखी हैं इसपर सोचो , मैं पंजाब में यूनिवर्सिटी के काम के लिये आया था । थोड़ा पुलिस का काम था , कांग्रेस के काम से नहीं आया था । और फिर आप लोगों की हालत भी देखनाथी ।

तो चंद घंटों के लिये आया । लुधियान में नहीं रह सकता हूँ कि पंजाब की पूरी हालत जानता हूँ मोटी मोटी बातों को जानता हूँ और इसपर जो कुछ मैंने कहा उसे आप सोचें । कि फगड़ा करने की ज़रूरत नहीं आज सबसे पहली ज़रूरत हमारे एक होने की है । दूसरी काम करने की ज़रूरत है , तीसरी इस बात की ज़रूरत है कि छोटी छोटी बातें छोड़ दें । चौथी हमें जो कम्युनिस्टों का खतरा है उसे दूर करना है उसका सामना करना है । यह चार पांच चीज़ें जिन्हें नज़र में रखकर काम करना है । हम और मिले , मैं तो यह जानता हूँ कि पंजाब ने बड़ी कुबानी की है जिस में आस सब हैं । तुम लोग अपनी कुबानी से कुछ फायदा उठाने की कोशिश करिये । बिगलान न करें । लोग हम से बहुत मरोसा रखते हैं । हम यह मरोसा लोगों को दें ।

माननीय सरदार पटेल का कलकत्ते में दिया हुआ

सावजनिक  
मापक

प्राहम मिनिस्टर साहब, माहयो और बहो !

बहुत दिनों के बाद आप लोगों का दर्शन करने का मौका मिला। बहुत दिल चाहता था मिलने के लिए। बार बार मैंने कोशिश की लेकिन मेरी शारीरिक कमजोरी की वजह से मैं हिम्मत नहीं करता था। लेकिन आखिर ईश्वर की कृपा मुझे को आप लोगों को मिलने का जो अवसर मिला है उस अवसर पर कुछ दो शब्द मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं बंगाल का जो दई है पूरी तरह से जानता हूँ। और मुझे को रात दिन इसका स्थाल रहता है और उसके लिए मेरे दिल में काफ़ी दई और हमदर्दी रहती है लेकिन कितना भी दई और कितनी बड़ी आपत्ति और विपत्ति आवे हमारे पर लेकिन बंगाल की जनता पर हमारी पूरी श्रद्धा है और हम जानते हैं कि बहुत बड़ी कठिनाइयों का मुकाबला बार बर बार बंगाल ने किया है। ये कोई पहला मौका नहीं है लेकिन सारे हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी की नींव डाली गई तब से आज तक जब जब मुसीबतें आईं तब बंगाल ने बहादुरी बताई, हिम्मत बताई। पहले तो बंगाल के ऊपर जब परदेशी हुकूमत हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर थी तब परदेशी हुकूमत को हटाने के लिए जो कोशिश हुई उसमें बंगाल के नेताओं का और बंगाल के नौजवानों का जो हिस्सा था उससे बंगाल पर काफ़ी जुलुस किया गया है। उसका मुकाबला किया बड़ी हिम्मत से बड़ी बहादुरी से उसके लिए सारा हिन्दुस्तान बंगाल का श्रेष्ठ है। और इसको बंगाल को कभी हिन्दुस्तान कभी मूल नहीं सकते। इसके बाद जब हुकूमत हट गई या हटने की तैयारी हुई। आधी हुकूमत तो परदेशी थी लेकिन जब आधी अपनी हुई तब मुस्लिम लीग का एक प्रकार का आधा राज्य हुआ। आधी हुकूमत उनकी हुई और आधी अंगरेज़ की हुई। बीच में कोई हमारा हिस्सा था तो नाम का था लेकिन उस समय पर काफ़ी मुसीबत आपके पड़ी और उसका सामना आपने किया। बंगाल पर हिन्दुस्तान कभी 'हाइरेक्ट ऐक्शन डे' जिसका कहा जाता था उसको कभी मूल सकता है कभी नहीं मूल सकता है। और उसके बाद कलकत्ता का जो हाल हुआ वो कीन मूलता है कैसे मूले ? लेकिन उसके बाद उसमें से भी आप निकल गए। उसके बाद नोआखाली में क्या हुआ ? वो भी कैसे आप मूले। कैसे हिन्दुस्तान मूल सकता है। वो इतिहास का जो पान है वो मले बुरे जैसे हैं वो वहाँ से हट नहीं सकते हैं। तो उसमें से भी आप लोग निकल गये। और हथर जब समय आया कि बंगाल का क्या होगा वो कहना मुश्किल है और जब ऐसा समय आया तब गांधी जी हथर थे वो तो कमल में गये गाँव गाँव अपने आप पैदल चल के लोगों के दुख में हिस्सा लिया, कुछ सहारा दिया।



उसके बाद कलकत्ते में आके कई रोज़ ठहरे। आपके साथ या गुस्से में आके या सहानुभूति का प्रदर्शन करने के लिए अपने दुख के कारण से गुस्से में हुए हमारे बिहारी माहयों ने उसी समय पर रोब प्रकट किया और उसकी आग हिन्दुस्तान में फैली। उत्तर हिन्दुस्तान में ज़्यादा फैली। उनका किस्सा आप सबको मालूम है। लेकिन ऐसा समय आया कि जब हम ने सोचा और सारे हिन्दुस्तान की एक राय हुई। आपकी भी उसमें राय यही थी कि यह समय ऐसा है कि हमें किसी न किसी तरह से मजबूती हुकूमत को हथर से हटाओ। और उसके लिए जो कुंवानी करनी पड़े सो करें। क्योंकि जब तक अंग्रेज़ हटें नहीं तब तक या उसमें कितनी कैसी भी इनकी नियत हो लेकिन यह मुल्क में शान्ति होनी असम्भव है। और दोनों कीमतों के बीच में भी फगड़ा मिटना मुश्किल है। अब उस समय पर हमने यह निश्चय किया कि या हिन्दुस्तान/का टुकड़ा करना पड़े तो एक ही बात से हमें मंजूर कर सकते हैं कि पंजाब का भी हिस्सा होना चाहिए और बंगाल का भी दो हिस्सा होना चाहिए। यह ईश्वर की वृत्ति है कि जो बंगाल को छुद तोड़ना चाहते थे उसका हिस्सा करना चाहते थे। आप लोगों ने उसको रोका। रोक कर उसके लिए काफ़ी कुंवानी की सारे हिन्दुस्तान ने साथ दिया। उसी बंगाल का दो हिस्सा करने के लिए हमारा समय आया और हम सबने मान लिया कि उसके सिवाय कोई चारा नहीं। और आपमें से सबने कोई हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसा नहीं था उस समय जो अपना आवाज़, विरोध, ज़ोर से निकाले, क्योंकि सब समझ गए थे कि उससे सिवाय कोई और रास्ता मालूम नहीं पड़ता। और हमने सोच लिया कि कलकत्ता हमारे पास न रहे तो हमें किसी हालत में उसको मंजूर नहीं कर सकते हैं। मुस्लिम लोग के नेता इसको नहीं मानते थे। वह मानते थे कि यह जो पाकिस्तान उसको तो हम मंजूर नहीं कर सकते हैं। हमें तो सारा ही लेना है, सभारा बंगाल और सारा पंजाब। उसका फगड़ा बलता रहा। बाहिर में उसने भी मान लिया और हमने भी मान लिया लेकिन यह मानने के बाद भी उसका जो नतीजा आया और जो सुना मरफ़ी हुई, जो ग़ाय हिन्दुस्तान को जो चोट लगी वह अभी तक गहज़े/नहीं हुई है और उसको कुछ समय लेगा। बंगाल को काफ़ी/उसका धाव गहरा है उसको कुंने में भी समय लेगा। धीरज चाहिए, हिम्मत चाहिए आपके पास काफ़ी ऐसे मौक़े आए जिसमें आपने धीरज और हिम्मत बताई। आज भी यही मौक़ा है सबूरी रखो। हिम्मत रखो। अच्छा दिन आयेगा लेकिन अपने हाथ से बिगाड़ना नहीं। यह काम हिम्मत, धीरज और समझ पूर्वक करना पड़ेगा। गुस्से से नहीं होगा और जब बात करनी से बिगड़ेगा। हमारे माह जो हमसे अलग हुए उसमें हिन्दू है मुसलमान हैं। जो हैं, मैं पंजाब की बात छोड़ देता हूँ। मैं बंगाल की बात ख़ाली करता हूँ। दोनों हिन्दू और मुसलमान वहाँ भी सुखी हों, हथर भी सुखी हों। और हमारा बात बलती/से जाये, ऐसा हमें करना चाहिए। लेकिन मुश्किल यह दोनों तरफ़ से हिम्मत धीरज और कुछ बुद्धि से काम लेना पड़ेगा। हममें से कई लोग न वहाँ भी मूल सकते हैं कि न हथर भी मूल सकते हैं और

बार बार कगड़ा होता है। तो बंगाल का दई तो किसी मालूम नहीं है। वहाँ जो लोग हमारे पड़े हैं वह परदेसी होगए। जो कल हमारे माई हमारे साथ हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई में शामिल थे, कुबानी करते थे, वह सब परदेसी होगए, और हम भी परदेसी होंगे। ऐसे अलग होगए कि एक दूसरे के दुल में सहानुभूति नहीं दिला सकते हैं। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है। अभी अफ्रीका में पड़े हुए हमारे लोग थे। दक्षिण अफ्रीका में उसकी सहानुभूति हम बता रहे हैं और जो नैतिक <sup>साथ</sup> उनको देना चाहिए वह भी देने की कोशिश करते हैं और वह अपना भी रखते हैं। वह अफ्रीकन शहरी माने हुए, तब भी उनका हमारे पर छड़ है। पुराना जो छड़ है। तो उस बंगाल के ये दो हिस्सा हुआ तो इस तरह से वे कोई अलग थोड़े ही हो सकते हैं और हमारी रिश्तेदारी हमारा सम्बन्ध, हमारा आर्थिक सम्बन्ध वह कैसे टूट सकता है। तो यह तो हम भूल नहीं सकते हैं लेकिन इसमें भी मुश्किल और रुकावटें जो पड़ती हैं उसको हमें रफ़ा करनी हो तो पहले हमें हमारा घर ठीक करना चाहिए और हमारा घर ठीक न हो तो हम बाहर मदद नहीं कर सकते। तो दुल तो हमारे सामने है। लासों आदमी हथर आके पड़े हैं, कलकत्ता में पड़े हैं बाहर बंगाल के दूसरे हिस्से में पड़े हैं। मागे मागे आये हैं। अपनी माल मिल्कियत कुछ भी छोड़, छोड़ के आये हैं, सगा सम्बन्धी को छोड़ के आये हैं। कई लोग उनको बचाने भी हैं कि ये गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं करती, सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं करती, प्रान्त की गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं करती, तो मैं जो आपके सामने सोचने के लिए बता रहा हूँ वह यह है कि दुल हमें इन लोगों का मिटाना है, और हमारा भी दुल है तो मिटाना है तो हमें पहले हमारा घर ठीक करना चाहिए। तो आज हमें बंगाल में, बास करके कलकत्ता में जो एक चीज देखते हैं, सारा हिन्दुस्तान देखता है, जिससे उसको दुल होता है। वो ये है कि हर रोज़ कुछ न कुछ ऐसी बात अखबारों में आती है कि कलकत्ता के इस मार्ग, इस हिस्से में इस गली में हथर बम्ब पड़ा है और इस जगह पर बम्ब पड़ा है। हथर कोई कैर पड़ा, हथर ट्राम जलाई, हथर मोटर जलाई, उधर पुलिस को चीट लगी, हथर पुलिस मर गई, हथर नौजवानों को पकड़ा, हथर जेल में रखा, जेल में फाका करते हैं ऐसी ऐसी बातें जब रात दिन चलती हैं, तब ऐसी हालत में काम करना तो जिन लोगों के पर दुल पड़ा है वो दुल तो रह जाते हैं लेकिन इस मुसीबत में हम इसी कि उसको कैसे ठीक करें, तो बाहर का लोग जो जानते नहीं हैं उसको तो मालूम ये हो जाता है कि सारा कलकत्ता में कुछ हतनी आजाकता फैलाई है कि वहाँ कुछ काम करना ही मुश्किल है और रहना भी मुश्किल होगा ऐसा लोग मानते हैं। जब हथर आते हैं तो मालूम पड़ता है। तो ऐसी तो कोई बात नहीं है। चन्द लोग बिगड़े और <sup>मुरी</sup> मर लोग सारे कलकत्ता को तंग करना चाहते हैं। वो कलकत्ता की, बंगाल की सरकार को भी तंग करना चाहते हैं, और लोगों को भी तंग करना चाहते हैं। और एक प्रकार का जुल्म करके सबको डराना चाहते हैं और अपनी क्या मंशा है मैं नहीं समझता क्योंकि मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि इनका मतलब क्या है, वो क्या करना चाहते हैं? मैं कोई कम्युनिस्ट साम्यवादी, बाह्रधिया — लोबी समझ सकता हूँ। लेकिन मैं ये नहीं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से नुकसान करने से

बन्ध फोट करके से धीमा पुस्तिका करके से क्या क्या चीज मिलने वाली है । लेकिन उसके साथ साथ मुझे जो दुख होता है वो कि हम इस चीज को क्या समझते हैं और इसकी तरफ हमारा क्या ख्याल है , क्या हमारी फुई है उसका ख्याल नहीं करते । क्योंकि यह सब काम रोकने का पुलिस का काम है , वो सरकार का काम है हमारा काम नहीं है । इस तरह से सम्पन्ना बढ़ा गुलत ख्याल है । क्योंकि ये हुकूमत जो है आज वो परदेशी नहीं है । यदि परदेशी हुकूमत होती तो पहिले पुराने जमाने में जिस ढंग से काम लिया उस ढंग से काम लेते वो हम नहीं ले सकते । हमसे नहीं हो सकता है , नहीं होना चाहिए । हाँ , जब आपका ख्याल होगा ऐसा कि नहीं ये हुकूमत हमें नहीं चाहिए उस सम्बन्ध पर आप हटा सकते हैं । पहिले कहीं महीनों पर हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री हथर आये हमारा नेता हथर आया । उसने देखा और कहा है कि अच्छा यदि आप एलेक्शन चाहते हैं चुनाव करते हैं तो गोवर्धन बरलना चाहते हैं <sup>उत्तम कर उगे हम</sup> और कोशिश करेंगे अब आप चाहते हैं न चाहते हैं लेकिन उसने तो कहा है और दूसरा रास्ता भी क्या हो सकता है । क्योंकि आज हमारी गवर्नमेंट बदलती हो तो उसके लिए दूसरी ~~कार्यवाही~~ कार्यवाही हो नहीं सकती । हम उन्हें कह सकते हैं । अलेक्शन चुनाव करने से जो कोई दूसरे आयें तो हमारे ही आयेंगे और तो कोई आयेंगे नहीं । लेकिन हमने देखा कि अलेक्शन किस तरह से हो सकता है उसके लिए जितनी बाँध करनी चाहिए उतनी तब मालूम बड़ा कि अलेक्शन करना हो तो सुरन्त तो हो नहीं सकता है । क्योंकि हमारे पास न मतदार हैं , रजिस्टर है नहीं , चुनाव में कोई हमारी तैयारी है और लाखों लोग बंगाल में नये नये आये हैं उनको भी मत मिलना चाहिए । कोई काम की बात नहीं है और कौम कौम के अलग मत हो तो वो भी काम की नहीं चीज है । एकत्र मतदान मंडल बनना चाहिए । उसके लिए कानून बदलना पड़ेगा । बहुत सी रुकावटें हैं तो यह सब टुटि <sup>सुध</sup> स्मै करने में टायम लगेगा और हतना टाइम लगता है कि फिर दूसरा चुनाव तो हमारे सामने लड़ा ~~होना~~ रहता है । अब सारे हिन्दुस्तान का , जिसमें हर लायक उम्र के रहने वालों को मत मिल गया है । दो चुनाव के बीच में अन्तर थोड़ा रहता है खूबी बहुत होता है ।

(Inaudible)

हमने हास्त देवी ,तब हम फिर भी बंगाल की राय लेने के लिए कोशिश की तो बंगाल की कांग्रेस कमेटी के लीडर्स ,गवर्नमेंट और जो लीडर्स हैं उनको पूछ लिया ,मालूम पड़ा कि कोई चाहता नहीं है कि श्री अलेक्जेंडर हो तो हमने रोका तो ठीक है न करो ,क्योंकि करने का तो कोई सन्देह नहीं है किस तरह से हो सकता है तो हमने रोका ,जब यह रोका तब बहुत से अखबारों ने कहा बाहर भी हथर भी कि यह जो फैसला किया वह सही है का फैसला है अच्छा है ठीक किया है । लेकिन दूसरा जो चुनाव होने वाला है उसके लिए ज्यादा विलम्ब नहीं होना चाहिये । जितना जल्दी हो उतना करना चाहिए और मुझे उम्मीद है हम करेंगे । हम नहीं चाहते हैं उसका विलम्ब हो जितनी जल्दी

हो उतना करना चाहिए, लेकिन आप समझते हैं कि यह पहला मौका है कि हिन्दुस्तान में करोड़ों आदमियों को मत मिला है, हाँ इतने मतदार होगए हैं ~~इतने~~ प्रान्त में कि उसके मतपत्र इपाने में भी लाखों रुपया खर्च होगा, उसकी तो परवाह नहीं लेकिन इसके लिए इतने प्रेस चाहिए, इतने आदमी चाहिए, बड़ी मुसीबत का काम है। ज़रा टाहम लौगा, जितना जल्दी हो सके इतना तो हम करेंगे, उसके लिए आप अपनी तैयारी करें और प्रान्त की सूबे की हुकूमत भी करेगी लेकिन उसके लिए ठीक हवा भी पैदा करनी चाहिए। वह हो तो काम बल्लेभा और वह फैसला जो हुआ है उसमें किसी का विरोध मैंने देखा नहीं, और यह ठीक बात है, ये फ़ूजल एक फ़ैफ़ट में करना खर्च करना टाहम, बरबाद करना उससे कोई फ़ायदा नहीं। अब हमें आगे काम चलाना है ~~हमें~~ जो <sup>लोग</sup> आज गवर्नमेंट के पीछे रात दिन पड़े हैं उसको मैं अब से ~~समझना~~ चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट बदलने का तरीका एक रहता है। बेल्ट बाक्स। मत अधिकार मिल गया है उससे होता है या रेव्यूशन से। तो ये जो बम्ब फेंकने का हथियार उधर पुलिस के ऊपर ये कोई रेव्यूशन कहता है। ~~यह~~ ये जल्सा है एक प्रकार का मेढनेस है। ये लूनसी का काम है। हाँ, मैं समझ सकता हूँ कोई कहे कि माई क्या करें नौजवान है उसको फ़स्ट्रेश हुआ उसके पास कोई और दायरा तो वो भी चीज़ समझने लायक है लेकिन उसके लिए उपाय ये नहीं है और वो जो कराना चाहते हैं उससे नहीं होगा। उससे तो अपनी मतलब जो है वो पूरी नहीं पड़ेगी दूर जायगी मैंने कहा कि आप लोगों ने बहुत मुसीबत तो उठाई और इतनी मुसीबत उठाई उसका वर्णन करना वो मुश्किल है। जब हथियार परदेशी हुकूमत थी और लड़ाई चलती थी, विश्व युद्ध चलता था उस समय बंगाल में लड़ाई का ख़त था हिन्दुस्तान में और हथियार ये लड़ाई से युद्ध में जीतने के लिए जो परदेशी हुकूमत ने कारवाही की उसका नतीजा क्या है २ ३० लाख आदमी कम से कम ३० लाख आदमी बंगाल में मूल से मार गये। खाना नहीं मिला। कोई चिल्लाने वाला नहीं था उस समय पर, लेकिन आज विचारी हमारी पुलिस आप देखें पुलिस में कौन है ३ बंगाल के नौजवान, मैंने हमारे पुलिस आफ़ीसर जो बंगाल में हैं उनको पूछ लिया कि मई ये पुलिस में हमारे बंगाल के लोग कितने हैं तो उसने कहा कि करीब करीब सेवेन्टी परसेन्ट, सत्र फ़ी सदी बंगाल के लोग हमने भरती कर लिए। क्या उसको करोगे, उसके ऊपर गोला मार के क्या करोगे? उसके ऊपर कैमर फेंकने से, उसको पीटने से क्या फ़ायदा उठाओगे? कभी ख़याल किया कि ये जो गोला फेंकने वाले, ये भी हमारे नौजवान हैं और रोकने वाला भी हमारा ही है। किसके लिए रोकता है ~~वह~~ कोई परदेशी हुकूमत का हुकूम उठा के रोकता है। या तो हमारी मलाई के लिए करता है। अब जब लोग कहते हैं कि हथियार सिविल लिबर्टी नहीं है तब मैं हैरान हो जाता हूँ कि कहाँ मांग गई सिविल लिबर्टी, विलायत। जो लोग रात दिन तंग करते थे, दबाते थे और कभी कभी फटका

मारने में भी फिफकते नहीं थे वो सिविल लिबर्टी थी कि आज जो चाहे सो हम कर सकते हैं वो सिविल लिबर्टी है। जिसके दिल में चाहे सो लिखता है, जिसके दिल में जो चाहे सो करता है। तो सिविल लिबर्टी आपकी जो हीन ली है किसी ने या हिन जायेगी तो बन्द लोगों ने जो ये टैरिस्टिकल चलाया है उससे हिन जायेगी आपके हाथ में नहीं रहेगी, उसको आपका रोकना है। तो खाली पुलिस के ऊपर डोल देना है कि वो तो उनका काम है, उससे काम नहीं चलेगा, कोई लोकशाही राज्य पुलिस के डंडे से नहीं चलता है। हाँ, हमारी आदत पड़ गई है और एक हमारी बहुत किर्मी के एक प्रकार की गति से चलने से हमारी जो आदत पड़ गई है कि हम समझ गए हैं कि पुलिस के नाम ही बदनाम है यह हमें छोड़ देना चाहिए। हमें हमारा रास्ता बदलना चाहिए। रात दिन जो हम पुलिस के पीछे लगे हुए थे वह पुलिस थी वह दूसरी पुलिस है— आज थी और आपकी जो पुलिस है वह दूसरी है। वह हमारे वालंटियर है, स्वयंसेवक हैं। ये और उनको जो तनखाह मिलता है वो हमारे पर इतना बोझ नहीं पड़ता है कि जितना पड़ना चाहिए, इतना दे नहीं सकते हैं हम क्योंकि हमारा मुल्क गरीब है, लोग बहुत से बेकनर हैं तो उनको पूरा ऐसा तनखाह तो हम नहीं दे सकते हैं लेकिन वो जो आज काम कर रहे हैं उसके लिए आपके दिल में कुछ सहानुमति न होगी तो आपकी पकताना पड़ेगा। क्योंकि दो तरह से काम चलता है या तो आपकी लोग कांग्रेस के स्वयंसेवक के काम चले रहे हैं और कलकत्ता के एक अखबार में मैंने पढ़ा कि २० हजार रुपये इस जलूस के लिए खर्चा किया, क्यों करना पड़ा, क्यों हम आज इस पहले कांग्रेस में जो सम्मेलन समा कर सकते थे इस प्रकार कर सकते हैं नहीं करते, नहीं कर सकते, क्योंकि हमारा ढंग सारा बदल गया, क्यों बदल गया, क्योंकि वो आदत हमने छोड़ दी नहीं है कि यह पुलिस नटकानी है, इस प्रकार हमने अच्युत समझ लिया, उससे हमारा कांग्रेस का ढाँचा जैसा ताकतवान था वो नहीं रहा टूट गया।  
 हुम्न तो हमें इसकी ठीक करना चाहिए, इसलिये कि हमें हमारा कांग्रेस का संगठन ठीक करना चाहिए, इसलिये जितने कांग्रेस वाले काम करने वाले हैं सब माई हैं, उनको भी मैंने मिलने की कोशिश की, मिला, उनके साथ बात की, पुलिस आफीसरी के साथ बात की, और मिनिस्टर्स के साथ बात की। सबको मिला सब की बात मैंने समझ ली। जो बंगाल का दई है वो दई मिटाने के लिए जो हमें काम करना चाहिए वो कारवाई छोड़ के हम मिथ्या कारवाई में फंसे हैं उससे हमारा काम रुक जाता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि बंगाल के नवजवान बहकाये में फंसे हुए हैं। एक एक कालिज में दस दस हजार, पाँच पाँच हजार, सात सात हजार लड़के पढ़ते हैं, कि पढ़ते हैं कि नहीं पढ़ते हैं वह भी मैं पूरा नहीं जानता हूँ क्योंकि वहाँ पूरी बैठने की जगह नहीं है और कोई कोई कालिज में तीन शिफ्ट, हमने कैवटरी में तो शिफ्ट समझी थी, लेकिन कालिजों में शिफ्ट ओ में नहीं समझता था। इधर आके देखा कि तीन शिफ्ट काम चलता है।



अलग, अलग अलग राज्य थे जो जितने राजस्थान में छोटे छोटे राज्य थे बड़े भी थे उन सबको ठीक कर लिया लेकिन कोई किसान नहीं होने दिया और जिसने किसान किया उसका सिर फूट गया। मैंने कोई उसमें कुछ यह गलती नहीं करी, इसी तरह से बैंगाल का मसला भी हल करना है, तो आपको मुफ्त साथ देना चाहिए, मेरे काम में मुसीबत नहीं खालना चाहिए, मैं करना चाहता हूँ लेकिन मैं एक तो शारीरिक कमजोरी में फंसा हुआ हूँ, दूसरा हमारे मुल्क में आज जो बड़ी बड़ी समस्या पैदा हो रही है उसको मैं हल न करूँ तो उसकी असर भी आपके ऊपर पड़ेगी और आप और ज्यादा मुसीबत में फँस जायेंगे उसको भी रोकना है और साथ साथ आपका काम करना है। आप मुफ्त को साथ दो तो मैं आपका साथ इस तरह से चाहता हूँ कि इतनी पुलिस मीटिंग के लिए क्यों रखनी पड़े क्या जरूरत है? लेकिन आज मैं घर से बाहर निकलूँ तो मेरे पीछे लोग। कभी मैंने मेरी ब्रिन्दगी में मेरे पीछे पुलिस नहीं देखा था। हाँ, हुआ हुआ रहता था कि यह क्या काला है देखने के लिए लेकिन सावधान रखने के लिए मेरे पीछे कौन मुफ्त को मारने वाला है जब जाँच में मुफ्त को कौन मारने वाला है। लेकिन आज की हालत ऐसी होगई है कि हमारे नीजवान कुछ न कुछ अपने दिमाग से हट गये कोई कोई जगह पर सब ऐसे नहीं हुए हैं बहुत से तो अपना मतुष्यत्व ठीक रखते हैं, ठिक्काने रखते हैं। लेकिन जो बिगड़े हैं वो कोई गुस्से में भी हैं उसको ठीक करना हमारा काम है। तो मैं कितना भी कोशिश करूँ कि यह पुलिस हमारी हट जाये मेरे पास से नहीं मानते हैं, आज मीटिंग भी इतनी करनी हो इतने लाखों लोग को जमा करना हो तो हमें आबोहवा बदलनी चाहिये। तो यह मीटिंग की बात तो छोड़ दीजिये लेकिन हमारा उधोग है जिसमें से धन पैदा होता है उसको ठीक चलाना हो तो हमारा मजदूर वर्ग है उसको अच्छी तरह से समझाना चाहिए कि उनका जितना एक है उसको अच्छी तरह से उसको दिलाना हमारा काम है, और जो मालिक लोग हैं, जो एम्प्लायर्स हैं वो इस समय पर अपनी बुरी नीयत छोड़ दें और कोई काला बाजार न करे प्राफ़िट्यरिशन करे और थोड़ा सा मुल्क के लिए आज नफ़ा लेने की आदत मुनाफ़ा छोड़ दें। लेकिन मुल्क को साथ दें वो समझाने की मैंने कोशिश करता हूँ नीजवान कहता है कि नहीं इस तरह से नहीं हो सकेगा जो चाहना मैं हुआ, इस प्रकार करो। अब देखेंगे चाहना मैं क्या हुआ वो तो मैं नहीं जानता लेकिन मैं आपको यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि रशिया में भी जब क्रान्ति हुई तो रशिया की रचना करने में आज कैसा भी रशिया हो लेकिन उसकी रचना करने में, उसको ठीक करने में काफ़ी कुंवानी इन लोगों ने किया और काफ़ी मेहनत करनी पड़ी है। आज मुल्क में सबसे बड़ा धनवान् मुल्क दुनिया में अमेरिका है। लेकिन अमेरिका जब आज़ाद हुआ तो उसका पहला जो कांस्टीट्यूशन है उसको बनाने में सात साल लगी थीं। हमारा मुल्क तो बहुत बड़ा है, लेकिन हमने तीन साल में ही कांस्टीट्यूशन बना दिया इतनी मुसीबत होते हुए भी तो आपको समझना

बाहिर हिन्दुस्तान टुकड़े होते हुए भी आज जितना एकत्र हुआ है इतना बड़ा हिन्दुस्तान एक सारा एक रंग का नक्शा हो गया है। आप पिछला हमारा इतिहास कई सालों का देख लीजिये सदियों का कभी नहीं हुआ था, इतना एक रंग में हिन्दुस्तान हो गया है। बहुत बड़ी कृति है। लेकिन अमेरिकन धनवान् हुआ तो कितने सालों तक उसको मेहनत करनी पड़ी थी, पड़ी हुई थी तब ये धनवान् हुआ उसका इतिहास आपको देखना चाहिये। बहुत साल लगी बहुत साल मेहनत किया तब ये दृष्ट पुष्ट हुआ। हमारी आबादी दो साल की हुई अब इसमें हम बांटना चाहते हैं कि नहीं हमको तो जितना है वो अक्षर कर दो एक दम/तो सब गरीब हो सकते हैं कोई धनवान् नहीं रह सकते हैं। अब धनवान् हो छोड़े हैं मैं हिन्दुस्तान में कबूल करता हूँ कि थोड़ों के पास ज्यादा धन है लेकिन कुछ नहीं है आप अमेरिका में जायें देखें और जगह पर देखें तो हमारे धनवान् कुछ नहीं हैं लेकिन उसका धन का उपयोग ठीक कराना हो तो इस ढंग से करने में उनका भी जायगा <sup>हमारा भी जायगा</sup> कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। आज हमारा हिन्दुस्तान को उठाना हो तो एक तरह से हो सकता है कि धनवान् को अपना लोभ छोड़ना है अपने मजूरों को अपना काम वफादारी से देना है। ये जो पीलिसी आज चल रही है, नीति चल रही है मजूरों में जा के भी इस बात का प्रचार करना कि बार बार स्ट्राइक करो, हड़ताल करो, आहिस्ते आहिस्ते काम करो, सिट इन स्ट्राइक करो, तूफान करो, इस नीति से हमको नुकसान मारी होगा। उसका सच्चा आयागा जरूरत होगी, तो, लेकिन मैं नहीं मानता कि हमको जरूरत पड़े। हिन्दुस्तान में हमारी संस्कृति ऐसी है कि हमें आपस में बैठ कर सब चीज का फैसला कर सकते हैं, धनिकों को अपना धर्म समझा सकते हैं।

कई कहते हैं कि ब्लैक मार्केट करते हैं, करते ही हैं और ब्लैक मार्केट क्या ब्लैक मार्केट का धन तो सारा ही लिया जब लड़ाई चलती थी उस समय पर ज्यादा तो, जो पैसा बनाया है वो तो परदेशी हुकूमत थी उस समय पर ज्यादा बनाया है, बनाया हमारे समय में भी लेकिन उस समय में ज्यादा बनाया है। उस समय पर कुछ हमने नहीं किया, कोई बोले नहीं और हमसे कहते भी थे और वो लोग भी मानते थे कि ये परदेशी हुकूमत को जितना पैसा कम देना पड़े ठीक है तो इन्कम टैक्स भी नहीं देते, अब हम पीछे लगे हैं, न उनका भी काम होता है न हमारा भी होता है। उससे क्या फायदा। तो हमें हमारा सारा ढंग बदलना है। हाँ, कई लोग कहते हैं कि हमारा सारा उद्योग नेशनलाइज़ करो और जो आदमी अपना घर नहीं चला सकते हैं वो नेशनलाइज़्ड इन्डस्ट्री चलाने की बात करें, उनसे क्या फायदा। वो कैसे कर सकते हैं। तो सरकार को पसन्द करना पड़े कि यह उद्योग हम चला सकते हैं तो आज कोई रुकावट नहीं है ले सकते हैं। कोई भी चलाओ, लेकिन आज हमारी यह ताकत नहीं है। क्योंकि एक तो हमारे पास इतना साधन नहीं है, इतने आदमी नहीं हैं अनुभवी, प्रवीण और स्वच्छ आदमी चाहिए। आज हमें विजनेसमैन के पास विजनेस से लेते हैं क्योंकि विजनेस वाले गढ़बढ़ करते हैं, कुछ काला बाज़ार करते हैं, कुछ पैसे ज्यादा से लेते हैं तो हमारी सरकार यह समझती थी कि हम कंट्रोल चलाएँ लोग



भी कहते हैं किंट्रोल करो, हम लेते हैं लेकिन इनकी जगह पर जो रखते हैं हम जो विजनेस  
 मैन की जगह पर रखते हैं वह उसका कोई अच्छा काम करते हैं ऐसा कोई नहीं कहते हैं  
 और वहाँ पर भी बूँद ढालते हैं कि यह तो सब लोग राज घूस खोरी बलती है और  
 राज घूस खोरी बलती है वो सब पैसा बलते हैं और सरकार बदनाम होती है। तो  
 उससे क्या फायदा। उसमें तो सब हम बदनाम होते हैं जाते हैं। तो गांधी जी ने  
 कहा : कि किंट्रोल हटा दो तो इतने पर हमने उसका भी एक एक हफ्ता कर लिया  
 एक स्वसपेरीमैट कर लिया अब उसमें ऐसी मुसीबत में फँस गये कि फिर किंट्रोल बैठाओ  
 तो फिर बैठाया। अब <sup>कई</sup> लोग कहते हैं कि माई, इस तरह तो गवर्नमेंट को अपना  
 माहन्ड की खबर नहीं, अपने दिल की खबर नहीं। कहना तो ठीक है लेकिन इतना  
 बड़ा मुल्क है जिसका सारा ढाँचा चलाने वाले जो लोग थे जो धाक से चलता था/अंग्रेज के  
~~से~~ से जो काम परदेशी की धाक से और <sup>रबान</sup> ~~अपना~~ से जो चलता था वो पंचावन, साठ  
 फी सदी अंग्रेज हथर पड़े थे सर्विस में, हुकूमत में वो सबको निकाल दिया। आप देखें  
 पुलिस में कोई अंग्रेज का चेहरा आपकी मालूम पड़ता है। देखें हमारे <sup>भारत</sup> ~~स्वदेशी~~ हथर  
 कौन बैठते थे <sup>रचना</sup> ~~जमाना~~ तो बदल गया रेग्यूलेशन किसकी कहते हैं २ रेग्यूलेशन तो हो  
 गया लेकिन अब तो रचना करनी है, रचना बनाना है मुल्क को, या मुल्क को बनाना  
 हो तो हिन्दुस्तान का भविष्य क्या होगा ? ऐसा ये पाँच साल में हम करेंगे ऐसा  
 हिन्दुस्तान का भविष्य होगा, इसके लिए मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपको  
 कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम आपको सबको, मजदूरों को, पुरुषों को, स्त्रियों को सबको  
 साथ मिल के काम करना है और फगड़ा छोड़ देना है। मोहब्बत से, प्रेम से काम  
 होगा। यदि हम जहर वहर पैदा करेंगे, प्रान्त प्रान्त की ईर्ष्या करेंगे, फिसाद में  
 पड़ेंगे तो ज्यादा मैं ज्यादा यह कर सकते हैं कि कलकत्ता का उद्योग कलकत्ता से चला  
 जाय, हाँ, जहाँ शान्ति हो वहाँ चला जाय। उससे कोई फायदा नहीं होगा, नुकसान  
 ही नुकसान होगा। क्योंकि इस प्रकार हम काम करते रहे तो हमारे में दूसरी ताकत  
 होनी चाहिये और दूसरा बनाव हुआ तो ~~वे~~ तो बंगाल के नीजवानों के प्रति पूरी  
 सहानुभूति है लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह जो फार्मेटिव पीरियड है जो अपना चारित्र  
 घड़ने का समय है उस समय पर अपना वाधा बाध लें उद्योग चलाने के लिए तैयार  
 हो जायें ~~हम~~ <sup>राज</sup> ~~समय~~ राज चलाने के लिए तैयारी हो अन्तिम ऐसा/सील लें यह फिसाद में  
 पड़ जायेगा कोई फायदा नहीं नुकसान ही नुकसान है लेकिन मेरी शिकायत जो आज  
 सामने आप लोगों के सामने है वो यही है कि आपको इस तरह से काम नहीं लेना है  
 कि हमारा काम नहीं है, यदि कोई जगह पर लूटाना हो तो हम हट जायें वहाँ से  
 एक ट्राम में या <sup>एक</sup> ~~बस~~ में पचास आदमी मुसाफिर बैठे हैं दो नव जवान आये और कह  
 दिया कि सब उतर जाओ, तो सब उतर ~~करके~~ जायें गेटा की माफिक, बकरी की  
 माफिक, मेढ की माफिक। यह क्या ? ये ~~फ्री~~ <sup>फ्री</sup> हिन्दुस्तान, आजाद हिन्दुस्तान  
 के नागरिकों का यह धर्म नहीं है। उनकी भी तो फुज है, उनका भी तो एक है, उन  
 दो नीजवानों का कान पकड़ना चाहिए। यह क्या कर रहे हो, इस तरह से काम

होगा तब काम चलेगा । तो मैंने कल अठ्ठबार वालों को भी कहा कि अठ्ठबार वाले दो प्रकार के बोल बजाते हैं, दो आवाज साथ निकालते हैं, एक तो कहते हैं कि ठीक नहीं है अच्छा नहीं है, यह करते हैं साथ साथ कहते हैं/लेकिन ये करें क्या, और लोग कुछ करते नहीं, गवर्नमेंट के कुछ करती नहीं, पुलिस बुरी है। अपने साथ जुल्म करते हैं, यह करते हैं और फाका करते हैं जेल में लोग उसका कुछ नहीं करते हैं । मैंने गवर्नमेंट को पूछ लिया कि माई, ये लोग फाका क्यों करते हैं यह तो मेरी समझ नहीं आती है । क्या हिन्दुस्तान में अनाज की कमी है इस वजह से, सहानुभूति से फाका करते हैं / है क्या/ मुझे बताओ तो सही-। क्योंकि माई हमारी समझ क्या आवे, हमें जैसे एक ये जो तूफान करने वाले लोग हैं वो जैसा हम पकड़ते हैं वो पहला तो जेल में जाने के पहले ढाई सी रुपया तो उनको अपना कपड़ा लगा, तांगा, <sup>आउटर</sup> ~~सूट~~ के लिए देते हैं यानी ढाई सी रुपया तो उसको बख्शीश करते हैं और उसके बाद वो जेल में गया तो रोज़ ढाई रुपया उसको खाने के लिए देते हैं । रोज़ का ढाई रुपया । बताइये मुझे यह रिफ्यूजीज़ का बात लीजिये, यहाँ तो बंगाल में कितने खोज रहे हैं जिनको ढाई रुपया रोज़ खाना मिलता है वो कैसे मांगते हैं, ढाई रुपया मिला उसके बाद उनके बच्चे कितने हैं, फैमिली कितनी है, उनकी स्त्री है माता है यह ~~क्या है~~ बताओ तो जो छोटी उम्र के हैं उनके लिए अमुक रकम दी जाती है जो बड़ी उम्र के हैं उनके लिए अमुक रकम । सबके लिए अलग रुपया । उसके लिए मैथली ~~रुपया~~ बाँटा जाता है । मला बाहर क्यों रहे वे लोग जेल में ही क्यों न बैठें । फिर फाका क्यों करते हैं इतना मिलने के बाद । क्योंकि कई लोग तो ~~चार~~ दफा खाते हैं बाहर प्रोपेण्डा चलता है कि फाका करते हैं इस समय में भी जब ये लोग फाका करते हैं वो भी क्या चाहते हैं २ वो भी चाहते हैं कि इनको ज्यादा दो, इतना रुपया कम पड़ता है, इसके लिए फाका करता है । मला बताइये इस प्रकार के लोग पुलिस की शिकायत करते हैं तब मुझे दुःख होता है । क्या आप लोग का यह धर्म नहीं है कि हमारे पुलिस के लिए कुछ सहानुभूति बता कर उनकी मदद करना है । स्वतन्त्र मुल्क में पुलिस के लिए जितने हज़रत है ऐसी हज़रत आज हम नहीं देखें तो हमारे मुल्क की स्वतन्त्रता है नहीं कि स्वतन्त्र मुल्क नहीं तो आज़ाद मुल्क का तो फर्ज होगया कि जो हमारे रक्षक हैं उसको साथ देना और कम से कम उसको काम करना पड़े ऐसा काम करना है, यह सब उनका काम नहीं सब के सब बड़ी नम्रताई से सबके साथ एकसा बर्ताव करना है तो आज मैं देख रहा हूँ आप भी पढ़ते होंगे कि हर रोज़ आज मैं कितने दिनों से मैं देखता हूँ कि बाहर के लोग भी देखते हैं कि कोई न कोई जगह पर रोज़ रोज़ अठ्ठबार मैं आता है कि पुलिस ने मार लाया । लेकिन किसी को मारा नहीं, पहले कई रोज़ पुलिस ने कहीं गोली चलाई तो आप लोग गुस्से होगर एक दम कहने लगे उसकी ट्राइल करो एक बार उठाओ, जब इस समय पर तो सबने शोर मचाया, अब जब कुछ पुलिस मार खाती है क्यों आप बोलते नहीं हो, क्यों आप बैठे रहे हैं हामीश, क्या राज चलाना है या नहीं, चलाना हो तो हमें सबको समझ लेना चाहिए कि हर एक व्यक्ति का धर्म है, हर एक आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तानी का फर्ज है कि अपना लूट्टी का, धर्म का पालन करना चाहिए,

होती

आजादी हर दम मिलनी नहीं है ऐसे/तो मैं आपके पास यह चाहता हूँ कि यह जो तूफान करने वाले थोड़े लोग जो हैं कलकत्ता सारा अपना काम कर रहा है लेकिन थोड़े लोग तंग करते हैं, हवा बिगाड़ते हैं, उनको समझाओ और जिन मामलों में ये चीज होती है उसमें हमें स्वयं सेवक दल बनाओ और उसको पकड़ो। ये कहते हैं कि अन्डर ग्राउंड लोग रहते हैं भीतर में भूतल में रहते हैं, भूतल में रहते हैं, कहाँ भूतल हमारी ही भूतल है न कहीं हम जानते नहीं हैं क्या जो हमारा माई हो, हमारा लड़का हो जो हमारा रिश्तेदार हो तो उनको समझाना चाहिए कि उह गलत रास्ता है तुम झोड़ दो, नहीं तो मैं तुमको पुलिस के स्वाधीन कर देता हूँ। इस तरह से जब तक हम सक्रिय सहायता नहीं देंगे तब तक ठीक काम हमारा नहीं चलेगा और जितना खूबी भी बढ़ता जायगा उनके पास पीछे हर कोई को देना पड़ता है, उनके लिए पुलिस रखी, उनके लिए जेलखाना रखी, इनको खाना पीने को दो, सब दो, बाहर से नहीं आयेगा, हमको ही देना पड़ेगा। तो हमारे वेबारे बेकार जो आदमी पड़े हैं, बाहर से आये हैं, जो रिफ्यूजीज हैं जिनको वे बहकाते हैं उनको तो वेबारे को मिलता नहीं, उनको कोई मदद नहीं मिलती, उल्टा काम होता है। तो मेरी सलाह आप लोगों को है यह रस्ता झोड़ दो। पीछे जब शान्ति हो तो हमें रचना करनी है। तो किस तरह-से हूँ हथर जो लोग पड़े हैं उनको भी सुख हो और बाहर-जो दुखी हो रहे हैं उनका भी कुछ इन्तजाम करना है। क्योंकि हम बार बार सुनते हैं कि जो पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में हमारे माई पड़े हैं आज कल बहुत तंग किए जाते हैं और उसका रहना मुश्किल हो जाता है। यदि यह चीजें आगे बढ़ी तो कोई हथर से वहाँ, वहाँ से हथर चले आवें तो हमारे यहाँ इतनी तो जगह आज भी नहीं है और आवें तो क्या हो? तो उसका रास्ता करना पड़ेगा। वो तो चलेगा नहीं। कोई न कोई तो रास्ता सोचना पड़ेगा। लेकिन उसके लिए पहला अपना घर ठीक कर लो, मेहरबानी करके कोई फगड़ा न करो और बाहर से ऐसा कोई को मालूम नहीं पड़ना चाहिये कि हमारे घर में कोई रोग है, कोई सटपट है, कोई फगड़ा है। तब इन लोगों को भी शान्ति होगी। ये लोग जो पड़े हैं उनके दिल में क्या होता होगा, कि हम हथर के इतने दुख में पड़े हैं और कलकत्ता में जो है क्या कर रहे हैं, क्या करते हैं। हाँ, इस रास्ते से उनका दुख रूखा हो तो मैं तो उनको साथ दूँगा। लेकिन यह नहीं होगा। उसका तो दुख बढ़ता जायेगा। तो हमारे इस प्रकार का काम करना है कि जिसमें आज धन की वृद्धि हो। एक तो किसानों को समझाना है कि जितना बने उतना ज्यादा अन्न पैदा करो, ~~किसानों को समझाना है कि~~ और जितना धन आज पैदा करते हो, अनाज पैदा करते हो, वो वह अपने खाने के लिए जितना चाहिए उसकी हो उतना रखो बचकी का गर्नमेंट को दो, सरकार को देना चाहिए। तो सरकार ने जो काम मुकरीर किया है उसी दाम से दो, तो कहीं हमारे लोग जाकर वहाँ लोगों को समझाते हैं कि सरकार को दाम मुकरीर करने का क्या अधिकार है यह तो तुम्हीं करो, तुम न करो ज्यादा देगा, फलमार के देगा, कहाँ से लायेगा, देगा तो ठीक लेकिन कहाँ से देगा, किसमें हिस्से में से निकाल कर देगा। यह जो सलाह देते हैं उनके सीसे में से नहीं हमें भी आपको ही

देना पड़ेगा, उस से जो लोग दुखी हैं उसका दुख जायेगा के। आप को याद है ३० लाख  
 आदमी इधर मर गये भूख से, इस प्रकार का हमने कुछ भी बिगाड़ किया हा, कन्दूल  
 किया हा या रिस्वल लाने दिया हा, कितने भी बुराई किया हा, लेकिन इन तीन साल  
 में भूख से हिन्दुस्तान में किसी को हमने मरने नहीं दिया है। यह आपको समझना चाहिये  
 तो कहाँ से यह अनाज लाये हम, करोड़ों मन अनाज बाहर से लाते हैं, इसका रुपया  
 कितना खर्चा पड़ता है, आपको मालूम नहीं, करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करना पड़ता है, लेकिन  
 हमारे किसान को हम समझावें कि हमारे मुल्क में जो घन अनाज पड़ा है उस का ठीक तरह  
 से उपयोग ~~करके~~ करके जो हमारे दुखी लोग हैं / जिस के पास नहीं है, जिन कलकत्ता  
 शहर है, कलकत्ता शहर में तो बाहर से ही आयेगा अनाज, इधर कौन अनाज पैदा करेगा।  
 लेकिन कलकत्ता के आस पास जो किसान लोग हैं वे अनाज पैदा करते हैं उसका समझना  
 चाहिये कि कलकत्ता के लाखों आदमियों के लिये हम को अनाज दो और उसके लिये जितना  
 ज्यादा कीमत दाम मांगोगे, उसका कलकत्ता को देना पड़ेगा तो आज कलकत्ता की हमलत  
 ऐसी नहीं हो सकती, बहुत धोड़े लोग तो दे सकते हैं बाकी बहुत ज्यादा है, मध्यमवर्ग के  
 लोग तो बेचारे बहुत ही दुखी हैं, बेकारी तो है ही, महंगाई तो है ही इतनी तो हम  
 क्या करें, तो आप भी थोड़ा अपना पसीना निकालिये, सब हिन्दुस्तानी का आज फर्ज  
 यह है कि थोड़ा थोड़ा दुख बांट लेगा, तो कम हाया, यह दो साल का दुख हम बैठवारा  
 करके उठा लें, पीछे हम सब सुख के हिस्सेदार होंगे, सब सुख के भागीदार होंगे, और यदि  
 कलकत्ता गिरा, या तो बंगाल गिरा तो कौन जिन्दा रहेगा, लेकिन बंगाल अपनी असल  
 जगह पर आ जाये। हिन्दुस्तान की जो नेता गिरी थी, उसके पास आजाये, इस प्रकार  
 का हमारा काम चले, तो सारा हिन्दुस्तान ठीक हो जाये, तो आज फगढ़ा की जगह  
 नहीं है, इस लिये मैं आपको अपील करता हूँ, मैंने कांग्रेस के काम करने वाले सब को कहा  
 कि मेरी तो <sup>धर</sup>आखिरी अपील है आप लोगों को, तो अब आपस में सझा जाइये, यह फगढ़े  
 का समय नहीं है यह, अभी हमको मनिस्ट्री मिली तो क्या न मिली तो क्या / सारी  
 उम्र हमारा धन्दा तो दुख उठाने का था लोगों के लिये जेलखाने जाने का और दुख उठाने  
 का, यह आप ही लोग जब लड़ाई चलेती थी कितना दुख उठाया / कितना लोग मरते थे  
 भूख में, उस समय पर तो जो यहाँ महा फलड आये वहाँ आपने फलड की बरदास्त की।  
 और सहन की, दुष्काल की बरदास्त की, उसका सामना किया, उसका मुकाबला किया।  
 उस से भी नहीं डरे, तो यह क्या कर रहे हैं, इस चीज को हमें ~~सह~~ <sup>बुनतम</sup> करना चाहिये।  
 और सब को सझा मिल के। अगर हमारे मनिस्ट्र में जो लोग नहीं हैं वो कहेंगे यह ~~मनिस्ट्र~~  
 मनिस्ट्री बुरी है, वो निकल के दूसरी जगह पर बैठेंगे, तो उन को कहेंगे यह बुरा है।  
 यह कोई दुनिया का ढंग जो राज चलाने का ढंग है, इस तरह से चल नहीं सकता है।  
 हाँकिन्ही ने बुरा काम किया, उसको फकडना चाहिये, ठीक ढंग से उसके पर काम चलाना  
 चाहिये। जो जो सबेरे जो सिद्ध हो सके ऐसी बात हो तो, नहीं तो जो सारी चीज है  
 उसकी बुराई हम ही करते रहेंगे तो और क्या करेंगे। यदि कलकत्ता के नागरिक अपनी

गवर्नमेंट की बुराई करें तो उसमें बुराई तो अपनी ही होगी क्योंकि जैसे लोग हैं वैसा ही राजा होता है। जैसे लोग ऐसे ही उनके लायक राज मिल जाता है। तो मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हम आज सब मिलके एक दूसरे को साथ लेके काम करें। तभी हमारी बेहतरी हो सकती है। नहीं तो हो नहीं सकती। अब मैं जो कुछ आपको कहा उससे उपरान्त सोचें, खयाल करें/हमारा बार बार तो इधर आना मुश्किल है लेकिन मेरे दिल में जो आग बरी है, कलकत्ता के लिये जो सहायता मिलनी है बंगाल के लिये जो राह है, आग जलती है। वह मुफ्त को बुलाती है इस लिये मैं आया। और मैं आपको प्रार्थना करता हूँ बहुत नम्रता से कि एक तो आप आपकी शहर में प्रान्त प्रान्त की काँटभावना न रखें फगड़ा न रखें। साथ मिल के काम करें क्योंकि इस मुल्क की इस स्थिति में इस शहर में कितने और और प्रान्त के लोग हैं। और उनके ~~उपेक्षा~~ उन सब के पास उद्योग पड़ा है। उनके साथ हमें मिलना है। जो मदद से हो सकता है। जो फगड़े से नहीं हो सकता। दूसरा एक जो फिसाव हो रहे हैं उनको बन्द करना है और रोज़ गार बढ़ाना है। और किस तरह से बड़े उसके लिये हमें इधर की आवाज देना ज़रूरत है। तब तो कुछ कुछ धन बढ़ता है। जब धन की वृद्धि होती है तब बाँटने का समय आता है। हाँ बाँटने के समय पर आप अपना हक़रस सकते हैं। लेकिन जब पैसा ~~की~~ हो तो कुछ नहीं मिलेगा। तैयारी करो/आजने सोचके, कि हमें एक दूसरे के साथ सत्कार करके काम करना है। और हमारी जो पुलिस है उसकी कोई वृद्धि हो तो हमारी सरकार के पास हमें कहना है। लेकिन वो पुरानी बातें हमें भूल जानी हैं कि हमारी पुलिस इधर आज रिस्वत खाती है यह स्राव है। जुल्म करती है। यह बात गहरी। आज बिचारे अपने तन तोड़ मेहनत करके काम करते हैं। हाँ उसको साथ देना, सहायता देना हमारा कर्तव्य है। तब तो हमारा काम होगा। क्योंकि हमें उसको हटाके ही दूसरा रख सकते हैं तो बोली रखें या बंगाली रखें और कौन रखें। तो हमारे नीजवान, दुरेदुरेदुरे, ऐसा ही कहता रहना वा हमारे लिये लज्जास्पद हो जाता है। सब दुरे तो रहा अच्छा कौन रहा। क्योंकि बाहर के तो जाई हैं नहीं सभी हमारे हैं तो हमारी सारी चीज बचती बचाविये। और जो जिसके पास असबारी है भट तो ज़ेने बहुत ~~पैनेर~~ बीलपिन्की जात में बहुत ~~पैनेर~~ — लेकिन जिसके पास असबारी नहीं है ऐसे ही जो प्राफेशनल लोग हैं और जो समक दार लोग हैं ~~न~~ वाली असबारी पढ़के बैठ जाना, उससे हमारा काम नहीं होगा।

हमें भी अबबार में बोलना चाहिये कि ये आल तिली सही नहीं है, इस को ठीक करना चाहिये। और अपना आवाज उठाना चाहिये कि ये चीज खराब है। इस चीज को नहीं चलने देना चाहिये। इस तरह से हम अपना कर्तव्य ~~कराये~~ <sup>कराये</sup> तब तो कामचल सकता है। और मैंने जैसा कहा हर मामले में जहाँ गड़बड़ हो स्वयंसेवक दल बनाके इस गड़बड़ को खतम करना है। जिसे बंगाल की इज्जत, कलकत्ते की इज्जत बाहर बढ़ जाये <sup>की</sup> कलकत्ता फिर एक दफा सारे हिन्दुस्तान की आवाज हवा बदले और समझे कि कलकत्ता का लोग सम्पन्न दार है और स्थान है। मैं इतना ही आशका कहके आपकी प्रार्थना <sup>करना</sup> ~~करना~~ चाहता हूँ।

5 FEB 1950

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प्रमुख साहब, माइयो और बहनों ।

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यह प्रदर्शनी का उद्घाटन की क्रिया करने का काम मैंने कबूल कर लिया । इसका कुछ रहस्य मैं समझाना चाहता हूँ । और हमने जब २६ ता० को पूरी सम्पूर्ण स्वराज्य की घोषणा सुन लिया उसी मौके पर यह प्रदर्शन बोलने का था । लेकिन उस दिन नहीं हुआ उसमें कोई फर्क उसकी हमत्व में नहीं पड़ता वह भी मैं समझाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि संकल्प तो यह था कि उसी दिन उसकी सोला जाये । लेकिन उस दिन इतना काम और इनका कार्यक्रम और स्वराज्य की ओर सम्पूर्ण स्वराज्य की जो विधि थी उसके बारे में इतना कार्यक्रम बढ़ कर मरा हुआ था कि उसमें समय निकालना भी बहुत मुश्किल था और आम जनता को दो जगह जाना मुश्किल था । अब उस समय पर कुछ हवा मिल रही थी, बादल भी घिरा हुआ था । तो उस समय पर मुलतबी रखा उससे कुछ नुकसान नहीं हुआ । देहात के लोग उस रोज़ ज्यादा आये थे वह दो जगह पर उनके लिए जाना भी मुश्किल होता लेकिन यह तो कोई एक दिन का काम नहीं है । जो उस रोज़ विधि हुई वह तो एक रोज़ की थी । लेकिन प्रदर्शनी कई रोज़ तक खुली रहेगी और देहात में जाहिर हो जायेगा कि प्रदर्शन खुला रखा है लोग आजायेंगे, देखेंगे । तो उससे आपकी कोई नाउम्मीद होने की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है । क्योंकि असल काम यह प्रदर्शन का तो शान्ति से देखने का है । उसमें क्या चीज़ रही है और क्या क्या चीज़ हमारे मुल्क में बनती है और क्या क्या चीज़ देहात में बनती है, क्या क्या चीज़ शहरों में बनती है, क्या क्या चीज़ ग्रामीणों से हाथ से बनती है और क्या क्या चीज़ यह मशीन से बनती है यह सब चीज़ शान्ति से देखना चाहिये । फिर हमें सोचना है कि उन चीज़ों को उसमें कौन सी चीज़ों को हमें आगे बढ़ाने की कोशिश करना चाहिये और कौन सी चीज़ों को हमें खुद इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश करने चाहिये जिससे मुल्क को मुल्क के फायदा हो । तो मैंने तो यह प्रदर्शनी खुली रखने का बोफ उठाया है । इसी मतलब से कि हमारी एक प्रतिज्ञा जो थी जो बीस साल पर करीब करीब हमने ली थी । १९३० के साल में कि हमने हमारा मुल्क में सम्पूर्ण आज़ादी होने पर आज चाहिए इसी तरह से परदेसी हुकूमत का कोई साया हमारे ऊपर नहीं होना चाहिए । वह प्रतिज्ञा हमारी भगवान् की कृपा से पूरी हुई । वह तो ठीक हुआ । लेकिन एक जो स्वराज्य हमको मिला जिस तरह से कि उसमें जितना उसकी प्राप्ति में हमने कष्ट उठाना चाहिये उतना नहीं उठाना पड़ा । उसके अनेक कारण तो हैं लेकिन उसमें जाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है । जो काम आसानी से होता है, जिसमें ज्यादा कष्ट उठाना नहीं पड़ता है उसकी पूरी कीमत हमको मालूम नहीं पड़ती । तो स्वराज्य हमको बहुत आसानी से मिला कुछ ज्यादा मैं ज्यादा स्वराज्य के लिए कष्ट उठाया तो गांधी जी ने उठाया और

और उनकी कृपा से उनकी आसीर्वाद से और उनका सारा इस प्रकार का मुल्क को उठाने का जो काम था <sup>उत्तर पर काम करना</sup> वह तो ठीक है। उनके पीछे हम बन्द लोग चले। उससे कई लोग जेलखाने में गये, कई लोगों ने कुछ अपनी मिलकियत की बरवादी की, कई लोग शहीद भी हो गये, मर भी गए लेकिन इतना बड़ा काम, इतना बड़ा मुल्क और अनेक प्रकार के मजहब, अनेक प्रकार की पृथक् पृथक् भाषाओं और कभी हिन्दुस्तान एक नहीं था। इतने बड़े मुल्क को एक बनाना, इतनी इतनी रियासतें इसमें पड़ी थीं इन-सबको एक बनाके एक संगठन में ढाल के आज़ादी सारे मुल्क को दिलाना कोई आसान काम नहीं था लेकिन मुकाबिले में हमको <sup>कम</sup> कष्ट उठाना पड़ा इसलिए हमें उसकी कदर कम है। तो भी जब २६ ता० को सारे मुल्क में मालूम पड़ गया कि हमारा मुल्क आज कोई तरह से कोई परदेसी हुकूमत की साया में नहीं है और हमें कोई और मुल्क का हमारे ऊपर कोई प्रकार का काबू नहीं है। तब सारे मुल्क में एक प्रकार की खुशहाली का प्रदर्शन हुआ। अच्छा हुआ। लोगों को मालूम पड़ गया, लोग समझ गये कि यह काम तो अच्छा हुआ है लेकिन इतने से हमारा काम पूरा नहीं होता है। यह काम तो जैसा एक किसान अपनी खेती के लिए ज़मीन तैयार करता है, खेत तैयार करता है इस प्रकार का काम हुआ है। यदि स्वराज्य सच्चा जो हमें चाहिए जिसको जो गांधी जी चाहते थे उसी प्रकार का स्वराज्य की <sup>तो</sup> रचना अभी करने की है वह हमें बनाना है। हिन्दुस्तान में हमारे काम में जो रुकावट डालने वाले थे वह लोग चले गये अब कोई रुकावट नहीं रही लेकिन हमारे मुल्क में करोड़ों लोग आज जो दुखी है उसका दुःख हटाना है। पेट भरके रोटी खाने को मिले, पहनने के लिए कपड़ा मिले और रहने के लिए अच्छी जगह मिले, इन तीन चीज़ के लिए कम से कम स्वराज्य में किसी प्रकार की कमी नहीं होनी चाहिए। तो लोग हमारे पास अपना करते हैं कि हमको स्वराज्य तो मिला लेकिन उससे फ़ायदा क्या हुआ? वह सवाल तो ठीक है और यह सवाल हल करने के लिए पहला काम था कि हम हुकूमत हमारी बना लें तो हुकूमत हमारी बन गई अब हमारे काम में कोई रुकावट नहीं डालेगा। लेकिन हमारे पेट भरके खाना चाहिए तो खाना कहाँ से आयेगा। हमारे मुल्क में तो इतना नहीं खाना जो अनाज पैदा होना चाहिए इतना नहीं होता है और आस पास मुल्क में से हमारे लोग जो ले आते थे जैसे ब्रह्म देश में से काफ़ी चावल इधर आता था जिसके ऊपर मद्रास का, बंगाल का निभाव होता था और मुल्क से भी अनाज आता था और हमारा मुल्क का एक हिस्सा जिसमें बहुत अनाज पकता था वह अलग होगया उससे अनाज की जो वृद्धि है उससे हमें सब जगह पर अनाज पहुँचाने के लिए और कोई आवज़ी मूख नहीं मरे, हिन्दुस्तान में मूख से नहीं मरे इसके लिए बाहर से अनाज मँगाना पड़ता है और उसके लिए बन्दोबस्त करना पड़ता है कि सब जगह पर कम से कम खिन्दा रहने के



लिए जितना अनाज चाहिए इतना तो पहुंचाना चाहिए। तो उसके लिए अनेक प्रकार के  
 कंट्रोल रहे। उसमें बहुत सी खराबियाँ होती हैं। कहीं इतना बड़ा मुल्क के ऊपर यह  
 राशनिंग और कंट्रोल का काम चलाना वह आसान नहीं और उसमें बहुत सरकार की भी  
 बदनामी होती है। कई लोग दूसरों को करते हैं, कई लोग उसका दुरुपयोग करते हैं वह  
 सब चीज़ होती है। लेकिन यह सब चीज़ हमें करते हैं कोई बाहर से करने वाला नहीं।  
 लोग सरकार को उसका दोष देते हैं। कहीं हद तक वह सही भी होगा लेकिन ज्यादातर  
 उसमें हमारी दुनिया में बदनामी होती है कि ये लोग ऐसा ही हैं कि ऐसे मोड़ पर एक  
 दूसरे को मदद करना एक दूसरे का साथ देना और अपने पास ज्यादा हो तो दूसरे को देना  
 वह चीज़ होड़ के अपने अपने स्वार्थ में लोग फँसे हैं। वह हमारे लिए अच्छा नहीं है। यह  
 गांधी जी का रास्ता नहीं है और हमें सच्चा स्वराज्य चाहिए तो हमें उनके रास्ते से  
 जाना पड़ेगा। तो आपको यह प्रदर्शन में जो चीज़ दिखाई जायेगी वह चीज़ मैं हक्तो यह  
 दिखाया जायेगा कि हमारे मुल्क में ज्यादा अनाज पैदा करने के लिए क्या क्या चीज़  
 अच्छी है, क्या क्या चीज़ का इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए, किस प्रकार से काम हो रहा है  
 कहीं कहीं किस किस तरह का अनाज बनता है वह सब चीज़ भी बताई जायेगी और बाहर  
 से अनाज हमें कम लाना और हमारे मुल्क में सब पैदा करना उसकी एक कोशिश करनी तो  
 सच्चा स्वराज्य यह पूर्ण स्वराज्य की नींव डालना हो तो पहले से हमें समझ लेना चाहिए  
 कि हमारा मुल्क यह सब चीज़ के लिए दूसरे के पर दूसरे मुल्क के ऊपर निर्भर न हो  
 अपने मुल्क में ज्यादातर जितनी चीज़ चाहिए पैदा करनी चाहिए यह कठिन काम है और  
 जो मुल्क इतने साल गुलामी में पड़ा हुआ था और जो परदेसी लोगों के लिए एक प्रकार  
 का अपना फायदा उठाने के लिए मैदान पड़ा था जिसका उपयोग वह करते थे वहाँ हम  
 इतने साल से दबे हुए <sup>पिछड़े</sup> ~~पिछड़े~~ और पढ़े हुए लोग थे और जो कंगाल मुल्क है उसकी  
 स्वराज्य मिल गया उसी के साथ सब चीज़ मिल जायेगी वह तो बन नहीं सकता। लेकिन  
 हम लोग सब साथ मिलके काम करें तब वह चीज़ चल सकती है। तो गांधी जी ने तो  
 बताया था कि हमारा स्वराज्य तो सूत्र के ताँतड़े में पड़ा है हमें बरखा चलाना चाहिए  
 वह कहा था। वह तो हमने कुछ किया नहीं। वह जो स्वराज्य आया है वह असल  
 नहीं निकली है। असल स्वराज्य तो हम सब साथ मिलके जितने चीज़ हमारे मुल्क में  
 चाहिए वह चीज़ हमारे मुल्क में बननी चाहिए तब हो सकता है। यह कब हो कि हमारी  
 आँखें आदत हमें बदलनी पड़ेगी। हमारी हाजत तो हमें बदलनी पड़ेगी। जो चीज़  
 हमें चाहिए वह चीज़ हमारे मुल्क में बननी हो, उसकी ही इस्तेमाल करना तो हमें स्वराज्य  
 तो मिला लेकिन सच्चा स्वराज्य पैदा करना हो तो हमें आज प्रतिज्ञा करना चाहिए  
 २६ तारीख को या तो उसी महीने में कि आज से हम यह निश्चय करना है कि परदेस  
 से जो चीज़ आती है वह हमारे काम की नहीं है। हाँ, कोई ऐसी चीज़ हो जो हमारे

4

और जिसमें मुल्क का कोई नुकसान नहीं होता है फायदा ही होता है वो भी बीज  
धर रही गई है। वो भी बीज हमें सब देसनी चाहिये। मशीन हमारे मुल्क में  
क्या क्या है। क्या क्या काम करता है। कपड़ा क्या क्या बनता है। ये सब चीजें  
धर रही हैं। ये सब चीजें हमें देसनी हैं और देखकर कौन सी चीज नहीं बनती है।  
धर उस का हिसाब लगाना यह तो आम जनता का काम नहीं है। लेकिन उद्योग पति  
हैं और और समझदार लोग ये वो लोग उसके लिये कोशिश करें कि हमारे मुल्क  
में जितनी मशीन बौरह जो चीजें बाहर से आती हैं हमें बनानी हैं हमारे साथ से।  
और यदि हमारा स्वराज्य पक्का बनाना हो तो हमें कोई परदेश के पर आधार  
नहीं रहना पड़ेगा। निर्भर रहना ही पड़े : ऐसा करना चाहिये। बदाकिस्मती से  
हमारा फगड़ा चलता है हमारे पड़ोसी के साथ तो देखिये हमारे वहाँ जितना कार-  
खाना है कलकत्ता में उसमें जूट सारा जितना पाकिस्तान में होता है उस सब का उपयोग  
धर होता है। यह कारखाना तो किसान लोग जो पूर्व पाकिस्तान में रहते हैं वहाँ  
जूट पैदा करते हैं। तो सनका उपयोग सारा धर होता था, कारखाना धर है और  
किसान वहाँ मर रहे हैं अब क्योंकि हमारा उनका फगड़ा चल रहा है। तो अब  
उसमें कमूर उनकी कितनी है कि गहरे पानी में उतरना अच्छा नहीं है इस समय पर  
लेकिन मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने जितनी कोशिश  
हो सकी उतनी की कि हमारी दो देश के बीच में दो मुल्क के बीच में हमारा रोजगार  
अच्छी तरह से चले उसमें कोई रुकावट न हो तो दोनों को फायदा है लेकिन जितने  
जितने हमने उनके साथ कोल करार किये जितने जितने एग्रीमेंट किये सबमें उनकी तरफसे  
जब उसके अमल करने को समय आता है तब वो करते हैं और हमें एक तरफ से अमल  
करना पड़ता है। आसिर हम एक गये और हमें कहा कि इस तरह से तुम करो तो हम  
अब आपको कोल वगैरा देते हैं वो बन्द कर देते हैं। तुम तुम्हारा करो हम हमारा  
करेंगे। यत्ना तुम को नहीं देना है हमें जूट वगैरा जिसका पैसा भी पहले दे दिया है  
वो भी नहीं देते हो। तो यह तो अच्छी बात नहीं है। लेकिन तुम इस तरह से करते  
हो तो हमारा कपड़ा लेते थे वो भी नहीं लिया और परदेश से कपड़ा लाये लाखों  
करोड़ों रुपये का कपड़ा परदेश से लाके हमारा कपड़ा जाता है परदेश में और वहाँ से  
वो ही कपड़ा उनके वहाँ जाता है <sup>उसके</sup> <sup>उलटा</sup> <sup>उलटा</sup> करते हैं एक समय ऐसा था कि  
हम <sup>लेकर</sup> <sup>आगे</sup> <sup>बनवाते</sup> कपड़ा वाईकाट करते थे आज हमारा जो कपड़ा मील में बनता है  
वह लेके <sup>आगे</sup> जाता है कितना उलटा तरीका हो गया है। और वहाँ से फिर ठीक  
ठाक कर के पाकिस्तान में जाता है। तो इस तरह से दोनों मुल्कों का नुकसान  
होता है। तो हमने कोशिश की कि इस तरह से क्या फायदा और जिस बीच हैं दोनों  
को नुकसान होगा। लेकिन हमारा नुकसान बचाने का एक ही तरीका हो सकता है  
कि जितने हम करार करें एग्रीमेंट करें उसको ठीक तरह से उसका अमल हो उसके लिये  
हमको गारंटी चाहिये। न हो तो सबसे अच्छा रहता है कि हमारा मुल्क उनके पर  
निर्भर नहीं हमारे मुल्क में जितना जूट चाहिये उतना हमी पैदा करें। जितना कीटन

चाहिये रुई चाहिये उतना हमी पैदा करें और जितना अनाज चाहिये वह हम  
 पैदा करें। वह काम कठिन है क्योंकि आज तो हम अनाज बहुत बाहर से मंगवाते हैं  
 और उनके वहाँ काफी अनाज पड़ा है और मीका बाये तो सड़ भी जाये इतना पड़ा  
 है क्योंकि इससे जितनी जो अच्छी अच्छी जमीन थी जिसमें पानी का इन्तजाम था  
 हरिंगसन के इन्तजाम था ~~हम~~ यह सब उनके पास थी हमारे लोग तो सब ~~हम~~  
 दिये गये वह इधर आके पड़े हैं और इधर मारे मारे फिरते हैं। इसका बन्दोबस्त  
 करना उसका गुस्सा भी सहन करना उसका दुसमी देसना और वहाँ उसकी जो ज्यदा  
 जगह पड़ी है वह सच्चा सोना है जिसमें अनाज बहुत फलता था। रुई बहुत फलती  
 थी वह सब दबा के बैठे हैं। हम बार बार चिल्ला चिल्लाकर कहते हैं कि उसका  
 फैसला करो नहीं करते और बिद करते हैं। इस तरह से हमारा उनका फगडा  
 चलता है इससे दोनों मुल्क को नुकसान होता है तो उसका फैसला तो एक ही  
 तरह से हो सकता है कि हुले तीर साफ दिल्से जिस तरह से दो माई बैठ के  
 बात करें इस तरह से बातो हो सकता है नहीं तो हमें हमारा समझ लेना चाहिये  
 कि हमारा मुल्क उनके ऊपर निर्भर रहना तो गिर जायगा। गिरने नहीं देना  
 चाहिये तो एक खाली पाकिस्तान का मैं नहीं कहता ई कोई मुल्क के ऊपर हमें  
 निर्भर रहना नहीं चाहिये। हमारा मुल्क अपना एक अपनी जितनी चीज चाहिये  
 अपने मुल्क में पैदा करें वह पहला काम हमारा है और उसमें यह प्रदर्शनी का  
 काफी साथ होगा। उसमें देसने की चीज बहुत मिलेगी। उसमें काम सीसने का बहुत  
 मिलेगा। <sup>उपर</sup> ~~कोन~~ ~~कोन~~ ~~हमें~~ है वह भी देसनेका मिलेगा। इस सब चीज को देसना  
 जानना यह हमारा कर्तव्य है हमारी काशिश यह होनी चाहिये कि हम भी सुखी  
 और हमारा पढोसी भी सुखी हो। हमारी नीयत यह होनी न चाहिये कि  
 हमारे पढोसी को दुख हो लेकिन जब तक हमारा पढोसी का वताव इस प्रकार  
 का ना हो कि हमारे सुख में वो सुखी हो या हमारे दुख में वो राजी हो तो  
 हमें उनके साथ दूर से नमस्कार करते अपना इन्तजाम पूरा करना चाहिये। वो हमारा  
 काम है। इस लिये जब मैंने प्रदर्शनी सोलने की जब बात आई तो मैंने कबुल किया  
 इस मतलब से कि उसमें तो अब जो प्रतिज्ञा हमने की है कि हमें स्वराज को ठीक  
 करना है, मजबूत करना है तो पहला काम हमारा यह है कि बड़े बड़े शहरों  
 में देहातों में हर जगह पर ऐसे प्रदर्शन हों। कोन सी चीज जो हमारे मुल्क में  
 बनती है जो उसकी हमें जब जरूरत हो तो इसकी पसन्द करें कुछ ज्यादा दाम  
 पर देने पड़े तो उसकी ही पसन्द करें। कुछ सस्ते दाम पर बाहर का आया हो  
 तो उसकी ना पसन्द करें नहीं मई हमें यह जरूरत नहीं है। क्योंकि यदि एक  
 साल दो साल तीन साल चार पाँच साल की तकलीफ हम उठाते तो हमारा

मुल्क मजबूत बन जायेगा और फिर हमें कोई तरह का डर नहीं रहेगा । और अच्छी तरह से हमारा काम चलेगा । तो आजता हमारे मुल्क में एक प्रकार की शान्ति हो गई और इतना बड़ा मुल्क एक हो गया है जितना कभी एक नहीं था । तो बहुत बड़ी बात होगई है । हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में हिन्दुस्तान इतना बड़ा एकत्र एक मध्यस्थ सरकार के हुकूमत के नीचे कभी नहीं था जितना यह बन गया है । इसकी सहायता यह हमारा काम है । इसके लिये इसको मजबूत बनाने के लिये जितनी कोशिश करनी चाहिये वो सबको करनी चाहिये तो उसमें हम और आप मिलके कर सकते हैं ।

साली हम सरकार के ऊपर बैठके वो चीज नहीं हो सकती । उनके पास इतनी साधन नहीं है । इतनी सामग्री नहीं है । वो जखम से पड़ा हुआ मुल्क है । उसको उठाना हमें समझलेना चाहिये कि हर आदमी का कर्तव्य ये है । आज दो चार साल तक कि हमें उसमें जितना मजबूत बनाने में जितना साथ इन सब लोग हुकूमत को दे सकें वो अपनी हुकूमत है । हुकूमत को देना चाहिये और फगलों में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये और बाद विवाद में नहीं फँसना चाहिये । और इस प्रकार में जो रचनात्मक कार्य हैं ये प्रदक्षीन के जैसा उसी प्रकार का काम है और उसमें से जो जो सीखना मिले जिस जिस रस्ते पर जाने का रस्ता मिले वो सब चीज जो कि उसी प्रकार काम करना है यह मेरी प्रार्थना है । और मेरी उम्मीद भी है कि हम फिर यही निश्चय पर आये कि हमारे मुल्कको किसीन किसी प्रकार से मजबूत बनाना है । क्योंकि नाजुक समय पर हमारा मुल्क आज नाजुक समय पर आ गया । क्योंकि हमारा मुल्क जैसा ऐसा नहीं है कि दुनिया में चारों तरफ आग फैल रही है । आस पास हमारे मुल्क के आस पास जहाँ से हम आज तक अनाज लाते थे व्यापार करते थे वो सब मुल्क आज दुल में फँस हुए हैं । बहुत फगला है बहुत मारपीट लूना मदी ये सब चल रहे हैं । हमें हमारे मुल्क में इस चीज को बचालेना चाहिये । जब चारों तरफ आग फैल रही है बचाना आसान काम नहीं है । बड़ा विकट काम है । लेकिन काम करने में तो मजा तब आती है जब उसमें जब मुसीबत है वो मुसीबत में काम करना बहादुरों का काम है मर्दों का काम है कायरों का काम है जो मुसीबत से डरते हैं । लेकिन डरना नहीं चाहिये । और जो आस पास हो रहा है और मुल्कों में उससे बचने के लिये हमें एक ही कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि हमारा हिन्दुस्तान कि ये गांधीजी ने मार्ग बताया है इसी मार्ग पर चले और आज की जो परिस्थिति है उसमें हमें जो जो काम करना है उसमें गवर्नमेंट को साथ देना चाहिये । और यह प्रदक्षीन में जितनी जितनी जो चीजें हैं वो चीजों को देखकर हमें कुछ निश्चय करना चाहिये कि हमारे मुल्क में जो चीजें बनें उसी का हमें उपयोग करना चाहिये और जहाँ तक हो सके परदेशी चीजों को छोड़ देना चाहिये । आपसे प्रार्थना है कि आप लोग सब इसपर चलने की कोशिश करें ।

(93)

ચરની રોડ સ્ટેશન પાસેનાં બારીયામાં

બાળકોને માટેનાં પ્રવૃત્તિશીલ્પનાં પ્રયત્નો

પાસે ગાળવાનાં દરમિયાન પ્રસંગે - ૬/૪/૫૦

બાળકોનાં મોરચાનાં બારી,

બાળકો,

આજ બેંકે સાંજે મને હાથેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
પરંતુ બેંકે હાથેસે જોતા હોવા હમણે અલગ પ્રકારનો છે. ક્યારે  
ઉપરે જરૂરે બહાર બહાર પુછી છે.

જ્યાં જ્યાં બાળકોનાં હાથેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
તો બેંકે સાંજેસે સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
માન લિયા. મેં જાણતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
બહાર રહે છે. જ્યાં જ્યાં જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય

બાળકોનાં હાથેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય

બાળકોનાં હાથેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય

બાળકોનાં હાથેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
પરંતુ હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય

બાળકોનાં હાથેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય

બાળકોનાં હાથેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય  
હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સાંજેસે જોતા હોવા સામાન્ય

9.  $\sqrt{3} \sin 21^\circ$  ከ  $42^\circ$  ከተጠቀሰው ፊክሽን

$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$  and,  $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$

~~2000 12/20/2000~~

$\frac{d}{dt} \left( \frac{1}{r^2} \right) = -\frac{2}{r^3} \frac{dr}{dt}$

အဲဒါကတော့ နေရာအရပ်ရပ်မှာ  
 ရှိနေတဲ့ ပစ္စည်းတွေကို စုဆောင်းပြီး  
 တွက်ချက်တာပေါ့။ ဒါဟာ အခုလို  
 လုပ်လို့ရတာမဟုတ်ဘူး။ အဲဒါကို  
 မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်အတွင်းမှာ  
 လုပ်လို့ရတာမျိုးပါ။

आज की प्रतिक्रिया सुना मतलब यह है कि हमें यह है।

[illegible][illegible]

9. 3. 11 2020. 3. 11 2020

કોઈ ઈશિયન હોય. શરૂઆત નો નથી ખાતર  
દેવને કર્યો + બિયો અમલો જુદા જોઈ છે, ખાતર

7. ਸਮਾਂ 27 ਚੌਥਾ ਦਿਨ ਸ਼ਨੀਵਾਰ 21 ਨਵੰਬਰ 2018  
ਦੁਪਹਰੀ ਤੋਂ ਲੁਧਿਆਣੇ ਦੇ ਚੌਥੇ ਸੜਕ ਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ  
ਲਿਖਤ

24/10/2020 40,000 51. 11 2121 2020/21

ਮਿਸ. ਮਹਿਰ ~~ਮੁਹਿਰ~~ ਸਿਰ 51 ਚਮਕੀ 315 5291

(वि. वी. वी.)  
 हा लोकांसाठी आहे. जमनाला ३१ क. ७३१ मी. आहे.

मालविकाडी निरुपेक्ष लोकांसाठी आहे. लोकांसाठी आहे.

लोकांसाठी आहे. निरुपेक्ष लोकांसाठी आहे. लोकांसाठी आहे.

लोकांसाठी आहे. लोकांसाठी आहे. लोकांसाठी आहे.

लोकांसाठी आहे. लोकांसाठी आहे. लोकांसाठी आहे.

7  
41-50 59  
ITEM:

Script of the recorded speech  
of the Hon'ble SARDAR VALLABH BHAI PATEL  
delivered at Chaupatty, Bombay on the  
4th January 1950.



बहुत समय के बाद मैं आपके पास आया हूँ। मेरी  
स्वादिष्ट थी कि कोई ऐसा समय आना चाहिए जो हमारे  
सेवा में कि मैं आगे की सुझावों को करूँ। पिछली दौरे में हम  
महीना तक इधर रहा लेकिन किसी के बिना न सही। हमें  
मुझे कुछ भी था। जब भी मैं बन्द आता हूँ तब सबसे अधिक की  
मेरी स्वादिष्ट होती है। आज मेरी प्रकृति ऐसी नहीं है कि  
मैं सब लोगों को भला भला सुझाव दे सकूँ। इसीलिए  
मैंने आज लोगों को मिलने की हिम्मत की है इस जनसे में। बन्द  
महामोरे हिन्दुस्तान को हमें राष्ट्रीय प्रवृत्ति का अनुमान  
है और हमारा जो राष्ट्रीय प्रगति का राष्ट्रीय ऊर्जा है उसका  
भाषा निकालने का एक स्थान है। बन्द की प्रजा उपरानी  
है चलो है और अपना दिल जानती है। इसलिये बन्द  
में सब साथ मिल जाती है। जब बन्द विगड़ता है  
तो लोग हिन्दुस्थान विगड़ता है। बन्द नाराज है हिन्दुस्थान  
नाराज, बन्द कुलो को बन्द ही हिन्दुस्थान उसका मतलब यह नहीं कि देश में  
जो करोड़ों लोग पड़े हैं। वह उसके सुख दुख का अनु  
स्थान बन्द है। यह नहीं है। बन्द की राखनी  
जामोजलाही और बन्द का कावच उसका जो देश में  
रहने वाले करोड़ों लोग हैं उसका सुख दुख का भाषा  
नहीं होता तो भी काफी अन्धराज बन्द से मिल जाता है  
कि हिन्दुस्थान की ताड़ फैली है। इसलिये बन्द को हमें  
एक संरचना चाहिए लेकिन हिन्दुस्थान की ताकत और हमें

समझना चाहिये। मैं जानता हूँ कि आजकल बम्बई में जो उर्दूभाषी  
उर्दूभाषी या और जो स्वयं प्रकार का जोर या हमें कुछ ठंडाई काई है  
नामुझी हुई है। कुछ नाराजी है। इसका फल कुछ भी है।

लेकिन जो हिन्दुस्थान में आज की परिस्थिति है, उसका फल  
बम्बई पर भी है। इसी लीजिए ज्यादातर आजकल जो भलाई हुई  
होती है उसका दोष सरकार पर डालते हैं, उसका उन्हे अधिकार  
है, जो कुछ कुछ होता है उसमें सरकार की जिम्मेदार मानते हैं  
कहीं तक सही है इसकी बात है लेकिन आज मैंने देखा कि  
जो लोग किसी सरकार का न भला चाहते थे न सरकार का काजारी  
जंग में हाथ देते थे वो तो और जो हमारे सामने थे वरन् सब  
ज्यादातर सरकार की गुन्ता चर्चा करने में शरीक हो जाते  
हैं। स्वयं प्रकार का लोगो की रुढ़ आई है। जगह कि हर चीज  
में सरकार की रईस करे। ठीक बात है उसमें रुढ़ मरत है  
सरकार जगह पर सक्ती है लेकिन जब हर राज हम  
किसी बात चलाते रहते हैं - यह सरकार तो गलतियक्त है, हा  
नहीं है, काफी बुरा लगी है, रिश्ता होने वाले हैं और जो  
आलाबखार करने वाले चोर डाकू हैं उसको भी कुछ सजा नहीं  
दे सकते हैं, मुल्क का भला नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसी बात शी  
करोते हैं उन लोगों की समझना चाहिये कि यह सरकार कौन  
है? इसी सरकार हम क्यों रहते। और उसको निकालने  
का उपाय क्या है तब माफूम होगा हम सब उसकी जिम्मेदार हैं  
और हम सब का इसमें हिस्सा है। तो जो कुछ कुछ हमारे पास है

आ रहा है उसको हमें बाँट लेना चाहिये पड़ेगा। मैं नहीं चाहता कि  
 जो सरकार करता है वह सब सही बात है क्यों कि आज जो  
 राजतंत्र चलाने वाले हैं उसने अभी राजतंत्र चलाया नहीं  
 था - हाँ उसका साध जिंदगी था आज जो परदेशी सामन्तवर्ग  
 उसको हटाने में लिये, जेल में जाना, लड़ना और इस  
 प्रकार की बृद्धि चलाना कि जिन्हें कोई उम्मीद जिम्मेदारी  
 नहीं है। हिंदुत्ववाद आजाप हुआ और अन्य दिनों के बाद  
 रिपब्लिक होगी। अच्छा 3-21 साल काम किया उसमें भला  
 इस सरकार ने कुछ अच्छा काम किया है या नहीं - सभी कुछ ही काम किया है  
 तो यही रण्यार आपको हो तो आपको समझना चाहिये  
 सोचना चाहिये क्या इसका कोई दंड है जो उसे बर्त  
 बतावे जिससे आपको सुख हो। तो हमारे जैसे लोग  
 जिन्होंने अपने कामजोर हो गये उनके परसे बोझ उठ  
 जाय तो हम तो बहुत ही खुश होगे - यही लक्ष्य हो  
 रहेगे। लेकिन वह लोग तो जवाबदारी लेने में  
 लिये तैयार होना हो तो कोई माँग है कि यह  
 टंग है तो मैं कहता - इसे टंग से काम न लेना।  
 जवाबदारी लेनी हो तो जवाबदारी भी लिया मत  
 होनी चाहिये उसका संपादन करना पड़ेगा। कोई एक  
 दिन गुस्सा आनी करता रहता है हमारे भी वह कोई  
 काम नहीं उठा सकता। आज हमारे को आदत पड़ गई  
 है - सबको देना, इससे का क्या बन रहा है देना।  
 लेकिन आपकी क्या उम्मीदारी है वही देना नहीं जो  
 कुछ अच्छा हुआ हो - वो दूसरे ने किया हमने नहीं  
 किया भला इस तरह कोई काम हो सकता है। आपको  
 समझना चाहिये कि दुनियाँ प्रेरित है। कोई हमारा  
 मुल्क पर हमला करने खाली हो रहा नहीं। जो विदेशी  
 के बाद जो क्रांति हो रही है उसके असर से हम नहीं

वचन सच होते तो रुका जात आपकी जाननी है वह यह दिखने  
 हिन्दुस्तान आपका बनाया इतनी कठिनाई करके इतनी  
 दुबली करके तो हमारा काम खतम हो गया। हमें  
 हिन्दुस्तान को मजदूर बनाया है और सुली बनाया है। और हमें  
 भी हिन्दुस्तान को मजदूर और सुली बनाया है तो हमारा माग खत्म है, हमें लेना नहीं है  
 तो इससे न बिके हमें क्या करना चाहिये। व लोच तो कुछ  
 न होगी। यह जवाबदारी सरकार पर छोड़ दें तो उससे  
 काम न बनेगा। अब देखिये रुका इस समय तक आपने  
 सामने रखता है जिससे सरकार की कृपा बदनाम  
 हुई। रुका सवाल तो यह हुआ कि देवाली के आगे के  
 पर शांति नहीं मिली। बहुत और मजाने को-लेवें हैं।  
 सम्मति है कि रुका काम हुआ मुझे दुब है - लेकिन-इसका  
 बसूरत-और है। उसके लिये जब तक दूरी जांच नहीं तब तक  
 जिसने बसूरत किया वह भी रहेगा हमारा नहीं बॉरों का  
 बसूरत है। जो व्यापारी लोग भी आखाने वाले - सरकार की बसूरत  
 मजदूरों की बसूरत है, किसानों का बसूरत है, गन्तवाले-  
 का बसूरत है रुका बातें करेंगे।

सरकार कोही हम क्या करे, हमको तो कुछ सामान न था हम किस शक्ती से चलेते हैं वीचों  
 हमने पूरी कोशीश की - दूसरे का कपड़ है । जो शकर खानेवाले हैं उन्हें  
 हम बाँकर बिना खावे मगर तो हमें बाँकर ने कोई मालूम ही है । होर न आग दह पाता है यह  
 ऐसा नहीं है कि खाने पीने की तकलीफ है जो कोई दुनिया में पाया करते हैं । होर करने से हमें भी बहुत मुसीबत है । लेकिन वे बरदाश्त करते हैं तोर उसका आप नज़रअंदाज़ करते हैं । तो  
 उससे सरकार आपनी जिम्मेवारी ले नहीं बच सकते हैं । लेकिन भविष्यमें ऐसी चीज नहीं

तो उबल कर निकले

आँर - कपूर किसका है होता तब मालूम पड़ता । लेकिन सरकार क्या करे उसमें के चन्द  
 आदमियोंको फँके तो उसमें भी जोर मचता है कि इसको पकड़ा उसको पकड़ा - यह भी गलतियें  
 हैं वह भी जालती है तो जौनी - वह उपाय जो कुछ करना है हम करेंगे । लेकिन वह छोटी

बात भी उसने बड़ी बात बनाई लेकिन किसी आदत पड़ गई है मुसीबत उठाना हमारा काम  
 नहीं है । उनसे होता है इतनी मुसीबत नहीं पड सकती - तो मेरी सलाह है कि छोटी बातोंको  
 इतनी बड़ी बनाकर शोर मचाना इससे हमारा काम नहीं होता है । होर यदि सरकारको हटाना  
 हो तो बड़ी बात नहीं आसान चीज है । उसके लिये हमारी तैयारी होनी चाहिये, नसीब लिये

असका लन्देबस्त करना चाहिये कि वह चीज ऐसी बनती रहेगी जिससे हमें ताल गलतियों  
 होती रहेगी । दोनोंके साथ मिलकर काम करना चाहिये । आज हमारे मुँहमें जो जीजी की बड़ी  
 कमी है जिनकी की जरूरियात है फ़कत अनाज ही है दुश्मनी को मालूम पड गया है  
 कि हम कौनों का सामान बाहरसे मंगाना पड़ता है । लेकिन उसका उपाय क्या है । जबतक

हमारे मुँहमें ज्यादा अनाज पैदा न करे जबतक ऐसा होता रहेगा - हा आदमी बड़े तो उसके लिये  
 सरकार जिम्मेवार है । होर करते हैं अब दुश्मन हमें काम बड़ी लोग । इन्हें अनाजकी कमी नहीं  
 जितनी लोग मँगते हैं मान बराबर कहा कि यदि लोग सच्चे हों तो थोड़ीसी कमर कसनेसे  
 हमारा काम हो जायगा । लेकिन हमारे दो प्रकारके आदमी हैं सरकारन विश्वास मिश्रा

कि अनाजसे भाव इतना होता चाहिये होर बीच बीचसे किसानोंको सरकारन विश्वास मिश्रा  
 कि अनाजसे भाव इतना होता चाहिये होर बीच बीचसे किसानोंको सरकारन विश्वास मिश्रा  
 भी चाहिये । तो दूसरा दल निकलता है कि सरकारका अनाज का भाव मुक़रर करने का क्या  
 अधिकार है । कौनों कि उन्हें कोई जिम्मेवारी है - कोई कहता है सरकारको मत दो तो इससे

क्या होगा । तो आज किसानों से क्या अन्याय होता है कि हमें दसनी चाँदने और एकपाक  
 चाहिये । और फिर आज कुछ श्रिगा तो गुण गिर जओगे और सात दिवद्वान गिरा तो  
 सत्ते कोई नहीं बच सफलता तो जनी दुश्मनी करने के लिए और कुछ आकर कुछ तो यह

नहीं करना चाहिये जो स्वदेश प्राणी लोग हैं । उनका काम यह नहीं है तो अनाजकी  
 जो होती है उससे विप्रे नरोंडों लुब्धे का अनाज बाहर ले जाना पड़ता है ।  
 उससे किसे करघार है बैकाल बिधा में वह लुब्धे अपने काँवर हो जाय इसके

विप्रे कोशिश करना चाहिये ब्रेकिंग यह खकी सरकार से नहीं बेचना । जबकि  
 लोगों का साथ व जिसे तकलब । अब शरीर कपूर - कम भी चाहिये  
 तो कपड़े के बिप्रे जिल्मी किसी है । यह गिरनी चाहे और बाहर फुड़ाना

बड़े, कम चकता रहे जिनका कपूर निश्चयना चाहिये अनाज  
 निश्चय

इसके लिये खुद चाहिये हमारे मुल्क में इसकी रई बगती नहीं और उसके लिये बंधार से बुलाना पड़े उसका भी इन्तिजाम करना चाहिये और मजदूरों को समझाना चाहिये कि तुम तुम्हारा काम जितना कर रहे हो उसने लिये पूरी कौशिल्य करे। हमारी कौशिल्य करते हैं। आज हमारा राज है उसो दायदा करना और भाइयों को भी समझाना चाहिये कि भई बहुत दिन पहले नामा फिना प्रमिष्योमी सी अपने मोमर मिलेगा लेकिन जब तक कीफ है। भाषा की बात छोड़ मुल्क को उसने दे हम देखाने।

मे यह नहीं कहता कि सब लोग हमारी बात मानेंगे लेकिन हम ऐसा काम उल्लेख आगे हमें पैदा करेंगे।

पद लोग न मान सकते हैं बल्कि लोग मान सकते हैं इसमें मुझे शक नहीं। लेकिन हमारी जवाबदारी छोड़कर दूसरे पर डाकते हैं तो दूसरे को दूसरे ही काम नहीं ले सकता। हमने तो निश्चय किया कि हमारा कर्तव्य वह है कि ज्वादा में ज्यादा धन पैदा करें, आज ही कपड़ा ही नहीं ले, लेखते हैं।

जिसे जिसे भी पक्षरियात है ज्यादा है ज्यादा हो दूसरे लिये कौशिल्य करना हमारा धर्म है कर्तव्य है और समझाना चाहिये पीछे जब आपसमें दायदा करना ही तो जब मुल्क मजबूत हो जायगा तब दायदा करेंगे। की कहते हैं कि हमारा तो हमारा डिपॉजिटरी का बू वेबवम होनी चाहिये न जितना हमारे पास धन है सब को सरीस बाँट देना चाहिये। अभी तक तो किसी मुल्क में नहीं हुआ है लेकिन जर्मनी आजादी का जन्म १ साल २ साल हुआ। हाँ हमारा स्वयं यह है तो भीक रहे।

लेकिन आज यह कहा धन जितना उतना बाँट दो तो मुल्क भिखारियों का होगा। उसमें कोई धनवान नहीं रहेगा ठीक है लेकिन सबको साथ करना है। यह निश्चित किया है तो ठीक है। लेकिन क्या हमारा धर्म यह है? क्या हमारी आजादी का मतलब यह है? तो हमें बीचका रास्ता निकालना चाहिये - कोई लोग कहते हैं कि नहीं हमारे जो उद्योग हैं उसको सरकारको हाथ में लेना चाहिये हाँ प्रकृतिकर्ता आप देखते हैं कि सरकार ने चीनी के मामले में क्या किया? और जितनी उद्योग हैं हमें लेकर इसी तरह इस करना है। सरकार का क्या मतलब है। यदि सरकार के पास इतने साधन नहीं कि हमें जो व्यवस्था ठीक हो सके - उसके उपर ज्यादा जोड़ा डालना कि जो कुछ हमारा है वह भी बिगाड़ जाय तो क्या फायदा है यदि आज मुल्क में जितने उद्योग हैं उतने उद्योग कोई भी सरकार हो कि जितना चाहता है उसी ही चाहने को कोई रोनी किसी गवर्नमेंट हो तो मैं यह दायदा रखता हूँ कि हाँ देखो लेकिन जो है वह भी बिगाड़ दे फ्री स्थिति हमारी हो और उसमें कोई नई बात नहीं है। सारी दुनिया में है ना। कि कोई मुल्क सरकार ऐसा नहीं हुआ है जो ज्यादा पाव तो फाँड़ रहे। किसी भी सरकार पीछे उसमें से क्या उसके पीछे मुझे से कुछ नई बात निकालेंगे जैसे कि हमारे सामान्य सारी भाई कहते हैं। दरब-पुके हाथ कलकत्ता में राज राज कोई ट्रामपर बस फैकले, गोरपर मकानपर बेकरी में। यह-पुके हाथ पैसा कर दिया है जिसमें कुछ पैसा मिले कुछ Black मिले लेकिन मुल्क में जब इतना तो जब बाहर सरकार पर और परदेसी लोग हमारे अहवाल का बयान भेजें तो वह कहें कि यह ऐसा मुल्क है। कलकत्ता हिन्दुस्तान का एक बड़ा शहर है जिसमें उद्योगों केन्द्र स्थान है। उसमें भाषा भी मतलब यह कि धन्य है हर राज उसका मतलब क्या उसमें क्या मिलेगा और मुल्क को क्या-क्या सामन होता है कोई नहीं सीधता।

अब हर जगह पर संसाधनों का अभाव है और जिन लोगों का धर्म है  
 उल्टा तो मैं कुछ कह नहीं सकता। उनको कहने से फायदा ही  
 क्या - नहीं कि उन लोगों ने मान लिया कि इस तरह काम  
 चलेगा लेकिन आप लोगों को सामान्य धर्म के  
 इस शरीर पर जो मुल्त जायेगा तो वह भी आपकी धर्म  
 नहीं है उससे कोई फायदा नहीं। इससे कुछ लोग कहते हैं  
 कि इस सरकार ने हमने कोई विरोध करने वाले नहीं  
 हैं। अमेरिका में, पेरिस में, अटलीस में, अटलीस में  
 उल्टा भी विरोध करने वाले नहीं हैं तो क्या हम  
 यदि विरोध करने से कम है - और मुल्तों में जहाँ  
 लोकवादी है इस प्रकार का विरोध अच्छा बनाने में  
 सरकार को भी इज्जत मिलेगी यदि बने। लेकिन हररोज  
 एक जुलूस निभाओ और सेक्टरियर पर जल का बर्तन  
 भरवाने के सामने जलसा करो। यह तो परदेशी सरकार  
 को तंग करने की बात थी तब तक था। लेकिन आज  
 उल्टे नया हो गया और उल्टे हमने क्या करना चाहिए  
 जानता हो क्या करना चाहिए। हमें इस प्रकार तब तक  
 नहीं रहना चाहिए। हमें हिन्दुस्तान में जितने लोग हैं  
 उन्हें अपनी जवाबदारी समझाना चाहिए कि हमारी  
 नया अनुसूचित रिपब्लिक का बनाना है उल्टे  
 Adult Panthayat में जितने बड़े उमर के लोग हैं, मत मिलता है। मतलब  
 यह कि उनका अपनी जवाबदारी का बकाया करना चाहिए।



तो आपको जब तक सब कुछ अगम्य बोझ उठाने में बच नहीं हो पायेगा तब तक मुसीबत है। आज सरकारें भी ज्यादा में ज्यादा मुसीबत है। कांग्रेस भी लोग कहते हैं। कांग्रेस मित्रता। और हमने सब दफे निष्ठावर्तक देव भी किया है उसमें बहुत बदनामी हुई। बहुत लोगों को मुश्किलें आईं क्यों कि बहुत लोग जंग लड़कर फायदा उठाये। आज कांग्रेस हराने को सरकार राजी हो जायगी क्यों, आखिर जो रोजगार-पकानें नाके पड़े वरतन चला सके। तो धीरे-धीरे और धीरे चलेगा भी नहीं क्यों कि सरकार का काम आपा-करने का नहीं। जो सरकारें सरकारें आपा-करेगी वह भीख मांगेगी। यह काम सरकार से नहीं होगा। आपकी दुर्निमित्त जसतब ही है कि जिसमें हमारी स्वतंत्रता मिले आपका मिले अर्थ मुसीबत, नमोस्कार के साथ कठनाइयों को काटें हैं उसको बांटने को जोरिदा आपको करनी चाहिये - उसमें यह चीज काटें हैं और यह चीज जो आपका मिले उसमें साथ रहे कासा मिले। यह कांग्रेस को मगर नहीं रखा है। यह कठनाइयों आपा-करे कासा काटें हैं उसे हराना है। हराने में आपको साथ देना होगा। बिना सहमत किसी का पैसा ले लेना धीरे लगता है लेकिन यदि मुल्क का हित उससे बिगड़ता है तो हमें उसे रोकना चाहिये। हम जान ज्यादा पैदा करें उससे बाद वह सब हो सकती है। हमारे उपर इससे सबसे ज्यादा मुसीबत यह है कि हमारा जो हिन्दू का बजर है उसका यदि आप में तो माहुर पड़ेगा कि मुल्क का क्या हाल है। हमें धनिकों के उपर जितना कर का बोझ डालना चाहिये उससे भी ज्यादा डाढ़ा है लेकिन जो पैसा आता है उसमें से दो हिस्सा हिन्दु धर्म के बचाव के लिये लक्ष्य रखना पड़ता है। कोई कहता है - बहुत से लोग कहते हैं शान्त खर्च करके का खर्च छोड़ो। लक्ष्य का खर्च कम करो। लेकिन हमारी मर्यादा है - हम उससे आगे नहीं जा सकते क्यों कि मुल्क का दो टुकड़ा हुआ है। हमारा जलम अभी भी नहीं है। हमारे साथ हमारे पड़ोसी का साथ हमारी मुहब्बत नहीं। हमें उम्मीद थी कि जो हम दो टुकड़ा



जैसे तो मैंने ही ठीक मुहब्बत से होना और वह अपना घर  
चलाएंगे हम अपना। उनका भला तो हमारा भी भला तो  
वह अच्छा तक हुआ नहीं। और जब तक हमारे पड़ोसी  
के साथ हमारा संबंध ठीक नहीं हुआ तो तब तक हमारा  
घर हमारा सम्मान हमें नौकरी करनी चाहिये कि कोई खतरा  
नहीं वह न करें तो हमें हर जाना चाहिये तब इस प्रकार  
की हमारी तैयारी नहीं तो मुनाह ~~कह सकते हैं कि हमारे~~  
यह सारी सुखी वस्तु हमारी ही नहीं उनकी भी हैं, वह  
भी जानता है। दो-हिस्सा श्री बचत से अन्तर्भी तो अपनी रकम निकलवा  
सकते हैं। इससे ज्यादा कम नहीं। अतएव

जो बात करते हैं कि लाख किलोपर हम अच्छी लगाया।  
और इसा कलकत्ता में रुक जाऊँगा हुआ तो लोगों ने  
सलाह किया कि जो हिन्दुस्थान का दो कुछड़ा हुआ है  
उसे हम रुक कर देंगे - <sup>ही सावने</sup> बाद जरा हिम्मत न कर लेते  
हैं। लेकिन यह जो हिम्मत किया है वह हमारे काम में  
सकावर डालने के लिये इससे सेना ~~आरम्भ नहीं हो~~  
सकता। यदि होता है तो उसे उनका सुपुर् कर देने को  
पुनः करो और उससे फायदा होता। जब हमने दो कुछड़ा  
किया मंजूर - तब लोग भी नहीं करते थे यह कुछड़ा न करी। लकने  
भरा दो कुछड़ा होता आया है। आज ~~महज~~ दोनों को मिलाने की  
कोशिश की जायगी तो तोना ~~है~~ करते गे वही ठीक बात हमेशा  
नहीं करना चाहिये। तो फिर लोगों ने ठाकरी है यह बात, इसका  
मताजिजा तो रुक हुआ कि गाँधी जी का दशन हुआ। 136 में  
कई ऐसे कादमी मिलने मिलने लया है। फिर काभी उल्ले  
शरते पर चल रहे हैं इस शरते पर जाने में देश का उद्धार  
तो है ही, उन लोगों का भी मुद्दा है तो मैं इन लोगों को  
चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि बाल लोगों का काम है हमारा तो  
पा जाने का। इसका परिणाम क्या है होगा वहाँ आमतौर  
उद्घम को भी का देते हैं कहने का हिस्सा इनकी नियत  
सुखी है। हमारी नियत बिल्कुल सुखी नहीं हमने चाहते हैं कि

पाकिस्तान न फाँवें पाके, मजबूत हो, लेकिन हमने दूसर भेजने  
 बगने वाला नहीं। जैसा आप जानते हैं कि सारा पूर उन्नति, लोहा  
 वहाँ पड़ी है। Pakistan में, उनका सारा पूर का इतराणा  
 नालता में। अब दुश्मन को दिया लेकिन सरलाना इतराणा  
 पूर उन्नति है। वह किसान जो पूर सिवा इतरा उन्नति पैदा  
 नहीं कर सकते। अब पूर का इस तरह लाना उसका गिरनी  
 में पैदा करना बाहर भेजना नहीं ता दोनों की भाविनि  
 सम्पत्ति जाती है दूर गई। उसको भी मुश्किल है ऊपर हमको  
 भी मुश्किल होगा। अब यह जो development हुआ उसका  
 गतिजा यह हुआ कि उन्नति मान लिया इनका समय का  
 अभित १५५) टिडुम्पान से १५५) एकदो यह भी ली है और  
 फैलता इस प्रकार दिया कि सब मुल्क के लोहा नरत, कल  
 रहे। लेकिन है १५५) का पूर नया मुल्क का राग १५५) है -  
 सही उन्नति करे, तो हम से से बेवकूफ नहीं हैं। तो हमने  
 तय किया कि वह यदि जाकर पड़ेगी तो गिरनी वंद दुर्ग  
 लेकिन मुम्हारे वास्तव हम - गली होगा - लेकिन हम  
 वंद करने का समय नहीं आयेगा सही काम करेंगे।  
 हमारे मुल्क में पूर इतना पैदा हो सकता है कि हम  
 गिरनी के वास्तव पैदा कर सकते हैं। लेकिन हमारे लोहा  
 क्या होती है हम लड़ना नहीं चाहते। मुल्क में काम  
 करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इस प्रकार उन्नति हमारी से शिफारि  
 से काम करना होता है इसमें हमारे मुश्किल हो जाएगा।  
 सबने कहा अब हमारे मुल्क का हमारे बराबर करना  
 चाहिये, जो जितनी चीज पावती है वह चीज हमारे  
 मुल्क में पैदा करना चाहिये तो करने लगे यह पैदा  
 तो वहाँ से जो उनके की फायदेमंद मिनिस्टर हैं उन्नति  
 कहा कि मैं देखो न करते हैं। आपने मुल्क में पैदा  
 करेंगे - देखो उनकी नियत। तो हमारी नियत सही होनी  
 चाहिये कि उनके पैदा की पड़ते दूर - यह तो मुश्किल  
 है, ऐसी उन्नति रहे तो - यह गलत है - ही मुल्क में  
 मित्राचार से काम हो सकता है। इसने लिये बहुत अधिक  
 भी लेकिन जितनी भी थी उसकी निष्पत्ति जाती है - और  
 उसका काम होता है सब हमें सही चीज करनी पड़ती है। तब हमने  
 मित्राचार लिये कि हमारा जितना पूर रोक लिया है और

और इसका डिब्बे लुप्तकरण के पटले जितना दाम देना था वैधिया तोमर  
 शेक लिया तो हमने निश्चय किया कि इस तरह तो काम नहीं हो  
 सकता है। अब उनको हम खोलना देते हैं वर वंद भरो - वर वंद  
 किया। पर खोलना ही नहीं हम बहुत सी बातें हैं जो जरूरत  
 हैं वहां नहीं भरना होता जो आप भरो वर हम भरो। तो वर कथ्य  
 नहीं तो आज जो हमारा ७ प्रिंम मिनिस्टर पुकार पुकार कर रहा  
 है कि भई जोमर मगड़ा हो हमारा आपस में फैलवा जाने में  
 लिये लवाद को सिपुदी भरो। हम तैयार हैं। तो भरो को भरो को  
 माल सिंधियों के पास ठेक ठेक के मित्रों दिया वर हमारे बंधे  
 हैं उसका फैसला करना नहीं है। जब तक इस नियत रहेगी  
 सब सब कोई दोस्ती नहीं हो सकती। तो हमारी मित्रियत  
 इधर उनका इधर उलथा मगड़ा है तो इधरा फैलवा लवाद से  
 होना चाहिये। करना ही तो हम तैयार हैं। ऐसे जितने हमारे प्रगत  
 हैं वर इस प्रकार के पेटे हैं कि मित्रता मगड़े का फैलवा  
 आपस में बंधे तो आते रिवाज से हो यदि ऐसा नहीं तो  
 उनका भी किस्मत हमारा भी किस्मत। लेकिन हम वहां तक  
 आने का लक्ष्य आपस नहीं दोगें। वही सब आपसों की  
 ओर ही मुलाबत आवे तो उसकी प्रवेगी। वर उठाने में लिये  
 नैमा रहता चाहिये। हम यदि उसी बातें करें लेकिन हमें लक्ष्य  
 तो करना नहीं है, धर्म है। हम किसी बंधन लड़ाई में करना  
 नहीं चाहते न दुनिया में किसी का मुल्क दबाने की काज तक  
 नहीं करना कि हिन्दुस्थान में। अभी भविष्य में भी करने का  
 अपना आप करते वगैर शक रहने की प्रेरित होना  
 उसमें संभव नही है। बाजार करना होता आपस में  
 मित्रता। जिसका करार हो सचिमेन हो उसका चलने की  
 तैयारी होनी चाहिये सब तो उसका अंत हो सकता है उनमें  
 हमारी वही तैयारी होगी लेकिन जब तक यह नहीं सब  
 पर यह काम करना होगा। तो मैंने कहा हमारे मुल्क  
 में जितनी मुलाबत आज है उसमें बड़ा हिस्सा यह कि  
 हम दोनों में मुदबबत नहीं है। खाली मुदबबत ही नहीं  
 लेकिन इतने कारण जहाँ दुश्मन हैं जिसकी वजह से खराबपन  
 रहता है वर्ण रहता है। वर्ण में यदि कभी मगड़ा हो तो उनमें

से हमें हमारी रक्षा करने की पूरी सैक्यारी हमें चाहिए। उसकी बिना  
सब चीजें भ्रम की जड़ें हैं - अब कई लोग कहते हैं कि गांधी ने जेठा  
पर चलो तो हिंसा है जो गंदगी में भ्रम की बसा है बिना सबकी  
रखती है, जो लड़कर रखती है वह लड़कर ना जितना समान  
चाहिये वह बनाना चाहिये। हिन्दु समाज में इसके बिना  
भारत बनाना चाहिये और हमारा भरोसा भाज जो उसकी  
उपद्रो बढाना है। अब नये नये भारत बनाने को चाहिये। कई लोग  
कहते हैं कि हमारे युद्ध को उद्योग में भ्रम डालो, हमारा युद्ध  
तो कृषि प्रधान है, देहात में लोग जाते हैं। हिंसा है यह सब  
सही है। हम गांधी जी की सच्ची स्मृति उभार रहे हैं - हमारी  
इसे जागृत करनी है। हम इस नये युद्ध को सिद्धि देते हैं - हमारी  
सब कृतम भरे दया को है। इनने श्रेष्ठ था नहीं बनाने। देहात  
भरती भ्रम भरते रहे, देहात में जो पैदा हो जाये। हम  
भी चाहते हैं कि भारत जो हिन्दु समाज था जो गांधी जी  
की जीवन में फैसला करें। वह जीवन पैदा करें। भी चाहते  
हैं कि हर गांव स्वायत्त हो, अपने गांव में फैसला करें,  
हर चीज पैदा करें। लेकिन हम देखते हैं गांव में से भागना  
बम्बई में बलभत्ता में दिल्ली में कितने जाते हैं।

तो देहात को हीन करने में तो कुछ सक्त होगी ही लेकिन वह कारखाना  
 बंद करने से क्या होगा? नया कारखाना नहीं करना तो यह जो  
 कश्कर रखारहें, उससे छिने रहता देहात में तो नहीं होगा।  
 उससे छिने वेड्रोम चाहिये तो देहात में प्रियोगी इसके छिने  
 (मान) चाहिये, ~~मान~~ चाहिये, कपडा चाहिये, जोर चाहिये, मरी  
 चाहिये यह सब चीज चाहिये। कश्कर का इंतजाम हम  
 देहात में नहीं कर सकते। इससे छिने कारखाना चाहिये  
 कोह चाहिये। हम कारखाना जमशेदपुर का है उससे काम  
 चलता नहीं - बाहर से कोह लगाना पड़ता है। बहुत काम  
 देना पड़ता है। तो उससे छिने मेलना चाहिये कि हम क्या  
 करें? कोई इंतजाम हमारे पास है नहीं - तो हमें कारखाने  
 भी चाहिये और गाँव भी सुखी हो देहात भी सुखी हो तो  
 हम दोनों का मिश्रण करना पड़ेगा। तो हमें कारखाना चाहिये  
 पर यह कारखाना बोन चकमेणा - यह जगजगत् में  
 चला सके तो हीन। न बना सके तो जिसमें उद्योग कर सके  
 है जिसको अनुभव है जो चला सकते हैं उनकी मदद हमें  
 करना पड़ेगा। उसका भी साथ चाहिये। जबसतत उससे साथ  
 सते ही रहें तो उसमें कोई ब्रह्म होगा नहीं। उसमें सब हों  
 ओ कारखाने के मालिकों का मिश्रण चाहिये। यही सच है  
 तो ऐसे कारखाना चलेगा नहीं।

कोई करते हैं बाहर से धन लाओ, बाहर वाले कहते हैं जो  
 हमारे मुल्क में बाहर से धन लाओ तो वह देखेंगे कि कायदा  
 कितना है और वह अपनी २ शर्त लगायेंगे। यह भी मुसीबत है।  
 इस मुसीबत में जो काम करना है उसे छोटीर मुसीबतों  
 से बचना नहीं चाहिये। मैं यह सुन करता हूँ कि बंगाल  
 में जितने कांग्रेस के साथ हैं वैसे ही वही भी वही २ उनका हक  
 भी बना गया जो प्रदर्शन में लोग हैं उनका व्यापार भी  
 हर जगह ज्यों कि हर एक प्रकार का क्रोध आया तो नम  
 लोग खड़े होगे। उसमें और जो शकल करने वाले हैं थोड़े  
 से बदनाम भी होगे। अगले नौबर-तम-मुमकिन सब  
 बनार-है। कई गांधी भी हैं वही। वह बैकफ्री मी बात  
 है। उससे काम लें नहीं। यदि काम लें करना है तो जल्दी  
 में जल्दी कदम खत्म हो जिसमें हमारा काम चले। तो कदम  
 खत्म होता है तो हमारे काम में प्रगति हो। थोड़ा कदम  
 हटाया कि नफा करने को वह भी जल्दी २ पहुँच गया।  
 तो आज तो हो रहा है हमारे मुल्क में कैप्टनी, बदनामी  
 भगडा वह तो काली का एक नतीजा है, इसका एक  
 मुल्क मुल्क को आजादी मिली है मुल्कमी का असर-प्रभाव  
 नहीं, नतीजा बिगड़ा है तो इन्होंने कहा कि संकट समझा है अच्छा,  
 बहुत लोग कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस में बड़ा सुखोरी होती है।  
 उसका उपाय यों नहीं करते? क्या उसका उपाय नैफा  
 ही बोझी है? सही है? उसका उपाय जो मायदा काइन से  
 पड़ा जाय उसकी सजा हो इसका क्या है? लोबन

असके किम भी दो, आप कहें शान्त जाहिये। उस

आज बहुत से लोग कहते हैं कि भल-  
 पुलिस काम नहीं करती? पुलिस बेकारी, क्या करे? यह  
 पुलिस किसकी है? बाहर से आई है? किसी बरेली का  
 दुश्मन आती है? आज पुलिस हमारी है। इसकी इज्जत हम  
 नहीं बढ़ाएंगे तो कौन बढ़ाएगा? उसको उद्धार मिले सिला  
 काम भरे हम न करें, उसकी इज्जत न करें तो बिगड़ती रहेगी  
 जैसे हम निंदा करते रहेंगे - यह खराब है, वह खराब है।  
 इसका मतलब सारी *Law* खराब है। तो पुलिसों में क्या  
 होगा? आकर इज्जत क्या होगी? यह तो हम *Picture* है  
 निम्न है, हमारे मुल्क का उसमें से कि दृष्टा है। लेकिन  
 कुछ काम भी किमा है हमें। उससे भरे *Ministry* के  
 बाहर जाय तो लोग कहेंगे बहुत काम किमा इन लोगों ने  
 दो साक में। हम यह नहीं उलझें रहते थे कि हिंदुस्तान इस  
 तरह से काम कर रहेगा। दूर जाओगे लेकिन इन लोगों ने  
 इतना संगठन कर लिया और शांति पैदा कर की जिसकी  
 उम्मीद न थी। हम तो जानते थे कि नकले बाकी नीज नहीं  
 है। लेकिन नयी ओर इस तरह बली कि हिंदुस्तान की  
 इज्जत बाहर बढ़ गई। इज्जत से पैदा नहीं भरता मैं जानता  
 हूं लेकिन इज्जत भी तो कोई नीज है। बाहर पुलिसों में  
 हमारी बरत हुई ठीक है। लेकिन हमारी बरत हमारे घर-  
 में नहीं है, इसका उपाय करना चाहिये। तो करना हो  
 तो सबको साथ लेना होगा। तो मैं आप लोगों से कह रहा  
 हूं बड़े घेरे से, अंदर से, धार्मिक से, धार्मिक से आप के  
 पास साधन हैं। एक दूसरे की निंदा करने से हमारी बासी

इज्जत जाफ़ीन हमरा काम नहीं होगा। मुह खोल करो हम इधर 73  
में घूम करोगे और गलब रास्ता छोड़ दो। लडाई के जगहों  
में जितना कामयाब उठना का उठा लिया। और सस्ता धन  
पैदा करने का रस्ता खिंचने लगा। अभी आज यह समय था  
तब कि हर किसी को फसीना बहता है अपना। मेहनत करनी है।  
और मिलनत करने सब से हिंदुस्तान को बिक कर देना  
बहुत अच्छा। भाविक बहुत ही अच्छा है मोड़ बाक नहीं।  
हमें दोनो साक सभा लगी है। और दोनों सभा सभा कर  
अजिब बच्चा खड़ा कर रहे तो वह खड़ा चलना तब तो  
हमारा बिक जाएगा। हम हमारी इज्जत को हर तो कभी ही है।  
हम यह नहीं कहना चाहते कि हम लोगों ने कुछ किया है।  
बड़े लोग जानते हैं। ऐसा नहीं कि कुछ भी नहीं किया  
है। और जो कुछ उससे फायदा हुआ है, इज्जत बढ़ी है  
और बेजो हमने भी तैयार की। हिंदुस्तान को उकता  
होने लगे भी आज जितना हिंदुस्तान सब हुआ है  
इतना कभी नहीं हुआ था। और हिंदुस्तान का इतिहास  
देखें तो पुराने इतिहास में हिंदुस्तान इतना समझ नहीं  
का जितना आज हुआ है। इतनी भी हमने तैयार की है।  
कुछ में शक्ति भी है। आज हमारा काम आपस में न कोम का  
है न और। अब हमें कुछ को बिक करना है जो हर  
आदमी को अपना कर्तव्य पावन करना चाहिये। और समझना  
चाहिये कि हमारा कर्तव्य है। यह न समझें तो हमारा काम  
नहीं चलता तो मैं तो जल्दी आज का बड़ा पैसा  
हूं लेकिन मैंने जितना किसानों का काम किया है उतना  
मिर्सी ने नहीं किया। हमने उनकी काफ़ी सेवा की है। मैं उनको



कि समझ पर होने की अपील करता हूँ कि मैं धर्म नहीं चुनता  
 हूँ, मैं तो कि मेरी सेहत अच्छी होनी, अगर भी ठीक होती तो  
 हिन्दुस्तान को दिखता देखेन आज तो मैं अपील कर सकता  
 हूँ हर किसी से कि हमें नहीं कहना चाहिये कि हमें  
 इतना पैसा मिले तभी अनाज देंगे, तभी हथ अनाज  
 पैदा करेंगे। यह समझ आया, लेकिन अभी तो समझ पड़े  
 कि जो कुछ मिले, लेकिन जो हमारे क्लोसे आई कहना  
 पड़े है जिसको खाने को अनाज नहीं जिसको खाने के  
 पड़े है बाहर से मंगाना पड़ता है। इसका बोझ  
 हमारे ऊपर है अगर पड़ने वाला है। हिन्दुस्तान जिरा तो  
 सब गिरे, लेकिन हम गिरने नहीं देना चाहते। तो हमारा  
 मेकका धर्म है कि जमीन अनाज पैदा करो और हमसे  
 कम खर्च करो। और कोई अनाज का कुसमान हो के  
 कर बाध जाये इस छद्म से कोई चीज मत करो। जमीन  
 अनाज पैदा करो। जितना चाहिये उतना रुई छूट पैदा  
 करो। उसके धुल्ल को पग भर खड़ा रहने को जितनी भी हो  
 मदद करो। मजदूर भाइयों को भी हम कभी अदक से कहते  
 हैं कि यह दिल कल कनोई दी है। एक दल, इतरा दल,  
 साध कर, साम्यवाद, समाजवाद, मिथ्यावाद - सब की  
 है। लेकिन सब सभ दया निकलते हैं तभी हम। जब  
 धुल्ल में कुछ पैदा करेंगे तब तो बाँटेंगे लेकिन पैदा न किना  
 तो १ जल हम हठी हैं तुम्हें पर कुछ पड़ते हैं और  
 सब इससे मो कहते हैं। उससे कोई कायदा नहीं और -

अच्छ की इज्जत मिल जायगी। तो ज़्यादे में ज़्यादे,  
(Maximum Production करो) लो

मांगो, खुशी से मांगो लेकिन हमारा सांकेतिक

है रिमोजन दोस्त है ऐसा समझें। सांकेतिक सांकेतिक और

असल से ज्यादा धन पैदा करो। कोई कहते हैं कि

दुनियावादी को पैसा नहीं कहते? मैं उससे कहता हूँ कि आज

नफा पैदा करने की जरूरत छोड़ दो। आज दुनिया इज्जत

पैदा करने का समय है। बहुत बड़े काम, बड़े काम, बड़े काम

सपेरा बाजार, बहुत तरह से लोगों ने जातिगत हैं, यह

सब थक जाय। हर तरह से निश्चय करो कि सारे दो

माल-माल सात, हाँ मैं नहीं कहता कि मुसलमान के

काम करो, लेकिन भ्रष्टाचार उठाने की बातें छोड़ दो। फिर

नफा करने पहले दुल्हा को मजबूत बनाने का काम

करो। तो कई लोग कहते हैं कि प्रत्यक्ष काम को बहुत

दुख आया। सही बात है लेकिन मध्यम वर्ग की व्याख्या

करते हैं कि जिसको डालना जिसको नहीं डालना मुश्किल

हो जाता है। सब उससे कुछ जाते हैं तो दुख उनको भी

है आज हिन्दुस्तान में सब वर्ग को दुख है। लोग मानते

हैं कि धनी वर्ग को सुख है और सब दुखी हैं। मैं यह नहीं

मानता कि जिसमें खाने को ज्यादा हो इज्जत नहीं हो

कोई सुख नहीं। मैं कि खाकी पैट भरे में तो कोई सुख

नहीं होता है। वह तो तनाव भी आता है।

766  
आजकल तो धर्म का जो ग्राही है हमारा

वर्तक हो गया है। किसी को leader बनना हो तो यही  
से शुरू करे। नहीं तो काम नहीं चलता। उसे न धर्म का  
फायदा न ग्राही देने का कोई को ही। तो हमारा काम तो यह है कि  
सब को समझाया है, सब को साथ देना है। अब कहते हैं कि  
दुनिया में दो बड़े दर हैं और दो बड़े। एक सामंजस्य  
दुनिया के बहुत बड़े दर से है। इसे  
वे Capitalist को कहते हैं। तीस है राजों का रिश्ता है हम  
वहाँ बँट रहे हैं। न हम सामंजस्य में हैं न इंजीनियरिंग  
है। इंजीनियरिंग मतलब है कुरा हो लेकिन आज दुनिया में सबसे  
बड़ा मुद्दा धर्म का, धर्म, मजहब और धर्म का अंतर्गत  
है। है कि नहीं? धर्म है तो जो इंजीनियरिंग है जितना बड़ा  
होता दुनिया में नहीं। लोग सुनते हैं बड़ा। जो बड़ा  
वे मजहब को मिला है वह कहीं वे मजहब को नहीं  
मिला। है मजहब हमारे इंजीनियरिंग वह हमारे जो धर्म का बोध  
है उनके मुताबिक में तो कुछ हिस्से बनें नहीं। तो इस अंगरे  
में से निकलके हमारा काम तो यह है कि इन सबको  
साथ में रखकर रहता मिला बना है और कौन सब, गांधी  
सब जब तक कि कल न आजाय तब तक उसका काम  
करना है।

और उसने लिये हम नहीं काम करेंगे तो आज तो हम जहाँ नह  
 सकते रहे लेकिन श्रमिध में अभी सोचा है तो मेरा आप  
 लोगों से स्वीकृति प्राप्ति है कि जोड़ा दुख आया है आपको  
 उसको हम जानते हैं नहीं जानते यह नहीं हम उसकी  
 कदर करने हैं कि आप लोगों ने दुख सहन किया है  
 जोड़ा रखा है तो करलो, लेकिन सेना नहीं। कारण वही  
 कारणता वह आपकी दो बेजान बना देती है। ऐसा  
 क्या ऐसा तो सैन्ट्रो साल की गुलामी बरदास्त किने  
 आज्ञा दुख तो इतना जोड़ा सा बंधू है जोड़ा समय  
 बरदास्त करने तो सब ठीक हो जायगा। लेकिन  
 इस कार्य में साथ चाहिये अगर आप साथ हैं तो  
 मेरा विश्वास है कि हम इस मुल्क को रूँकी जाह  
 पर रख सकते हैं कि जिसमें दुनिया में हर जगह  
 पर उसकी कदर हो दुनिया की शांति फैलाने में  
 जोर दिखाने हो जाय और गाँधी जी ने जो उम्मीद  
 रखी थी उसी रस्ते पर हमारा काम हो। लेकिन पहले या  
 हमारा ठीक नहीं करेंगे तो न तो गाँधी का हीरस्ता  
 होगा न हमारा हीरस्ता होगा दुनिया का रस्ता होगा  
 और फिर बेजान मुल्क पड़ेगा। जब तक कोई आक्रमण नहीं  
 करता तब तक ठीक है यदि कोई आक्रमण करने वाला  
 आया तो फिर गुलाम-रूँहा नहीं होना चाहिये कि  
 आज की जो प्रजा है उसके उपर दूसरी जिम्मेदारी है - कि  
 श्रमिध की प्रजा को लिये आज जो दुख पड़े तो उसे बरदास्त करने  
 हों श्रमिध की प्रजा को दुख का हमें ज्ञात सालना है न बिनाभी  
 हैं। उसके लिये हम तैयार हों। अब जो दुख मैंने बात की उसके  
 उपर आप सोचें और विचार करें। और बाद में समझने आज्ञा  
 दिल में उतर जाय तो मैंने तो जितना हो सके सारा कर लिया पिछली  
 में बहुत किया, करने को बहुत बाकी भी है उम्मीद भी है -  
 जोड़े दिन रहे उसमें जो दुख करना हो कर ले। लेकिन पता चल  
 तो वोका आज्ञा उपर ही पड़ेगा तो मुझे उम्मीद है कि मैंने जो  
 बात कही है उसे दिल में रखना उसके उपर आप सोचेंगे। इतना  
 यह कर मैं

HM's speech at police parade

on 19th March 1950

चीफ कमिश्नर साहब, इन्स्पेक्टर जनरल पुलिस, और पुलिस आफीसर और पुलिस मेन/अच्छी सुन्दर परेड के लिये मैं आपका धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ और जिन आफीसरों का मेहिल दिया गया अपनी अच्छी काम धिरी के लिये उनको भी धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। जो महाराजा साहबने एक नमूना दिया है जिससे उनको और जिनका यह मिला उन सबको मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। पिछले साल जब आप लोगों की परेड हुई, उसके बाद बहुत से व्यापार हुए हैं, दुनियां में मैं और मुक्त में भी। आज हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में इस साल भारत को नया विधान अमल में आगया है, और हम स्वतंत्र भारत की पुलिस आज बनी है। पिछले तीन साल मैं आपके पर बहुत बोझ पड़ा और जो हमारी पुलिस फाई टूट गई थी उसको फिर ठीक करने में काफी मेहनत करनी पड़ी। लेकिन अब हमारी ताकत और सैगठन ठीक हागया है, उसके लिये मैं आप सबको मुबारिक बाद देना चाहता हूँ। हास करके हमारे इन्स्पेक्टर जनरल पुलिस, जिस ने यह सैगठन बनाने में काफी मेहनत की है उनको हास मुबारिक बाद देना चाहता हूँ। दिल्ली शहर का काम पुलिस के लिये कई कारणां से बहुत कठिन बन गया है। लेकिन जिस तरहसे इन मुसीबतों में आप लोगों ने काम किया उसके लिये भी मैं आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। गवर्नमेंट की या शहरियों की इज्जत बहुत करके उनकी पुलिस पर रहती है। आपका काम कठिन है, आपकी जबाब दारी बहुत भारी है ऐसा ही यह आपका काम इज्जत से मरा हुआ है। लाखों लोगों की इज्जत की रखा करना, जान माल की रखा करना, वो बड़ा भारी इज्जत का काम है, जितना वो जबाब दारी का। हमसे पुलिस से गुनाह करने वाले लोग डरे, लाखों डरे, इतने से हमारा काम नहीं होता/धाक से काम कई हद तक चल सकता है। बन्दूक से डटे से कई हद तक काम ले सकते हैं, लेकिन पुलिस का असल काम तब अच्छा होता है जब जनता का प्रेम हम संपादन करें और जितना ज्यादा प्रेम लोग हमारे साथ रखें, उतना ज्यादा काम हमारा सरल होगा। उसके लिये पहले तो मैं आपका अभील धन्यवाद कि कितना भी गुस्से का कारण हो, प्रोक्शन हो और मिजाज विगाडने का कारण भी हो तो भी मिजाज ठंडा रखना चाहिये। यह पुलिस का प्रथम कर्तव्य है/जो पुलिस अपना मिजाज बिकर गुमा देता है वह पुलिस की जगह से हट जाता है। अपना मिजाज शांत रखना चाहिये। अपनी जबाब बहुत मीठी रखनी चाहिये और कमसे कम पहला काम हमारा यह होना चाहिये कि जो गुनाह में फँसा है और जिसने अपना मिजाज गुमा दिया है उनको पागल मानके या तो दर्दी मानके उसी तरह से बर्ताव करना चाहिये जिस तरह से डाक्टर अपने दर्दी के साथ करता है। तब और उसी तरह

## सम्पादन जेरेजे

से काम लेने से हम जनता का प्रेम ज्यादा ~~से ज्यादा~~ <sup>अधिक</sup> ~~प्राप्त करते~~ । छोटे में छोटे  
 बच्चे से लेकर बड़े तक <sup>अधिक</sup> कोई भी हा सबके साथ अदब से, लेकिन इतनी मजबूती  
 से अपना काम करना चाहिये और उसमें जितनी आपकी सफलता मिलेगी  
 इतनी हमारी सरकार की और उनकी इज्जत को और हमारे लोक की इज्जत  
 को भी वृद्धि होगी । मैं इस लिये आपकी एक और बात कहूंगा कि हमने जो  
 वारसा मिला है पिछला वो एक तरह से हमारे लिये हमारे काम में रुकावट  
 डालने वाला है । पुलिस की इज्जत, जिस हालत में पुलिस काम करती थी उस  
 हालत में बहुत बुरी थी । उसके कुछ भी कारण <sup>जितनी</sup> ~~हैं~~ पुलिस का और जनता का  
~~कुछ भी सम्पर्क नहीं था~~, और परदेशी हुकूमत को हुकूम उठाना पड़ता था ।  
 आज अपनी सरकार का हुकूम उठाना है । उसमें बहुत बुरी से काम करने की  
 गुंजाइश है । और उसके साथ साथ पुलिस के पर एक प्रकार का धक्का चलता आया  
 है, कि पुलिस में और सर्विस में भी है ~~हैं~~ <sup>हैं</sup> लोग समझते हैं कि स्वच्छता से  
 काम नहीं करते हैं, कई लोग पैसा खाजाते हैं । उसमें उसी इज्जत में से जो बुरी  
~~रेजिस्ट्रेशन~~ ~~रेजिस्ट्रेशन~~ हमका मिली है उसमें से हटना उसके लिये हमें ज्यादा सावधान रहना है ।  
 उसमें खास करके पुलिस को पूरा हिस्सा देना है <sup>कि</sup> ~~कि~~ कितनी भी मुसीबत हो  
 लेकिन जो अधर्म का काम है वो काम कभी नहीं करना है । और जितना पैसा  
 नुा पैसा हमका मिले वो हमको हजम हीगा । बुदा, ईश्वर उससे राजी हीगा ।  
 लोग हमारे पर प्रेम करेंगे । और फिर उसमें से जो कुछ आप चाहते हैं आपको  
 मिलेगा । ईश्वर की मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप लोग, जिसकी आप सर्विस  
 करते हैं, उसका और सारी जनता का प्रेम सम्पादन करके आपकी और उनकी  
 इज्जत में वृद्धि करें । दिल्ली, ये राजधानी है उसकी पुलिस की काम गिरा  
<sup>सबसे</sup> अच्छी होनी चाहिये । उनकी इज्जत सबसे बड़ी होनी चाहिये <sup>है</sup> ~~है~~ इसी लिये  
 हम सबको इस समय पर याद रखना चाहिये कि हमसे कोई भी काम ऐसा न  
 हो जिससे हमारी इज्जत पर धक्का लगे । मैं फिर से एक बार आपको  
 सबका मुबारक देना चाहता हूँ और <sup>फिर</sup> आपकी आपके काम में फल हो, ~~है~~  
 और फिर ~~बिना~~ आगे एक साल के बाद हम मिलें उस समय पर हमारी आज  
 से भी ज्यादा प्रगति हुई हो और हमारा संगठन और ज्यादा ~~वृद्धि~~ <sup>वृद्धि</sup> ~~और~~ <sup>और</sup> ~~ज्यादा~~  
 शक्ति शाली हुआ हो । और लोगों का प्रेम ज्यादा सम्पादन किया हो ।  
 इतना मैं कहके बन्द <sup>करता</sup> ~~है~~ <sup>है</sup> हूँ ।



**PRESS INFORMATION BUREAU**  
**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

**SARDAR PATEL WARNS OF CRITICAL DAYS AHEAD**  
**NEED TO KEEP UP VIGILANCE**  
**ADDRESS TO POLICE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE**

New Delhi, January 12, 1950.

Inaugurating the three day Conference of the Police Chiefs of the country in New Delhi today, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel warned the Police Services of critical days ahead and of the danger of relaxing their efforts to keep the country safe from threats to internal security.

He pointed out that the countries adjoining India had an object lesson. Although the authorities in India had localised subversive activities, they must allow for 'the cleverness, tactical manoeuvrability and secretive methods adopted by the opponents'.

Sardar Patel stressed that a democratic Government cannot function on the basis of a Police State but on the consent and cooperation of the public at large. The Police had therefore to rely on the goodwill of the people and secure their active cooperation.

"We must educate," Sardar Patel said, "public opinion in both the nature and the extent of the danger that faces it and bring home to it the fact that those who pretend to be their friends and well-wishers are merely exploiters and parasites who feed on the discontent of others in order to suit their own purpose - a purpose which has no root in the soil of this country but the roots of which spread out for sustenance into foreign countries and whose tactics and methods are of a foreign pattern."

Earlier, Sardar Patel was received by Mr. T.G. Sanjevi, Director, Intelligence Bureau and introduced to the Police chiefs from Provinces and States Unions attending the Conference. Mr. H.V.R. Iengar, Secretary, Home Ministry was also present.

• Here is the full text of Sardar Patel's inaugural address:

... "Mr. Sanjevi



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"Mr. Sanjevi and Friends:

"I am very glad to meet the heads of Provincial and States Police in this Conference. This is the first Conference of this kind under the National Government and, while I have no doubt that all of you would be making valuable contribution to the discussions on the various items of the agenda, I hope you will also enjoy this brief change from the Provincial atmosphere. Conferences of this kind, while providing opportunities for valuable personal contacts between Central and Provincial officers, also afford facilities for useful exchange of information and comparison of notes on important topics of administration and promote, I hope, a healthy and refreshing feeling that one's world does not consist in merely one's own Province, but that there are wider aspects of administrative policy which must govern our views and attitude in the larger interests of the country as a whole.

"You would not, naturally, expect me to go into details on the many subjects which have been put some on the agenda. The agenda indicates a catholicity as well as a complexity of subjects on which you have been called upon to express your views and make recommendations to Government. From the sublime subject of change in the warrant of precedence, you will descend to that of improvement of procedure to allow direct correspondence with Pakistan in routine matters. In between, you will have topics of such absorbing interest as arms and explosives, appropriate armament for the Police, education of the public in civic responsibility and cooperation with the Police, training of Police officers and matters connected with civil and military intelligence. In these few brief minutes, I propose, however, to take your minds somewhat away from the agenda and to focus your attention on some of the broad problems of law and order which seem to me worthy of your notice.

#### CHANGED ATMOSPHERE

A change from being the instruments of policy of a foreign Government to being an executive arm of your own Government must, no doubt, have been a difficult problem for the officers and members of

...the Police.



the Police. Nobody, however, knows better than myself with what readiness, willingness and adaptability officers and members of the Police Force have adjusted themselves to this change. The change has had to be not only in regard to the nature of the duties performed but also in the manner and conditions thereof. Psychologically, it requires a completely different approach to the general public and the problems with which the Police are faced in the day-to-day discharge of their duties.

"I shall not weary you with commonplace advice about being servants of friends of the people, I shall only ask you to impress upon your men that their own Government demands of them honest and efficient service. Apart from the fact that pleasure of service is its own reward, I have no doubt whatsoever - and I am sure you have had sufficient proof of it in your own experience - that real service rendered to your Government or the people does not go unrequited. Public appreciation of the worth of the police must be a matter of gradual growth, particularly in the background of the atmosphere and conditions in which they had to work in the past. You should not, therefore, be impatient of criticism or dejected at any signs of what you might consider a lack of appreciation. I have no doubt myself that, given efficient, honest and impartial service by the police, they will find their way more and more into the people's heart and the general public will soon come to regard the police as a national asset.

#### DEMOCRACY NOT A POLICE STATE

We have all to realise, Ministers of Government, no less than the lowest official in administrative hierarchy, that a democratic Government cannot function on the basis of a police State. It can only function on the willing consent and cooperation of the people

...at large

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at large. In no other sphere is the cooperation of the general public more needed than in the field-work of the police, whether it is in connection with prevention and detection of crime, or while dealing with unruly mobs or recalcitrant assemblies of men. People in India do not take long to give confidence. You should not, therefore, take long to win it and having won it, I am sure you will retain it.

#### DIFFICULT CONDITIONS

"I also realise under what difficult conditions, and under what prolonged strain the police forces, with attenuated strength of officers and insufficiently trained men, have functioned during the last three years. Their ordeal started a year before the dawn of Independence because, with the functioning of popular Governments, during the nine months before the period of transition, the police had an unenviable role of serving two masters. On the one side, they had to deal with the departing authority; on the other, they had to function under a National Government. Naturally, the entrenched forces of the departing authority did not, in many cases, take their departure with a good grace.

"After the 15th August 1947, parts of India were involved in conditions of instability and insecurity which they had not known for decades. The communal situation gave rise to serious anxiety and apprehensions. It was in this situation that we were called upon, with the forces under our command, to maintain peace and security in this sub-continent, which were essential to the consolidation of our freedom and the progress of our country. The devotion and zeal of the police forces in all ranks have brought the country safely through one crisis after another and for all these, Governments, both Central and Provincial, are deeply grateful to them.

#### CRITICAL TIMES AHEAD

"At the same time, it would be quite wrong to take a complacent view of things and submit ourselves to an attitude that, if we have survived critical times before, we would do so again without any effort on our part. Critical days are still ahead

.....of us.

of us. Subversive movements are making their appearance here and there. People have unfortunately relapsed again into an attitude of indifference to, and forgetfulness of, the dangers that they have survived and are less mindful about those that may yet befall them. You cannot, however, afford to relax vigilance or necessary preparatory measures to keep the country safe from threats to internal security and it is, for this reason, that I wish to emphasize that the call on the ability, integrity and resourcefulness of the police cannot be expected to slacken at least in the near future. I am sure I can rely upon you all to infuse into the men under your command that spirit of eternal vigilance which is the hall-mark of a good police officer.

"I shall now say a word about the subversive organisations with which you have to deal during the course of your duties. History records many instances in which a resolute, unprincipled small section of the people has, by coercive and terroristic methods succeeded in so overcoming the general law-abiding spirit of the population as to substitute the rule of law by the rule of their unlawful tactics. History also teaches us the lesson that whatever success has attended such tactics is due entirely to a weakened and demoralised public conscience and ineffective and inefficient suborned counteraction. We have to make sure that we do not fall into such errors and that we deal with such subversive tactics with greater resoluteness, determination and planned measures.

#### SUBVERSIVE FORCES

"Countries adjoining or not far from India have an object lesson for us. Starting from small beginnings, these subversive agitators have burrowed big holes into the social and administrative structures, and have now constituted themselves in some <sup>as</sup> established authorities, and in others <sup>as</sup> a substantial threat to security. In India, fortunately, in spite of the legacy of the war in which there was a purely strategic alliance between the Government, reported to be established by law, and the subversive association known as the Communist Party,

.....we have

we have, by our vigilance and the effective counter-measures taken from time to time, succeeded in strictly localising these activities. At the same time, we must allow for the cleverness, tactical manoeuvrability and secretive methods adopted by the opponents. We must adopt our methods to the changing circumstances and features of the situation. We must review the extent of the action taken, the success or failure achieved, the reasons for lack of greater success and the changes that would be necessary for ensuring final and complete annihilation of those subversive forces.

#### NEED TO ROUSE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE

"Success in this enterprise can obviously be secured only by rousing public conscience to the dangers which threaten its existence, by securing their cooperation and by maintaining the efficiency, morale and intelligence of the Police. Discontent in the Police and discontent among the general population both can mean serious impediments to the success of our efforts and I should like you to concentrate on removing any focus of discontent that might come to your notice in your forces and also devise measures to ensure that, in so far as the Police is concerned, it not only retains the goodwill of the general public, but also secures its active co-operation.

"In the latter sphere, the contribution of the Police must be much more active and resort should not be had to propaganda alone. We must educate public opinion in both the nature and the extent of the danger that faces it and bring home to it the fact that those who pretend to be their friends and well-wishers are merely exploiters and parasites who feed on the discontent of others in order to suit their own purpose - a purpose which has no root in the soil of this country but the roots of which spread out for sustenance into foreign countries and whose tactics and methods are of a foreign pattern.

.....A matter

## IMPROVED EQUIPMENT

" A matter to which the Government of India attaches great importance is the modernisation of the equipment of the Police. In this respect, I am glad to say that, as a result of the action which I initiated more than two years ago, the Police Forces today are not only ~~in~~ increased strength, but have generally improved outfit in arms, communications and equipment. I can assure you that the question of suitably provisioning the Police in arms and armunitions will constantly engage my personal attention and any recommendations that you might make on this subject will claim my close scrutiny and early effective action. I fully realise that in this matter you have to outpace those forces with which you have to contend. Many of them have now secured arms which compare favourably with the normal equipment of your forces and a challenge with such men is usually a struggle on equal terms. Still, I find from the recommendations for gallantry which I have been receiving that our Policemen have braved many an encounter and have generally been successful. Nevertheless, in order to hit back, we have to hit harder and, in order to hit harder, we must have superiority in arms and effectiveness.

## POLICE SELF-SUFFICIENCY

"I have already referred above to the impossibility of democratic Governments functioning purely as Police States. It is even more necessary for such Governments to avoid, in the day-to-day administration of law and order, resort to military forces. It is from this point of view and also in full knowledge of the commitments of our army that I cautioned Provincial Governments in 1947 about the need for self-sufficiency of their Police forces. I am glad to say that Provincial Governments have generally been very quick in achieving this self-sufficiency and the occasions for calling the military in aid of the civil power have been few and far between. I hope that when you return ....to your

to your respective Provinces you will keep up this standard and see that, as far as possible, you deal with any organised threats to security entirely with your own resources.

#### HOW INTEGRATION HELPS

"The measure of integration which our country has achieved in recent months has, I am sure, considerably lightened your task in dealing with inter-provincial or inter-State crime. Boundaries and barriers have now broken down and the police forces of the whole of India will very soon achieve a measure of integrated harmony which they have never experienced before. It will now be comparatively easy for the forces of one Province or State to pursue criminals into another and to bring them to book with, I hope, a greater measure of cooperation and coordination between each other. The recent experience I personally have had of dealing with similar situation on the borders of Rajasthan, PEPSU Union and East Punjab has convinced me that under the new dispensation, which is only a fortnight ahead, the police forces of India will attain a mobility and ease and smoothness of operations which would stand them in good stead.

#### REORGANISATIONS AND TRAINING

"You will naturally not expect me to say much about our Intelligence system or the need for strengthening it. This has attracted my attention almost from the very time that I assumed office as Home Member of the pre-Independence Government. I realise how difficult it has been to organise our system of Intelligence and how the legacies of the past -- prejudices against one community or another and against certain types of individuals or others and the monopoly of Europeans in this branch of the Police service -- have retarded our progress. I feel; however, that we are slowly but surely....:

surely making a headway and with the re-organisation, which we have under consideration, and the schemes of training we have already undertaken, we should make more rapid progress in future.

"I am sure all of you have come to know the recent orders which Government have passed in regard to the badges of different ranks of the Police. I know how rightly sensitive Police officers are in this matter and I should like to say how richly they deserve the changes which we have made. I am quite convinced that whatever merit there was in the previous ranking of these badges is now out of date and the new instructions which we have issued constitute not only a recognition of the extent to which the Police forces have increased in their numbers and importance but also symbolise the appreciation of the hard and solid work which these forces have put during the last two critical years."

— Friends, I shall now leave you to your deliberations in which I wish you all success."

The conference is proceeding with Mr. T.G. Sanjevi, Director, Intelligence Bureau, in the chair,

VK/HSE/DS

"600--12.1.50."



**PRESS INFORMATION BUREAU**  
**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

(2)

**SARDAR PATEL WARNS OF CRITICAL DAYS AHEAD  
NEED TO KEEP UP VIGILANCE  
ADDRESS TO POLICE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE**

— New Delhi, January 12, 1950.

Inaugurating the three day Conference of the Police Chiefs of the country in New Delhi today, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel warned Police Services of critical days ahead and of the danger of relaxing their efforts to keep the country safe from threats to internal security.

He pointed out that the countries adjoining India had an object lesson. Although the authorities in India had localised subversive activities, they must allow for 'the cleverness, tactical manoeuvrability and secretive methods adopted by the opponents'.

Sardar Patel stressed that a democratic Government cannot function on the basis of a Police State but on the consent and cooperation of the public at large. The Police had therefore to rely on the goodwill of the people and secure their active cooperation.

"We must educate," Sardar Patel said, "public opinion in both the nature and the extent of the danger that faces it and bring home to it the fact that those who pretend to be their friends and well-wishers are merely exploiters and parasites who feed on the discontent of others in order to suit their own purpose - a purpose which has no root in the soil of this country but the roots of which spread out for sustenance into foreign countries and whose tactics and methods are of a foreign pattern."

Earlier, Sardar Patel was received by Mr. T.G. Sanjevi, Director, Intelligence Bureau and introduced to the Police chiefs from Provinces and States Unions attending the Conference. Mr. H.V.R. Iengar, Secretary, Home Ministry was also present.

Here is the full text of Sardar Patel's inaugural address:

... "Mr. Sanjevi



"I am very glad to meet the heads of Provincial and States Policy in this Conference. This is the first Conference of this kind under the National Government and, while I have no doubt that all of you would be making valuable contribution to the discussions on the various items of the agenda, I hope you will also enjoy this brief change from the Provincial atmosphere. Conferences of this kind, while providing opportunities for valuable personal contacts between Central and Provincial officers, also afford facilities for useful exchange of information and comparison of notes on important topics of administration and promote, I hope, a healthy and refreshing feeling that one's world does not consist in merely one's own Province, but that there are wider aspects of administrative policy which must govern our views and attitude in the larger interests of the country as a whole.

"You would not, naturally, expect me to go into details on the many subjects which have been put some on the agenda. The agenda indicates a catholicity as well as a complexity of subjects on which you have been called upon to express your views and make recommendations to Government. From the sublime subject of change in the warrant of precedence, you will descend to that of improvement of procedure to allow direct correspondence with Pakistan in routine matters. In between, you will have topics of such absorbing interest as arms and explosives, appropriate armament for the Police, education of the public in civic responsibility and cooperation with the Police, training of Police officers and matters connected with civil and military intelligence. In these few brief minutes, I propose, however, to take your minds somewhat away from the agenda and to focus your attention on some of the broad problems of law and order which seem to me worthy of your notice.

A change from being the instruments of policy of a foreign Government to being an executive arm of your own Government must, no doubt, have been a difficult problem for the officers and members of

...the Police.

the Police. Nobody, however, knows better than myself with what readiness, willingness and adaptability officers and members of the Police Force have adjusted themselves to this change. The change has had to be not only in regard to the nature of the duties performed but also in the manner and conditions thereof. Psychologically, it requires a completely different approach to the general public and the problems with which the Police are faced in the day-to-day discharge of their duties.

"I shall not weary you with commonplace advice about being servants of friends of the people, I shall only ask you to impress upon your men that their own Government demands of them honest and efficient service. Apart from the fact that pleasure of service is its own reward, I have no doubt whatsoever - and I am sure you have had sufficient proof of it in your own experience - that real service rendered to your Government or the people does not go unrequited. Public appreciation of the worth of the police must be a matter of gradual growth, particularly in the background of the atmosphere and conditions in which they had to work in the past. You should not, therefore, be impatient of criticism or dejected at any signs of what you might consider a lack of appreciation. I have no doubt myself that, given efficient, honest and impartial service by the police, they will find their way more and more into the people's heart and the general public will soon come to regard the police as a national asset.

#### DEMOCRACY NOT A POLICE STATE

We have all to realise, Ministers of Government, no less than the lowest official in administrative hierarchy, that a democratic Government cannot function on the basis of a police State. It can only function on the willing consent and cooperation of the people

...at large

at large. In no other sphere is the cooperation of the general public more needed than in the field-work of the police, whether it is in connection with prevention and detection of crime, or while dealing with unruly mobs or recalcitrant assemblies of men. People in India do not take long to give confidence. You should not, therefore, take long to win it and having won it, I am sure you will retain it.

#### DIFFICULT CONDITIONS

"I also realise under what difficult conditions and under what prolonged strain the police forces, with attenuated strength of officers and insufficiently trained men, have functioned during the last three years. Their ordeal started a year before the dawn of Independence because, with the functioning of popular Governments, during the nine months before the period of transition, the police had unenviable role of serving two masters. On the one side, they had to deal with the departing authority; on the other, they had to function under a National Government. Naturally, the entrenched forces of the departing authority did not, in many cases, take their departure with a good grace.

"After the 15th August 1947, parts of India were involved in conditions of instability and insecurity which they had not known for decades. The communal situation gave rise to serious anxiety and apprehensions. It was in this situation that we were called upon, with the forces under our command, to maintain peace and security in this sub-continent, which were essential to the consolidation of our freedom and the progress of our country. The devotion and zeal of the police forces in all ranks have brought the country safely through one crisis after another and for all these, Governments, both Central and Provincial, are deeply grateful to them.

#### CRITICAL TIMES AHEAD

"At the same time, it would be quite wrong to take a complacent view of things and submit ourselves to an attitude that, if we have survived critical times before, we would do so again without any effort on our part. Critical days are still ahead

.....of us.

of us. Subversive movements are making their appearance here and there. People have unfortunately relapsed again into an attitude of indifference to, and forgetfulness of, the dangers that they have survived and are less mindful about those that may yet befall them. You cannot, however, afford to relax vigilance or necessary preparatory measures to keep the country safe from threats to internal security and it is, for this reason, that I wish to emphasize that the call on the ability, integrity and resourcefulness of the police cannot be expected to slacken at least in the near future. I am sure I can rely upon you all to infuse into the men under your command that spirit of eternal vigilance which is the hall-mark of a good police officer.

"I shall now say a word about the subversive organisations with which you have to deal during the course of your duties. History records many instances in which a resolute, unprincipled small section of the people has, by coercive and terroristic methods succeeded in so overcoming the general law-abiding spirit of the population as to substitute the rule of law by the rule of their unlawful tactics. History also teaches us the lesson that whatever success has attended such tactics is due entirely to a weakened and demoralised public conscience and ineffective and inefficient suborned counteraction. We have to make sure that we do not fall into such errors and that we deal with such subversive tactics with greater resoluteness, determination and planned measures.

#### SUBVERSIVE FORCES

"Countries adjoining or not far from India have an object lesson for us. Starting from small beginnings, these subversive agitators have burrowed big holes into the social and administrative structures, and have now constituted themselves in some <sup>as</sup> established authorities, and in others <sup>as</sup> a substantial threat to security. In India, fortunately, in spite of the legacy of the war in which there was a purely strategic alliance between the Government, reported to be established by law, and the subversive association known as the Communist Party,

....we have

we have, by our vigilance and the effective counter-measures taken from time to time, succeeded in strictly localising these activities. At the same time, we must allow for the cleverness, tactical manoeuvrability and secretive methods adopted by the opponents. We must adopt our methods to the changing circumstances and features of the situation. We must review the extent of the action taken, the success or failure achieved, the reasons for lack of greater success and the changes that would be necessary for ensuring final and complete annihilation of those subversive forces.

#### NEED TO ROUSE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE

"Success in this enterprise can obviously be secured only by rousing public conscience to the dangers which threaten its existence, by securing their cooperation and by maintaining the efficiency, morale and intelligence of the Police. Discontent in the Police and discontent among the general population both can mean serious impediments to the success of our efforts and I should like you to concentrate on removing any focus of discontent that might come to your notice in your forces and also devise measures to ensure that, in so far as the Police is concerned, it not only retains the good-will of the general public, but also secures its active co-operation.

"In the latter sphere, the contribution of the Police must be much more active and resort should not be had to propaganda alone. We must educate public opinion in both the nature and the extent of the danger that faces it and bring home to it the fact that those who pretend to be their friends and well-wishers are merely exploiters and parasites who feed on the discontent of others in order to suit their own purpose - a purpose which has no root in the soil of this country but the roots of which spread out for sustenance into foreign countries and whose tactics and methods are of a foreign pattern.

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## IMPROVED EQUIPMENT

" A matter to which the Government of India attaches great importance is the modernisation of the equipment of the Police. In this respect, I am glad to say that, as a result of the action which I initiated more than two years ago, the Police Forces today are not only in increased strength, but have generally improved outfit in arms, communications and equipment. I can assure you that the question of suitably provisioning the Police in arms and ammunitions will constantly engage my personal attention and any recommendations that you might make on this subject will claim my close scrutiny and early effective action. I fully realise that in this matter you have to outpace those forces with which you have to contend. Many of them have now secured arms which compare favourably with the normal equipment of your forces and a challenge with such men is usually a struggle on equal terms. Still I find from the recommendations for gallantry which I have been receiving that our Policemen have braved many an encounter and have generally been successful. Nevertheless, in order to hit back, we have to hit harder and, in order to hit harder, we must have superiority in arms and effectiveness.

## POLICE SELF-SUFFICIENCY

"I have already referred above to the impossibility of democratic Governments functioning purely as Police States. It is even more necessary for such Governments to avoid, in the day-to-day administration of law and order, resort to military forces. It is from this point of view and also in full knowledge of the commitments of our army that I cautioned Provincial Governments in 1947 about the need for self-sufficiency of their Police forces. I am glad to say that Provincial Governments have generally been very quick in achieving this self-sufficiency and the occasions for calling the military in aid of the civil power have been few and far between. I hope that when you return ....to your

to your respective Provinces you will keep up this standard and see that, as far as possible, you deal with any organised threats to security entirely with your own resources.

#### HOW INTEGRATION HELPS

"The measure of integration which our country has achieved in recent months has, I am sure, considerably lightened your task in dealing with inter-provincial or inter-State crime. Boundaries and barriers have now broken down and the police forces of the whole of India will very soon achieve a measure of integrated harmony which they have never experienced before. It will now be comparatively easy for the forces of one Province or State to pursue criminals into another and to bring them to book with, I hope, a greater measure of cooperation and coordination between each other. The recent experience I personally have had of dealing with similar situation on the borders of Rajasthan, PEPSU Union and East Punjab has convinced me that under the new dispensation, which is only a fortnight ahead, the police forces of India will attain a mobility and ease and smoothness of operations which would stand them in good stead.

#### REORGANISATIONS AND TRAINING

"You will naturally not expect me to say much about our Intelligence system or the need for strengthening it. This has attracted my attention almost from the very time that I assumed office as some Member of the pre-Independence Government. I realise how difficult it has been to organise our system of Intelligence and how the legacies of the past -- prejudices against one community or another and against certain types of individuals or others and the monopoly of Europeans in this branch of the Police service -- have retarded our progress. I feel, however, that we are slowly but surely....

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"I am sure all of you have come to know the recent orders which Government have passed in regard to the badges of different ranks of the Police. I know how rightly sensitive Police officers are in this matter and I should like to say how richly they deserve the changes which we have made. I am quite convinced that whatever merit there was in the previous ranking of these badges is now out of date and the new instructions which we have issued constitute not only a recognition of the extent to which the Police forces have increased in their numbers and importance but also symbolise the appreciation of the hard and solid work which these forces have put during the last two critical years.

Friends, I shall now leave you to your deliberations in which I wish you all success."

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# सरदार पटेल द्वारा दिल्ली टाउन हाल में गांधीजी के चित्र का अनावरण

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## म्युनिसिपल क्षेत्र में काम करनेवालों को राजकीय मामलों में न पड़ने की सलाह

( हमारे कार्यालय प्रतिनिधि द्वारा )

दिल्ली, २२ जनवरी। भारत के उपप्रधान मन्त्री सरदार बल्लभ भाई पटेल ने आज सायंकाल दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल टाउन हाल में महात्मा गांधी के चित्र का अनावरण करते हुए म्युनिसिपल क्षेत्र में काम करने वालों को राजकीय मामलों में न पड़ने की सलाह दी। आपने कहा कि म्युनिसिपल कमेटियों का नगर को साफ रखना, लोगों को स्वच्छ जल देना, और अच्छी रोशनी पहुँचाना इत्यादि सब लोक-आशीर्वाद के काम हैं, जबकि राजकीय क्षेत्र में कूड़ा-कचरा भरा रहता है। गांधीजी सफाई पर विशेष जोर देते थे, यहाँ तक कि वे ईश्वर के बाद दूसरा स्थान सफाई को देते थे।

श्री गाडगिल ने, जोकि इस समारोह के सभापति थे, अपने भाषण में कहा कि गांधीजी जैसा महापुरुष न अतीत में हुआ, न कोई विद्यमान है और न भविष्य में होने का खयाल है। उनके स्थित प्रज्ञ के सारे लक्षण अमली रूप में मौजूद थे।

सरदार पटेल ने अपना भाषण प्रारम्भ करते हुए कहा कि मैंने बहुत साल तक अहमदाबाद म्युनिसिपल कमिटी का काम किया है। गांधीजी बहुत निकट रह कर मेरा काम देख चुके हैं और वे इस काम से मुझे कभी निकलने नहीं देते थे। जिसे म्युनिसिपल क्षेत्र में काम करना है उसे किसी और झंझट में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए। यह काम इतना बड़ा और अच्छा है कि उससे किसी को बाकी काम के लिए समय ही नहीं रहता। म्युनिसिपल कमिटी में काम करने वालों को राजकीय क्षेत्र में तो बिल्कुल हिस्सा नहीं लेना चाहिए। मैं तो कभी अहमदाबाद से बाहर नहीं जाता था और वहाँ की राजनीतिक सभाओं में भी हिस्सा नहीं लेता था। मगर जो काम म्युनिसिपल कमिटी में मैं करता था उससे रात को मुझे बड़ी नींद आती थी। असल में राजकीय क्षेत्र में बहुत कचरापट्टी होती है, जबकि म्युनिसिपल कमिटी का काम सफाई और स्वच्छता का है। नगर की जनता को साफ जगह में रखना, उसे स्वच्छ जल पहुँचाना, अच्छी रोशनी का प्रबन्ध करना, गलियों की मरम्मत करना— ये सब लोक-आशीर्वाद के काम हैं। इनके विपरीत राजकीय काम बहुत बुरा है, जहाँ कूड़ा-कचरा भरा रहता है। वहाँ सत्ता का स्थान पकड़ने के लिए दाब-पैच चलते रहते हैं और कभी-कभी तो दिलों के मेल भी ऊपर आ जाते हैं। यही कारण है कि राजकीय क्षेत्र में सफाई नहीं होती।

( शेष पृष्ठ ८ पर )

# भगवान बुद्ध के बाद गांधीजी जैसा महापुरुष पैदा नहीं हुआ

राजकीय भवन के कर्मचारियों की राजाजी को विदाई

(पृष्ठ १ का शेष)

सरदार पटेल ने बताया कि गांधीजी सफाई पर विशेष जोर देते थे। वे कहा करते थे कि जहाँ सफाई नहीं होती वहाँ सुखा नहीं रह सकता। गांधीजी को तरह की सफाई पर जोर देते थे एक दिल की सफाई और दूसरी बाहर की। गांधीजी का हृदय साफ था और उनकी आत्मा की जो ज्योति जलती थी, उसकी रोशनी चारों ओर पड़ती थी।

“जाब संसार के बड़े-बड़े देश भी यह स्वीकार कर रहे हैं कि गांधीजी का बताया हुआ रास्ता ही वास्तव में विश्व शांति का रास्ता है। मगर चीज दिल की सफाई नहीं है, इसलिए सही मानते हुए भी वे इस मार्ग को अपनाने में असमर्थ हैं। यही कारण कि जहाँ एक ओर वे सृष्टि के संचार का सामान पैदा करने के लिए रात दिन काम कर रहे हैं, तो दूसरी ओर विश्व शांति की चर्चा करते हैं। दिल्ली के नये विधान के बारे में जिसकी कि ओर म्युनिसिपल कमिटी के प्रधान ने अपने भाषण में उल्लेख-प्रधानमंत्री का ध्यान दिलाया था, सरदार पटेल ने कहा कि उसके लिए किस प्रकार का विधान बनाया जाय यह हम सबको सोचना है। असल में जो दिल्ली देश के विभाजन से पहले थी, वह आज वहीं रही। लोगों शरणार्थी यहाँ आ गए हैं जिनके रोजगार का कोई ठिकाना नहीं। इस तरह से जो दिल्ली बड़ गई है उससे म्युनिसिपल कमिटी पर बहुत बोझ पड़ गया है। नगर की आबादी बहुत बढ़ चुकी है। इसलिए अब सवा करोड़ के बजट से काम नहीं चलेगा। दिल्ली को संभालने के लिए काफी सामान चाहिए। इसलिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को भी दिल्ली की व्यवस्था पर गजर रखनी होगी। अगर यहाँ कोई चीज बिगड़ती है तो उसका सारे देश पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है। यहाँ विदेशी राजदूत रहते हैं। वे जब शहर की गन्दगी को देखते हैं तो सारे देश के बारे में एक राय बना लेते हैं।

“मगर इस बारे में भी गांधीजी हमारे सामने एक आदर्श रख चुके हैं। गरीबी में भी सफाई रह सकती है। यह उन्होंने हमें सिखाया है। सेवाश्रम के अपने आश्रम में वे जो सफाई रखते थे, वह वहाँ की एक विशेषता थी। आश्रम के लोग अपने हाथों से पालना साफ करते थे। इस काम के लिए उनके यहाँ कोई खास कमला नहीं था। जो लोग वहाँ रहते थे उनमें कोई ब्राह्मण और भंगी का भेदभाव नहीं था।

मगर गांधीजी का स्वर्ण तो अब दूर चला गया। वे जिस प्रकार देश की व्यवस्था चाहते थे, आज झिंकुल उसका उल्टा हो रहा है। गांधी के लोग शहरों में चले आ रहे हैं। बहुत-से तो इसलिए आते हैं कि शहरों में कुछ न कुछ रोजगार का धन्धा मिल ही जाता है। इसलिए नगर की म्युनिसिपल कमिटी का तो यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि जो गरीब लोग यहाँ हैं, उनको कमिटी का काम पहले पढ़े। कमिटी के सदस्यों का ध्यान गरीबों की तरफ रहना चाहिए। अगर उनके मुद्दानों और बसिसों में सफाई नहीं होती तो और लोग भी उसमें नहीं बच सकते। वहाँ जो बीमारी पैदा होगी वह दूसरी जगह फैलेगी। अगर गरीबों के यहाँ शांति और सुख नहीं होगा तो हम भी सुखी नहीं रह सकते। म्युनिसिपल कमिटी में काम करने वालों का प्रथम कर्तव्य यही है। अगर हम इस कर्तव्य को भूलते हैं तो फिर गांधीजी का चित्र लगाने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। गांधीजी हमेशा हमारे सामने हैं, केवल उनके शरीर को हम नहीं देख सकते। वे अमर हैं। असल में तो दिल्ली में जहाँ उनकी समाधि बनी है, वही उनकी असली तस्वीर है। गांधीजी को अपनी हड्डियों और बदन भी इसी दिल्ली में छोड़-बाएँ।

जिस काम के लिए उन्होंने अपना शरीर छोड़ा वह आप सबके सामने है। आज तो कोई भी उनके काम की टीका नहीं कर रहा। सब लोग यही कहते हैं कि महात्मा जो कहा था, वही सही रास्ता था।

“म्युनिसिपल कमिटी के बारे में भी गांधीजी की यही शिक्षा थी कि लोगों को इसमें किसी स्वार्थ के लिए नहीं, बल्कि परमार्थ के लिए जाना चाहिए।

भाषण के पश्चात् सरदार पटेल ने विजली का बटन दबाया और पटाखों की गड़गड़ाहट के बीच लगभग सौ गज के फासले पर टाउन हाल के बरामदे में लगे हुए गांधीजी के विशाल चित्र का आवरण हट गया। यह चित्र कमिटी के एक सदस्य बाबा बचिस्तरसिंह द्वारा प्रदान किया गया था।

श्री गाडगिल का भाषण

समाप्ति पद से भाषण करते हुए भारत के खान, निर्माण और विद्युत मंत्री श्री नरहरि विष्णु गाडगिल ने कहा कि भारत में भगवान बुद्ध के बाद कोई महापुरुष गांधीजी की बराबरी का पैदा नहीं हुआ। अस्तित्व में यह है कि ऐसा महापुरुष न तो अतीत में हुआ, न विद्यमान है और न भविष्य में पैदा होने की संभावना है। गीता में स्थित प्रज्ञ के जितने लक्षण बताए गए हैं, वे सब गांधीजी में मौजूद थे और यदि भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण को कभी गीता का संशोधित रूप तैयार करने का अवसर मिले तो वे स्थित प्रज्ञ व्यक्ति के इतने लम्बे-चौड़े लक्षण बताने की बजाय केवल गांधीजी का नाम लिख देंगे।

श्री गाडगिल ने कहा कि गांधीजी में जो हृदय की सरलता, वाणी की मधुरता और बुद्धि की प्रखरता मुझे दिखाई दी वह मैंने आज तक किसी में नहीं देखी। जीवन में तो वे हमारे मार्ग दर्शक रहे ही, मृत्यु के बाद भी उनके अमर सिद्धान्त हमारा मार्गदर्शन कर रहे हैं। गांधीजी हमारे यहाँ व्यास आदि ऋषि-मुनियों की भांति अमर रहेंगे।

कमिटी का इतिहास

सरदार पटेल से महात्मा गांधी के चित्र का उद्घाटन करने की प्रार्थना करते हुए दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमिटी के प्रधान डा० बृजवीर सिंह ने अपने भाषण में कमिटी के पुराने इतिहास पर प्रकाश डाला और कहा कि इसकी स्थापना सन् १८५७ की आजादी की लड़ाई के बाद ही हो गई थी, मगर बाकायदा म्युनिसिपल कमिटी का रूप इसे सन् १८६३ में दिया गया जबकि इसके केवल १० सभासद होने थे और २ लाख के अन्दर आमदनी ब सत्तर्ष था। धीरे-धीरे नगर के विकास के साथ-साथ कमिटी

नई दिल्ली, २२ जनवरी। राजकीय भवन के विभिन्न कर्मचारियों ने छेल्खाने में एकत्र होकर आज शवर्नर अन्तरल श्री चक्रवर्त्त राजगोपालाचार्य को विदाई दी।

मानपत्र का उत्तर देते हुए शवर्नर अन्तरल महोदय ने कहा कि आप लोगों की राय को अलगाह से अलग नहीं समझना चाहिए, आज आपने जितने भी भजन गाये हैं वे संसार के सभी लोगों के भगवान् पर लागू होते हैं। इस भवन में कितने ही हिन्दु, कितने ही मुसलमान और कितने ही सिख हैं। आप लोगों को इस तरह काम करना चाहिए कि गांधीजी की आत्मा, मुझको और प्रधान मंत्री को आपके आपसी व्यवहार से सतीत हो।

राजाजी ने यह भाषण अंग्रेजी में किया। उसे उनकी पुत्री—श्रीमती देवदास गांधी—ने हिन्दी में समझाया।

इस उत्सव में प्रधान मंत्री-नेहरूजी और कलाबा के विदेश मंत्री श्री पियर्सन भी उपस्थित थे। नेहरूजी ने हिन्दी में भाषण करते हुए कहा कि राजाजी से विलग होता बड़ा दुःखदाई है कि उनकी सलाह और उनका उपप्रदर्शन हमें अधिक्य में भी मिलता रहेगा।

का भी विकास होता गया। सन् १९ में शुरु होकर सन् १६ में टाउन हाल बना और इसी बीच में १४-१५ के लगभग घंटाघर बनवाया गया। शुरु में केवल नामजद सभासद ही कमिटी में होते थे मगर धीरे-धीरे चुने हुए सदस्य बढ़ते गये। आज इस कमिटी के ४३ सदस्य हैं और लगभग सवा करोड़ का इसका बजट है।

डा० बृजवीरसिंह ने विशेष रूप से सन् १९२९ की उस घटना का उल्लेख किया जबकि दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमिटी ने ब्रिटीश कमिशनर एवं कमिटी के प्रधान के विरोध करने पर भी महात्मा गांधी को एक मानपत्र भेंट किया था। मानपत्र में यह कहा गया था कि “हमारी कमिटी के इतिहास में यह सबसे पहला मौका है जबकि एक ऐसे व्यक्ति को अभिनन्दन पत्र भेंट करने का निश्चय किया गया है कि जो न तो राजघराने से सम्बन्ध रखता है और न ही बादशाह सलामत का प्रतिनिधि है, बल्कि जो भारत का एक महान व्यक्ति और निरदल, सच्चाई तथा सम्मानयुक्त शांति का दूत होने के कारण हमारे अत्यन्त ही आदर का पात्र है।”

पिछले तीन वर्षों में आबादी बहुत बढ़ जाने के कारण दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमिटी की दिन-पर-दिन बढ़ती हुई बिम्मे-दारियों पर प्रकाश डालते हुए आपने कहा।

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Speech Delivered By  
**The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel**

**Deputy Prime Minister of India**

**While Performing the Opening Ceremony  
of the**

**National Physical Laboratory  
of India**

*on Saturday, 21st January, 1950*

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YOUR EXCELLENCY, PRIME MINISTER, SIR SHANTI SARUP  
BHATNAGAR AND FRIENDS,



REGARD it as a great privilege to be associated with the ceremony of inaugurating the National Physical Laboratory of India. Apart from the intrinsic importance of this event, the presence of distinguished scientists of international repute, in our midst, lends a distinction to this ceremony which must make participation therein a coveted honour. I must, however, confess to a feeling of great diffidence in submitting to the scrutiny of such discerning and scientific eyes. I hope they will extend to me some mercy and consideration and in asking for it I am emboldened by the kind and generous words Sir Shanti Sarup has just said and also by his claim made at the time of the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of this very institution, that there is more unanimity among the scientists than among the politicians.

The unique nature of this occasion is apt to lift one from the rather mundane existence of a

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politician to the delightful atmosphere of a dreamer and a thinker. I hope you will bear <sup>with</sup> me for a moment as I indulge in some reflections. Ever since his evolution, the human being has been used to pilfering the secrets of nature and applying the knowledge so gained to his own practical use. Scientific research through the ages has thus been <sup>one</sup> long expedition of man into the innermost recesses of natural forces and phenomena and the utilitarian advantage has come to him through the urge for harnessing these forces in the service of mankind. Nature "red in tooth and claw" or nature in its mildest disposition alike, has yielded up scientific data which has contributed to the material progress of the nations of the world. In his relentless pursuit of practical science, however, the scientist has always come into conflict with the spiritualist and the man of religion. The latter has always regarded the scientist as the destroyer of spiritual values and the killer of the superior being, who has brought humanity from an ethereal heaven to the very nadir of degeneration. Symptomatically, in terms of religious lore, it might be said that the very first scientific operation which a man performed on his own rib has brought for him a perpetually expensive and troublesome legacy called Eve.

All that I have read about the laboratory which you see today enshrined in such a magnificent building

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set in such picturesque surroundings indicates that while it is no answer to the spiritualist's doubts or the humanist's despair, it is essentially a response to the man's call for precision and perfection. It will combine the emotional zeal of the fundamentalist with the practical approach of the utilitarian. It will furnish that scientific aid to industry without which the present-day industrial efficiency would soon find itself lost in "the desert sands of dead habit". It would be a great safeguard against the cheating of common man by means of imperfect standards of weights and measures, length and height. It would be a great testing-house of raw materials and finished products. The researches and tests carried out in its rooms would, I am sure, enrich the realm of science with new-found treasures. Within its walls, the scientist-philosopher will display the same enthusiasm as the astronomer does when a new star swims into his ken; he will exhibit the same absorption in his mission as the celebrated philosopher who disregarded the ordinary standards of decency and rushed out of his bath through a bewildered audience, shouting 'Eureka'; he will express the same delight in his achievements as a young child who discovers the use of his limbs.

While I visualise the very distinguished head of this institution, Dr. Krishnan, in this varied role, my mind also turns to the question how far, in its



actual results this laboratory, which has been brought into the world of Indian Science with so much care and affection and after so much devoted and concentrated effort on the part of a distinguished band of eminent scientists led by Sir Shanti Sarup, will serve to relieve this and the further generations of the ills to which human flesh is heir. Will it, for instance, give the Finance Minister the alchemist touch so that he can turn the basest metal into gold and thus relieve him of many a nightmare? Or can it furnish the Commerce Minister with a button which he could press in order to let all the jute held in Pakistan come rolling by despite the existence of the Jute Board and the customs officers? Would it enable our much-worried Food Minister to grow wheat or sweet potatoes out of thistle and thereby upset an age-old instructional proverb? Can it provide our massive Minister of Industry with a ready means of substituting mechanical for human control of industry in order that he might run it without the innumerable committees and conferences which it is his unenviable lot to hold? These are some of the demands which we politicians would like to make on the scientists; the list will, I am sure, be unending if the latter would allow us free rein. They are, however, merely symbolic of the troubles and woes which afflict the world around us and I ask my distinguished audience whether science in its quest for nature's secrets is:

going to advance the human race towards its goal of eternal happiness or whether it will open a veritable Pandora's box of evil forces for the destruction of mankind.

It is my earnest and sincere prayer that this Laboratory and the distinguished bands of research workers who will operate in it will provide a positive answer to this problem, as an inspiration to their fellow-scientists in other parts of the world. Ever since the discovery of the gunpowder, the destructive agencies of science have been taking a heavier and heavier toll of human lives. Under the influence of the constructive and creative efforts of science, humanity settles down to an enjoyment of the fruits of civilisation, only to find civilised existence threatened by conflicts, in which scientific genius on both sides is engaged in outpacing each other in evolving more and more powerful engines of destruction. The scientific conscience, as its public counterpart, consoles itself by finding an ideological cloak for this race in mutual slaughter, but no amount of ideological justification can buttress this resort to the primitive and baser instincts of man. Human dignity and ideological sublimity alike demand that the defence of ideas is entrusted to nobler instincts. In my judgment, it is in this reasoning that lies the appeal, for the inhabitants of this sub-continent, of the gospel of peace and non-violence. In this

international gathering of scientists, I should, therefore, like earnestly to appeal to these friends to consider how best they can promote the cause of peace and humanity through science.

Finally, let me say a word of appreciation of the hard and solid work of Sir Shanti Sarup Bhatnagar, Dr. K. N. Mathur and their zealous collaborators which you find so well exemplified in the noble edifice and the installation which I have the honour to declare open today. The building of a chain of such laboratories all over India in such a short time is a creditable achievement which, I wish, would inspire similar efforts in other spheres of Governmental activity.

Friends, I shall now proceed to discharge the very pleasant duty which has been entrusted to me.

I declare the National Physical Laboratory open.

૧, શૌરંગમલ રોડ,  
ગાંધી રોડ,  
૨૫. ૧. ૫૦

શ્રી આ. જયરામભાઈ,

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આ સારું ૨. માત્ર  
અંગતો અંગત સંદર્ભો  
મીડિયું. પાંચ મુદ્દાઓ સંદર્ભોની  
અંગત મુદ્દાઓ. ૨. ગાંધી  
અંગત મુદ્દાઓ. માટે ઉપયોગી  
શરૂ કરે.

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સને ૧૯૫૦ ના ૫મી

પાંચ ૩. કીરોટ્ટ મુદ્દાઓ  
તેમજ ઉપરના મુદ્દાઓ  
તેજી ઉપર.  
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The message of the Honourable  
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dy.  
Prime Minister, on the Republic Day.

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Exactly twenty years ago from today, the people of India took a solemn pledge of complete Independence. Behind that pledge was the determination of a whole people and the strength which comes of faith in one's destiny. Although we obtained Independence on the 15th of August 1947, it was not complete in the sense of the pledge that we took. Today, by the grace of God, that pledge has been completely fulfilled.

2. On this auspicious occasion, it is quite natural that our thoughts should return to the Father of the Nation under whose inspiration and guidance we took that pledge and due to whose leadership we achieved success in our mission. Unhappily, he is not amongst us, but he is watching us from above and I have no doubt his blessings and good wishes are with us on this supreme occasion in our national history.

3. The day on which India attains Republican status will be written in letters of gold in its history. With the disappearance of all traces of foreign rule, we become in law and in fact our own masters and it will be now for us to make or mar our future. It will, however, take time for us to recover from centuries of exploitation and bondage; considerable sacrifices will yet be necessary before sufficient quantity of fresh blood can flow in India's veins. We worked hard to achieve our freedom. We shall have to strive harder to justify it. Let us not, therefore, celebrate this occasion with any light ~~man~~ heart. On the other hand, let us resolve to play our true and active role of responsible citizens of a free country which has yet to stand on its feet and to attain its full stature. May Divine guidance and bounty be with us all.



ગાંધી

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આજના ૨૦ વર્ષ બાદ ૧૯૨૬ અગસ્ટ ૨૦ ૧૯૩૦  
ના દિવસે સ્વામી ભારત વર્ષની પ્રભાતે એક  
પત્રિકા અને ગંભીર ઉત્તરિકા લખી હતી. એ પત્રિકા  
પૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાના દૃઢ નિશ્ચયની હતી. ઈશ્વરદયાથી  
આમે એ પત્રિકાનું સંપૂર્ણ પાલન થાય છે...  
આશીર્વાદ માત્ર અને વાતનો છે કે એની પ્રેરણા  
અને હોરવર્ણીયા એ પત્રિકા લખી હતી અને  
એની નેતાગીરીને પ્રેરણાએ આપ્યો સરખા  
મળા એ આપ્યા રાષ્ટ્રપિતા આમે આપ્યા  
વરમે નથી. ટિંકુસાનના ઈતિવાસમાં આજનો  
દિવસ સોનેરી ચંદ્રને બધારો. આજથી  
ભારતનું ભવિષ્ય ઘડવાનું પૂર્ણ રીતે આપ્યા  
પોતાના રાધામાં જ રહેશે. પરદેશી રુદ્રાનું નામ  
નિશાન સર્વ રીતે હરી ભરશે. છતાં એનો  
સૌક્યોની મુક્તિ અને ખાલાની આસાર પાંખેરી  
નાખાં વળા લાગશે, અને ભારતના રાજાઓમાં  
રાજા અને પૂરતું પૂર્ણ ભરવા માટે ગંગોડ  
પ્રવેશ કરવી પડશે એમાં સૌ ભારતના સંતાનોએ  
પોતાનો સાચો અને સચિત્ત રીતે આપવો ભેદશે.  
આજના પવિત્ર દિવસે આપ્યો સૌએ એ રીતે  
આપવાની પ્રતિજ્ઞા કરવી એમને અને એને માટે

જાજણી ૨૦ વર્ષ ઉપર વા. રક જાન્યુઆરી

૧૯૩૦ ના દિવસે સારા ભારતવર્ષની પ્રજાએ એક પ્રતિજ્ઞા  
અને ઝંભીર પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી. એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા પૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાના  
ફલ નિશ્ચયની હતી. ઉચ્ચરકૃપાથી આજે એ પ્રતિજ્ઞાનું સંપૂર્ણ  
પાલન થાય છે. અકસોસ માત્ર એક વાતનો છે કે જેની પ્રેરણા  
અને દોરવણીથી એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી અને જેની નેતાશીરીને  
પરિણામે આપણે સકળતા મળી એ આપણા રાષ્ટ્રપિતા આજે  
આપણી વચ્ચે નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનના ઉત્તરકાશમાં જાજનો દિવસ  
સોનેરી અક્ષરે લખાયો. જાજણી ભારતનું ભવિષ્ય પડેલાં પૂર્ણ  
રોલે આપણા પોતાના હાથમાં જ રહેશે. પરદેશી હકુમતનું  
નામ નિશાન સર્વ રોલે હઠી જાય છે. છતાં જેની સહીઓની  
ચુસ અને પીલાણની અસર ખમિરી નહોતી વખત લાગશે, અને  
ભારતના હાઈપિજરમાં લાનું અને પૂરડું રહિર ભરવા માટે  
તનતોડ મહેનત કરવી પડશે એમાં સૌ ભારતના સંતાનોએ  
જાજણી પવિત્ર દિવસે આપણે સૌએ એ ફાળો આપવાનો નિર્ણય કર્યો હતો  
પોતાનો સાથો અને સક્રિય કાળો આપવો જોઈશે. અને એ  
માટે પૂરડું બળ મેળવવાને ઉચ્ચરની પ્રાર્થના કરવી જોઈશે.



87 પુરતે બધા મેળવવાને ઈશ્વરની પ્રાર્થના કરવી

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Prin sursă: *Angela M. Tavares* 15/06/2016

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

$\frac{d}{dt} \left( \frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x}$

1924-1925-1926-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938-1939-1940-1941-1942-1943-1944-1945-1946-1947-1948-1949-1950-1951-1952-1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962-1963-1964-1965-1966-1967-1968-1969-1970-1971-1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-2626-2627-2628-2629-2630-2631-2632-2633-2634-2635-2636-2637-2638-2639-2640-2641-2642-2643-2644-2645-2646-2647-2648-2649-2650-2651-2652-2653-2654-2655-2656-2657-2658-2659-2660-2661-2662-2663-2664-2665-2666-2667-2668-2669-2670-2671-2672-2673-2674-2675-2676-2677-2678-2679-2680-2681-2682-2683-2684-2685-2686-2687-2688-2689-2690-2691-2692-2693-2694-2695-2696-2697-2698-2699-2700-2701-2702-2703-2704-2705-2706-2707-2708-2709-2710-2711-2712-2713-2714-2715-2716-2717-2718-2719-2720-2721-2722-2723-2724-2725-2726-2727-2728-2729-2730-2731-2732-2733-2734-2735-2736-2737-2738-2739-2740-2741-2742

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જાજણી ૨૦ વર્ષ ઉપર વા. રા. જા-નુમારી

૧૯૩૦ ના દિવસે સારા ભારતવર્ષની પ્રજાએ એક પ્રતિજ્ઞા અને ચંભીર પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી. એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા પૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાના ૬૮ નિ સ્થવની હતી. ઇશ્વરકૃપાથી આજે એ પ્રતિજ્ઞાનું સંપૂર્ણ પાલન થાય છે. અકસોસ માત્ર એક વાતનો છે કે જેની પ્રેરણા અને હોરવણીથી એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી અને જેની નેતાશીરીને પરજીએ આપણે સહજતા મળી એ આપણા રાષ્ટ્રપિતા આજે આપણી વચ્ચે નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનના ઇતિહાસમાં આજનો દિવસ સોનેરી અક્ષરે લખાયો. જાજણી ભારતનું ભવિષ્ય પડવાનું પૂર્ણ રીતે આપણા પોતાના હાથમાં જ રહેશે. પરંતુ હકુમતનું નામ નિશાન સર્વ રીતે હઠી જાય છે. છતાં જેની સહીઓની યુક્ત અને પીલાણની અસર ખેતીની નાંખતી વખત લાગશે, અને ભારતના હિંદીખંજરમાં તાનું અને પૂરડું રદિર ભરવા માટે તનતોડ મહેનત કરવી પડશે એમાં સૌ ભારતના સંતાનોએ આજના મહાત્મા દેવસે આપણે સૌને એ ફાળો આપવાની પ્રતિજ્ઞા કરી છે. પોતાનો સાચો અને સક્રિય ફાળો આપવો જોઈશે. અને એ માટે પૂરડું બળ મેળવવાને ઇશ્વરની પ્રાર્થના કરવી જોઈશે.

૨૬-૧-૫૦

સહી. વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલ

આજથી ૨૦ વર્ષ ઉપર તા. ૨૬ નાનુમારી

૧૯૩૦ ના દિવસે સારા ભારતીયોની પ્રજાએ એક પ્રતિજ્ઞા  
 અને ચંબીર પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી. એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા પૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાના  
 હક નિશ્ચયની હતી. ઉચ્ચરૂપાથી આજે એ પ્રતિજ્ઞાનું સંપૂર્ણ  
 પાલન થાય છે. અકસોસ માત્ર એક વાતનો છે કે જેની પ્રેરણા  
 અને દોરવણીથી એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી અને જેની નેતાશીરીને  
 પરિણામે આપણે સફળતા મળી એ આપણા રાષ્ટ્રપિતા આજે  
 આપણી વચ્ચે નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનના ઉત્તરભાગમાં આજનો દિવસ  
 સોનેરી અક્ષરે લખાયે. આજથી ભારતનું સવિધ્ય પ્રકલનનું પૂર્ણ  
 રીતે આપણા પોતાના હાથમાં જ રહેશે. પરદેશી હકુમતનું  
 નામ નિશાન સર્વ રીતે હઠી જાય છે. છતાં જેની સહીઓની  
 મુસ અને પીલાણની અસર ખંધેરી નિમિત્તે વખત લાગશે, અને  
 ભારતના હાડપિંજરમાં તાનું અને પૂરતું રાધિર ભરવા માટે  
 તનતોડ મહેનત કરવી પડશે એમાં સૌ ભારતનાં સંતાનોએ  
 પોતાનો સાચો અને સક્રિય ફાળો આપવો જોઈશે. અને એ  
 માટે પૂરતું બળ મેળવવાને ઉચ્ચરની પ્રાર્થના કરવી જોઈશે.

૨૬-૧-૫૦

સહી. વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલ

આજથી ૨૦ વર્ષ ઉપર તા. ૨૬ જાન્યુઆરી

૧૯૩૦ ના દિવસે સારા ભારતવર્ષની પ્રજાએ એક પ્રતિજ્ઞા

અને ગૌરવ પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી, એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા પૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાના

દૃઢ નિશ્ચયની હતી. ઇસ્વરકૃપાથી આજે એ પ્રતિજ્ઞાનું સંપૂર્ણ

પાલન થાય છે. અકસોસ માત્ર એક વાતનો છે કે જેની પ્રેરણા

અને દોરવણીથી એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી અને જેની નેતાગીરીને

પરિણામે આપણને સંકળતા મળી એ આપણા રાષ્ટ્રપિતા આજે

આપણી વચ્ચે નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનના ઇતિહાસમાં આજનો દિવસ

સોનેરી અક્ષરે લખાયે. આજથી ભારતનું ભવિષ્ય પડવાનું પૂર્ણ

રીતે આપણા પોતાના હાથમાં જ રહેશે. પરદેશી હકુમતનું

નામ નિશાન સર્વ રીતે હઠી જાય છે. છતાં એની સહીઓની

યુક્તિ અને પીલાણની અસર ખંધેરી નીખતાં વેળત લાગશે, અને

ભારતના હાડપિંજરમાં તાનું અને પૂરતું રહિર ભરવા માટે

તનતોડ મહેનત કરવી પડશે. એમાં સૌ ભારતના સંતાનોએ

પોતાનો સાચો અને સક્રિય ફાળો આપવો જોઈશે. અને એ

માટે પૂરતું બળ મેળવવાને ઇસ્વરની પ્રાર્થના કરવી જોઈશે.

૨૬-૧-૫૦

સહી. વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલ

જાન્યુઆરી ૨૦ વર્ષ ઉપર તા. ૨૬ જાન્યુઆરી

૧૯૩૦ ના દિવસે સારા ભારતવર્ષની પ્રજાએ એક પ્રતિજ્ઞા  
અને ગંભીર પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી. એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા પૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાના  
દૃઢ નિશ્ચયની હતી. ઉચ્ચરકૃપાથી આજે એ પ્રતિજ્ઞાનું સંપૂર્ણ  
પાલન થાય છે. અકસોસ માત્ર એક વાતની છે કે જેની પ્રેરણા  
અને દોરવણીથી એ પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી હતી અને જેની નેતાઓ રીતે  
પરિણામે આપણે સહજતા મળી એ આપણા રાષ્ટ્રપિતા આજે  
આપણી વચ્ચે નથી. હિંદુસ્તાનના ઉત્તિહાસમાં જાન્યુઆરી દિવસ  
સોનેરી અક્ષરે લખાયે. જાન્યુઆરી ભારતનું ભવિષ્ય પડવાનું પૂર્ણ  
રીતે આપણા પોતાના હાથમાં જ રહેશે. પરદેશી હકુમતનું  
નામ નિશાન સર્વ રીતે હઠી જાય છે. છતાં એવી સહાનુભૂતિ  
મુશ્કેલી અને પીડાકુની અસર બિરો નોંખતાં વખત લાગશે, અને  
ભારતના હાઈપ્રિન્સિપલ તાનું અને પૂરતું રાષ્ટ્ર ભરવા માટે  
તનતોડ મહેનત કરવી પડશે એમાં સૌ ભારતનાં સંતાનોએ  
આજના પશ્ચિમ દિવસે આપણે સૌએ એ સૌએ આપણા પ્રતિજ્ઞા કરવા એટલે  
પોતાનો સાચો અને સક્રિય ફાળો આપવો જોઈશે. અને એ  
માટે પૂરતું બળ મેળવવાને ઉચ્ચરની પ્રાર્થના કરવી જોઈશે.

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Shri Ranganathan and friends,

I must apologise to you all for my inability to address your Convocation personally, as I had been looking forward to. When one is caught in the whirlpool of overriding official engagements, the fundamental rights of freedom of movement and of personal liberty have perforce to be suspended and, unlike the ordinary citizen, the victim has no forum to which he can have recourse for redress. I am sure, therefore, that all of you will sympathise with me in the circumstances which have compelled me to deny myself the pleasure of meeting you and sharing with you a few thoughts and ideas. I need hardly tell you that if you suffer from a sense of disappointment, mine has deep regret mixed with it.

The Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun is no stranger to me. I have already had glimpses of its work. Its sylvan setting, its picturesque walks, its ideal surroundings, have all attracted my attention during my prolonged stay in Dehra Dun both last year and the year previous. I have also closely seen the rich collection of its museum and have acquainted myself, through some study and contact, with the work that is being turned out within its premises. Yours, friends, is an old Institution, almost as old as myself. Its history shows how from small and humble beginnings 72 years ago, it has changed its character and widened its scope until today when it is the nursery of all that is best and useful in forest service and a laboratory from which are turned out valuable research products in a vital field of national enterprise.

It is no facile or facetious compliment that I am paying Forestry when I refer to it in the terms I have done. Forests, as natural resources, are the most wronged by the hands of men who should appreciate their utility better. In the struggle for existence or in competition with nature, human beings are apt to follow the path of least resistance and taking a narrow short-term view of their needs and the resources available for their fulfilment, lay their hands on the nearest available resource without any forethought of their replacement for future requirements. The history of denudation of the forest resources of this country is replete with instances of cruel exploitation of this vital national wealth and criminal waste of capital placed

in our hands by a bountiful Nature. Planned exploitation of such resources, based on the principle of preservation and replacement, is a feature of comparatively recent date. Obviously, we cannot make up the leeway of centuries, but we can by judicious planning and lay-out still husband the resources that are available and create wealth which, in course of time, may achieve that balance between afforestation and clearance which is the hall-mark of scientific planning.

After all, forests satisfy our basic needs with a universalism which might well be the envy of those who believe in bringing wealth within the reach of all. The humble dweller of village huts, the rich dweller of luxurious city buildings, the cook in his kitchen and the more fortunate possessor of a well-furnished drawing room, all alike draw from the forests the means of satisfying what to each is an elementary and essential need. But how few have the attitude of reverence and consideration for the trees and plants that sacrifice themselves in the service of mankind? Worship of trees is still an old tribal or village custom. We ourselves in our cosy chairs touch wood to invoke blessings or to ward off the evil eye. In one case there is the sense of closeness to a readily available aid for existence; in the other, there is a recognition of value forced by habit rather than by conviction. But in both there is the element of sanctity which needs greater realisation and genuine appreciation in every-day life.

Applying these thoughts to realities and hard facts of statistics, I find that the total forest area of this country covers 171000 sq miles which gives a percentage of 22.6 to the total land area. If we consider the requirements of our vast population and the need for softening the rigours of its climate and combine this with a study of the distribution of the area under forest and the comparatively poor state of our communications, we shall at once be struck with the deficiency of the resources that are available. At a conservative estimate, in order to have a balance between open and covered area, we must add at least one-third more to our area under forest. We have also to consider another broad fact which has recently been claiming increasing attention. Do not the failure of monsoon on the East Coast during the last three years, the fitfulness of monsoon in North Gujerat and Saurashtra

and the encroachment which the desert of Rajputana is making on the Gangetic plain suggest the need for so ordering our forest belts as to create conditions more helpful to averting what might eventually be a certain disaster to the life and happiness of millions? The part which forests play in moderating the rigours of climate and meeting the growing menace of the desert or the trespass of the rivers and mountain streams on fertile soil can hardly be over-estimated. The existence of mounds and ridges where, only some years ago, there were green pastures or smiling crop-lands, the surrender which cultivation has been making to barrenness, and the presence of bare rocks where years ago the sylvan goddess stood in all its splendour, should convince us of the heavy drain which is at only but surely being made on our priceless treasures on which depends our ability to feed our growing population. If we are to survive this growing struggle for existence, this process of demudation of our wealth has got to be stopped and we have to plan a nation-wide scheme of afforestation which would provide against the dangers to which I have referred above. To neglect this essential field of nation-building activity would be a national disservice and a failure to discharge a vital duty of administration and citizenship.

I realise that simultaneously a system of scientific exploitation of our rich timber resources must go on. The total revenue from forests in former Provinces alone amounted to about 10½ crores and the total out-turn of timber and fire-wood amounted to 1/3 and 5 million tons respectively. Moreover, forests, while saving us from the ravages of flood and famine, can themselves become a menace to cultivation. Scientific felling of forest areas combined with fresh growth, which would at least make up for the loss of forest wealth involved, must be the aim of a sound working plan. Forests also provide indispensable raw material for important industries, both big and small. The proper utilisation of forest wealth must, therefore, be an important part of our national policy, if we have to succeed in increasing national prosperity, but here also our watch-word should be that we create more than we destroy and turn all our uncultivable area capable of being brought under the plantation into lands yielding either valuable forest wealth or performing the useful function of sentinels against the forces of elements, water, weather and sands.



Friends, I am afraid I have now wearied you with a few thoughts which struck me as being germane to the pleasant duty of addressing this ~~first~~ gathering of accomplished and budding experts in forestry. There has been a constant rivalry between the expert and the layman ever since the dawn of history. It was an irate layman belonging to the bewigged variety who divided witnesses into three categories "liars, damned liars and experts." I shall not be so judicial for a politician has to be judicious and shall at once recognise the value which experts have in every department of human activity. I also realise my own limitations; the expert must begin where the layman ends and, if necessary, help the layman to carry on. Even as a professional I was and remained only a lawyer; may be for some Magistrates and Judges I was a "damned lawyer", but unlike my expert friends I stopped there- I hope, therefore, you will bear with me for a while, if I place before you the layman's demands on the expert.

The common man must be scientific if he has to make a success in life. The virtues of precision, of logic, of a careful understanding of causation and effect, and of scientific imagination, criticism and analysis must be cultivated in his own humble way by an average citizen. Without the elements of these virtues, the average man cannot fulfil adequately the role, which he must, in the exacting field of democracy.

The role of the expert in any form of Government, except that of experts, is also equally, if not more, exacting. Knowledge shines best when scholarship is combined with humility. With the limits of knowledge undefined and undefinable, an expert is no more than a child gathering pebbles by the sea shore. The expert or the technician has also to be tolerant of the ~~factum~~ faults and shortcomings of persons less equipped than himself. It is no use his carrying on a store-house of knowledge with him, if he cannot make those who are going to utilise it, understand its potentialities and utility. He must, therefore, treat others not with condescension but with consideration and with a view to converting and not merely controverting. The instruments of experts are the men of the "humbler lay" and they cannot, therefore, afford to quarrel with their own instruments. Similarly, it is the common man and their problems that must afford an expert opportunities for testing and putting to practical use his technical knowledge and ability. My appeal to you, who are now entering the threshold of their career in

public service, is to regard your service as a field of duty and not as merely an opportunity for a career, to treat the common man with sympathy, understanding and consideration, to make him realise his shortcomings and put faith in your knowledge and ability and then to place at his service unreservedly and unstintingly all that is best in yourself. It is only then and in this spirit that the common man will extend to you that confidence and trust without which your own true mission in life cannot be a success that it deserves to be. Also please remember that the resources of the State are limited; you owe it to the country to achieve the maximum at minimum cost. It is good to have sometimes your heads above in the clouds but never lose the grip on Mother Earth. Trailing clouds may lend you their glory but they will be driven away by the mildest breeze whereas even in a blast, the firm ground below will give you foothold. After all stability is essential for success in life and without it even a genius cannot make good in this world.

Friends, I now come to the last and most pleasant duty with which I would have been more than delighted to perform personally <sup>to day</sup> It is to congratulate all those who are the proud recipients of diplomas after a successful completion of their courses. They have had the satisfaction of their labours being rewarded. I only hope and pray that their labours in the service of the country will be equally successfully rewarded. I also congratulate your President and members of the staff on the successful closing of one more year in the life of this great institution. May this Research Institute grow in stature, in service, and in usefulness as it completes its spans from year to year!

I shall now close with once more a word of apology for my failure to fulfil this engagement and a word of gratitude for the kindness with which you have tolerated this lapse of time.

Jai Hind.

4 MAY 1950

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The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

President, Chief Ministers, Presidents of the Congress Committees, the other members of the Planning Board, and others present:

I have heard the resolutions passed by you after two days full consideration. Planning originates from the time after the end of the first world war, from Russia, and it has now covered all countries in the world in one form or other. We do not hear of any possible progress without planning. We had many plans. We had the Gandhian plan, which Gandhiji conceived, of the Gandhian economy of the country, i.e., Charka Sangh, Village Industry, removal of untouchability, and several other things--also language. In fact, I do not think there is any subject for the building of the nation which he had not touched. Then came, after the struggle, or during the struggle, a plan called the Bombay Plan. The Bombay Planning Committee prepared a plan when we were in jail, and the then Government took one of the members of that Planning Board into their Government, and they started planning. I remember at that time, the then Viceroy saying -- we read it in jail -- "You go on planning for the post-war development of the country. Never mind where the money will come from. If we can raise so much money during the course of the war, for the development of the country there will be no trouble about money". That Viceroy has gone, Money has disappeared. He has not left anything by which money could be raised and, I do not know, whether you have not enough experience of the difficulties of finding out money. Planning without money is perhaps like contemplating in the air. Then we came into office. We had another Planning Board

in the Government itself after we took office. Then came the Sarvodaya Planning, The Congress Planning, and this Planning. We had many schemes before, for the development of the country prepared during the war by the then Planning Committee and the other departments. We have now come to a point when it is easy to plan but it is planning without resources to meet the requirements of implementation of the planning schemes. Therefore, we have to cut our coats according to the cloth. In this country, if Gandhiji's plan goes, i.e. if you have food, clothing, air and water, there is nothing required -- perhaps, Gulzarilal Nanda would add Housing -- but nothing more is required. People are easily satisfied. That was the line on which the country was feeling. When I came into office, I thought that the first requirement of any progressive country is internal and external security. You cannot plan anything, you cannot work on any plan, unless there is internal and external security. Therefore, I started planning on the integration of the country--whatever remained--and also tried to secure peace in the country. I found that the world had changed. In the present disturbed conditions of the world, while we have an organisation called the United Nations Council, and we have tall talk of world peace, there is <sup>n</sup>o country which is not in a disturbed condition. Countries who had freedom for centuries, who had never been slaves, are in a disturbed condition. After all, we are a country which has won freedom only yesterday, with a past legacy of so many disturbing elements. It is impossible to make progress unless you first restore order in the country. On the top of it came partition, which made our task difficult. We were just settling down when came devaluation. Things are not entirely in our hands even if

we plan for the progress of the country. It will depend on so many factors which govern us -- the outside factors. So, the planners have to take into account many extraneous circumstances. Now, it is well known that our economy was joint when the country was one. It has been severed, and it has been severed in such a way that both the countries have suffered. We have ~~suffered~~ realised, after taking office, that our country depends mainly, upon large quantities of import of foodstuffs. After a great deal of experience, we came to the conclusion that somehow or other, we must be self-sufficient in food by the end of 1951. We have fixed that date. Whether this will be done or not depends upon our combined efforts - and bona fide efforts. My own view, which I have not concealed, and often expressed to the displeasure of many, is that if we had not played false to ourselves and to our country, a large quantity of the imports would have been unnecessary. We have plenty of food in the country, and a 5%, 7% or 10% deficit in a huge country like this, is not difficult to make up - not only by increased production, but by preventing waste, by putting maximum efforts, by economising, and also putting our hearts unitedly in the matter of getting the foodstuffs from where they are surplus. Now, there are some provinces which are surplus provinces. There are some provinces which are deficit provinces. But, whenever the provinces make an effort for the purpose of securing surplus food from the people, we do not speak with one voice. Sometimes we put our provinces first, and the rest of the countries afterwards. We know that our neighbours are, in spite of hard efforts, getting less, eating less, and finding difficulties, yet we feel that if our neighbouring province gets less, it does not matter. We

have not felt about this question as a nation, and the governing organisation does not speak with one voice. That is a difficulty which planning will not mend. It is you who, as Chief Ministers of the Provinces, and as Presidents of the Congress organisations, can, to a certain extent, mend these matters. But, I have often seen that between the two, considerable planning is required to make them meet -- they do not meet; and, they work in contrary directions. If the Ministry of one province wants to balance its budget and wants to put in a little cess on water, which even after putting it, is less than that of the neighbouring province, then the Congress organisation will carry on agitation to the extent of obstructing it. "We cannot afford to displease the peasants" they say, and the next elections are coming. But they do not show the alternative, how to find the money. That is also my experience in the Congress organisation itself. Wherever the Government tries to push in a scheme, there is another group to demolish the scheme.

Planning, however good, will not work till we realize our responsibilities and we think that it is our obligation to implement the schemes that have been planned. But it is not the Congress organization alone, but there are other groups whose business it is to destroy everything that you do, whose main function it is to find fault with everything that you do, however good it may be. There are some groups who are bent upon creating disruption and dislocation and they go to the length of creating chaos, murders, dacoities, remove all rails and tamper with the communications. These are matters of great concern and on account of

these we find considerable amount of strain on the Government. But that apart, that to a large extent we have succeeded in restoring order has been appreciated by people who come from outside. They say that this is a country which is the only stable country in practically the whole of Asia and it is the one place where we can stem the tide of aggression, disturbance and foreign anarchical ideologies. Many have expressed their admiration for the work that has been done but that work will not last or we will not be able to preserve that because unless we have enough food in the country to fill the bellies of the people, there can be no peace. It is true that in spite of the invasion of foreign ideologies our country still largely would be satisfied with few things which are the primary necessities of life if we can give them. But it is a difficult thing. Therefore Gandhiji said that in this country machine is not going to solve the problem because millions of idle hands cannot be employed on machine as machine, by its very nature, displaces men. If manpower is to be conserved, you require machine. Therefore our planning must necessarily differ from the planning of industrial countries of smaller size or of highly developed industrial countries. Ours is primarily an agricultural country and in a country so thickly populated as ours, idleness is the greatest disease. What are we to do with unemployment? It is a big problem and for that Gandhiji's planning was of a different type. It is difficult. He himself tried hard but he did not succeed. The fact that he did not succeed shows that it is impossible for us to expect to succeed quickly. His idea was that all mill-cloth should be exported and it should not be for internal

consumption. If you want to employ the idle people, they must be employed on production of large number of cloth apart from the village industries. It is a very difficult task but here in this country if not two-thirds, more than half of our revenue is being spent in the army. It is difficult to plan on pure non-industry basis. We must industrialise our country quickly, efficiently in certain directions. Otherwise we are doomed in the modern world. Because the modern army is not the army of bows and arrows. It is an army which requires many things which only machine can produce. Apart from arms and ammunitions that are required, apart from the uniform and other things that are required, it requires large quantities of stores, jeeps, motors, mechanical appliances, aeroplanes. Now we have the Navy, Petrol and so many other things are required for the army for which you must have industries, and these industries should be developed in the country. I suppose no country is self-sufficient except perhaps America and Russia but for our limited requirements of internal and external peace, in the present conditions of the country, we must have arms. If the world succeeds in bringing about a condition when no country would be required to arm itself, then our old scheme of self-sufficiency in villages would be an ideal thing to live in But that is not so and therefore we have to plan both for industry which is immediately necessary and for agriculture which is the primary necessity also and of immediate necessity. Take food for which we have fixed the target but immediately after fixing the target, we find that we must have cotton and jute and without affecting our plan for the self-sufficiency of food fixed on a certain date we must produce so



much jute and cotton. Now you may plan but the production of increased amount of cotton depends upon so many factors. That planning will not do. If the peasant gets more money in oilseeds, he will rather have oilseeds in his fields than have cotton. You may, by legislation, restrict production in certain areas but it is up to him to produce. He may not do it. It is a very difficult and complicated thing. You may control one commodity and the other thing will require control. If you don't control one, the other control fails. Then you have your continuous quarrel with the industrial magnates who manufacture cloth. They want money and their share. Then there are the middlemen and they have to be looked after and if they go to the blackmarket they have to be turned out. Then there are the consumers who want a certain price and the price goes up. Then you have the labour leaders and they want more and more for the labour. Our Labour Member will put in legislations - from the beginning of the work of Government there never was so much amount of labour legislation as we have at present - by which if the industrialists would create trouble, he would put vicarious punishments. If the industrialist lives in Bombay and if the industrial concern is in Cawnpore and if the Manager or servant of his does anything against the Act, the industrialist in Bombay passes sleepless nights as he may be arrested any day. It is a very difficult thing. People outside think that we have got liberty and freedom but we have nothing and what is the Government doing? Only those who have taken charge of Government know what a complicated machine this Government is. It is not so simple as people think and choose to write in articles. It is

very complicated. In spite of that we have taken the responsibility and we must fulfil the responsibilities to the best of our ability and therefore today I know and perhaps many of you would know that the most controversial question in the country which has brought this Government into trouble and unpopularity is the subject of control. This Govt. has not got the machinery to put an effective control in any sphere of Government, whatever you may say. It has got barely, even not barely, enough service to run the administration. We run the whole country with one-fourth of the service which was in existence when we took power. 50 to 55% of the people whose awe was so great that their very presence was enough to keep law and order in this country and to make the lower subordinate work with efficiency energy and even over-time -- they have all gone. We have opened so many embassies outside where we sent for every Embassy at least one tried Civil Service senior man. All those people who have opted for the other side have gone there. We have now many other Departments opened. If we have a Planning Board, we have got 6 Members, 6 Officers, 6 Secretaries, 6 Typists, 6 Chaprassis and a huge paraphernalia and it is all necessary in a modern Government. So the functions of Government have widened. Now you have the new Department of Scientific Research. It is very necessary and useful and its fruits may be some years after but still it requires men. We have few men. We have no statistics and we have to begin from a scratch or we have to begin from a thing which is badly scratched. It is not plain sailing. You have

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talked of abolition of zamindari. You can ask Pantji how difficult it is, how he passed sleepless nights when he started this question of abolition of zamindari. It is a good thing to do but I have seen cases of which you have no experience.

We have in Saurashtra, four lakhs of people who are living on 40,000 -- on the sweat of 40,000 who are tilling the soil -- four lakhs of Greshias for nothing else, no profession, no trade, no business, except to live on these people. Four lakhs of people cannot live on four lakhs of animals, but they want to live on these 40,000 people, to continue to suck their blood. These poor people have to fetch water, they have to supply fire-wood, they have perhaps to supply them with every necessity of life. They are complete serfs. But now they are free. They have gained freedom. They now work on their own lands which used to be owned by other people. So, where will these other people go? What will they do? In this country, after the war, any amount of surplus arms are available. So, some of them take to dacoities. Take Andhra. Mr. Ranga would say "Take away Andhra into the centre. What can we do? Because, congressmen are being shot down". Other people are also being shot down. It is true we have to restore order there. But if you plan for the abolition of zamindari, you have other problems coming up. Therefore, it is not a question merely of abolition of zemindari, but abolition in a manner in which, for example, the princes disappeared, so that we may have no trouble. Otherwise, all the plans go to waste. Abolition of vested interests is a good thing, but indecent haste will destroy everything and delay the thing which we

want. Therefore, we must be very careful, and it will require a combination of all our forces. Are we all agreed on that? You can ask Pantji. You start with an agreement, but when it comes to the implementation, you divide your forces. If it is Zamindari abolition, you say you can acquire zamindari without paying any compensation. You can do so because you have got power. But the consequences of it have to be seen. Therefore, try as much as possible to quicken the process without creating other problems which are much more serious. If you do not do that, then you delay the thing which you have in mind. There is also another point. We do not speak with one voice. If the ministry wants one thing to be done then the Provincial Congress Committee say, "No, that is wrong". Then everything stands still. So much of our difficulties are created, not for want of planning, but for want of bonafide efforts and realisation that, in this period of our infancy of nation-building, it is our sacred duty to try and stand by each other, support one another, and not bring discredit to the organisation to which we have the honour to belong, and for which we made so many sacrifices. Therefore, now that you have planned, it is a good thing. I commend it. You have all come -- Chief Ministers from the various provinces, leaving your work, and also various Provincial Congress Committee Presidents. You have all agreed here, and nobody has differed. Now, will you work this with agreement when you go back, or will it be the President's concern to find fault with the Premier, or the Ministry or the officers? If, in the implementation of it you have only to find fault with one another, and throw the responsibility on others, then it is all a waste of time. Therefore, whatever programme you

have made, you must plan for the execution of it. Planning is a very good thing. Therefore, what I believe in, is in the doing of a thing, and for doing it, you have to plan. If that is not in existence, then the whole thing goes. Therefore, all of you who have come here today must make it a firm resolution in your minds that you have to work this programme. It cannot be worked by Government alone. No Government can work such programmes without the co-operation of the people. While the Government is engaged in the administrative functions, it has not got enough time to come into contact with the people, and they are therefore often isolated. But, the Presidents of the Provincial Congress Committees are continuously and in close touch with the people. If the two combine, then much of ~~that~~ our difficulties will disappear. Therefore, my advice today to you would be to forget what has happened in the past but from now on at least, make a solemn determination that as this programme has been drawn up, it is our business to see that it is executed. If you do that, then, all this work that you have done, all the labour that you have put in, will be well spent. Otherwise, as I have said, there have been many plans in the past, and now, one more. It will not be good. I wish you godspeed and success. Jai Hind.

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Friends,

I have now spent almost a week in Calcutta studying the feelings and problems of Bengal, at first hand, and helping the Chief Minister and his colleagues with my advice on the many difficulties which confront them and the people of Bengal in their most delicate and onerous task of implementing the Agreement which has been entered into between India and Pakistan. Never before have I felt the handicap of my health so bitterly and poignantly as during these busy days, for, that has deprived me of the opportunity of personally extending, to our unfortunate brothers and sisters, who have suffered and borne so much, a few words of sympathy and solace. My first task this evening, therefore, is to ask them to extend a little consideration and understanding to me in my physical incapacity and to say that they have constantly been in my thoughts and their sufferings and sorrows have throughout engaged my attention during the many wakeful hours of the day and the night which I have devoted, whether in discussions or alone, to the cruel fate which an unrelenting destiny has visited on them.

Throughout during the critical weeks my mind and heart have been with them. It is only an irrepressible desire to stand by them that kept me away from their ~~side~~ <sup>with</sup> and it was only when I felt that an opportunity had come my way to contribute towards their speedy relief and alleviation of the pangs which tormented them that I rushed to Calcutta to assuage their feelings, closely and intimately to appreciate their situation, and to make them understand, as dispassionately as possible, their duty in this critical hour. But for the vain, though sincere and earnest, attempts which I made to persuade my two Honourable colleagues from Bengal to withdraw

their resignations from the Cabinet, I would have come to Calcutta earlier. I had hoped that, as always, on this occasion also I could rely on their help and cooperation from within, but they have chosen a different path. I regret this greatly, but conceptions of duty can vary and if they feel that they can serve their conscience best by keeping out of Government, they are fully entitled to their decision. I for myself still feel that they could have looked after the interests of West Bengal and alleviated the sufferings of its people much more effectively and satisfactorily from inside Government than outside and that they would have served their State and country better by continuing to voice the innermost feelings and urge of their kinsmen during the the decision - and - policy - making deliberations of the Cabinet. The choice between conscience and country is sometimes difficult to make; I for one believe that occasions do arise when one has to subordinate one's own fundamental conceptions to the larger interests and more absorbing call of the country.

During my stay in Calcutta, I have interviewed men of divergent views and interests. I have addressed representatives of the Press, political workers, members of relief organisations, teachers, students, officials and representatives of refugees. I have tried my best to appreciate and understand their different points of view. I found, along with an understandable undercurrent of doubt and suspicion, resentment or anger, a willing to give credit for another person's honesty of convictions and sincerity of purpose. This has enabled me to place before my listeners, in its true perspective the merits of the Agreement, of which some of them were bitter critics, or even hostile opponents. I have also been sustained in this task by the love and devotion which all of them uniformly showed to me and the true



and confidence they reposed in me. For all this, I am deeply grateful.

The question before West Bengal is not so much whether the Agreement is good or bad, beneficial or harmful but whether, in the face of the stark reality of a partitioned Bengal under two independent Governments and placed in the present set of circumstances, any other peaceful means is open to it to bring hope and faith and succour and relief to the unfortunate victims of the recent disturbances on both sides of the border.

I have asked, and looked, in vain for an alternative.

The press editorials, representatives of public opinion in West Bengal and even my distinguished friend and colleague Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee, have failed to provide me with an answer. In a situation of this kind, which involves the life, property, honour and fates of millions I think in the interests of these unfortunate sufferers Government are entitled from their critics to a more helpful approach to such momentous problems.

In a democratic Government there can be no question of muzzling or silencing critics, except of course those who have the responsibility of sharing the burden of Government; nevertheless, an international Agreement, pledging the honour and solemn word of a country, does impose a certain amount of restraint and responsibility and a certain code of international propriety which the critics would do well constantly to bear in mind. I think we are entitled to ask that, if the critics have no practical alternative to suggest, the pledged word of the country demands their cooperation and support.

I know that people, in the light of the past history of agreements which have fallen in disuse, or pledges which have fallen in disuse, or pledges which have been broken, approach the latest one with sceptical cynicism and even convinced disbelief. The researches in such past made by critics have yielded no new discoveries

or facts which were not known to those who undertook upon themselves the burden of implementing the Agreement. Human nature, as far as I am aware, places no limit of time on its capacity to change; even death-bed repentance or remorse acquires a religious merit of its own. Therefore, on the basis of past remissness, to accept future bad faith as an unalterable fact, denotes a lack of faith in the basic goodness of human nature which constitutes the very elements of our philosophy. After all, I have yielded to none in past doubts and future fears of the successful implementation of such Agreements, but belief and trust have also a place in one's mental equipment and these have helped to make up my mind to give the Agreement a fair trial. We ask nothing more of the sons and daughters of West Bengal. Even those who express dissatisfaction with the Agreement recognise that having been once concluded there is no option but to implement. In that event does it not behave them to make an unreserved and sincere attempt to do so rather than to express cramping fears or demoralising doubts?

I also know that my West Bengal friends are genuinely worried about the concept of an Islamic State and the consequences which, in the light of history, such a concept is taken to entail. In the face of a clear acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, we have no alternative but to mark time and to put it to the test. The one thing that made a profound impression on me in accepting the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurances at their face value was the earnestness and visible sincerity with which he laid stress on the need for bringing the two countries closer in our life-time. We have at least the background of previous associations and of past friendships and goodwill; the new generation will grow under the full belief and faith in absolute separatism.

I would, therefore, ask you to approach the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurance on this matter in the spirit and desire of coming closer together than drifting apart. If we drift apart, the task of keeping minorities within the geographical limits of our respective frontiers would become immeasurably difficult, whereas, if we make a genuine attempt at closer understanding with trust and confidence in each other, there is some chance for minorities on either side living a life of peace and security to which they are entitled under any civilised Government.

I regard it profitless at this stage to enter into any disputation of respective responsibility for the tragedies that have occurred on both sides of the border. I can tell my West Bengal friends quite candidly that it is the ugly and deplorable incidents which happened on our side of the border that made a world of difference to our capacity and freedom to deal with the problem more effectively and expeditiously. To counsel firmness and consistency in such circumstances or to charge Government with weakness, hesitancy or inconsistency is to ignore the elementary rule of prudence that one can act correctly only when one's conscience is clear and not clouded by one's own guilt. Those who demand more heroic remedies will do well to ponder over this simple fact. Similarly, you cannot talk of peace and in the same breath raise clouds of suspicion and distrust. If the talk of peace within the country has any meaning, it is the bounden duty of all who profess to guide public opinion to think, say and act in such a manner as not to rouse the latent or active forces of discontent, hostility and bitterness. In such a contingency the power of the pen has to be wielded with a grave sense of responsibility which the custody of destinies of millions involves and the instrument of speech is to be used to soothe rather than to hurt, to assuage rather than to alienate, to heal rather than to wound.

Some of my friends have charged Government with having descended down from the lofty principles of the New Constitution to the acceptance of a communal principle in the composition of Ministries. It is rather difficult for me to appreciate the force of their argument. Is it their contention that the Constitution lays down no responsibility for ensuring that the minorities are suitably represented in Government? Does the Constitution, in any manner, bar temporary expedients of restoring confidence among the minorities? Do they wish that we should have left the Hindus of East Bengal without any means of approach to the highest executive of the State? When we removed reservation for minorities from the Constitution, I made it quite clear that this imposed a great obligation on the majority community to give the minorities their due. Is it seriously contended that the giving of a Ministership to a minority is the gift of something to which the minority is not entitled, at least at a time when its confidence in the majority is shaken? To question that part of the Agreement is to betray a mentality which is entirely opposed to the secular basis of our own Constitution and a complete ignorance of the basic conception of a national State.

Let me now briefly explain why I feel that the Indo-Pakistan Agreement gives a reasonable chance, if worked in the proper spirit, for retrieving the ground that has been lost during the last two years. For the first time, we have provided for supervision and control over the day-to-day implementation of the Agreement. The Central Minister of the Government of India and a representative of minorities in the Provincial Cabinet of Pakistan will be there to ensure that the Agreement is implemented in Pakistan in letter and in spirit. The Central Minister would be associated with the functioning of the Minority Commission which would in its turn be the watch-dog of the minority's interests in West Pakistan. Thus, for the first time, a readily available avenue of redress has been provided to a Minority community and it should not be difficult for us to find out any margin between professions

and practice. In these circumstances, it seems to me essential that we, on our part, should give no excuse or justification for any failure of the Agreement in East Pakistan. Similarly, any refusal to avail ourselves of the facilities and machinery available for safeguarding the interests of minorities in East Pakistan could only be construed as a point against us. Therefore, those who withhold their hand of cooperation will neither, <sup>help those who have</sup> come away from Pakistan, nor of those who have been left behind. Similarly, the Agreement, while providing for full facilities to those who wish to come away, makes fair arrangements for those who wish to remain in Pakistan. I can quite realise the reluctance and hesitation of those, who have recently come to India after undergoing or witnessing, or out of a sense of fear at the horrors that have been perpetrated, to return to their homes. But I would ask them as well as those who have come earlier to consider the fate and spirit of resignation or helplessness of those who are remaining behind. After all, they have also undergone the same excruciating experiences. Self-preservation may be the law of nature, but sharing sorrows and sufferings or standing by their fellow creatures in the hour of need is equally a dictate of the better side of human nature. It is in this spirit and for these reasons that I would like to appeal to my brothers and sisters who have come away to India or are thinking of making their departure from East Pakistan to reflect on what I have said above. In the heat of the moment they should not make up their mind once for all against any possibility or hope of return to the paternal acres which bound their wish and care or to their habitations which enshrined for generations their hopes and aspirations. Let them also consider whether, while there is still some hope lingering they need necessarily undergo that sadness of heart, those unhappy afflictions and the torments and difficulties which are the necessary consequences of uprooting oneself from one's established life and home. In giving the right lead at this critical juncture, in creating the proper psychology and in encouraging the correct approach to this difficult dilemma, a special responsibility

devolves on leaders of public opinion in India, in particular on those leaders and workers who have come away from Pakistan. It is my settled conviction that had those, whose moral duty it was to stand by their countrymen after Partition done their part, they would have provided a beacon of light to a distracted people and an inspiration to a demoralised community. When I say this I am thinking in particular of that saintly figure whose life is a poem of self-effacement in the service of his fellow-men. I mean my ~~own~~ old and valued friend, Satish Babu, who has never left his post of duty and whose steadfastness and devotion to his cause is a shining example to others who are hesitating, or who are still wondering whether the risk is worth taking. I would appeal to these friends and colleagues of mine to follow the Mahatma whom they all revered and followed so much in his lifetime and to undertake perhaps the greatest mission that can ever come their way of bringing some hope and encouragement to their brothers and sisters across the frontier. <sup>NP</sup> In the meantime, the policy of Government is ~~is~~ clear and unequivocal. They will strain their utmost to implement this Agreement and, at the same time, to make the lot of those who have come away as happy as possible. In the sacred task of extending relief to them, we shall not recognise any State boundaries nor stint any resources <sup>that</sup> we can command. In that task, the Central Government will hold the hand of the West Bengal Government to the utmost of its strength and capacity. We are already encouraged in our efforts by the support which we have received from all State Governments and the promise of help and cooperation which they have offered. We shall also undertake the task of rehabilitating those who might eventually decide to make India their permanent abode. I would, however, appeal to them to lend a helping hand in these two-fold tasks by complying with such directions and arrangements which the Government of West Bengal might make for their relief or rehabilitation, whether inside or outside West Bengal. It has pained me considerably that interested persons should exploit ~~such an opportunity~~ this opportunity for dissuading refugees from leaving for their allotted places outside West Bengal and for pressing upon them the need for asking

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for relief or rehabilitation within the area of West Bengal itself. I hope leaders and workers in West Bengal will place their services unreservedly at the disposal of Government in this great humanitarian problem and will cooperate wholeheartedly in the difficult task with which that Government is faced. *ackling*

I should also like to make an appeal to my friends in West Bengal fully to comprehend the delicate and difficult situation in which they are placed. The Agreement has been concluded and its implementation is a point of honour both for the Government and the people of India. Public opinion throughout India outside West Bengal and the State Governments have almost unanimously and wholeheartedly accepted the concluded arrangements, and are determined to work the Agreement to the best of their ability and competence. Would it then pay the people of West Bengal to have a different or contrary line even partially? Let not West Bengal isolate itself and alienate the rest of India. West Bengal today needs all the sympathy and help that it can get from the rest of India and I can assure my friends here that they have that sympathy and help in full measure. I am confident, that with this general support, the Government and people of West Bengal will pass safely through the crisis that threatens them. Let them now forget and forgive the controversies and high emotional strain of the past. Let them now settle down to the task of relief and reconstruction and of repairing the damage done in the catastrophic events of the last few months. The heart of West Bengal is sound. I have faith in West Bengal and its people. I have belief in its destiny and <sup>it is</sup> in this spirit that I make an earnest appeal to my friends to rise up to the occasion and play their part in this critical hour of the Nation.

Finally, friends, as one who can conscientiously say that he has not allowed to let slip one single opportunity of promoting the cause of minorities in Pakistan and of safeguarding their interests by all such means as were open to us in this country, it is my earnest appeal to you to make up your minds quickly to give the Indo-Pakistan Agreement a fair trial.

Let us not indulge in impotent rage or mere supercharged emotional outburst. Instead, let us make a constructive, helpful and whole-hearted contribution to the relief of suffering humanity on both sides of the border and help to make their lot a more tolerable one. The lot of mortal existence is already a hard one; let us not make it harder by refusing to avail ourselves of the opportunities for softening or sweetening it. Nor let us make any false move which would put us in the wrong and invoke for us the verdict of history that we shirked our responsibilities in an hour of crisis when there was a chance of saving millions from a catastrophic end. Let not emotions and prejudices overpower our reason. Let us face the problem as human realists comprehending fully the limitations within which we have to work and taking our stand on trust and confidence when a reasonable atmosphere has been created for these virtues to play their part. I am sure that, if we approach the present situation in this spirit and if we discharge to the full the obligations which we have incurred under a sense of national honour and prestige, we shall have done our part in a big hearted attempt to heal the wounds and to reverse the process of misunderstandings and bitterness which have unfortunately marked our relationship with Pakistan ever since its inception. If we succeed, we might, in a humble way, have started an era of peace, understanding and good neighbourliness. If, God forbid, we fail, we shall have had the satisfaction of having explored the last possibility of a peaceful solution of a potentially dangerous problem.

J A I R I N D.



બોમ્બે હોસ્પિટલ ટ્રસ્ટિસીઝ

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તા. ૨૨.૫.૫૦ સોમવાર - રાંધળા ૬-  
હોસ્પિટલના સામેના મેદાનમાં

પ્રિય ભાઈ રામેશ્વર દાસજી, ભાઈ, બહેનો,

જીવન જુઓ ૫૨ એ <sup>૫૦</sup> હોસ્પિટલમાં ગયા  
મડાન ખડા છે ઉસ જુઓ કેડ, દો સાલ પહેલે  
ઉસડી નામ જાલનેડાં સરુભાગ્ય પાલતુ બાકી.

ઉસ સમય ઉસડા નામ - "મરુઆડી" <sup>૫૦</sup> હોસ્પિટલ" થી.

ઉસ સમય જુએ <sup>૫૦</sup> ઉમેદ નહીં થી હિંમતી ખલદી  
મમાન મેમર ગા  
દો નમસ્ત.

માન. કે સમય મેં કોઈ ખડા ઉપા રતનેમે  
કુલ કાચદા કાનૂન, કુલ ઉમેદ, બાચમે આપા છે.

જુએ <sup>૫૦</sup> ઉમેદ નહીં થી મારી જુએ <sup>૫૦</sup> ઉસડો

ખોલનેડો લિયો નિમંત્રણ મિલા તબ બહુન  
જુશી કુઈ. આરે ઉસડા નામ બદલ કે

"સાર્વજનિક હોસ્પિટલ" બના દિયા થસસે  
બહુન જુશી કુઈ.

આરે મેરે પ્યારે ભાઈ <sup>૫૦</sup> હિંમતી જલદી  
હસડામ કો પૂરા ઉપા ઉસસે બહુન જુશી કુઈ.

મેહ કો કામ આસા છે કે થસડી મંચાદા કોઈ  
નહીં આંડ સડાઈ

એડ કરોડ કે બ્યાજસે કામ ચલેગા; મે  
નહીં માનતા.

૧ { જસ બેરોમે <sup>૫૦</sup> બરખા પેદા કુઆ છે, આરે  
જસ બેરોમે બરે રહી છે, થતને મે <sup>૫૦</sup> નહીં

રેગમ. મેઈડલ કોરેજમે બહુન નવજુવાન

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- ਪਰ ਜੇਕਰ ਤੇ ਕੁਝ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਰਹੀ ਹੋ ਤਾਂ ਆਪਣੇ  
 ਕੰਮਾਂ ਤੇ <sup>ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹੋ</sup> ਧਿਆਨ ਦਿਓ। ਪੈਰੇ ਕਰਵਾਏ  
 ਲਿਖੇ ਜਾਣ। ਪੈਰੇ ਤੋਂ ਸਵਾਲ ਨਹੀਂ। ਸੁਝਾਵਾਂ  
 ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਵਿਚਿਤਰਾ <sup>ਜਿਤਨੇ</sup> ਮਾਧਿਅਮ ਤੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਜਾਣੇ ਹਨ।  
 ਆਪਣੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੋ।

હમારે ગલનવાળા વાહન પકાઈ કે  
 ટિચે બાંને<sup>બે</sup> ઇસને જરાગે સુખીયા ~~વાહન~~<sup>બાહન</sup> ભાગે હી.  
~~વાહન~~<sup>બાહન</sup> કે ડુગડરે હમારે ચાં સાપને ન  
 આલે ચલ નો કાડે હી, મગર હમારે લડકે  
 ચાં પહે ઇનના ઇન્સાનના હોના ચાહિયે.

અબ જમણા આયા હું તિ ઉપરે લડકોડો  
તાલીન ચલે મિલે.

5132 રોડો પૂછો તો કહેવો કે ૧૦૦૦ આવી  
કે પાછો આંક (બેડ) મારવો. કુ અભર રાશિ  
તો અભર બન્યા હો. આ અભર

तो अबल मला ई.  
मुल्य में ही नही मगल सारे जोशियामें  
यह समय में लगे हुए मगल हो और सारे  
जोशियामें से A पत्रों को (जब) जाने को गी  
उने ई. २५०.

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 एतत् इत्येवमेव ३ पाठे एतत् यत् एतत्  
 २. १२६. ३. १२७. ४. १२८. ५. १२९. ६. १३०. ७. १३१. ८. १३२. ९. १३३. १०. १३४. ११. १३५. १२. १३६. १३. १३७. १४. १३८. १५. १३९. १६. १४०. १७. १४१. १८. १४२. १९. १४३. २०. १४४. २१. १४५. २२. १४६. २३. १४७. २४. १४८. २५. १४९. २६. १५०. २७. १५१. २८. १५२. २९. १५३. ३०. १५४. ३१. १५५. ३२. १५६. ३३. १५७. ३४. १५८. ३५. १५९. ३६. १६०. ३७. १६१. ३८. १६२. ३९. १६३. ४०. १६४. ४१. १६५. ४२. १६६. ४३. १६७. ४४. १६८. ४५. १६९. ४६. १७०. ४७. १७१. ४८. १७२. ४९. १७३. ५०. १७४. ५१. १७५. ५२. १७६. ५३. १७७. ५४. १७८. ५५. १७९. ५६. १८०. ५७. १८१. ५८. १८२. ५९. १८३. ६०. १८४. ६१. १८५. ६२. १८६. ६३. १८७. ६४. १८८. ६५. १८९. ६६. १९०. ६७. १९१. ६८. १९२. ६९. १९३. ७०. १९४. ७१. १९५. ७२. १९६. ७३. १९७. ७४. १९८. ७५. १९९. ७६. २००. ७७. २०१. ७८. २०२. ७९. २०३. ८०. २०४. ८१. २०५. ८२. २०६. ८३. २०७. ८४. २०८. ८५. २०९. ८६. २१०. ८७. २११. ८८. २१२. ८९. २१३. ९०. २१४. ९१. २१५. ९२. २१६. ९३. २१७. ९४. २१८. ९५. २१९. ९६. २२०. ९७. २२१. ९८. २२२. ९९. २२३. १००. २२४. १०१. २२५. १०२. २२६. १०३. २२७. १०४. २२८. १०५. २२९. १०६. २३०. १०७. २३१. १०८. २३२. १०९. २३३. ११०. २३४. १११. २३५. ११२. २३६. ११३. २३७. ११४. २३८. ११५. २३९. ११६. २४०. ११७. २४१. ११८. २४२. ११९. २४३. १२०. २४४. १२१. २४५. १२२. २४६. १२३. २४७. १२४. २४८. १२५. २४९. १२६. २५०. १२७. २५१. १२८. २५२. १२९. २५३. १३०. २५४. १३१. २५५. १३२. २५६. १३३. २५७. १३४. २५८. १३५. २५९. १३६. २६०. १३७. २६१. १३८. २६२. १३९. २६३. १४०. २६४. १४१. २६५. १४२. २६६. १४३. २६७. १४४. २६८. १४५. २६९. १४६. २७०. १४७. २७१. १४८. २७२. १४९. २७३. १५०. २७४. १५१. २७५. १५२. २७६. १५३. २७७. १५४. २७८. १५५. २७९. १५६. २८०. १५७. २८१. १५८. २८२. १५९. २८३. १६०. २८४. १६१. २८५. १६२. २८६. १६३. २८७. १६४. २८८. १६५. २८९. १६६. २९०. १६७. २९१. १६८. २९२. १६९. २९३. १७०. २९४. १७१. २९५. १७२. २९६. १७३. २९७. १७४. २९८. १७५. २९९. १७६. ३००. १७७. ३०१. १७८. ३०२. १७९. ३०३. १८०. ३०४. १८१. ३०५. १८२. ३०६. १८३. ३०७. १८४. ३०८. १८५. ३०९. १८६. ३१०. १८७. ३११. १८८. ३१२. १८९. ३१३. १९०. ३१४. १९१. ३१५. १९२. ३१६. १९३. ३१७. १९४. ३१८. १९५. ३१९. १९६. ३२०. १९७. ३२१. १९८. ३२२. १९९. ३२३. २००. ३२४. २०१. ३२५. २०२. ३२६. २०३. ३२७. २०४. ३२८. २०५. ३२९. २०६. ३३०. २०७. ३३१. २०८. ३३२. २०९. ३३३. २१०. ३३४. २११. ३३५. २१२. ३३६. २१३. ३३७. २१४. ३३८. २१५. ३३९. २१६. ३४०. २१७. ३४१. २१८. ३४२. २१९. ३४३. २२०. ३४४. २२१. ३४५. २२२. ३४६. २२३. ३४७. २२४. ३४८. २२५. ३४९. २२६. ३५०. २२७. ३५१. २२८. ३५२. २२९. ३५३. २३०. ३५४. २३१. ३५५. २३२. ३५६. २३३. ३५७. २३४. ३५८. २३५. ३५९. २३६. ३६०. २३७. ३६१. २३८. ३६२. २३९. ३६३. २४०. ३६४. २४१. ३६५. २४२. ३६६. २४३. ३६७. २४४. ३६८. २४५. ३६९. २४६. ३७०. २४७. ३७१. २४८. ३७२. २४९. ३७३. २५०. ३७४. २५१. ३७५. २५२. ३७६. २५३. ३७७. २५४. ३७८. २५५. ३७९. २५६. ३८०. २५७. ३८१. २५८. ३८२. २५९. ३८३. २६०. ३८४. २६१. ३८५. २६२. ३८६. २६३. ३८७. २६४. ३८८. २६५. ३८९. २६६. ३९०. २६७. ३९१. २६

આવા પ્રશ્ન "કેલેન્ડર બાંધે ?"

..... હોને કે કારણ નહીં. આમ તકલીફ  
સાહે દુનિયામે હું.

બડે બડે મુલત તી તકલીફ મેં હું. વિષમુદ્ધ  
કી પ્રસાદી હું.

એક તરફથી દેખો તો વિદુસ્તાનમેં હું  
દીવની શાંતિ કહીં નહીં હું.

વિદુસ્તાનમેં પુરાણી સંસ્કૃતિ ચલી  
આતી હું. કમ મિલા તો કમ, મગર  
શાંતિસે અંતરેસે રવના/ચિત્રકે પાસ  
દેવ હું ઉસકો બહુત ડુસાવત હું.

૧ | ઇસકી દોસ્તીસે સલામતી હું કી ઉસકી  
બોન મેં લોગ પડે હું. માયન્ડીસ્ટ્રક્ બલકીસે  
જલદી સ્ટાઈડેસ સંભારકી શૈલી મેં હું.

(દુમારી પુરાણી લેદકાણસે) સંસ્કૃતિ  
હું કિ ડિસી મુલત પર મેં કાકમલા ડિયા નહીં  
હું, કુરંગે નહીં. બે લોગ આસે લબમ

ડિયા; મગર ઉધે લોગ આસે હમારે

સિદ્ધ પર પદ લેકે ઓર ઉમમે લલુકે લગે

બોસા નહીં લોગ હું નાહો.

હમે ઇસ ક્ષેત્રમેં બોસા કામ કરના  
હું કિ વિદુસ્તાન તગડા હો. પુર ક્ષેત્રમેં

उध लोड उलने है हमारी गाय निमोन  
माछ मगर उला मिना दुःख न जिया घनकाई

જાલ બચા. પૈદા પોતા હો તો બચુત  
 મુસીબત કોલી હો. બચા કો રામાલના  
 પડના હો. અફિરતો અફિરતો ઉસરો બહા ઉસરો  
 હો.

3.

आप एंडरस में हयें। क्या है  
मिस्टर एंडरस, मैंने आपको देखा है। अब आप वहाँ नहीं हैं।  
नहीं, मैं नहीं, तो आप नहीं हैं।

१. हमारे लोगों में जिस चीज का सबसे बड़ा  
 दुश्मन है, वह है 'अज्ञान'। हमें इसे दूर करना  
 है। हमें अपने अज्ञान को पहचानना है।  
 हमें अपने अज्ञान को दूर करना है।  
 हमें अपने अज्ञान को दूर करना है।

हमारे नयन बाज उड़ी उस गरुड़ यत्न  
 नये डूँ. एमारे सौन्दर्य को देख कर ली उस डो  
 पछाती डूँ. जो एमारे हवा डो अमुकुल  
 नही डूँ.

दिन प्रैह उरने में गलत चीज, गलत  
 रास्ता पर उपयोग करने को ठीक तरह से  
 होना चाहिए।

હોળી: ચાલુ થ. તે નાનેડી  
 રિંદુસ્તાનકો રહી છે ચસ્તો  
 પૂરી કો શિવ કરો દેવ ગુર

दिन पैदा करने में बहुत काम, बहुत सा साधन  
उपयोग करने को पड़ेगा। इस बात पर ध्यान दें।

हिंदुस्तान को सीधे रस्ते में लाने की  
बड़ी कोशिश है।

दिन पैदा करना चाहिए। दिन भर  
पैदा करना चाहिए। दिन भर लगातार सही रास्ते  
फिरना चाहिए। सही रास्ते पर चलना चाहिए। उपयोग  
लोगों को करने की प्रवृत्ति है।

मैं तो तो इसमें कुछ उधा नहीं।  
मैं तो निमित्तमात्र सीधे लगातार उधा हूँ। जिनने  
दिन दिया, उन्होंने बहुत काम किया, उसी को  
दखला देना है। साथ ही को अच्छी तरह  
... को और अच्छी तरह को

पीड़ितों (ए.ए.) को आशीर्वाद मिले।

"शपथ दी है सर्वोपर लराय" ऐसे ऐसा  
लोग है जो तो बहुत दिन से रहेगा।  
जिसे तब तक जाना है हर तरह का  
दुखित होना वह और दुखित हो सारे  
देश में होगा। हमें मिले को सीधे रस्ते  
साधना है।

સાચી જાણે નવરસો.

તેમજ બધા ભાવના રમ્યા  
મીઠાપીઠીયાં રીઝાં રીઝાં  
નિ સીયાણી રમ્યા ભૂમ  
ભર્યા.

સાચી જાણે રમ્યા ના  
મીઠાપીઠીયાં રીઝાં રીઝાં  
ભર્યા નવરસો, ના  
સર્યાં વાળાં રીઝાં ભર્યા  
ના ભર્યા રીઝાં  
રે રીઝાં - ના ભર્યા  
સાચી તુ રીઝાં ના  
સર્યાં રીઝાં રીઝાં  
ના ભર્યા રીઝાં  
ના ભર્યા રીઝાં

Swami Darganand  
Saresust

(A few quotations from  
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's  
speech on the Swami  
movement)

123 145

(2)

Speech delivered by the Hon.  
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at the  
Ramlika Grounds at the Rishi  
Dayanand Nirvan Utsav meeting  
9.11.50.

I am very happy to meet you all on this auspicious day.

When I was invited to address this meeting, I felt that I should attend and accept the invitation. The reason is not far to seek. [Swami Dayanand Saraswati came out from Gujrat and spread his message of uplift of whole India throughout the country.] The gospel of Some is propagated during their life-time; and Some have to wait till after their death. <sup>learned</sup> The number of people is large, but very few are able to put their learning and knowledge into practice. [Swamiji and Gandhiji were born in Gujrat but they belonged rather the whole world. This was to the whole of India, not only because of their knowledge, but because they put their knowledge into practice.] The centre of Arya Samaj was formerly Lahore, but now it has shifted to Delhi. The cream of Arya Samaj is in Delhi and I thought that, to miss this opportunity of meeting you all on Swamiji's 'Nirvan Din', would be unfortunate. Usually, because of my indifferent health, I am not in a position to go to many places, but because of your love and affection, I accepted the invitation. There are many learned people here who have studied Swamiji's life and his teachings. They can preach about his teachings better than myself. [Swamiji was born at a time when people were losing their faith in the Hindu religion and were being converted to other faiths; foreign missionaries were

trying to spread their religion.] In India, whenever there has been an encroachment on the Hindu religion, some Great Soul has come to its rescue. [It was at that critical period in the life of the Hindu religion, that Swamiji's river of knowledge began to flow to enrich the world.] Life and knowledge both were combined by him in a pleasing whole. It was that way that [he laid the foundation-stone of free-thinking and freedom. You all know that Hinduism was full of superstitions at that time and ignorance was spreading in the guise of religion. The unique and rapid transformation brought out by Swamiji was due to the Divine will and the strength of his penance.] The people admired the work that he did during his life time. [As Gandhiji did later, SWAMIJI tried to remove untouchability which has been a great blot on the Hindu religion. The culmination of their efforts was reached in the inclusion of the clause relating to the removal of untouchability in the Constitution. The first lead in this direction was given by Swamiji. He traversed a very difficult path. Many people opposed him. Gandhiji reduced these difficulties through the power and strength of the Congress. But the welcome result of Swamiji's efforts was the stoppage of the conversions of lakhs of people to other faiths. Swamiji also did one thing more. He worked hard for bringing back to the Hindu fold those who had been forcibly converted to other faiths. Forcible conversions are against the tenets of the Hindu religion. This has been a boon to India, otherwise we do not know what would have been the condition of India today. Swamiji removed the clouds of suspicion



in which the Hindu religion was enveloped] and made it shine like the sun. Some ignorant people, who opposed him, tried to take his life many a time. But the foundation of his life-work was deeply and properly laid. As the Chairman of this meeting just now said, the time has now come when the real lustre of India can issue forth. [As Maulana Saheb has said in his message, Swamiji was not educated in the modern sense, but he spread knowledge through the medium of our ancient and indigenous culture. There are many learned people who give long lectures and write books in foreign languages. But if we want to develop the indigenous culture of our country there is no need for any foreign language. We do not require the medium of any foreign language to impart the Vedic knowledge. Knowledge can be had through any language. But, after all, as Swamiji has said, the world is one. There may be different languages, various divisions, but ultimately the world unity is there.]

Today [the world is passing through a crisis. There is now the fear of a third world war. We have seen two world wars. The fear of a third one is growing. India was partitioned; you have suffered the most. Today the condition of the world gives the impression <sup>as if</sup> that ~~the~~ Last Day is at hand. A fierce war is going on in Korea, as if between two big camps. On the other side, a peaceful country like Tibet has been invaded. It may not survive but we did not think this would happen. We were maintaining friendly relations with China. Some other countries in the world even started misunderstanding us on account of

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these friendly relations. But China did not accept our advice. We do not know what will be the outcome of this. Tibet is a religious-minded country. There has been no aggression from its side. But when one is affected by the vanity of one's power, one does not realise what one is doing. Tibet was not taking the advice from any other country. It was following the advice of India. We tell people not to use the force of arms. If the armed conflict occurs at one place, it later spreads elsewhere. In Nepal, the people are quarrelling amongst themselves. The Ruler himself went to take shelter in the Indian Embassy. How can we refuse him? Now they do not want to continue to recognise the original Ruler and have installed on the gaddi a child of the Ruler's family aged 3 years. The borders of Assam, Pakistan, Kashmir, Burma are just adjacent to Nepal. Now our whole border becomes exposed to danger. We should, therefore, be vigilant.

Swamiji has taught us that we should shed the fear complex and be united in such a way that we can protect ourselves. Gandhiji has also said that our non-violence should not be that of cowards. [India is an infant three years old.] Fire is raging on all sides. Our saints have asked us to be fearless and we should protect our country, if possible, by non-violence, but if necessary by violence. [The present times demand a unity amongst us, born of love and goodwill, so that we may effectively protect our country.] Now the centre of the Arya Samaj is Delhi and its leaders are here. They have to understand one thing, i.e. to realise their duty at this time. If we want

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to survive, we should come together and follow  
the teachings of both the saints, Gandhiji and  
Swamiji.

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Message of The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to the meeting held to celebrate Lala Lajpatrai Memorial Day - 17.11.1950.

I am sorry that, on account of my ill-health, I shall be unable to participate in today's meeting. The sanctity and importance of the day were enough to make me take part in it. In addition, it was Tandonji's request that I should do so. Also, how could I have let go this opportunity of meeting my friends and brothers who have assembled here. I was eagerly looking forward to this occasion for some days. I also tried my best, but God willed otherwise. I cannot express to you the sorrow which I feel and hope you will excuse me for whatever disappointment that has been caused and for whatever ~~disappointment~~ inconvenience that has been occasioned on account of my inability to come.

History affords few examples of brave, influential, fearless and inspiring patriots like Lalaji. When he was alive, the general public used to hail him as the Lion of the Punjab. He had all the leonine virtues of dignity and majesty, gentlemanliness, bravery, a magnetic lustre, zeal and power. In addition, he had ingrained in him gentle-heartedness, love, devotion, generosity and truth. Today, recalling him and his virtues, I feel sorry to find that his chair is empty and there is none amongst us worthy to occupy it. How much the country needs his personality can best be guessed if you look at the condition of the country today.

Today amongst us, there are people who forget their own shortcomings and are trying to correct the weaknesses of others. There are many who feel that their interest lies in joining the general shout of "thief, thief" and thereby concealing their own larceny. Forgetting their own past history, they are trying to fashion in their own way the history of others. They seem to rely on the proverbial shortness

of public memory, and seem to believe that the people also will, like them, forget the past and put faith in them. They do not seem to realise that the public has not degenerated so low as they ~~think~~<sup>have</sup> and that it has that spark and that knowledge which can enable it to assess the worth of individuals. None can become great by singing his own praises. The bigness or the smallness of man becomes evident through his own actions, behaviour and feelings. Men of this type are so much engrossed in their own selfishness that they feel that they can conceal from the popular gaze that selfishness by clothing it in the garb of selflessness. In India today, an atmosphere seems to prevail, in which wanton criticism of others and ~~disparagement~~<sup>disparagement</sup> of the aims and motives of others is considered synonymous with patriotism and service of the country. With the ruins of their ~~past~~<sup>so-called</sup> constructive efforts, they propose to raise a new structure. I have no doubt, nor is there any room for any such doubt, as to what the future will be of those who are trying in this manner to uproot the national life from its very foundations. I am convinced that the heart of the country is pure and clean. To the extent that these people regard our brothers as ignorant or ill-informed, they are making a mistake. I, therefore, fully believe that after a short time, it will be evident as to who is true and who is false, but if, in this state of affairs, a personality like that of Lala Lajpat Rai were alive, his leonine roar would have awakened the country in the shortest possible time. His enthusiasm and courage would have created an atmosphere in which people would have fully realised their duty and would have worked with devotion and attachment to achieve their ideals in the same way as

he did.

Today, the field for the service of the country is no less than it was before. Previously, there was only one real danger in our sight, and that was that of slavery. Today, we have several dangers in view, but I do not see many signs of the same vigilance and fearlessness with which we faced the first danger. Leaving aside greater dangers, we have got <sup>guarantee as</sup> ~~we~~ involved in small things that there is <sup>real</sup> apprehension of our forgetting our duty and becoming powerless to deal with the real dangers when they actually face us. The country needs an inspiring, fearless and brave leader like Lalaji, so that he may caution India against those dangers and may create such a wave of enthusiasm in the country that we might be able to overcome those dangers. I appeal to all of you to place before yourselves the ~~a~~ example of Lalaji and, deliberating over the state of the country, comprehend and do your duty.

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मुझे बख्शो है कि मैं अपने स्वास्थ्य ठीक न होने के कारण बाप की सभा में सम्मिलित न हो सकूँ। बाप का प्रिय और महत्वपूर्ण दिवस मेरी मुक्ति की सभा में सम्मिलित होने के लिये काफी था। उस पर टूटन की का चुरावों या और दोस्तों और भाइयों के मिलने का अवसर भी मेरी टास बनता था। कई दिनों से बाप की कि यह सुनकर मुझे प्राप्त होगा। मेरी कोशिश की काफी की कि मैं वह सब परन्तु ईश्वर को मैत्र न था। मैं उसके लिए प्रियता दुखी हुई बाप लोगों के सामने प्रकट नहीं कर सकता। बाप है कि बाप मेरे कारण को कुछ बापों गिराया हुई और सभा के कार्यक्रम में इस कारण को कुछ केर कर करना पड़ा उसके लिए मुक्ति सभा करें।

सादा की की तरह और प्रभावशाली, निरंतर और प्रेरणादायी दैत्यत्व इतिहास में कम मिली। जब वे जीवित थे उनको पैदाश का डर ककर नाम जाता चुकरी थी। उनकी केर की तरह जान और शक्ति, तेज और महानुरी, जोर और ताकत सभी बातें थीं। उसके साथ साथ उनमें प्रिय की कोमलता, प्रेम और ममता, उदारता और सत्य, झूठ झूठ कर नरे हुए थे। बाप उनका और उन की मुक्ति मुक्तियों का स्मरण करके बार बार मुझे मुक्त होता है कि उनकी मुक्ति लाती है। और हममें कोई भी इस योग्य नहीं है कि उस पर बैठ सके। देश को उनके व्यक्तित्व की कितनी आवश्यकता है उसका अनुमान बापों देश की स्थिति से ही हो सकता है।

बाप हमारे कवर बहुत थे व्यक्ति हैं जो अपने बाप की बुराइयों को मुक्त कर दुष्टों की बुराइयों को ठीक करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। बहुत थे ऐसे हैं जो अपना कल्याण इसी में समझते हैं कि और और की भाषा में सम्मिलित होकर अपनी बोरी पर पर्दा डाल सके। अपने पिछले इतिहास को मुक्त कर दुष्टों का इतिहास मन माने रूप में बदने की कोशिश करते हैं। उनका शायद इस बात पर चुराव है कि जता की स्मरण शक्ति कमजोर होती है और उनकी तरह पिछली बातों को मुक्त कर उनकी बातें स्वीकार कर लेनी। वे यह नहीं समझते कि जता उनकी तरह गिरा हुई नहीं है। और जता ने भी यह जान और यह जान है जिसकी सहायता से हर व्यक्ति को परत सकती है। अपनी बड़ाई ना ना कर बापनी स्वयं बड़ा नहीं हो सकता। मनुष्य का महत्त्व या शोटापन उसके काम अनुसार और मनोवृत्ति से बाप की बाप प्रकट हो जाता है। इस प्रकार के लोग अपने स्वार्थ में इतने लिप्त हैं कि वे समझते हैं कि उस स्वार्थ को परमार्थ के कण्ठ पहनाकर जता की बातें से

दिया करते हैं। बाबू भारत में कुछ इस प्रकार का वास्तविक प्रयत्न है कि जिसमें कुहरों की जड़ें टीका और कुहरों के उद्देश्यों और नियत पर बाधित लगाने में ही वैयक्तिक और वैयक्तिक समझी जाती है। जिससे रचनात्मक कार्यों के संस्कार के अंत पर एक नये महान बनाने की दृष्टि की जाती है। देश के जीवन को जीव से ही इस प्रकार उठा देने का जो प्रयत्न करते हैं, उनका मणिष्य क्या होगा कि उसमें न तो मुझे कोई डर है और न कोई डर की मुनासिब है। मुझे इस बात का कुछ विश्वास है कि देश का मुझे कुछ न डर है। जिसका ये लोग हमारे माइनों को बतानी समझते हैं उसकी ही मुझे करते हैं। मुझे इसलिये पुरा यकीन है कि कुछ समय में सारे लोटे का निर्माण हो ही जायगा। परन्तु इस अवस्था में साक्षात् साक्ष्यकारों की भी व्यक्ति होते तो उनका विश्वास एक और फिर बली से बली सारे देश को जागृत कर सकता था। उनका जीत और उद्देश्य देश में फिर एक देवी बना बना कर सकता था जिसमें जिस लोग अपना कर्तव्य पूरी भाँति समझ सकते और अपने माइनों को पाने के लिए उठी व्यक्ति और प्रेम से काम करते जिससे अपने जीवन में साक्षात् की नै स्वयं काम किया। वह

बाबू भारत में देश सेवा का काम पहले से कुछ कम नहीं है। हमारे सामने पहले एक ही सतरा दिखाई पड़ता था। वह था अपनी मुलाक़ात का। बाबू काही सतरों का सामना दिखाई पड़ता है परन्तु जिस सावधानी और निष्ठता से पहले सतरों का सामना किया उसके ज्यादा किन्तु मुझे दिखाई नहीं देते। बड़े बड़े सतरों को छोड़ कर छोटी छोटी बातों में हम हमने लपट नये हैं कि इस बात का डर है कि हम अपना कर्तव्य पूरा जाय और अपनी सतरों का सामना करने में निश्चित हो जाय। साक्षात् की की भी बहादुर, निष्ठ और श्रद्धावादी व्यक्ति की देश को आवश्यकता है कि वह भारत को उन सतरों से सावधान करे और सारे देश में जोश की एक देवी सतर जिस नाम जिससे हम उन सतरों पर विजय पा सकें।

बाबू सब माइनों से यही प्रार्थना है कि साक्षात् की माइनों को अपने सामने रखकर बाबू की अवस्था पर विचार कीजिए और अपना कर्तव्य समझिये और भारत कीजिए।



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Speeches of Sardar Patel

1. ✓ The Preventive Detention Bill 1950  
25.2.1950.
  2. ✓ Fast of Shri Shibban Lal Saksena  
28.2.1950.
  3. ✓ Special Criminal Courts (Jurisdiction) Bill  
28.2.1950.
  4. ✓ Fast of Shri Shibban Lal Saksena  
1.3.1950
  5. ✓ Condolence Motion over the death of Dr. Sachchidanad Sinha  
6.3.1950
  6. ✓ Hyderabad State  
✓ a) 7.3.1950  
✓ b) 7.3.1950
  7. ✓ Reg. White Paper etc.  
21.3.1950.
  8. ✓ Reply to Khandubhai Desai  
2.2.1950
  9. ✓ Speech at Charni Road Garden, Bombay  
24.5.1950
  10. ✓ Message after Travancore - Cochin Tour  
16.5.1950
  11. ✓ On I. N. S. "Delhi" (incomplete)  
16.5.1950
  12. ✓ Speech at Trivandrum  
18.5.50
  13. ✓ Speech at Ernakulam  
13.5.1950.
  14. ✓ Speech at Ernakulam (second copy) 13.5.1950.
  15. ✓ Speech at Wellington Island  
13.5.1950
  16. ✓ Speech before Representatives & Teachers of Colleges.  
13.1.1950.
  17. ✓ Speech in meeting of the members of the West Bengal  
Legislative Assembly 13. 1. 1950.
- 118 12-5-50 I.A.S.

— निम्न —  
रूप रूपांतरणः

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THE PREVENTIVE DETENTION BILL, 1950.

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Minister of Home Affairs and the States: (Sardar Patel): Sir,  
I crave permission to introduce the Bill as well as to move: "That the Bill to provide for preventive detention in certain cases and matters connected therewith be taken into consideration."

At the outset I should like to apologise to the House for the extremely short notice at which I have to approach it for this emergency legislation. The legislative output of the Ministry to which I have the honour to belong has not been large. That, I hope, would be regarded as sufficient proof of my intention not to trouble the House or to trouble the House only when no other course is available to me. In this particular instance also I plead the same urgent necessity. The Hon. Members are aware that the old Constitution in certain respects died on the 26th January midnight when the new Constitution was born and the order of the President in this respect was signed at Ten O'Clock on the next day. So there was an interregnum which the lawyers cannot excuse and therefore to cover up this lacuna, it has become a necessity. Besides certain judicial pronouncements or decisions which have been made during the last couple of weeks, and certain litigation which is pending before the Courts have created a situation in which, I feel, having regard to the conditions prevailing today, that unless this House takes immediate action, a grave peril to the security of the State is involved. That, therefore, is my justification for approaching this House with this piece of legislation and I thank you all and I thank you, Sir, for having accommodated me in this regard.

The House or at least a majority of the Members of this House who were Members of the Constituent Assembly

are aware of the prolonged discussions which we had on Article 22 of the Constitution in the final form which that Article took. I can say straightaway that unfortunately owing to me ill-health I could not be present when the discussions were going on. But I was very apprehensive that certain aspects regarding the security of the State were not properly emphasised before the House at that time and, with all respect to that august body, I felt that due weight was not given to those considerations. But, I thought that the House also has provided for another alternative which, if resorted to, would meet with the requirements of the case and that under section 373 the President's help would give a breathing period. Fresh legislation would, in any case, have been necessary because of the limitations placed by article 22 on the powers of the States to keep a person under detention.

Recently the judgment of the Patna High Court declaring the Local Public Safety Act as ultra vires of the Constitution on account of its having certain provisions inconsistent with the Constitution has created difficulties in that province. The Calcutta High Court is already cognisant of an application made by 350 detenus who, I am assured, are some of the most dangerous. That is coming up on Monday for final decision. The Bombay High Court have also released some of the detenus the other day because they found that it was contrary to the provisions of the Constitution to keep them under detention any longer. The High Court of Allahabad has also issued an order declaring certain provisions of the Public Safety Act to be inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution. These judicial pronouncements have therefore created a situation in more than one province in which it would no longer be possible./.....

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S.S.

F.2.

Sardar Patel:(continued):

possible for us to keep under detention persons about whose dangerous and subversive activities the State Governments have no doubt.

Here, I should like to remind the House that the State Governments at our instance have already introduced in their Public Safety Ordinances or legislation machinery of the type of Advisory Board referred to in article 22 of the Constitution which scrutinises the cases of detention and makes suitable recommendations. In a large majority of cases of those who are at present under detention the Government has had the concurrence of these advisory bodies. It is only in a comparatively small number of cases that these Governments have had to invoke the primary responsibility which they have, of maintaining law and order and to keep the persons under detention even if the Advisory Boards felt otherwise. The House, therefore, can rest assured that a large majority of the cases with which it is dealing at present had the scrutiny of a non-executive authority.

I shall not weary the House by telling it how exactly the communists in India who have been by far the largest number of detenus constitute a danger to the existence and security of the State which has been brought into being by the sacrifices and sufferings of millions of our people. It would be a poor return for these sacrifices and sufferings if we fail to preserve the liberties which we have won after so much struggle and surrender them to the merciless and ruthless tactics of a comparatively

Continued by F.3/...

S.S.

F.3.

Sardar Patel(continued),

small number of persons whose inspiration, methods and culture are all of a foreign stamp and who are, as the history of so many countries shows, linked financially, strategically, structurally and tactically with foreign organisations. If anybody wishes to seek justification for our policy against them in cold print, he can do so in the pages of the pamphlet which we issued last year illustrating the methods and instances of communist violence. I should like to say here that our fight is not with communism or with those who believe in the theory of communism, but with those whose avowed object is to create disruption, dislocation, and tampering with communications, to suborn loyalty and make it impossible for normal Government based on law to function. Obviously, we cannot deal with these people in terms of ordinary law. Obedience to law should be the fundamental duty of a citizen. When the law is flouted and offences are committed, ordinarily there is the criminal law which is put into force. But, where the very basis of law is sought to be undermined and attempts are made to create a state of affairs in which, to borrow the words of the distinguished patriot, the father of our Prime Minister, 'men would not be men and law would not be law', we feel justified in invoking emergent and extraordinary laws.

Sir, there are also other anti social elements raising their heads and troubles of very serious dimensions are well above the horizon. I know honourable members are already concerned about some of the recent developments. I am sure the House would/...



S.S.

F.4.

Sardar Patel:(continued):

would like us to be fully armed and equipped with the means of dealing with any emergency that might arise. There is, therefore a full justification for the enactment of a special measure to deal with persons of the type we propose to cover by this Bill.

I shall now deal with the structure of the Bill. Under article 22 of the Constitution there are two sets of provisions relating to preventive detention. One set of provisions authorises the detention of any person for a longer period than three months if an Advisory Board has certified that there is in its opinion sufficient cause for such detention. The other set of provisions authorises Parliament to make a law under which a person may be detained for a longer period than three months without obtaining the opinion of the Advisory Board and which also lays down the maximum period for which any person may in any class of cases be detained. As the provisions of the Bill will indicate, we propose to cover both these types of cases in this Bill. We have prescribed that for certain categories of detainees namely those detained in connection with the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community, or who are foreigners, or who are detained by the District Magistrate or Sub-divisional Magistrate or in a Presidency town, the Commissioner of Police, the Advisory Board would be the final authority to determine the question of the continued detention. In regard to the other categories of cases, that is, those who are concerned with the defence of India, relations of India with foreign powers or the security of the State or the maintenance of

Debates (25-2-50)  
Uncorrected - Not for publication.

S.S.

F.5.

Sardar Patel: (continued):

public order, it will not be necessary to obtain the opinion of the Advisory Board. Nevertheless, we feel that some sort of a non-executive authority should be associated with the Government in a purely advisory capacity even in regard to these cases. We have therefore provided that after a period of six months of the original detention, the Government concerned shall review its decision in consultation with a judicial authority. We have thus maintained not only the provisions of the Constitution, but also its spirit. What is more, we have gone a step further than the provisions of the Constitution in that even where it has armed the Parliament with powers to provide for detention without obtaining the opinion of an advisory board, we have sought to replace the Advisory Board by a judicial authority whose opinion though not as binding as that of the Advisory Board, will, still be entitled to weight and consideration. As proof of the bona fides of the State Government,

(continued by G)/...

Ayyar  
11-45

G-1

SARDAR PATEL contd.-

As proof of the bona fides of the State Governments, I have only to repeat the statement which I have made earlier, viz., that even at present, in a majority of cases that opinion has been given weight, in that, only small number of detenus are there without the concurrence of such bodies.

The other provisions of the Bill are merely incidental and embody the procedural matters either in the existing Public Safety Legislation in the States or in the Constitution itself. We have provided, for instance, for communication to detenus the grounds on which the order has been made and affording them the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order. We have also sought to preserve the secrecy of the information on which the detention order is based, without in any way prejudicing an accused from seeking his own protection under the law. Also in order to give this or the successor Parliament an opportunity to review matters after some time, we have limited the life of the Bill upto 31st March 1951.

Sir, I hope I have now given sufficient justification of the urgency and necessity of this measure and have also shown conclusively how in framing its provisions we have safeguarded the liberty of the individual against the arbitrary acts of the executive. I shall now only plead with the House that during the consideration of this measure it fully takes into account the dangers which happily we have so far avoided, the dangers which unhappily still threaten us and the explosive possibilities of the situation with which we are faced at present. When we think of civil liberties of the extremely small number of persons concerned, let the House also think of the liberties of the millions of people threatened by the activities of individuals whose civil liberties we have curtailed. I am using the words "civil liberties" in connection with these individuals with/...

Debates ( 25-2-50 )  
Uncorrected - Not for publication.

Ayyar

G-2

Sardar Patel contd.

some reluctance, because, for them liberty is synonymous with licence and there is hardly any difference between civil and criminal.

With these words, Sir, I shall leave this legislation in the safe hands of this House and earnestly ask for their co-operation and support in pushing through this legislation as speedily and expeditiously as possible.

Sir, I move that the Bill to confer upon special criminal courts, constituted by or under certain State laws, jurisdiction to try offences against laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the Union List, be taken into consideration.

SARDAR PATEL: Now, Sir, I am glad that the emergency legislation which I had to bring before this House has been generally well received and the emergency and the importance of the Bill have been recognised and have met with the general support of this House. I am also glad that the Bill has met with careful criticism, because when the liberty of any citizen is sought to be taken away by a Bill, it should be carefully scrutinised and the necessity for it should be proved beyond doubt.

Sir, one of the Hon. Members of the House said: 'I support this Bill with a heavy heart.' While supporting the Bill with a heavy heart he made some criticisms and one is left in doubt as to whether his criticisms were made with a light heart or a heavy heart. He read a telegram which he had received from his State. I do not know whether he appreciated the seriousness of the contents of that telegram from the State from which he comes. Being largely engaged in Parliamentary activities far away from his State, he is probably not aware of the conditions there and the situation there. But, if in any State there is necessity for this sort of legislation, it is in the State from which he comes. As I said, he is probably not acquainted with the situation there, as he is far away here engaged in more important activities. I have sympathy for the people who are in charge of the administration of law and order in that province. He says: 'What is this law and order? It is the business of the police to maintain law and order'. I consider it a very light-hearted remark. It is the business of the police to maintain law and order, but it is the business of this House to see

Ayyar

BB-3 Sardar Patel contd.-

that the agency through which we have to keep law and order is not put to such a strain that it would break down completely. It is not a pleasant task to bring in a Bill of this kind in this House immediately after freedom and the Republican Constitution has been adopted.

Now, perhaps Members are aware that I know more than anybody else what the mental attitude of a detenu would be when he is arrested in the middle of the night in his sick bed and again when he is in detention when many of his dear relations die in this country or outside this country and when their dead bodies are brought back and he is not released even for cremation by the imposition of such conditions that the detenu declines for the honour of his country to go out. So, when this legislation is brought in, it is not done with a light heart. It is done with a heavy heart. When responsibility is placed on one to keep law and order and safeguard the liberties of millions of people, for the protection of that liberty and for the fulfilment of that duty one has to take actions which are most detestable. But to call this measure as a black Act is I consider a very light-hearted comment to make. There are occasions on which there may be room for humour, jokes and laughter. But I assure this House that I have passed two sleepless nights when I was asked to take up this measure. The States have sent frantic messages and I have sympathy for them. When four hundred or five hundred people are let loose in a State, the problem of maintaining law and order there becomes very difficult. The whole of the city of Calcutta is on strike. Why, because some people distributed leaflets on what is happening in East Bengal. Who is to support this Government to keep law and order there? Am I to allow hundreds of detenues to be let loose in the city of Calcutta day after tomorrow?

(Continued by CC)

Vaidyanathan  
CC.1

Sardar Patel (continued): Now, who are they? I will give you one or two quotations from the pamphlet which has been issued by the Home Department of the Government of India which you probably must have read, but such things are easily forgotten. It says:

"Instructions issued to the members  
the Party are:

(The quotations  
may kindly be  
checked)  
???

Observe hartal. Strike in  
factories. Take out processions.  
Disobey orders under Section 144. Stop  
the movement of the Police and Military  
by blocking the roads. Set fire to  
Government buses and British-owned  
trams. Set fire to the whole of  
Calcutta and the whole of Bengal".

While for other places it says:

"Assault the reactionary Congress  
leaders severely. Set fire to Congress  
offices the Centres of reaction and  
black-marketing. Attack the houses  
of the Ministers. Create chaos there.  
Attack the jail gates and rescue our  
brethren who have been weakened owing  
to the loss of blood."

I am only reading these two extracts. I do not want to take more time of the House. I want you to read the whole pamphlet carefully. After this pamphlet was issued, you must have noticed that there have been a regular conspiracy and instructions have gone round all over that they should simultaneously create trouble in all jails and try to get out. Some of my friends ask me as to what will happen about these detainees in jail when the Act expires. Even before the period of detention expires, they know how to break open the jails and get away. They do not want any advice from you. They know how to take care of themselves. Let us take care of the people, of the millions of people, who are not able to take care of themselves. Therefore I have brought

this measure before the House. This is in order to help those people who are in charge of preserving the liberty of the millions of people in this country in the various States where, through no fault of theirs, these difficulties have arisen. Now the sudden disclosure of constitutional difficulties brought to our notice made it necessary for us to come here at once. Officers from the States have come here with this request from the Ministries to help them in some way immediately. Otherwise they would find themselves in difficulties and they would not be able to preserve law and order. It is no use saying the police is there to preserve law and order. We are here to preserve law and order in the whole country and if we fail in our duty to help these people, it will be our fault, not their fault. Therefore this measure has been brought before the House.

Mr. Kamath talked of some criticism of the High Court of Bombay against the Government of Bombay in regard to some detention. I do not know what is the relevancy of that criticism here. I would have answered him if I had been the relevancy of the case. I have the greatest respect for the judiciary of this land which is the protector of the liberty of all of us and therefore we are bound to support and respect their criticism. It is no use quoting random, vague criticisms which are irrelevant absolutely to the passing of this Bill. Therefore I am not able to answer him, but I assure this House that any criticism from any judicial quarter will have the greatest weight given to it by the provinces as well as by the Central Government.



Now, some point has been made about the wording in some of the clauses about detention which would lead to embitterment of relations with foreign countries. We have taken the wording from the categories of cases for which detention can be made from the Constitution itself and we have divided it into two parts. One is the category where these detainees can be kept for three months and after that they can be kept for a further period if the Advisory Board agrees. In the second category we have taken others. As has been pointed out by my friend, Mr. Masani, this Bill is brought in to meet an emergency. It requires to be closely examined whether a better substitute of a more or less permanent nature based on specific principles can be brought in or not. I do not know the real position of the country about whose legislation based on principles he made some quotations. Our country is a huge country. The reference that he made was to countries where perhaps there are not so many castes, creeds, religions, communities and so many parties. You must judge this measure not from your past experience of detention of yourselves. You must see that all parties who want to go to the polls have freedom. This is a democratic country now and any party that wants to take advantage of democratic institutions or democratic organisations or to come into the Government by democratic methods, is quite free, but it will be an evil day if this Government allows the democratic freedom to go to the polls to people who want to destroy democracy by violence and disruption. We will not do it.

Take the Communist Party in England. What are they doing? They fought at the polls. They can do so here. Do the British Communists take to violence of this nature? Do they remove rails? Do they disseminate communications? Do they set fire to public property? Do they attack the warders in jails and kill them? Do they attack the police? Here even Ministers and Hon. Members are not beyond their contemplation or their range. When you say that civil liberty should not be interfered with, I will endorse it. I appreciate what is civil liberty, but I hate criminal liberty to commit criminal violence against innocent people, and therefore I am taking every precaution to guard the liberty of innocent people. That is my sacred duty and it is yours to share that duty. Therefore I have brought in this measure.

Now, my friend, Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, says that we should localise this trouble. It is not localising the trouble. The solution that he suggests is that all persons who have gone underground, all detainees and all those who may be released and may go underground should be localised and that we should provide them with some colony or some province where they can freely conspire and commit these acts.

(continued by DD)

TVR. DD/1.  
4.40

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(Sardar Patel - Contd.)

That is not my outlook. I cannot do that. If he thought that Berar might be the venue for that, we shall consider that question but his life will be not one days purchase. So we have provided this after careful consideration. This is a measure which is really a concentration of the provisions of all the security acts which are functioning in the provinces. I have quoted in my speech while introducing the Bill that these acts, security measures are attacked on all sides because they are not in consonance with the Constitution that we have passed and therefore, we must put it in line with the Constitution and remove the defects. The other alternative is to get the President's order to declare an emergency in India. Can we do that? It would be very bad, the psychological effect would be bad and it is not necessary at all. Therefore, this is the minimum evil which is necessary for the protection of liberty of millions of people and I am glad that you have supported this measure.

Ends.

2

"Extracts from Debates of Parliament dated 28.2.50."  
.....

Sardar Patel (Minister of Home Affairs and the States): I will explain the facts to the House. As the House is aware, Shri Shibban Lal Saksena was fasting for the last ten days at Rajghat. Now, when he started his fast he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister that he was going on a fast for a grievance which he advocated about some sugar factory labourers in U.P. The Prime Minister advised him not to fast at Rajghat. The House will agree that that is not a place to be exploited for political or trade union purposes. It is too sacred a place for such things. But a tent was put up there and he with some others, probably his companions, started a fast, and every day a sort of bulletin was being issued and some doctor was examining him. He wrote a letter to me also. Generally my practice is I get many letters from people who are fasting and I encourage them, I never interfere because I write always to them that spiritually, and if not spiritually, at least physically, it will do them a lot of good. But so far as Prof. Shibban Lal was concerned, he was a Member of Parliament and I did not want to embarrass him, and so I did not reply at all. Two days ago he sent me a reminder. I was myself feeling embarrassment; but the Chief Commissioner, having known about it and watching the activities of people who are surrounding the place and getting other information of labourers trying to come there, he thought that there is going to be trouble here. So that ground and two other grounds also influenced his decision that Mr. Shibban Lal Saksena should be removed from this place. One ground was that it

was the eleventh day of his fast, and in his own interest he should be removed and placed where his relations could look after him. Mr. Saksena is sure to die if he is determined to die in the cause. Such a determined person, if there is any risk to his life it is better to remove to a place where his relations could look after him. So the Chief Commissioner thought that he should be removed to Gorakhpur where his relations are, and they may also be feeling anxious. The other reason was that to help him in his fast also it is necessary to remove him to U.P. for his grievance is not against the Delhi Government here, but it is about the U.P. Government in connection with some grievance of sugar factory labourers which should be dealt with by the U.P. Government.

On these consideration last night he came to the conclusion that Mr. Shibban Lal Saksena should be shifted from here. Then he had consultations with the Home Secretary. The Home Secretary advised him to take proper precautions and get him medically examined before he is shifted from here, to see if he is in a condition to be removed. So he sent for the Civil Surgeon in the evening and he examined both of them, and they were found to be quite fit to be removed to Gorakhpur or to any place they belonged. So both these persons were removed, one to Gorakhpur and the other to some other place in U.P. I forget which.

Unfortunately the order for removal for three months from Delhi was passed by the District authorities. As soon as it was brought to the notice of the Home Secretary, the order was cancelled and he has been removed only to \_\_\_\_\_ his place. If he wants to come back, he can come back but he can never go to \_\_\_\_\_ Rajhat for this purpose because the House will agree that to use this place for such purposes, is to insult the sacred memory of the great personality, who would certainly have advised him not to fast because fast is not meant for political exploitation.

Pandit Maitra (West Bengal) Is there no ban on his re-entry?

Sardar Patel: No. He can come to Delhi whenever he wants to come. There is no order issued except that the Chief Commissioner thought that it is better to place him at his relations place where his relations could look after him. That is the position now and if hon. Members would like to ask me any questions, I am prepared to answer them.

Khawaja Inait Ullah (Bihar). May I ask the hon. Minister if he can come here even with the fast?

Sardar Patel: Yes. He can come here even in fast. Even after taking four meals, he can come at any time and there is no objection to that.

Shri R.K. Chaudhuri: The order which was served on him,...

Mr. Speaker: Well, the hon. Member, I believe, has heard what the hon. Minister has stated. He has clearly stated that as soon as the externment order came to the hands of the knowledge of the Home Secretary, that order was cancelled. That is what he has already stated. I believe hon. Members have heard it and he has also stated that the hon. Member is free to go to Delhi, or to this House whenever he likes. With the other restriction placed, we are not concerned at present.

Sardar Patel: I wish to say that only that portion of the order of the Deputy Commissioner has been cancelled so that Mr. Shibban Lal Saksena is free to return to Delhi but not to reside at Rajghat area.

Shri R.K. Chaudhuri: If that is the order, Sir, my grievance is why he was taken in a police van to the railway station and put in a railway compartment?

Sardar Patel: That order has been cancelled. That is what I said. He was being removed under the order for externment to his own place at Gorakhpur. As soon as the Home Secretary knew about this order, he got the order cancelled.

Shri R.K. Chaudhuri: Then on that portion of the order the previous order was carried out because the order of cancellation was brought to the notice of the police. He was actually taken in a police van from Rajghat to the Railway Station and sent by train.

Sardar Patel: Yes. That is so.

Shri R.K. Chaudhuri: That is not in consonance with the order which was subsequently issued.

Sardar Patel: That is why it was cancelled. The order was not proper.

The House will now proceed to the Legislative Business.  
The Minister of Home Affairs.

The special  
Criminal Courts  
(Jurisdiction)  
Bill.

(SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL): I beg to move  
upon  
that the Bill to confer special criminal courts, constituted  
by or under certain State laws, jurisdiction to try offences  
against laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in  
the Union list, be taken into consideration.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion removed:

That the Bill to confer upon special criminal courts,  
constituted by or under certain State laws, jurisdiction to try  
offences against laws with respect to any of the matters  
enumerated in the Union List, be taken into consideration.

SARDAR PATEL: Sir, As the House is aware, certain States,  
namely, Bombay, Central Provinces and Bengal have enacted  
measures authorising them to set up Special Criminal Courts to  
try a prescribed category of offences. The main idea underlying  
the establishment of these Special Criminal Courts is to seek  
speedy trial without sacrificing any of the essential principles  
of natural justice. Having regard to the special category of  
offences which these Criminal Courts try and also to the fact  
that in such cases, the sooner the accused knows his fate the  
better, these Criminal Courts are performing a useful function,  
both from the legal and the humanitarian point of view. It has  
some times happened that in the same transaction in which the  
accused have committed certain offences in respect of which  
State Legislatures have power to legislate, they have also  
committed offences for which only the Union Legislature can  
legislate. The Special Courts would not be competent to try  
the latter class of cases without any authority from the  
Union Legislature. Even where there may be two opinions about  
the Special Courts, I make bold to say that there can be  
none on the point that offences committed in the course of the



same transaction should be tried by the same Court. An emergency arose in that in Bengal in the course of the same transaction some accused were alleged to have committed offences both under the Provincial and Central Laws. To cover this case we had to pass an Ordinance authorising jurisdiction for the Special Courts to try offences with respect to matters under the Federal Legislative List. The Ordinance will expire in July. At the same time, the machinery of the special courts will continue to function. We must therefore have a permanent measure on the Statute Book. The Bill is to serve this limited purpose and I therefore move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

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X                      X                      X                      X                      X  
X                      X                      X                      X                      X

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel):

Sir, in the first place I would like to correct some misstatement that have been made. It is not true that Shri Shibbanlal Saksena was removed in a police van and it is also not true that he was arrested. Some of the facts were narrated by me yesterday I was not in full possession of the facts at that time, because I learned about this incident only about half past ten in the morning. When I heard about it, the actual order was not with me. I immediately communicated to the Home Secretary that Mr. Shibbanlal, if he is here and not removed, should be removed to his house in Delhi and not anywhere else. But he had already been removed by that time. Immediately I informed the Home Secretary that the order, so far as removal from Delhi or externment was concerned, should be cancelled forthwith and that Mr. Shibbanlal should be informed of the Government's regrets that he had been put to inconvenience. It was not the intention to extern him from Delhi. The intention was that he should not fast at that place as he was advised by the Prime Minister also. By means of a letter written to me on the 27th February, the previous day, Shri Shibbanlal reminded me of his previous letter asking for my blessings. As I said yesterday, I was embarrassed, because I am not so spiritually trained as to give advice on matters of fast. So I did not want to embarrass him and did not give a reply. In the meanwhile the District Magistrate served this order on him in the morning. The District Magistrate was also thinking about this for the last four or five days. On enquiry I learnt that he had also ascertained about the question of privilege and was told that no privilege was involved in this matter. He was anxious not to inconvenience Shri Shibbanlal in the least and,

therefore.....

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therefore, he first fetched a doctor to examine him. The doctor examined him and certified in writing- that certificate is with him - that he was in a fit state to be taken to Gorakhpore, and that if he wants to he can travel that distance without any injury to his health. After that he brought an ambulance car and asked Shri Shibbanlal to get into it. But Shri Shibbanlal Saksena said that he was not willing and that, if he was directed, he would go. So the order was served on him and, without any resistance and without any arrest and without any physical force, he went into the ambulance car and he was taken in it. There was a doctor with him throughout the journey. At the intermediate stations it was impossible to contact him. But, as soon as he reached Lucknow station, before he got down from the car, he was informed by the District Magistrate that the latter portion of the order regarding externment from Delhi was cancelled. The District Magistrate had also been asked to communicate the regret of Government. I have myself written a letter to Shri Shibbanlal immediately I heard about this. Although I was not in a mood to answer his question about his fast, when I learnt about this order, I sent him a letter.

Now, the District Magistrate has informed him that the Government's orders were that the portion of the order regarding externment was cancelled and he is free to go back. If he likes it we will make all arrangements for taking him back. The Civil Surgeon of Lucknow examined him and said that Shri Shibbanlal was in a fit condition. But then Shri Shibbanlal said that he would like to go to his house in Lucknow and would decide next day as to what he would do afterwards. So, up to now, he has been informed that if he is willing to go back, he will be taken back and that all the arrangements he would like to make would be made.

When he was taken from Delhi he wanted that one of his men should accompany him in the compartment. This was allowed. If he had resisted the removal, it is a question what the

Sardar Patel contd:-

District Magistrate would have done. He would not have used force, but he would have prosecuted him for breach of the order and subsequently other things would have happened. But it is not true that he was arrested or any force was used. I do not want to take shelter under technical grounds. What I want to inform the House is that no breach of privilege is involved. Immediately I found that it was an improper order, I countermanded it through the Home Secretary and it was communicated to Shri Shibbanlal Saksena as soon as it was possible to <sup>do</sup>/so. Also our regret was communicated to him. Further amends was not possible in this matter.

Sir, I am glad that the House is so anxious about the preservation of the privileges of the Member of the House. The Government, more than anybody else, would be anxious to protect the privileges of the House and of its Members. As soon as rules are made and communicated to the Government, they will see that every care is taken to see that no breach of privilege takes place. In this particular case, all courtesy due to a Member of this House was shown to Shri Shibbanlal Saksena and the District Magistrate himself ascertained about four days ago - seeing that trouble was increasing he anticipated this removal - that no breach <sup>of</sup>/privilege was involved. He had guarded himself against this possibility by consulting others

Now these are the facts of the case. It is unfortunate that in the long history of the British Parliament nobody chose to fast and there is no precedent for a guide. Here for the first time this question has arisen. As soon as our rules are framed I may assure the House they will be respected. In fact I am anxious that there should be clarification of all the privileges that may be due to the Members of the House. I do not know what the Drafting Committee's discussion was to which my hon. friend

Mr. Kamath.....

Mr. Kamath has referred....

Shri Kamath: Dr. Ambedkar is a part of the Government.

Sardar Patel: As soon as we came to know of it we countermanded the order. There is no question of keeping it secret from the House or the Government not informing the House or the Speaker, because the matter was not to our knowledge before we came here. When we came here we came here countermanding the order. So there was no such intention and there was no such question. The House may rest assured that no attack will be made and no infringement of the privileges of the Members of the House will be made by the Executive.

Subbu (11-45)  
G-1

Debates (6-3-50)  
Uncorrected - Not for publication.

CONDOLENCE MOTION

The Deputy Prime Minister (Sardar Patel): Sir, I have the unpleasant duty of conveying to the House the sad news of the passing away last night of a great leader, a leader of great qualities of head and heart. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha who was the provisional President of the Constituent Assembly which drafted the Republican Constitution, slept his last sleep last night and passed away. He was a great leader. While our present President is the maker of modern Bihar, Dr. Sinha was the father of modern Bihar. He was a leader of the Bar in the Patna High Court, and practised for a long period. He had a distinguished career in the public life of India. He was the first Finance Member of the Bihar and Orissa Government. He was the President of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. He was the first Deputy President elected in the Legislative Assembly of India. Apart from his great contribution to the public life in India he was also a great literary man and a great editor. He founded the famous magazine called "the Hindustan Review", and he was the editor of that Review for a long period. He was one of the great leaders who were invited to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee in England when the Constitutional Reforms was to be made. His period of active unbroken service is a very long one. Few people have left such impress on the

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public life of India as he has done. We all  
mourn his loss and I request you, Sir, to convey  
our condolences, the condolences of this House,  
to the bereaved family.

Mr. Speaker: I fully associate myself with what the  
hon. the Deputy Prime Minister has stated. We  
all are co-sharers in the mourning and I am sure  
our condolences will go to the bereaved family.  
The House may stand for a minute in silence as  
a token of its respect to the departed leader.

(The House stood in silence for a minute)

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## EXTRACTS FROM DEBATES OF PARLIAMENT DATED 7-3-50

X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Sardar Patel): Sir, so far as the administration of Hyderabad State is concerned, the House is aware that it was under the control of the Military Governor under the Government of India, but as representations had been received from the State people and a desire had been expressed from certain hon. Members from this House also, Government felt that a change should be made to end the administration of the Military Governor. Now we changed the administration and placed it under a Civil Administrator. A further change has been made recently just at the close of the Constituent Assembly. The Hyderabad State has agreed to accept the Constitution of India and the Nizam having agreed to it, the position has been accepted by the Constituent Assembly. Of course there is the general declaration by the Government of India that the final decision always rests with the people of Hyderabad and subject to that the decision was accepted.

When the decision was accepted like all other States the Hyderabad administration remained with the Chief Minister and his colleagues who are called Ministers, who have got full powers and the Nizam at present enjoys the status as in all States. the ruler enjoys. Hence so far as the internal administration is concerned, the Government of India practically has nothing to do at present. When the Constituent Assembly elections take place and when the result of the election is known, then there will be the formation of a popular Ministry and then the Constitution provides for the general guidance, control and direction so far as the States are concerned.



There is no other control from here on the State so far as the internal administration is concerned. This is the constitutional position. If further facts on the immediate issue are wanted, whatever information I have got in my possession, I will give to the House.

Therefore, I do not see how the Government of India can be held responsible for any prisoner having escaped from any jail or from anybody's custody. That part of the administration is purely the responsibility of the Administration. We cannot from here control the administration of jails in that respect.

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X	X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	X

Sardar Patel: The order of detention or arrest or whatever it was, was passed by the Military Governor immediately after the police action was taken. Since then constitutional changes have taken place, accession has taken place, and now the Chief Minister and his Ministry are responsible for the internal administration of the State.

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X	X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	X

Sardar Patel: Sir, I want to correct certain misapprehensions. My hon. friend Mr. Kunzru said that the States Ministry here appointed the Inspector-General of Police. He is not correctly informed on this matter. The appointment was made by the Ministry there but not by the States Department here. It is true that we give the loan of any officer or officers when a State asks for help.

(Contd. by K)

"EXTRACTS FROM DEBATES OF PARLIAMENT DATED 7-3-50"

Subbu  
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(Patel etd.)

and we take that loan from the Provinces. Here, in this case, they wanted an Inspector-General of Police, and we gave them a loan. But it is not that we, the States Ministry, have made any appointment there. No direct appointment can be made by us. The only appointment that we can make from here is the Chief Minister and, with his approval, the Ministers are appointed. The further internal administration is absolutely with them except on questions of policy, or if a general maladministration question arises we can supervise under the general control under the article quoted by Mr. Munshi. But we assume too much authority if we take authority or responsibility for the detailed internal administration or the day to day administration of jails, courts and revenue and everything. If we take the detailed administration on our head then this House will have to do nothing except taking up motions for adjournment, because everyday incidents of violence in jails, incidents of a prisoner escaping, happen. I have several cases of prisoner escaping from several jails. We do not hold the Government of India responsible for it, but if any information is required from those Administrations we are prepared to give that information. But because a prisoner has escaped from a particular place which was under the charge of a police guard under the Inspector-General of Police who was under the general supervision and control of the local Ministry, and because there is no Legislature there, therefore the whole responsibility should be shifted on to the Parliament here

is assuming too much of responsibility and, at the same time, taking away all the responsibility of the local administration there. Therefore, I submit that this is entirely a matter for which the local administration is responsible; but under the general powers of supervision, control and guidance we can give information. We can take further steps or put pressure upon them to make proper enquiries or make proper bandobust, so that such things do not arise in future.

Sardar Patel: Formerly also the Chief Minister and Ministers were appointed by the Nizam.

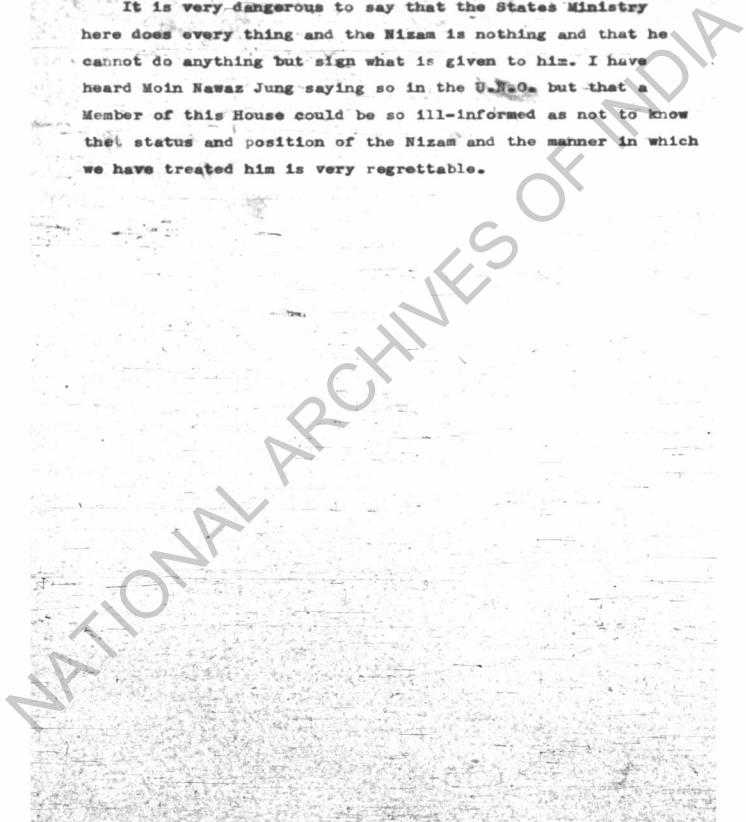
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The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Sardar Patel): Sir, before the legal position is explained I wish to remove certain doubts about the exact constitutional position of Hyderabad State and its relations with the Centre, so that the bearing of the legal position may be properly explained. Otherwise there is likely to be considerable misunderstanding and ill-informed statements in this House are likely to be used for various purposes. For instance, I said yesterday and I want to repeat it today, that so far as the Chief Minister and the other Ministers are concerned they are appointed by a firman of the Nizam and not by us. After the Police Action the House is aware of the hostile atmosphere in the State, where the services were composed of people who were to be placed in restraint or detention and one of them, the principal man, has escaped. In those circumstances, when the whole machinery of the State was such that it was difficult to put the administration under proper control, we had to give the State trained and experienced officers who would exercise their functions with responsibility. To this State Mr. Vellodi, a very senior officer, has been given on loan and His Exalted Highness has appointed him as his Chief Minister. The other officer next to him is also a very senior officer of the Bombay Government, Mr. Bakhle -- an honest, upright, straightforward and a very able man of high repute. This officer is the Home Minister in charge of law and order. Under him is the Inspector General of Police to look after the police administration.

It is very dangerous to say that the States Ministry here does every thing and the Nizam is nothing and that he cannot do anything but sign what is given to him. I have heard Moin Nawaz Jung saying so in the U.N.O. but that a Member of this House could be so ill-informed as not to know the status and position of the Nizam and the manner in which we have treated him is very regrettable.



(Patel ctd.)

No statement should be made in this House without knowing the full facts, and without realizing its implications. Anything stated here will be reported immediately outside perhaps with exaggeration, and with ulterior motives. Therefore the House should know the full facts before making any statement. If after the police action it had been thought necessary for us to treat the State as a conquered State there was nothing to prevent us. If we found it necessary to remove the Nizam there was nothing to prevent us. But we did not do so because the Nizam himself said that he was a prisoner and that the Indian Government had released him from his prison - from his bondage. We had nothing to doubt his statement and everything to support his statement that a clique of conspirators who ruled the State for their own purposes in a fanatical manner had kept the Nizam a prisoner. That is why we could not settle the question of the State's accession. So, when we found that position, we treated him with all the courtesy due to him. And up to now he has been kept in a different position and status and he is today in the position of a Governor of a Province. Therefore, to attribute to the States Ministry the assumption of powers which it had never claimed on behalf of the Government of India is a very wrong statement to make. So I warn this House to be on their guard to ascertain full facts before making statements. And if there is any mistake, certainly by all means condemn the States Ministry, condemn the Administration and everything. But because in a State, where full autonomy in the administration is given, there merely because there has been action or there



is no Assembly, cannot to suggest that we are here to take over the administration of those States otherwise we will not be able to do any business here except taking up motions of adjournment and discussing these questions. There are many questions in the States and even in the Provinces. Look, for instance, at Salem and at what happened in the jail there. Twentytwo people have been shot dead. They have appointed an Enquiry Committee. But we cannot in the Centre take the responsibility for all these questions. Therefore, although some of us may feel shocked that a responsible man of the status of an ex-Prime Minister, who was responsible for most of the administrative evils of that State, should have escaped in this manner, that should not influence our judgment as regards the responsibility of the Centre. You cannot take the responsibility in this way. Mr. Munshi has quoted article 371. I do not know what his idea was at the time the Drafting Committee drafted this article. But the other member of the Drafting Committee says that Mr. Munshi is wrong. Now, what advice have I to take - from what source? I must use my own knowledge of law, however imperfect it may be. If full administrative charge has been given to our officers, who have been loaned there for service, and the Nizam by his own firman has given all administrative powers to them, how can we interfere in this matter? I do not see. It would be very bad precedent, if we establish such a precedent. You can get all information, you can ask questions. But to have an adjournment motion of

this nature if you want to condemn the administration of the States Ministry or the Government of India so far as the internal administration of Hyderabad is concerned, is a wrong thing. If there is any policy which we have laid down so far as the administration of Hyderabad is concerned which you want to discuss and also to disapprove of, by all means you are free to do that. So, what I submit is that the Administration there is in full charge so far as internal administration is concerned, as in the Province. Now the Law Minister can explain the position.

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Uncorrected - Not for publication.

S.S.  
CC.2

The Minister of Home Affairs and the States: (Sardar Patel):

Sir, I have to answer for the two departments that are in my charge. In order that hon. Members may have full information, a review of the work of these two departments has been circulated in the papers which are generally known as White Papers or Summary of the work done.

So far as the Home Department is concerned, hon. Members are aware that the primary responsibility of the Home Department is with regard to the Centrally Administered Areas. The States are primarily or largely responsible for law and order in the States. As far as it is possible to look after the whole country in this respect, we have been doing our best to influence the States by moral pressure as well as by some kind of intimate contact which I have got with all the States Ministers and leaders over a long time of comradeship. I am glad to say that, on the whole, in a very difficult period of time that we are passing through, the States with a very depleted service have been doing their best and have been largely successful, in spite of the addition of large areas which are called merged areas, which had never had any democratic instinct or, I should say, which had all along had the contrary training.

So far as the Centrally Administered Areas are concerned, we have two or three important originally Centrally Administered Areas apart from the Centrally Administered Areas recently formed from the States. One is Delhi, the second is Ajmer and the third is Coorg. We have the

S.S.  
CC.3

Andamans, a distant island, which hardly has any problem from the point of view of law and order. In the first place, I wish to congratulate our friend Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta, whose tenacity in the advocacy of constitutional changes or reforms in Delhi is admirable, as all hon. Members are aware. He tries to link up sometimes Ajmer with Delhi. But, my hon. friend from Ajmer is always full of envy so far as Delhi is concerned. This is because Delhi is the Capital and there are 400 Members who are eager to look after Delhi and nobody to look after Ajmer. So far as I am concerned, I make no distinction between Ajmer and Delhi. Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta thinks that we have neglected Delhi. If we are to sit here day and night and do our work, is it ever possible that Parliament can afford to neglect the place where they have to sit? It is impossible. But, we have to see what we can do to make the changes consistent with the changes that have taken place in the country as a whole. We have also to see that any changes that we may make may not create complications and we may not have to change any Constitution that we may make now immediately after the Constitution is introduced. The present Constitution of Delhi is old. The Capital City is governed as an old institution, which has got to be changed. We have sympathy, all have sympathy, and it is easy to persuade Members of Parliament to have sympathy for Delhi, because you have always got to do something or the other through the Members of the Delhi Constituency, particularly Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, because all functions, receptions and everything that you have got to arrange must originate from him.

S.S.  
CC.4

So, we always have sympathy for him. But, unfortunately, Delhi has considerably changed on account of the catastrophic changes that took place two or three years ago by the partition of Punjab. Today, Delhi is not the old Delhi, in spite of the name Old Delhi standing up to ~~now~~. If you go into Old Delhi, you see footpaths; you see the roads; you see slums; you see industrial concerns; you see bazaars. Delhi is a perfect democracy where men, animals, dogs, cats, can all walk together on the roads. They adjust themselves without any police, without any quarrel. Such a democracy is hard to find. Yet, Delhi is a place where the people who want to come to Parliament will have to take into account the large number of people who have come into Delhi. They are not original residents of Delhi. They have outnumbered the original residents and therefore their exploiters are different people who occasionally force our police to have recourse to lathi charges, firing which are very unpleasant tasks. They have to be shifted from one place to another; but they do not want to go. In spite of the ban. Minister for Rehabilitation asking us to remove these people, they approach some Members of Parliament and the poor Chief Commissioner has hardly any time to carry on his normal work. It is a very difficult place. I may tell you honestly that I would like to have the burden of Delhi transferred, if it could be done immediately, and more particularly to the shoulders of Lala Deshbandhu Gupta. But, it is not so easy. We have

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not taken this decision very lightly. Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta says that we are breaking our promises and that we are not keeping our promises. That is not true. The hon. Prime Minister in his statement also showed how he was not breaking his promise. Sometimes when you go to a public meeting in Delhi, your expressions give greater hopes than the words convey and those who want to take advantage of these sentences put an interpretation favourable to themselves.

(Continued by DD)

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DD. 1  
4-40 P.M.

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(Patel contd.)

Therefore you must find out the substance or the substratum of truth from those speeches. You must not charge the Government with making any promises which they are not keeping subsequently. It is not so. (Interruption by Shri Deshbandhu Gupta) I have only half an hour to finish my speech. I might tell Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta that the whole House has sympathy from him but he must have sympathy for the House.

Take the case of the U.S.A. and its capital. How did it happen? Take the case of Canberra in Australia. How does its capital function? Or take London and see how it functions. You want me to introduce a democratic setup with all the elaborate paraphernalia of a Governor, a ministry, an assembly and other things. In a small place like Delhi, which is the capital of the country, it is not easy to do it.

Let us take New Delhi. The total population of New Delhi is three lakhs, out of which 65 per cent are officials and 35 per cent non-officials. As regards the area owned by Government the Deputy Commissioner is not in a position to state anything but he has given me the following figures, in respect of property owned by Government and property owned by private individuals. Government property is 73.4 per cent which is probably owned by my hon. colleague Mr. Gadgil and private property is 26 per cent. So it is not an easy thing to have a setup of the same type as there is in all the States. We cannot introduce a constitution which in a few years' time you will have to change. Therefore we have entrusted the drafting of the Constitution to the Law Ministry. They are drafting a constitution. You can influence them,

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you can coax them, you can caress them or influence them in any way. The Bill will come here and all the Members here will scrutinise it. Then you will have your opportunity. As far as I am concerned as I have already told you I have sympathy for you but you must have sympathy for me also. Sympathy should be reciprocal. That is as far as the constitution of Delhi is concerned.

Now as regards Ajmer, it is a very difficult proposition. It is a very tiny place and it was created as a signal post for the Resident to look after the whole of Rajasthan and Saurashtra, which contain the largest number of States. There is in that small place a Chief Commissioner and Judicial Commissioner. Soon after we came into power we introduced an Advisory Committee in Ajmer as well as in Delhi. When you see that your neighbour's house is a place you are not satisfied with your small hut and naturally there is a desire to say "As in all other States where there are Ministries, we have the right to take the administration into our hands. We are mere advisers and our advice is not taken into account. Therefore this is no good". I agree. Perhaps if we were in in my hon. friend's place we would have felt the same thing. But after all we have to see whether a democratic setup can function in Ajmer. It is a small place. Can it bear its own expenses? Can it be a viable unit? What is its population and area? These are things which we have to consider. If the Finance Minister is liberal enough to make provision for small Provinces and can give us money, perhaps we can make such an experiment in some places. But I have also my sympathy for the Finance Minister, because no member of the Government has to face as much criticism or pay the penalty that he has been paying



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of sitting in the House day after day during the Budget discussion.

Another question which concerns Ajmer is this. Can we really keep Ajmer as it is or merge it in an adjoining area? That is also a big question. If we have to merge it it can only be merged in Rajasthan. Our policy up to now is not to merge the free areas into the State areas. We merged States into the free units but not free units into States. We can make an exception in the case of Ajmer, because it is a small area. But we must see that Rajasthan by itself is stable so as to allow it to take the burden of Ajmer or for Ajmer to take the burden of the whole of Rajasthan.

Our friend Mr. Sarangdhar Das quoted an instance of a village near Karauli, where about 25 policemen including the District Officer and Superior Police officers were hacked to pieces recently without any of them firing a single shot. All these people were killed only a fortnight ago. You may take it that many such instances used to occur in Rajasthan in the past, which nobody in the world knew. It is democracy that brings them to light and people who live in Rajasthan or have experience of Rajasthan know what it is. Rajasthan is not the only case but there are several States of that type. I will deal with it when I come to the question of the States. But so far as Ajmer is concerned I wish to assure my friend that these Centrally Administered Areas are always weighing on our mind and we have been constantly considering what we should do to help them. Therefore the suggestions that he has made will be carefully examined. He wants that the Chief Commissioner should give due weight to the advice that

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may be given by the Advisory Committee. Naturally it is a normal expectation and we shall see what can be done about it. But the final solution of the matter is entirely different and for that we must have a little patience till bigger problems are solved and settled.

You know how many and what serious problems are facing our country today, which demand priority in consideration and immediate solution. They are very complex, not easily soluble and when it comes to solving those problems; that may probably involve us in bigger problems. Therefore you must have patience with us.

You are sitting here but day before yesterday in Delhi... itself a procession was started and a meeting was held. One of my colleagues asked me why I allowed a meeting to be held. If I do not allow a meeting to be held, probably Mr. Kamath would move an adjournment motion the next day.....

Shri Kamath: Not for that. I can assure you: I will give you a guarantee.

Sardar Patel: What about civil liberties? Many will ask the question. So I cannot order the Chief Commissioner not to give permission to hold a meeting. There is Section 144 in force in Delhi and yet out of 309 applications for permission to hold meetings only eight or nine were refused. Permission is given almost as a rule, except in the case of our Red friends who sometimes want to create trouble. We ask them not to do so here but go outside, because Delhi is a capital city.

Immediately after the meeting in Delhi a procession started with people shouting "Khun ka badla khun". There are irresponsible people who start these processions. Immediately they made an attack in a locality with such violence that there were three or four deaths and 19 people were injured.

(contd. by EE.)

Subbu (4-50)  
EE-1

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(Patel ctd.)

You have to get up at night at any time and see what happens. That is Delhi. It is not easy. If you have a democratic set-up the burden on you will be much heavier and the forces that are raising their heads will not be easily controllable. We have just organized our police. You know that fifty or fiftyfive per cent of the officers who held key posts suddenly left, because we wanted them to go. And it was those officers whose strength was fifty per cent who, by their colour, by their superiority of race, by their imperial set-up, used to command a sort of awe, which has suddenly disappeared. Thanks it has disappeared. But in that place what do we have as a substitute? Every man that wants anything has simply to attack Government. If a popular Government does not command respect and a foreign Government that used to command fear and awe has gone, what is the substitute? Think about it. Either you must have anarchy or you must have order. If you want order, then, as I have been appealing to the police to try and secure the affection of the people, it is also for the people to change their attitude towards the police and think 'this is our police'. Unless we do that there is no other way, particularly at a time when we are in a very difficult situation. So, in keeping law and order in a huge country with different kinds of people who have not adjusted themselves to changing conditions we have to be very careful.

You talk of abolition of jagirdaris. You have seen in U.P. where the Zamindari Abolition Act is being passed, what difficulties they are facing there. But in regard to abolition of jagirdari in areas like Rajasthan,

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Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra, is it a joke? Is it a simple thing, do you think? Do you want a simultaneous revolt everywhere, or do you want to handle things as we handled the Princes? We got what we wanted in the States without firing a single shot or creating a single enemy. Today we can claim that if any emergency arises it is the Princes who will support us, who will stake everything for us. I want also to assure you that jagirdars are not our enemies. They are pillars of the State if you handle them properly. That is my ambition and I want your help in that. I do not want to say anything further about the Centrally-Administered Areas, because the other areas are small, they do not give any trouble. But their set-up has to be considered differently.

My friend Sardar Hukam-Singh has been always taking interest in the displaced persons, in regard to their employment. I have all my sympathy for them. But we have done our best, consistent with the keeping up of a standard of efficiency in the Service. If we go further than that, then the inefficiency and corruption that will set in in the service will recoil on the people who have come here after partition, and on all of us, and on the service itself. I know it is very difficult for people who have lost everything. We may sympathise with them. We may try to help them. But to keep them in Service requires a certain amount of watchfulness, training and many other things which we cannot avoid. All the officers that opted for India, for whom we are responsible, have all been employed. But for those who could not be employed here, for whom we are not so

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responsible as for the other category, we have provided other avenues and through those organisations we are taking them. Even for the displaced lawyers we opened a training class, a hundred of them were trained, we have opened a cadre for them, we have employed them, we are doing all that is possible. But sympathy should not go to such an extent that ultimately they themselves would lose the sympathy of the public, because the work that they would do would not be commensurate with the office they would hold and the emoluments they would get, and the standard of efficiency would not be kept. If there are any instances where any deserving case requires to be considered, you can always come to me, you can always write to me, and we can consider those cases.

My hon. friend, Mr. Kunzru, has raised the question of Home Guards in U.P. I do not know, but some of the U.P. Members here came to me and said "we must be allowed to speak". That is not my concern, that is not my power also. But they are dissatisfied with his comments. I think they can answer him better than I can do, because it is more a provincial subject and it is not within my province. But I can only say this that these Home Guards and the Raksha Dal volunteers that are trained are not given arms. They are not armed. They are given arms only for the purpose of training and then they are taken away. They are a useful supplement in these days of difficulties when we have not got enough police forces. Look now to what is happening in certain districts in U.P. They find difficulty. Then it was asked "why is it that in two Provinces, that is, Bombay and U.P., their number is large?" Obviously, their number is large because

U.P. is perhaps one-third of India or a very big Province and their enthusiasm for this work is supposed to be very great. They have always wanted their young men to be trained for the army and to give them training, discipline and everything. As regards Bombay, I may tell you that these Home Guards have done very very useful service and the Bombay Government is full of praise for them. The Bombay public also have a great appreciation for their work. As regards these Home Guards being used for the purpose of collecting money for the Zamindari Abolition Fund, I have no knowledge. It is for the U.P. Government to answer. I cannot say anything. But I do not think people in these days tolerate such things. If the tenants don't want to pay, there are the Socialists to preach "don't pay" and there is our friend over here who will never allow anybody to pay'. It is not possible to believe that these Home Guards would coerce the tenants to pay the money against their will. But I hope that my hon. friend will be satisfied by making enquiries from the U.P. Government, and I myself will make an enquiry and inform him of the result of my enquiry. We do not want to do anything, through our own Government, so that the volunteers or guards that we create for the protection of the people could be used for the purpose of coercion.

(Ctd. by FF)

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5.0 P.M.

(Sardar Patel - contd.)

Now, having finished with the Home Ministry, I will deal with the States Ministry. The main criticism was raised by Mr. Sarangadhar Das. He has referred to his first statement made when I went to Orissa and started the integration of the States. Naturally, he was pleased because Orissa was a tiny Province and it became a bigger Province; and as he or some other Member said, it was a dream which

they had not dreamt for a long time, and it came about suddenly. But a puzzle is no longer a puzzle when it is solved. So, when the thing is done it has no value. He issued a statement at first. He had been a member of the Congress for a long time -- his love for the Congress also has suddenly disappeared. He talks of firing in many States. Perhaps he has not ever visited Calcutta. If he stays a couple of days or a week in Calcutta perhaps he would not even have a wink of sleep. He is frightened by stories of firing. Where does he hear firing in the States?

(N.P.)

I don't know. / He talks of Vindhya Pradesh. Our friend from Vindhya Pradesh has given him the reply that they are largely responsible for this kind of firing because they unnecessarily create trouble. This Vindhya Pradesh was constituted into a Chief Commissioner's Province on the 1st of January, and there was a firing on the 2nd, on the next day. They linked it up with merger. We have always said that we don't want to force merger unless the adjoining States are willing. But it must be

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remembered that Vindhya Pradesh cannot stand by itself. It is an area of thirty lakhs of people, with several minor States which have been lumped together. He forgets that we first constituted a Ministry there from among the Congress people and others. Some of the members of the Ministry are under prosecution. The main point which the Socialists and Mr. Sarangdhar Das who belongs to that Party raise, is this: why are these people not elected? The States are merged, but why are those people not elected? Well, who is to elect them, Mr. Sarangdhar Das? Is there any electorate? How are we to elect them? That he has not suggested; no Socialist has answered that question. So, who is going to elect them? As soon as the electoral rolls are ready, it is not our function to keep this burden with us. I am not a foreigner; my Government is not interested in keeping a setup which is a burden to it. Why should it be so? We want to establish democracy everywhere. If these States are merged in Orissa and if there are no electorate in these States, how can I blame the Orissa Government that they simply nominate these people and don't elect them? If they nominate them, is it their desire that I should bring the Rulers back?

Shri Sarangdhar Das: May I say that in Orissa electoral rolls were being prepared in 1949?

Sardar Patel: Oh, yes. They are being prepared but they are not ready.

Shri Sarangdhar Das: They were being prepared according to



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the 1935 Act.

Sardar Patel: That is quite true, perhaps you know it better. But I have not seen any electoral rolls in the States. In the small States in Orissa there were no electoral rolls; even now there is none -- they are being prepared. In Vindhya Pradesh they are being prepared, in P.E.P.S.U. also they are being prepared. In P.E.P.S.U. also we set up a Ministry. We had to change it and set up another. What can we do? So, if there is no co-operation from that area we cannot do anything. But wherever there is an electorate a Ministry is functioning. Take Saurashtra. What do you find there? He asked me a question. what was the balance which the States had left? Fifteen crores. What do you want to do with that? That amount is intact. Why do you suspect those Ministers? That amount is to be spent for the development of that area. So also, in the case of all balances that have been taken over from the States it has been guaranteed that <sup>they</sup> ~~only~~ will be spent in those States and we will see that those amounts are spent for the development of those areas. We are not spending those amounts for suppressing the agitation that has been set up. You need not be afraid of that. What you suggest is an impossible thing, and you don't suggest an alternative. If I remove these nominated members today at your suggestion, who will fill the gap? Shall I leave these areas unrepresented? But are not the State representatives, who have been nominated, here in the Parliament itself? Because there was no other alternative we, with the sanction of the Constituent Assembly, framed certain rules and got the nomination. When the nomination is made we consult all

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the local elements; it is possible that we cannot please all, but usually with the general approval of the people we make these nominations. So, there is nothing for you to complain.

~~Then~~ so far as the States are concerned, you will see that we started with integration and in a short period we finished it. If the integration had not been finished, you don't know what would have happened. There were two parts to this integration: One was merger and the other was the joining into unions of smaller States. After that was done, we started with an enquiry for financial integration. On the one side that financial integration enquiry was going on, on the other side we lent officers, inspite of paucity of men, to these areas to form districts and tehsils and the services. There is no service there on which we can rely. They are good people there but they were not trained for a democratic setup. There pay was very small; in some places the pay was twenty or twentyfive rupees for the lower people. You cannot do anything with these people. You talk of the inefficiency of the police in the States. In the States there were practically no police. In many of the States the Princes, with their old military group used to manage the things. There are no tehsildars, there are no village patwaris, there is

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no tehsil, there is no district -- all this has to be formed. It is being formed.

We have simultaneously to prepare electoral rolls. At the same time we are taking up the integration of the army in all the States and the Centre is taking it over. We are leaving nothing undone to bring these areas on level with the old Provinces.

(Contd by GG)

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5-10 P.M.

(Patel - contd.)

But it is not easy. After all, inspite of all these formalities being done; it is the people there who will have to be fit to take the responsibility. If they quarrel, it will not be my fault. I shall try my best to ~~bring~~ <sup>bring</sup> them together, to make them fit to bear the burden, but if you go on continuously making propaganda that the Congress is gone, that it is not fit, that this Government is bad and that Government is bad, then you are one in a four hundred. What can I do?

Shri Biswanath Das (Orissa): May I enquire whether Government are aware of the fact that the so-called nominated Members when addressing meetings in Orissa States draw an audience of thousands while when my friend Mr. Sarangdhar Das addresses meetings the audience never exceeds two digits?

Sardar Patel: They are all here in this Parliament and they are of a representative character. I know that the nominations that have been made are from people who claim to be representatives. I think I have taken a little more time. I am glad that generally you have supported and accepted the Demands.

(ends.)

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My dear Butt,

A copy of H. M.'s  
speeches delivered  
in Parliament so far  
is being sent here with  
undelivered. Debates of  
9th & 10th March  
are not readily available  
and a copy of H. M.'s speeches  
delivered in these days  
will be sent later.

Yours sincerely

Mr. Bagge

11/4/50  
Parliamentary Secy.  
Ministry of Home Affairs

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Srijut Chaliha contd.-

and get frustrated as we have been doing. He has not said anything about which we will be disappointed later. His Address is a simple and honest one. Therefore I once again thank the President for the gracious message and we are grateful to the great man who spoke to us the other day.

(ends)

Minister of Home Affairs.

(SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL):- Sir, but for the fact that one or two points require clarification in order to remove any possible misunderstanding from the minds of Members of this House, I would not have ventured to take up the time of the House. The Prime Minister is going to give a general reply to all the points raised in the course of the debate.

There is one point which struck me as requiring clarification. I would ask the House to bear in mind the fact that unless we make up our minds to take an objective view and get a proper perception of things, we are not likely to make progress. The House will recall that Mr. Khandubhai Desai made a Statement that this Government, for the last two years, has been following a policy of appeasement towards the capitalists and businessmen. Now, Mr. Khandubhai is the chairman of the I.N.T.U.C. and a responsible Member of this House. Any words falling from his mouth are likely to have serious effect on our industrial progress. Now, the House will agree with me when I say that in this House there is no representation for the capitalists to answer that charge so far as the capitalists are concerned. They have no effective voice here. But whatever we say will have its effect on them and on the industry as a whole. Responsible Ministers' statements also have that effect. Therefore, when we make a speech on the floor of this House we have to take into account the effect it would have on the country as a whole.

Sardar Patel cent:-

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Now, I seriously ask you to consider the amount of legislation both in the Centre and in the Provinces that has been pushed forward in the course of these two years so far as labour is concerned. Can you find a parallel to it anywhere? We have tried our best to move forward as far as possible. In the circumstances, to say that we are following a policy of appeasement while the capitalists themselves are feeling - and I say rightly feeling - and are afraid to come near the Government, which believes that they have not played their part, - whether it is right or wrong is another matter - and to charge the Government that we are following a policy of appeasement is to make a loose charge of a type that is not expected from a seasoned Member of this House. If a back-bencher makes such a charge it can be attributed to his lack of experience and he can be excused. But Shri Khandubai is not enjoying that position and he must not use such loose expressions. I do not want to labour this point further. But I wish to emphasise one aspect of the question. We are passing through a critical period and our economic problems are such that unless we increase the production of food stuffs and our industrial products, we are not going to solve them.

You all appreciate, and rightly appreciate, the good work that our army has done. We are very appreciative of it and we want that the strength of the army should be maintained. I am also of that view. But you must see that the strain on our economy is not increased. Therefore unless side by side we produce more we cannot get on. The time has come when we must adjust our policy in such a way that all sections of the people and all sections of the society co-operate. Labour must have its due, but we must ask labour to produce as much as possible. We have done well by labour and labour has played its part. Here I may give an instance. In Madhya Bharat, the textile industry earned 57 lakhs. Out of this sum, Rs.40 lakhs were

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Sardar Patel cents:-

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given to labour as bonus. Is that a policy of appeasement of capitalists ? The Ministry took Rs.40 lakhs as bonus to labour out of 57 lakhs earned by the industry and income tax was charged on this profit. The Madhya Bharat Ministry has passed an order that clerks in the mills should not work for more than six hours. That is not the position in any mill in India outside Madhya Bharat.

(continued by DD)



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(Patel contd.)

Are they to employ for two hours another set of clerks ? So we must see where we are going and not create an wrong impression amongs the people as a whole about our policy as people outside who want to attack this Government say "This is a capitalist Government: they side with the capitalists." Whe, I ask you, on the benches of this House is a capitalist or is siding with the capitalists? Is their voice heard here anywhere ? That is one point which I wanted to impress on you, because it does cause harm, it does not create a condition of coesperation. By all means attack the capitalists wherever they are in the wrong and make them see their folly but do not create an impression that this Government would not look to the interests of labour.

Another matter is this. A general question was raised in connection with the integration of the States by my frined the hon'ble Member from Kanpur: What is the policy of this Government about the Chief Commissioner's provinces ? Very easy to ask that question but there are Chief Commissioner's provinces which are not merely created by integration alone. The province of Delhi is an old Chief Commissioner's province. It is not a new one and only the ether day the Prime Minister made a statement as to what the policy of the Government is and that a proper Bill is being drafted for it. Then there is Ajmer which is also a Chief Commissioner's province and which is a very small area. It is an old Chief Commissioner's province. As soon as we came into power we tried to put in an advisory committee in this province. Naturally the people coming from that area to this House would not be satisfied by mere Advisory Councils but you cannot make changes evernight or with rapidity -- a speed which would disturb the stability of the

state. You do not know how many refugees have into that small area. You do not know that there we had communal troubles on several occasions which had to be suppressed with severity and effectiveness but it is a source of trouble. In that area we cannot set up immediately institutions which are called democratic, which would give power to people who are not quite experienced. May be a few individuals are there but we must wait and see that whether proper constitution is drafted for this area, whether that area is to be kept intact, whether it can be merged with the adjoining areas or what should be the institutions established. These questions give us considerable anxiety, not that we are sleeping over them but they are not easy of solution.

There is another Chief Commissioner's province in a small area near Mysore called Coorg. It is also an old Chief Commissioner's province and there is a legislature there. There are two parties there, one group of people want that the state should be merged either with Mysore or with Madras and the other group of people say that they do not want any merger. They are a peace-loving people and they accept our advice. We are constantly in touch with them: We do not want to disturb their peace and we say that we can only proceed with the general consent of the people there.

Then there is Cutch with a huge border, which is unprotected and unguarded and there is a big desert. I do not know whether any of you have seen it except the representative of Cutch. It is an unfortunate state where if you want to see primitive conditions which existed in India thousands of years ago you will find them. There is no railway, no motor car, no bus,

ne reads, because the old Maharaja thought that no outside influence should be allowed to come into the state. The currency there was called by a peculiar name, the 'Keri', which was a speciality of its own. In this state we are going to develop a big port. After having lost Karachi there was a great strain on the port of Bombay and we have suffered on account of it. Therefore on the Western coast we must have a big rival port and a first class one. The Government of India have taken over this state as a Chief Commissioner's province in order to develop this area. Our project is to put in five lakh additional refugees, largely refugees from Sind, besides some from Punjab also. A big township is being developed there. We have a programme for building a railway from this port joining up with ..... ? That is also a big scheme. All these cannot be done by a democratic setup there without any experience. A large number of people had left the state because there was no trade nor industry and had spread all over the world. You can find adventurous Cutchees anywhere, who are very big industrialists or businessmen. There are a lot of them in Bombay. Burma was full of them in Rangoon there were streets of Cutchees. They were also in other parts of the world. This is the Chief Commissioner's province where it is our responsibility to see that our money is well spent towards development and progress and also that we keep the people satisfied. Last year there was a famine there and the Cutchees residing both in Bombay and in Cutch passed resolutions of thankfulness to the Government of India for helping them in an hour of serious crisis and not allowing anybody to die of starvation, for giving them all the food that was required and distributing them properly,

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for protecting them and also protecting their border.

Then you come to the other end, Manipur. It is a place which is now exposed to infiltration and danger. We have taken over Manipur only recently as a Chief Commissioner's province. Similarly with Tripura. It has a big border between Pakistan and India. It has no contact with Bengal and Bengal people want it. Assam people want it, though it has no contact with Assam. It has practically no contact with Bengal after Partition. All their supplies we have to arrange by aeroplane. We have kept this state in our hands as a centrally administered Chief Commissioner's province.

So also in the North, in the Punjab there are the hill states in the Himalayan area. There were so many small states which have all been merged and put into a province. The population there is largely backward; they are an innocent and inoffensive people who have the lowest number of crimes to their record but politically they require nursing.

(continued by EE.)

(Patel etd.)

Therefore we have formed that into a Chief Commissioner's Province. You will see therefore that wherever in integration we have Chief Commissioner's Provinces we have very special reasons to protect and develop them.

We had another State near Darjeeling called Cooh-Bihar which has recently been merged into Bengal. Although it was a very difficult and tough thing we have done it. That is the general position of the Chief Commissioner's Provinces and their future. We are anxious as much as you are- perhaps more. Because, we want to get rid of the burden as quickly as possible and to distribute the burden among the people. But we are not in a position to put on the people a burden under which they would be crushed. The whole country would then suffer as a consequence. So that is the policy with regard to the Chief Commissioner's Provinces.

There are several Unions of which Vindhya Pradesh has got notoriety and although recently you heard much about it we have had very bitter experience of this area. This area consists of a population of 36 lakhs of people and comprises of about 26½ thousand square miles. And there were 35 or 36 States in the area, although Rewa was a big, viable State. The rest were small States. You can imagine the number of small States which divided this little area. You can also imagine what kind of police or administrative machinery could be there in such small units. So when the States were integrated it was not an easy job, for the smallest of the Princes thought that paramountcy has disappeared and that he was His

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Majesty and was "monarch of all he surveyed". With great difficulty we persuaded all these to be lumped into one group and we took their signatures on the Covenants. After this was done we found another problem namely that this area is divided into two parts. One is called Bhagelkhand and the other is called Bundelkhand. There has been traditional rivalry, jealousy and antagonism between the people of these two areas and they have a history of their own. You can imagine what political life would be there in the small pockets where the Princes ruled with autocracy: there were not even infant organisations of local self-government or anything of the kind. Here we took power from the Princes and gave it to the so-called "leaders of the people" who were called Ministers. There were no elections - nothing of the kind - but they represented an organisation called the "local Congress". But in the two areas we could not form one Ministry and there were two Ministries - the Bhagelkhand Ministry and the Bundelkhand Ministry. It took us two months to persuade them to come together and save expenses, because economically it is a deficit Province and it cannot stand on its own legs. A joint Ministry was then formed and we thought that joint working will create conditions for a good democratic organisation and that people would be happy. Unfortunately, some time afterwards one of the Ministers was charged with having taken a bribe of Rs. 25,000 for issuing a licence in Delhi itself. And at the instance of the Anti-Corruption Branch of the Intelligence Department in Delhi the Minister was arrested. It did not stop there. I called the Ministers to tell me what really was the position because I was getting numerous complaints, both official and non-official, from that area

of corruption, black-marketing, maladministration and many other charges. When I called the Ministers I found the unfortunate Premier complaining against his Ministry, making several charges against them, and the Ministers when they were called were making charges against the Premier. They were old, seasoned Congressmen - some of them. They have served not only in that area. The Premier had the honour to be the President of the C.P. Provincial Congress Committee some time and the other for years happened to be the President of the Allahabad District Congress Committee. So I naturally thought that this arrangement would work well. But when this happened I called the Ministers and they began, as I said, to charge the Premier and the Premier began to charge them. I then said that the best thing is not to allow these things to remain without being enquired into, because the officials have been complaining to me about all these things and what would they think if I suppress them? I therefore said "I must make enquiries and the best thing for you is to give me your resignations because you yourselves say that you cannot work together". And they gave their resignations - not that I dismissed them. They themselves thought fit that they should resign.

After the resignations the difficulty that I found was to whom to give this. I waited for some time I had no alternative but to put an official set-up for the time being - not that it is a permanent arrangement or a better arrangement, but I cannot allow this area to be a spot where dacoits and murderers could have a free play - because during this period peace was being disturbed. So I asked for officers. The U.P. Ministry has been

good enough to spare several officers to me for other Unions. I approached C.P. because U.P. had no officers to spare. It took some time and there was great difficulty in finding officers. And when I put the officers there, there was an outcry from some parts of U.P. - the adjoining areas - that this was for the purpose of integration of this area into C.P. and that was why C.P. officials had been brought. I tried to assure them that I do not want to favour either U.P. or C.P. and it is not my intention, if it is possible, to disintegrate the State area. But if it is not workable, then there would be no alternative. We waited for a long time. The enquiry was going on. As a result of the enquiry some charges have been framed and the proceedings are going on. I do not want to forecast anything, but I would wish that they would be absolved of all charges, because after all having worked in an organisation for all my life it would be a shame for us to find any Congressman convicted of an offence which is not of maladministration alone.

(Ctd. by FF)



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5.p.m.

(Sardar Patel - contd.)

So, I don't want to say anything. But to state that probably the Deputy Prime Minister does not know anything about this, is to claim too much knowledge about an area which is under my charge. It is not fair to me nor fair to the House that such charges should be made. I don't allow anything to be done in any area under my charge without my knowledge and without my approval. If in any emergency any step has been taken by an officer where there is no time to take consent, he has to approach me immediately and to bear the consequences of his mistake if he has done wrong. So, I want to assure the House that what is done in Vindhya Pradesh is done with my full knowledge and approval.

Now, coming directly to the specific charges, I am sorry to say that with reference to a man who was detained my friend has made reference to a remark which is very derogatory to the administration. He says that he was arrested only for giving a motor car to Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia. How can one believe such a story? There are ten items in the charges but he has taken one charge drawing a line at a particular place and placed it before the House.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma : On a point of personal explanation, I would like to place before the House the fact that even while I was making my speech I made it definitely clear

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(Pandit Balkrishna Sharma - contd.)

that one of the charges was this, and that the other was that that particular gentleman led a deputation to the Prime Minister. They were two of the charges.

Sardar Patel: He suggested that because these people came in a deputation to the Prime Minister, therefore, that was also made a charge. That was also a misrepresentation. Amongst the charges one is that this gentleman not only organised the violent agitation which resulted in the firing but he organised a demonstration preventing the Secretary of the States Department who wanted to see the Maharaja of Rewa in order to get his signature; the demonstrators did not allow him to go to the Maharaja. They threw stones at him and he could not approach the Maharaja of Rewa in his palace and had to come back. It was the greatest insult offered to the Government of India; we had to put up with it.

This gentleman who was a party to the organisation of the whole thing sent a deputation to the Prime Minister. It is not as if the deputation going to the Prime Minister is a charge, but the charge is of trying to misrepresent the whole thing and saying that twenty people were killed while two men were killed, and of placing before the Prime Minister several exaggerated facts saying that there was going to be danger. It is only a part of the connecting link of ten charges, only these two items that have been selected and placed before the House. My friend says that this man was detained under the Goenda Act. No doubt a lot of

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geondalism was practised there, but there is no Geondia Act there that I know of. Perhaps he knows about it more. This is not fair. Therefore, I want to remove the misunderstandings that may have been created in the mind of this House that all that is being done in this Area is being done by the Civil Service people without the knowledge and consent or in ignorance of the man in charge who is sleeping. That is not the fact. My friend should also have stated that as soon as normal conditions are restored the men detained were released. That also he didn't say. So, I don't want to pursue this matter further, nor is it the time or the occasion for going into details. If he had come to me, I would have explained the whole thing to him, or if he wants any more information I will always be available -- but he didn't do so. As I have said, we are always anxious for the democratic set-up everywhere in India. Why should we deny it to other people? When we have declared India a Republic, who is there who is our protegee? Why should we keep our servicemen there? I have many places from where there is a demand for good service people, but I can't get men. So, if there are men kept there it is because the democratic set-up, in the immediate future, is not possible there. I have got the report of the Financial Integration Committee which was appointed specially for the purpose of the financial integration of all the States, and the report on this area is that it cannot stand on its legs. So, we have to consider what to do. I called the Premiers of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, and also these representatives, and I asked them whether they

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(Sardar Patel - contd.)

could agree as to the distribution of this area into their Provinces. They could not agree. Therefore, I had no alternative but immediately to form this area as a Chief Commissioner's Provinces. So, what has been done was as a last alternative. For the period for which we find it necessary to do so in the interests of the State and in the interests of the country as a whole, this area being situated in the heart of India, we cannot allow things to be disturbed nor disrepute brought on the administration. I want to assure the House that there should be no misapprehension in the mind of anybody that we want to take away the liberty of anybody. Mr. Sarangdhar Das said that Mr. Lehia is one of the best followers of Gandhiji. Unfortunately, Gandhiji has left so many followers in this country that it is difficult to say who is good and who is bad. Everybody claims to be a follower of Gandhiji; except this Member sitting on the Treasury Bench, the rest have all been Gandhiji's followers. It is a very difficult position, but I want to tell Mr. Sarangdhar Das who has recently joined that Party, that this kind of tactics of creating disturbances everywhere is not going to improve the position of the Party. We wish that Party would form a good, healthy Opposition, but beginning from Goa right up to Nepal and then from the Central Provinces to Rajasthan they jump from one place to another, create problems for the Government

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and then go away. Is that following Gandhiji? I can't understand it. I have lived with him for all my life, but I have forgotten his principles and new followers have started to come.

This matter is a serious matter. We must not make serious charges haphazardly without consideration. That is all I have to say.

(Ends)

(The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 3rd February, 1960)



It is indeed a singularly fortunate circumstance that the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, happens to be in Bombay at this juncture when our Chief Minister, Shri B.G.Kher, who is unfortunately prevented by ill-health from being present this evening, was thinking of giving concrete shape to his long cherished desire of providing a centre of knowledge in congenial surroundings for children. He had asked me to request Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to lay the foundation-stone of the building and I am happy to say that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel readily agreed to preside over the function this evening and to lay the foundation-stone of the Children's Centre. I extend to him very grateful thanks on behalf of the Chief Minister and the Government of Bombay and on behalf of you all for sparing some of his most valuable time for this evening's function.

This has been called, and rightly called, the Century of the Child; for at no other time in the history of the world has the Child received so much attention. Not only have organisations been set up all over the world for child welfare, -- for the protection of the orphan child, the destitute child, the defective or delinquent child, in a humanitarian spirit; but the normal average child has claimed increasing attention as an ordinary sociological problem. Inventive mind has been continuously at work in devising the most effective and most pleasant methods of teaching children; and as the approach to the problem has become more and more scientific, the foundations of child psychology have been laid on a firmer basis. The happiness of the child is no longer the concern of the parent and the humanitarian only. It has become the concern of the sociologist and the statesman; for it has been increasingly realised that the child is the true foundation of a nation. The famous phrase, "The Child is

Copy 3 sent to the Hon'ble  
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel  
for his reference to the  
Hon'ble Minister of Education  
at the Children's Centre  
at the Children's Centre  
Sardar on 24-5-55  
To V. Shankar P.C.S.

Copy 1 sent to the Hon'ble  
Minister of Education  
at the Children's Centre

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"Father of the Man" is no longer a paradox; it is the simplest and most obvious truth. What we are as men and women, as members of a society, as citizens of a State, depends vitally upon what we have been as children in the home, in the school. There cannot be a sane and truly prosperous nation without happy homes and pleasant schools and our homes and schools cannot be happy unless we are sane and happy ourselves. This vicious circle can only be broken if we, who realise the urgency of the problem, take up, with vigour and with persistent will, the cause of the Child, and spare no pains to make it happy.

Now, what does make a child really happy ?

A child wants to grow. Growth is its one business in life. Nothing can stop it from growing. If he does not grow right, he will grow wrong. And what is it that helps him grow right ? The first thing is freedom; the second is wise control, a control so subtle that it seems to be a part of freedom. Therefore, a garden is one of the best symbols of the child's world; for in a garden you may run free; and there are soft lawns for your feet. But in a garden there are hedges, ~~that~~ too, which you may peer over but not trespass; there are lovely flower-beds which you must not trample.

A child grows by assimilation. It must absorb into itself the world of sense. The child grows by outer impressions as the tree grows by taking in oxygen and light. And we must see that what the child absorbs into itself is wholesome and conducive to right growth. Therefore must the child be surrounded with things of beauty. Its surroundings must be peaceful as well as pleasant. It must have plenty of flowers and pictures; and, as it grows, it must have books.

But the child grows by play too. Play is its work. If assimilation is the more passive side of its experience, playing is its more active side. In play,

a child not only learns to strengthen its limbs and lungs, but also to develop its mind and will; to plan and organise, to command and obey, to take defeat with courage and victory with grace.

That is why this Government, ever since the dawn of our national freedom, has been giving serious thought to a Garden of Children -- a haunt of beauty and peace. It is in pursuance of this idea that this Charni Road Garden has since last year been reserved for women and children. But Government has, at the same time, felt that the garden could not be complete without a library; for a library is a treasure-house of the stored-up experience of the finest the happiest and most eloquent minds.

The story of this Children's Centre, this Children's Home -- Bal Bhavan -- is brief but encouraging. It was only in 1946 that the National Council of Women in India suggested the necessity of establishing a Children's Library in Bombay, or, in the alternative, of attaching a Children's Section to the proposed Central Library. Next year, two schemes were placed before Government -- one by Shri Prataprai Mehta, and the other by the Bombay Presidency Women's Council. The latter scheme, which seemed more immediately feasible, envisaged the establishment in Bombay City of eight children's library centres. The number was subsequently reduced to two, with an estimate of about Rs.16,000/-, half of which was to be borne by Government. The Presidency Women's Council had, from as far back as 1943, been successfully running library centres during vacations, alternately at the Wilson College and the Anjuman-I-Islam High School. About the same time, the Balkan-ji-Bari had approached Government with a suggestion for a Children's Town and Exhibition to be held during the Christmas week of 1948. For one reason or another, the idea did not materialise. But the convergence of these various schemes, conspiring on the one hand with the



the lack of accommodation in the Central Library and, on the other, with Government's anxiety to see that the Children's Centre should not only be established early but established in the best possible surroundings, has now culminated in this function.

When, two years ago, our Chief Minister, who has taken very keen interest in this scheme, asked for plans to be prepared, it was found that the entire building and equipment would cost about Rs.6½ lakhs. In the new plans, now approved, which provide for a three-floor building, the ultimate non-recurring cost will be about Rs.3 lakhs. For the present, however, it has been decided to build only the ground floor at a cost of Rs.1 lakh and 80 thousand. The ground floor will provide, besides the office, stack room etc., a reading room, and a lecture room which could also be used for exhibition of children's films. There will also be a pergola on one side, which could be used as an open-air study; while the space before the porch could be easily converted into an open-air children's theatre. The Centre is so designed as to have, besides a library, play rooms equipped with playing materials of all types, as well as provision for the learning of crafts under the supervision of a trained craft master. It is proposed that, besides the non-technical staff, there should be a trained librarian and another officer who will combine the functions of assistant librarian and craft teacher. The running of the Centre on these lines is estimated to cost about Rs.21,000/- annually. A part of this expenditure, both capital and recurring, is expected to be raised from public donations, as no scheme of national welfare can be a real success without the active support of the public. And, if some organisation (or organisations) interested in Child Culture comes

forward

forward to undertake the completion of this Centre and the responsibility of running it on the lines approved by Government, Government will be prepared to consider such a request favourably. I am glad to announce that the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust has promised a donation of Rs.30,000/- and the Sir Ratan Tata Charities a donation of Rs.20,000/-, both as endowment grants for books.

I have said before that it is a fortunate circumstance that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel should be among us this evening to lay the Foundation Stone of the Children's Centre. It is not only that his presence here and his participation in this function, give it a special charm and an historic significance. It is that the association of his person with the establishment of a Children's Centre is something in the nature of a symbol. For Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, despite the burden of years and the heavier burden of public cares, is in a sense the youngest of our statesman. As one of the makers - - the most determined - - of the new India, he is nearest to children, who, in their study and play, are ever making new worlds of their own. Also because, as a great statesman, he knows that no nation can be great that is not built on the foundations of a strong and happy childhood -- a childhood free and uninhibited, and at the same, disciplined and wise.

I now request Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to kindly lay the Foundation Stone of the Bala Bhavan.

To  
Bombay M.S.O.

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FROM  
DELHI

DPM Sec.  
R37  
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Please pass on this message by hand from Shroff, I.N.S.Delhi to the Editor, Press Trust of India, Bombay tel. no. 2724, message begins:

We asked Sardar for a farewell message at the Bolghatty palace (Cochin). The message was written out by hand, by Mr. Shankar but given to the local representative of the A.I.R. He promised to give a copy of it to our Ernakulam office. I am however sending the message to you in full in case you do not get it from Ernakulam. I.N.S.Delhi left Cochin soon after 1 p.m. and Ernakulam must have given to you a full coverage of Sardar's Departure. Sardar's message said:

" On the termination of my brief but most pleasant visit to the Travancore-Cochin State, I should like to say how grateful I am to His Highness the Raj Pramukh whose princely hospitality, kind consideration and constant attention contributed so much to the comfort and enjoyment of our stay, to the Chief Minister and his colleagues whose devotion and loyalty were unmistakably imprinted on the care and interest which they exhibited in the minutest detail of our programme, to the Press which extended to me their usual kindness and courtesy which make public life such a pleasure to me and to the people of the State who flocked in thousands to do me the honour of an acquaintance which I warmly appreciated and who demonstrated so much to the cause and organisation which claim our loyalty and support. It was a most pleasant experience which will have an abiding place in my memory. My only regret is that it should have come to me at an age when a repetition of it must remain with me a fond dream.

Nature has spared no pains and withdrawn nothing from this beautiful country which has the honour and privilege of worshipping at the feet, of Mother India washed by the waves of one ocean and two seas. It only needs the careful husbanding of resources, the landing without stint of the hand to the plough, the planned exploitation of the bounty which Nature has bestowed on it to enable its inhabitants to enjoy all the blessings with which its people are endowed. This requires enlightened approach to its many problems on the part of its people selfless and united devotion on the part of the public workers and a sustained and vigilant interest on the part of its Govt. The Centre is pledged to support the Govt. and the people of the State in all its well-directed efforts for public weal and my visit has only sharpened my desire to increase that support still further. I would appeal to the men and women of this well-provisioned State to rise above petty intrigues or communal wrangling and rivalries, to place the good of the public and the country above the interests of the individual and the community and to devote themselves with single-minded devotion and ceaseless endeavour to the solution of the many economic and social problems which inevitably claim the attention of a newly born state. Integration without consolidation would represent the collection of bones without flesh and blood; it will lack that vitality and spark which alone make life possible. I would, therefore, pray that Providence, which has been so generous to this State, endows its people with that wisdom, sobriety and public sense which alone make democracy a success and achievement."

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16.5.50.

Speech of The Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on 16.5.50 on I.N.S. "Delhi" off the shores of Calicut.

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At the outset, Sardar Patel enquired whether the audience would like him to speak in Hindi or in English, and on being told that they would prefer his speech in English, he spoke as follows:

I am very glad to meet you all, but it is meeting under peculiar circumstances. Meeting on waters is a rare thing.

I would have loved to come to Calicut, for I have not been to Calicut for many years and would have loved to meet all the people there and would have talked to them of their responsibilities under the present circumstances. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible for me to spare any time in my present tour. If I am able to preserve my energy and health, it may perhaps be possible for me to come to Calicut at some other time.

I understand the port is closed today from yesterday and you had a difficult time to come here. I am sorry that you were put to trouble. Some of you who come to the ship on sea must have found it a little bit troublesome. However, you are living on the coast, and coastal people should not find any difficulty in going on waters under any circumstances. Yet some of you must have had trouble, and perhaps while going back, may have some trouble also. Therefore, I do not wish to take much of your time.

I am glad to meet you and want to tell you only a few things, one of which is that it is not good that we are not able to talk in a common language. How long can we talk in a language which neither yours nor mine? According to the new Constitution, we have now decided upon a language which should be common all over India and a concession has been made because of South India because you have lagged behind, fifteen years' concession has been given at the instance of your leaders. But it is not a very creditable performance, and you should not wait for a long time but try to pick up the common language of India as soon as possible. You know that, in the Central Government, the proceedings are conducted in English for the present, but pressure

is being brought upon us more and more by the members coming from different provinces that we should take to Hindi, which is quite natural. Your representatives find it difficult. If you do not learn Hindi soon, you cannot take your proper share in the administration of the country, but as elsewhere, I won't be surprised if your energies are spent more in quarrelling than in constructive activities, because the Congress waters are more rough than the waters of the ocean and the people, after having gained their objective for the present—which they thought ~~it~~ was the final objective—have engaged themselves in mutual quarrels and intrigues and jealousies and running after posts. Although the leaders may engage themselves in such activities, it is for you to keep the leaders there, and the objective of the Congress must be known to every Congressman, you must refuse to be drawn into controversies. You know these are constitutional methods in an organisation like the Congress, where, if anybody is dissatisfied, he has to appeal to the local Congress organisation or the Provincial Congress organisation or the Central organisation. The final word rests with the Congress Working Committee. If even that gives no satisfaction, then those people have no place in the Congress. So, whether the leader is high or low, or whether he is a common rank and file Congressman, if he goes against the discipline of the Congress, if he advises you to revolt or to join or follow those who create troubles, he must not be listened to and you should not worry about quarrels of leaders. Congressmen should engage themselves in constructive activities and refuse to be drawn into parties or splits. You can take this message from me to the Congressmen—that it is our duty, now that we have got a clean slate to build the future of India in the manner we like, it is their business to engage themselves in building up the organisation. There is no country in the world where there are so many religions, castes, communities, languages and over and above all, a sort of narrow patriotism which is called parochial patriotism. There are people asking for freedom or independence in their own area, or for separate provinces, or asking for one province to join with another province. Certainly people have got an appetite for more and more demands which cannot be met all at

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Public speech of The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai  
Patel at Trivandrum on 14th May 1950.

Your Highness, Chief Minister, Ladies & Gentlemen,

In the first place, I am grateful to you for the warm reception that has been accorded to me during my first visit to this Union. I am also grateful to the Members of the Municipalities that have presented me with addresses of welcome. I do not propose to take any more time about formalities, but I must confess that I am <sup>much</sup> ~~terribly~~ impressed by the orderly manner in which meetings are held and the crowds behave themselves in this Union. It is a rare sight that I have experienced in my travels all over India, and I congratulate you for that. If you will introduce the same spirit which you have introduced in your behaviour and <sup>the same</sup> ~~in your~~ orderliness <sup>as</sup> in these meetings, in the administration of the Union, which is now the administration of the people, you will be doing a great service to the Union. As I have said just now, this is my first visit to this Union and I am extremely delighted to meet you all.

I would now like to explain the purpose of my visit. I have been longing to visit this place for a very long time, because I have taken a good deal of interest in securing freedom for the people of the States all over, including Travancore and Cochin. But unfortunately one thing or another came in the way and I had no occasion to visit this place till now. I should have come at the time of the integration of the Union.

(At this time, a portion of the crowd was restless because the loudspeaker was not functioning properly and they could not hear Sardar Patel. Immediately, in a few minutes, it was set right, and Sardar Patel continued)

I am sorry you were not able to hear from that distance, but I ~~hope~~ <sup>now</sup> I will make a little more effort and I hope the machine also will behave well and you will be able to hear me. I was saying that at the time of the integration it was my desire—perhaps my duty—to come here, but unfortunately my health would not permit me to take the risk. But I had given a solemn undertaking to His Highness and to the Ministry that I would take the earliest

possible opportunity of visiting this place and to give whatever advice I considered proper to the Ministers as well as to the people as to their duties and responsibilities in the changed circumstances. You know that the whole country from the north to the south and from east to west has now been consolidated. Apart from the unfortunate partition which has taken place at the time of transfer of power, the rest of India is now ~~now~~ of one colour in the map. There are no differences now between States and States or between States and Provinces. All units that have been formed will practically be governed by one uniform set of laws, and in the history of India there has never been such consolidation as it is today. We must realise the full implications of that consolidation, and we must take the full advantage of it. If we take a lesson from past history, we will see that it is our duty to preserve and consolidate this hard-earned freedom, for which many people have made tremendous sacrifices. Yet the sacrifices that we have made in the struggle for freedom are nothing compared to the sacrifices made by many countries for securing freedom or for retaining their own freedom. Almost the whole of Europe today is full of turmoil. People are suffering terribly and free countries are in bondage and are not happy. Almost the whole of Asia is in the same condition. We in this big country are in a fortunate position to have a stable, solid union, which is called the Union of India, and within which there are Unions and old Provinces which are called States. There are also some small States which have been kept still under the Central administration for various reasons, but hereafter all will be administered under one common law. You must understand that today after the Union Constitution has been passed, the Centre has a powerful force, has a strong army, has made a fairly good beginning in its naval force and a good air force of which India can be proud. All the units are governed more or less by popular representatives.

India, for the first time, has got adult franchise under the new Constitution. Adult franchise is a great achievement.

It gives the right of a share in the governance of the country to all from the highest to the lowest in the land. That is why we have now what is called a democratic set-up of government. In that, you are free to follow your own religions, your own culture, your own language and your own trade or your own profession in peace and in harmony. The future of this country is entirely in your own hands. It is up to you to shape it in any manner you like. Will you have the will, will you have the good fortune, to have history record that you utilised this opportunity for the well-being of the people, to whom Providence has entrusted <sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ future?

From what little I know of this Union, I have found two or three things to which I wish to draw your attention and about which you have specially to think hard and consider what you should do. I have noticed that some youngmen in this Union have gone astray and believe that a few bombs thrown, or a few murders committed or a few dacoities committed would bring heaven on earth. They are living in a fool's paradise, and if they pursue that mad career, it will ~~be~~ lead to their ruin. It will do them no good, nor can they achieve the false ideal that they have set before themselves. This is a country inherently religious-minded and peace-loving. It does not like disturbances, or discontent, but prefers to live in peace. Past history has shown that, and in future also it will like to live in peace. I wish to give a warning to these misguided youngmen. The Central Government today is strong enough to deal with any situation that a set of criminally-minded people would like to create in this land. They shall have no quarter if they pursue their mad career. They are our kith and kin and they are our own people and nobody likes to deal harshly with our own people, but the place of a lunatic is in the asylum. He should have no freedom, because freedom does him harm and his freedom harms the society. Therefore I have appealed in Cochin, and I appeal to



those youngmen here as well, to listen to me and to remember that it is not easy to bring about a bloody revolution in this country. We won't permit it. It would be criminal on our part if we do not protect the society from the bloodiest picture which they imagine can be brought about in this land. They think that heaven has fallen from the skies in China, and it may as well come here. It will take years of hard work to build up a really happy China. You have to go and see what China really is and what sacrifices they have made, how millions of youngmen have been ruined, how houses and families have been ~~ruined~~<sup>ruined</sup>. It is not easy to create similar conditions here, but if you want to create a revolution, why should you have a bloody revolution when we can do what we like peacefully? It is up to you to create any situation you like by a change of ideas. Educate your people, but to coerce them, to force them or to influence them by violence is a crime, which cannot be tolerated by a civilised government. Therefore, listen to me carefully and change your ways. I could understand the reasoning of <sup>much</sup> youngmen who in days of British rule thought they were fighting for freedom, that they wanted to get out of autocratic rule. There was some reasoning behind it, although the Congress never followed that path. Its ideal was peace and non-violence. Its means were peace and non-violence, and ~~just~~ some youngmen were not satisfied with peaceful means, they took to violence, but we could then understand their motive. But I cannot understand the motive of those who take to violence now when it is open to the people to do what they like peacefully. Nobody comes ~~in your way~~ in your way. That is one thing I wanted to tell you —that is, not only to ~~those~~ those youngmen, but to all of you, friends,—to remember that to be indifferent to the growth of a small disease of this type which is capable of corroding the body politic of the society, is a dangerous crime, and therefore all of you should be careful to help and co-operate with the Government in suppressing that kind of disease. Otherwise, it will ruin all of us. I am saying this because there are only two or three places in India where this disease is trying

Telangana

to take root, that is Malabar, Andhra and Bengal. In other places, it has practically disappeared. In these places, it is being controlled, and it is bound to disappear, but to remove it by force is not a good thing for a popular Government, and if you help us, if you co-operate with us, it would not be necessary to use force. When I hear that some youngmen have gone underground, what is that underground cell? Where do they go, unless some of you give them protection or unless some of you refuse to give information. Even if these people are your own relations, you must disown them and tell them that this is the way to ruin not only of themselves but of the society as a whole.

The other thing in this Union which has pained me considerably is the cry which I heard for the first time "Hinduism in danger". Where is it in danger? Are the Hindus being coerced? Are they being forced or terrorised? Are they being oppressed, or is there any obstruction in the way of their following their own religion or way of life? What is this? Why create an imaginary picture of fright? Is it in order to create splits or groups, to capture votes? Can you capture power by that method? No, my friends, you are much mistaken. That is the wrong way. If you try to capture power by that method, there will soon be others who will pull you down very quickly. After all, the present representatives of the people in Government are representatives of an organisation which has deep foundations, very solid foundations. Sometimes, it may appear to be <sup>superficial</sup> superficial or not very strong. But an organisation that has fought for several years and won freedom must have very deep roots. I have said before, and I repeat it now, that parties may grow like mushrooms and multiply, but when the Congress steamroller begins to function, it will level down all parties. You will not find any party capable of standing against it for some time to come, unless that party presents a better picture of sacrifices and service. A few people from the Congress may go out and form a separate party, but a branch is only a branch. It cannot have the stem or the roots, and will dry out. It cannot

stand a whirlwind, but the solid tree of the Congress which has very deep roots can withstand anything, and it is in the interests of the country that this organisation, which has brought about freedom, must be strengthened and consolidated till the country is able to take its proper place in the comity of nations of the world. Do not disturb it, for frequent changes in popular Ministries is a curse of democracy. The Ministries must have an opportunity for working out their programme for a steady period, so that they can do good to the people. If I plant a tree and if some other man who is my neighbour comes and uproots it, so that he can plant another, the one that I had planted is dried up. But the one that is planted in its place will take time to take its roots. In the meantime, another man may come and uproot it. You will never do any solid work if you go on changing people who are saddled with responsibility. It is possible that they may make mistakes, but are not human beings liable to mistakes? Who is infallible? Therefore, we must induce them to correct themselves if there is a mistake. After all, it was for this reason that we introduced in the Constitution, in spite of the reluctance of the representatives of several States and Unions, a clause providing for the Central Government to keep control by superintendence, direction and guidance to these representatives in the Unions. Because we knew that they won't easily be allowed to govern well; because we are making a beginning in democracy, and <sup>in the</sup> beginning <sup>of a</sup> in democracy with adult franchise, for people who had no experience of democracy and are likely to commit serious mistakes. Perhaps people are more highly educated in this Union than any other part of the country. You are expected to understand things better and more quickly. With this hope, therefore, I gave an open assurance in the Constituent Assembly ~~Ministry~~, when the Constitution was passed, that these safeguards of superintendence, direction and control are not meant for the people of Cochin, Travancore or Mysore, because they are advanced States and had some form of diluted democracy in spite

of autocracy. There was at least some show of it, but there are many Unions in India where there was nothing what is called a Municipality or a Local Board or a Village Panchayat, in fact with no form of local institutions. In many Unions, there are big ~~zamindars~~ zamindars and jagirdars who wield power, with no village organisation or any sort of autonomy. You, on the other hand, had some institutions which had some form of autonomy and you have a high degree of education. Therefore, we expect you to set a better example to other Unions, and I have every confidence that you will easily understand what I am saying and will not fall into the temptation of making changes by false cries or false slogans. A few people dissatisfied and frustrated at not being able to control the Ministers according to their choice like to go out and form a new party. What will they do? There are many in the Assembly parties in many unions as well as in provinces who want to control the officers. A most dangerous thing in democracy is to interfere with the administration or the services. Nobody should interfere with the services. The services should be allowed to serve, and if they misbehave, the proper course is to approach the authority by application or representation and get their wrongs redressed. It would not be difficult, but if every individual <sup>who</sup> ~~wants~~ to interfere in the administration and by virtue of his position as a member of the Assembly or as a member of the Congress, expects the officers to listen to him, then he is not fit to hold that position, nor is the officer likely to do any good work. That is the first lesson in democracy; the officers should have freedom to do their work honestly and according to their own conscience. Therefore, I wish to ask the people also not to pester either the members of the Assembly or the Congress workers who hold influence to directly interfere to obtain the results that they want. That is a lesson of democracy, but it is not meant probably for the large number of people who hardly take interest in such matters. They, however, exercise their vote once when the elections come. Elections are still far off. They may take at least a year more, and it is quite right ~~that~~ for people to form parties and make

preparations from now on, if there are proper parties to be formed on proper programmes. But the most dangerous thing is to form a party or to lay down a programme on a religious basis. The days of religious bigotry are gone in this world. It will not be for the good of the country. Now that the country has got its freedom, for anybody to say that any religion is in danger is a dangerous precedent to set up. The Christians are a minority community in India, but their leaders, who had the honour to represent the community in the Assembly, were the first to approach me and to persuade me to believe that the Christians needed no protection and I congratulated them. They set a nice example for other minorities, and eventually all minorities followed their example. From the Constitution we have removed all protection of any sort for the minorities except to the Scheduled Castes; people who say that Hinduism is in danger do not realise this. The Hindus have not realised that Hinduism is in danger because the Hindus have not followed Hinduism. They take the wrong name. It was Gandhiji who first said that untouchability is a blot on Hindu religion and that it should be removed. But you know there were Hindus who spared no efforts to malign him, to persecute him, to attack him and you may not have forgotten the incident<sup>that</sup> when he was carrying on the campaign for the removal of untouchability, a bomb was thrown on him in the Poona Municipality. He saved Hinduism when he fasted against the partition of the Hindu community aimed by the British Government, and if we have one partition today, for which we had to pay very heavily, we would have had another partition which would have ruined the country and we would not have been free but for his fast. He was one Hindu who followed Hinduism and saved Hinduism. There have been several instances when such crimes have been raised in the past, but there is something in Hinduism which is good. If there is no substratum of goodness in any religion, it would not have survived. Therefore, there is goodness in all religions, and if we follow the goodness in any religion, there is no danger. But if there is a mixed motive that religion is to be exploited for political or other ends, then surely that religion is in danger. Therefore, I warn you all

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against any such false cry being raised. We have paid enough for such things in this land. For God's sake, do not do anything of the kind any more. Let us, Hindus, Christians, Parsees, Jews and Mussalmans who are here live in peace and harmony and let us try to be happy. Let us conserve what is good in the society and let us build for the future well-being of the society.

I have not only come here to fulfil my obligations or my promise which was given to His Highness and to the Ministry, but also to see how this new experiment, this new beginning in democracy is working in this area. I have my ambition of seeing India, which has been consolidated geographically, functioning on a uniform pace all over India. India must stand solidly against all sorts of attacks, either internal or external, and it must now try to use all its energies for the removal of the miseries of the people. The poverty of the people is the first thing to be tackled. It cannot be tackled unless we stand together, unite and consolidate our forces and do not quarrel. Therefore, to the friends who feel that any such danger to any community or to any religion exists, I would appeal to them to think twice before they take any such step. There is no such danger. Now this union has been formed. His Highness has parted with power. When we persuaded him, I am happy to say that at this age, you have a young prince who preferred the well-being of his State to keeping his own powers. All princes have done that, and for a young prince at his age to sacrifice his throne and power is not a small thing. If we were to leave our own house, we would have to think several times. You must appreciate the sacrifices that have been made and make the best use of them. Do not abuse it. Now a trust has been made of a certain amount for the religious endowment. It is a duty to be fulfilled by a Ruler who had for generations ruled this area to see that his religious scruples are

respected and that his religious obligations are not affected. So also, it is the duty of those who persuaded him to part with power to see that certain moral obligations are fulfilled. So, when the covenant was signed, we agreed to a condition that a certain amount shall be set apart for the religious endowment of the Hindus' temples, but we made it a condition also that this money is not to be used for any other purpose, but only for certain purposes mentioned in the Trust. It will not be allowed to be abused. It would be a criminal thing to allow Trust money to be abused. We have an obligation and will not allow it.

We have now got the power of superintendence, direction and control. Therefore, do not find fault with the Ministry. Do not find fault with the Assembly Party. It is an obligation which we have taken as a serious one. If we had thought ~~that~~ or sensed that there was the remotest chance of Hinduism being in danger, we as Hindus would have thought twice before <sup>accepting</sup> ~~taking~~ such undertakings. So, I feel sorry that our friends have not understood the thing. When the covenant was signed, when the ordinance was passed, it was all done unanimously. Nobody in the Union took exception to it. Why is it that they take exception when the ordinance is sought to be replaced by legislation? It is a necessary corollary that an ordinance is replaced by <sup>normal</sup> ~~legislation when its period expires~~. The party that passes the legislation comprises of Hindus. Why should objection be taken? All of you should understand this thing; when a false cry is raised, you must not be led away. This is what I wanted particularly to impress upon you.

Another problem that I want to present for your consideration is that you should not think that, because freedom has been won, we have finished our business. Really, it is the beginning. We have now formed Unions of States. We have now taken another step for bringing about uniformity so far as the financial

side is concerned. We have also taken over the army from the States for uniformity of our defence forces also. You will soon have the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code governing you. You will have practically all the principal legislations passed by the Centre applicable to you. Perhaps one of the things which frightens some of the Hindus is the Hindu Code, which naturally has created apprehension in the minds of many Hindus. Up to now, the Hindus have been governed by Hindu Law which is not codified, but the Hindu society has always adjusted itself to changing conditions. That is why Hinduism has survived. Many people have come to this land, persecuted for the sake of religion. The Jews have come, the Parsees have come. They have all settled down here and have made India their home. They have a sense of gratefulness, for Hindus have treated them as their own, as their welcome guests. The Hindu society has kept its doors wide open; it has adjusted itself to changing conditions and has therefore survived. But this Code introduces innovations which affect them seriously and therefore there is natural opposition. In the Centre also, there is a majority of Hindus in the Parliament and they will take proper account of the position. They will see that the new Code is so framed as not to inflict a terrific shock on the society. There will only be so much burden as it can <sup>bear</sup> lift. The law of inheritance here is quite different from that prevailing in other parts of the country, in Bombay, in U.P., or perhaps in Madras also. We will have to consider whether such a violent change will not upset the society in this area. So, the ~~Some~~ <sup>Some</sup> Hindus might feel that Hinduism is in danger according to their conception. I can understand it. But if you do not get a few places in the Hindu Endowments Board, surely Hinduism is not in danger. You have other Hindus in their place. There won't be Muslims. How then can there be danger? Your Chief Minister who is a Hindu is there and your Raj Prammkh is there. If he feels that there is any such danger, he will certainly ~~bring~~ draw our attention to such a danger which would affect the society, for which he is also a trustee. In that



wider sense, he is the greatest trustee in this area. His duty would be to bring such things to our notice. Therefore, there is no such fear. There are apprehensions amongst Hindus on this side about the Hindu Code, and we shall consider them certainly, so that there may be no violent change in the order of your social system. Then, I would suggest to you not to be indifferent and not to think that everything is now over, because we have got our freedom. Freedom from foreign domination is a beginning for a greater and heavier responsibility of constructing the structure of the system in the manner we like. It should be our aim to build our society in such a manner that everybody will be happy. I would appeal to you to create an atmosphere of goodwill and harmony and live in peace. Learn to live in peace and learn to love your neighbour, whether he is a Christian, Moslem or anybody else. Let us follow our own religions according to our own tenets and conscience faithfully. It is not numbers that count. It is the solid substance that counts, and there is plenty of it in all religions. Why should we be frightened. The next thing that I want to tell you is that we have one organisation that <sup>has</sup> got freedom for us. It is up to you to strengthen it, to support it, nourish it, and when the time comes, to see that it is able to hold strongly against all onslaughts. If you remember this, you will not come to grief. If, on the other hand, you forget this and allow yourself to be led by elegans and intrigues and cliques, then you will lose what you have got and will not see happiness. After all, autocracy is an easy thing. ~~It is not difficult~~ One man to rule will certainly mean good governance, Although <sup>it</sup> he may be unpopular, ~~but~~ it can do tremendous good also. But <sup>democracy</sup> ~~autocracy~~ which requires the goodwill of all if one wants to govern, then it is a difficult proposition. A Minister <sup>has to</sup> be able to please several people if he wants to carry out his programme. If he is unable to please them, he cannot do anything. Then who would suffer? Eventually, we would suffer

because the work won't be done. Therefore, let us not have the ambition of the luxury of having many parties and many cliques, but let us begin on the solid foundations of unity and harmony. A time will come when the country is consolidated, when it has nourished its strength and when it is able to stand on its own legs, <sup>then</sup> new parties will be formed. But we must learn to walk before we begin to run. Otherwise, there is the danger of falling down.

Once again, I would express my gratefulness to you for the kind welcome that you have given to me and for the patience with which you have heard me. As I said in Cochin, it is not easy for an old man like me to come again such a long distance, though I would love to do so and see you, because this is a place where I have expectations of a good precedent being set up for the other Unions all over India. I <sup>have</sup> great hopes on you. If I <sup>am</sup> would not be able to come again, please keep in mind what I have told you and always remember that the advice I have given you, if followed, will give you credit, prestige and happiness. May God give you the good sense to follow them. It.

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Speech of the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Ernakulam at the  
Public Maidan on 13.5.50.

Your Highness, Chief Minister, Ladies & Gentlemen,

I come for the first time to this beautiful part of  
our country. There are few spots where nature has been so <sup>brave</sup> marvellous  
as in this part. It is, in fact, from the point of view of nature,  
a heaven on earth, and you are fortunate in being the residents of  
this beautiful place. But it is not always appreciated by the people  
who have got nature's gifts. People who go from outside feel their  
real value.

In the first place, you would like to know—and I have  
heard some speculations also—asto why I have come here. I had  
given a solemn promise at the time of integration of the two States  
to His Highness and to the Ministry as also to the Maharaja of Cochin  
that at the time of integration I would be present myself and perform  
the ceremony. Unfortunately, my health would not permit me, and  
the Doctors gave me an injunction that I should not take the risk.  
So, I asked for being excused and they were generous enough to grant  
me the permission of being absent at that time on condition that  
some time in the near future I would visit this place. I had that  
heavy burden of responsibility of keeping that undertaking on my  
shoulders and I am thankful to God that I have been able to discharge  
that obligation.

There is ~~another reason~~ another reason why I was  
anxious to come here. I have heard a lot of things about Cochin,  
Travancore and Mysore States. These are very advanced States in  
India, compared to other Indian States. While I have several times  
been to Mysore and shared their difficulties, sorrows and joys alike,  
I had never been to Travancore or Cochin, although from a distance  
I had always been in touch with the nationalist movement in these  
States.

I should have liked to take to you in your own language.  
Unfortunately, I cannot do so. As language is a vehicle of thoughts  
of the heart, there is a superficial barrier between you and me.

Perhaps the largest number of people speaking this foreign language, English, is in South India. We have, therefore, in our new Constitution given a concession to you, the people of ~~the~~ South India who still hug the old <sup>shackles</sup> ~~shadows~~ of slavery, by keeping that language for fifteen years more as the language of the Government. ~~handed over to them~~ So, I crave your indulgence for speaking in a foreign language, which I rarely do, because all over India I am accustomed to talk to people in the language which they understand. There will be some difficulty in conveying to you the innermost thoughts of my mind because of this barrier, but you should excuse me for that.

I forgot to tell you that His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has been allowed to be absent today from this meeting because it is his prayer time and I would not like to interfere or interrupt him in his prayer. But although he is absent, you may take it that his heart is here, <sup>however,</sup> ~~and~~ there is nothing which I have to tell him or His Highness the Raj Pramukh. What I have to say is to you and not to the Princes, because they have fulfilled their obligations. They will not in any way interfere with the management of the administration of the affairs of the State in any matter, but they will watch with sympathy and also with care the well-being of you all and give you their blessings. It is a great thing. Whoever, a few years before or even at the time of the transfer of power from foreign hands to us, ever thought that there would be such quick transformation in India, so as to change the entire map of the country. It is a great thing, of which we of the present generation may not have full appreciation, but the future history will record its appreciation in full measure. Some of the friends who met me this morning in the meeting of the workers told me that we have achieved all this without much trouble, without much exertion and without facing much difficulty. We have not got the full measure of appreciation. To some extent, it is true. We have achieved our freedom with the minimum of sacrifice. Countries which have ~~achieved~~ gained their freedom or retained their freedom have made colossal sacrifices. We have not, compared to them, anything

exercise that franchise in the proper manner, they are likely to do

much to our credit, but we had in this land a great saint, a great benefactor of humanity who taught us to gain our freedom with the minimum of sacrifice, and we have had, therefore, practically no bloodshed. We practically gained our objective without any drop of blood being shed for gaining such a high objective. Now, what did we do? As soon as we got our freedom, we were sinful enough to take his own life and put him to death by a cowardly and unforgivable act, <sup>from</sup> for which the whole world got a tremendous check. To him, it was the highest achievement of his life, but to us, it was a great tragedy, for which we must perpetually hang our head in shame. But we must not forget him because although he had to go <sup>anyhow</sup> in life, he had come to us, and it was a good thing that, before he departed from us, he gave us freedom and saw the freedom of his country when he was alive. It was a great achievement. Now, he has left us a legacy, for which we must be fit. We <sup>have</sup> got power in our own hands. Freedom from foreign domination has been achieved, and freedom has come to us to manage our own affairs in the manner we like. Now, to make the future of this country or to mar it rests entirely on us. There is nothing between us and the future of our country that will obstruct our progress. How shall we do it? How shall we fulfil our obligations? Shall we be satisfied with the achievement of freedom? If that is so, then we will have no sweetness in life. We will not enjoy the fruits of freedom till we know what real freedom is. Freedom from foreign domination is not the real freedom. We have to build the edifice of Swaraj now. We have to begin from the beginning. We have now only removed the obstacles that stood in our way, but the future of our country has to be built from the <sup>below</sup> bottom. Therefore, when people feel despondent, desperate or frustrated or when they feel that we must get the fruits of freedom, <sup>or</sup> now that we have got it, we must enjoy it, then I feel they have not understood either what we have achieved or what we have to do.

Now you have got adult franchise, that is every adult has got a right to vote. It is a great thing, and yet at the same time it is a great handicap, because unless people ~~must~~ are educated enough to exercise that franchise in the proper manner, they are likely to do

more harm than good. It is, therefore, our duty to educate the people on the right lines. We have not done so so far and have to do it now. There are enough people to educate the people on the wrong lines. We see it more especially here in South India in some parts, particularly in Malabar. I do not know how far it is in Cochin, but Cochin cannot be separated from Malabar or Kerala. A few young men think that by throwing a few bombs or by committing a few murders or dacoities, this land of ours can be changed into a heaven, which they think has come in China and will come to us. It will take a long, long time for China to build its <sup>its self</sup> ~~own~~ country. There is a considerable amount of devastation. Mutual slaughter and destruction did no good to any country. It will never do good to India. India is a country of many castes, many creeds, many religions and many cultures, and yet there is one culture, one nation. There is unity, a tremendous unity, in the great diversity of this land. There were six hundred princes. The number of princes in the whole world cannot be counted with the number of princes in our own land, but how quickly have they understood their place in the changed set-up of India? Will we do the same and understand our own responsibility as to what is our position in the new set-up? Why do young-men go the wrong way? Why should they brutally murder the Police? Who is that Policeman who has been murdered. If a Police officer or Police constable is murdered, is he not under the changed circumstances our own servant. Does he represent an autocratic ruler? Is he not our own? If we have not realised it, we have not realised what we have achieved. ~~Today~~ Today, the Policeman is supposed to be the best servant of the land in which we live. If he is not discharging his duties properly, he stands to instant dismissal. Why should we kill him? ~~Now~~ A few young men think that revolution can be created by committing a few murders or dacoities. We have fortunately established a strong Central Govt. which cannot be so easily removed by such activities. India is not China. We have a strong force, a strong power, ~~xx~~ a strong administration, a strong service, but that strength

top. but the central government must have enough scope to

be made along with the states, and not alone.

is not to be used against our own people, in suppressing our own people. We are not going to do that, unless we are forced. If we are forced, we shall spare nothing. I must tell them that we have a responsibility to govern; whether it is Kerala or whether it is Kashmir, whether it is Kathiawar or Cutch or whether it is Assam or Manipur border, India is one solid block, which was never in existence in the whole history of India, and we have made that unified India to preserve it and to build on it an edifice which is our dream, to build a magnificent edifice which would command the respect of the world and where all of you would share its prosperity and its joys. I wish to appeal to those youngmen who are going on the wrong way. India will stand as a solid block against any invasion of outside ideology, and it will not permit the incursions of ideologies which do not suit this land. People in foreign lands who were persecuted for their religions came to this country and settled down here. They made their home here, and between their Church and the Palace, there is only a wall. There is the Christian Church, there is then the Palace and there is the synogogue. This is a land of tolerance and that is what Gandhiji also taught us till his dying day. Shall we forget his teachings? You want levelling up of wealth. We also want that, but is there wealth enough to level or do you want to do the levelling up of poverty? Distribution of poverty will not do us good. We have not got freedom for distributing poverty. We have to create wealth, and wealth will be created not by idle hands. Quickness of brain alone is not enough. We must have union of the brain and the hand. Our education has been faulty. We have turned out many idle, educated youngmen in the past. How many people in the Union are without employment, and how will Government provide them with employment by employing them as Government servants? Youngmen must not look forward to getting employment in the Governmental administration only. They have and will always have their share of it. Brilliant youngmen will always go at the top, but the <sup>average</sup> normal ordinary youngman must have enough scope to use his hands along with his brains, and not brain alone. Many

youngmen take to the profession of starting newspapers. It is a very good profession, and we have given enough freedom in the new Constitution to the press. Freedom of the press is an ideal which we cherish and it is a concomitant of democracy. If we want a democratic set-up of Government, we must have freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom of association. All kinds of freedom are good, but if in this big assembly, one or two youngmen want to disturb the assembly and come here and frighten people by throwing bombs or crackers, what are we to do? Can we give them freedom? Can we ask the Policeman not to touch him, or ask you not to touch them? That is not freedom. That is not even licence. That is lunacy. A lunatic's place is in the asylum. Therefore, you must see that youngmen, frustrated youngmen, who have no employment and yet who have got good or bad education <sup>do not</sup> feel helpless; they feel restless. Idle hands do the devil's work. Therefore, we must change our educational system. We must change our ideals also. If youngmen in this part of the country have to live a life of happiness and peace, of honour, safety and dignity, they will have to learn to use their hands, and not merely brains alone. So, as I said, press is a good profession, but as we have just begun in democracy, the press is also in an infant stage and they have their lessons to learn. Newspapers are the best vehicles for training a young, infant democracy, but if they begin by ~~teaching~~ throwing dirt and by vulgar abuses, personal attacks, they are teaching the principle of committing suicide of the democracy. That is not good. We will lose what we have. Therefore I appeal to the press once more that the press <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ a great responsibility, and for all of us who have not that experience, that wisdom and that sobriety which is necessary for running a newspaper, it is not easy ~~for a man~~ to sit in an editor's chair and write every morning. This is what <sup>they</sup> ~~I~~ advise to the people. This is what the Ministers should do. But they do not say what they themselves should do.



I do not wish to criticise the ~~at~~ editors of newspapers here, because I have not read their newspapers here. I do not know the language. Therefore, not with the intention of criticising them, but with the general experience that I have got, I shall give them a general advice, both to the editors and the readers -- because there can be no newspapers if there were no readers. Just as the newspapers have to keep up a certain standard of decency, the readers have also the responsibility of not reading rags.

We have started the experience of running a democracy in a very infant stage. We have united two States now; Travancore and Cochin Union is of recent origin. Some people say they want Travancore and Cochin to be united with Madras Presidency. A very good idea. I want all the provinces and all the States to be united to the Centre. Do not have the idea that you are separate. Let us digest Cochin and Travancore Union first. Some people want Aikya Kerala. They do not know the tremendous problems that would be created by such changes without thought, without plan or without consideration. It is not easy. Some people say they want provinces on a linguistic basis and ask for separation of Andhra, for separation of Tamil and of Aikya Kerala. What will be its effect in the north or in the west, nobody cares to know. It is not the way to build a nation. You must have faith in the people in whom you have entrusted the destiny of the nation, that they will do the right thing at the right moment. After all, what is our concern except the well-being of you all. That is what we have worked for all our lives, and that is what we live for. Therefore, the best way for you is not to start these new-fangled ideas or visions which are incapable of fulfilment in the near future. Just digest what you have got at present, and when you will get more appetite, you will get more ~~new~~ food. ~~Ma~~ You should not feel that ~~you belong to Travancore or to Cochin~~ you belong to Travancore or to Cochin, but to the Union. You have to develop that sense of unity. Therefore, I say the first thing that you have to do is to try to learn the language of the country which is going to be the future language of the country according to the constitution, if you want your proper place. Otherwise, you must lag behind. If you do not want to lag

behind, start from now to learn the language of the country and appreciate the concession that has been made <sup>6</sup>for you by the country; ~~For fifteen years, English will be the language of Government. In the meantime, you try to learn quickly, and if you can assure the Centre "Why should we wait for fifteen years, we shall do it in five years", what a great change would it make? If you do not do that, for the present there is unemployment and there will be greater unemployment. You are now being absorbed in many places in the Centre, in the Provinces, wherever there is a possibility of employment. There are many young men with brilliant brains in this part of the land. They go anywhere in the country and they make their mark. It will be so in the future also, but the future will rest with the people if they realise that this is the first thing they have to do.~~ For fifteen years, English will be the language of Government. In the meantime, you try to learn quickly, and if you can assure the Centre "Why should we wait for fifteen years, we shall do it in five years", what a great change would it make? If you do not do that, for the present there is unemployment and there will be greater unemployment. You are now being absorbed in many places in the Centre, in the Provinces, wherever there is a possibility of employment. There are many young men with brilliant brains in this part of the land. They go anywhere in the country and they make their mark. It will be so in the future also, but the future will rest with the people if they realise that this is the first thing they have to do.

The second thing, as I have told you, is that the future of the nation depends upon its capacity to put forth its maximum effort to produce more wealth. ~~If you do not do that, for the present there is unemployment and there will be greater unemployment.~~ You know—at least, you must know—that a great deal or the whole of Madras is largely dependent for its food on the outside world. It does not produce enough to eat. You live on rice. There is not enough rice for you here. There is not enough land also. This is perhaps the most thickly populated area in the country. Population ~~xxx~~ is in itself a great <sup>1</sup>advantage, and yet it is a great burden. Therefore, if we want to make the best use of our population, which is one-fifth of the world, we have now got an opportunity of building up this land according to our plans. Fortunately, the resources of this country have not been exploited to the full. There is enough richness and wealth and resources in this land. If we can make the best use of our resources, this country would be one of the richest country in the world. After all, we have been governed for centuries by foreign rulers, and we have lost the initiative. We must regain our initiative. Here, what a beautiful harbour you have got? Three-fourths of India with a big ocean surrounding it, has got a coast

line which is not guarded. The coastal trade is not in our hands. Coastal shipping is not fully in our hands, and yet we have unemployment, because we have not used our resources. Here, we have laid the foundation of a big naval school. Students from all over India will come and learn the art of defending our coastline. Up till now, our coasts were safe, because of the British Navy. In the mercantile marine, we ~~xxx~~ <sup>have practically</sup> are nothing up to now except boats to catch fish. Recently, we have started a ship-building yard at vizag. We are completing a few ships, which are not economical. No country has built its shipping economically. It has always been started or financed by the State. If we want to have a good mercantile marine which is a necessary part of the Navy. then we must have good training. Therefore, we have started a training school here. You have the advantage of seeing the place. You get some employment here also, but to the youngmen who waste their ~~hands~~ <sup>hands</sup>, the best thing is to start a co-operative enterprise. They have technical skill in their brains. They can use their hands. If, instead of wasting their energies, they try to build up, then there is plenty of scope and they will be supported in their enterprise both by the Government here and by the Centre. But if they go the wrong way, then there is no help, <sup>and to you I must appeal</sup> ~~and to you I must appeal~~ <sup>shared in common</sup> that before the disease gets deeper, ~~if~~ you do not wake up, then it will affect you in such a way that you will repent.

You must, therefore, co-operate with the administration in removing this canker from the body politic of your Union. There must be no such youngmen here who will mar the fruits of freedom which has been won with the sacrifices of men; they will have to be clapped, but if they want freedom, it is in their own hands. You must not allow any youngman to go astray, who in the respectable name of Communism wants to commit dacoity or murder. They do not deserve that name. I have seen several youngmen in these parts described as communists. They are not communists in the sense and do not deserve a political epithet they bear. Communism is of a different variety, and the communism that is practised here in India is of a different variety. There is communism in England, but they do not commit dacoities or

murders. They do not take to the disruption of communications. If one or two rails are removed from the railway line, ~~immediate~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ the safety of many lives ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> jeopardised and travel by train by persons who never ~~had~~ <sup>have</sup> any idea of the risk they are running becomes unsafe. Can we allow such things? You cannot expect the Police to be everywhere all over the line over the entire length and breadth of India. Nor can we allow our communications to be disturbed. If we allow communications to be disturbed, then what will be our reputation outside? Apart from the fact that ~~their~~ <sup>our</sup> commerce would suffer, we would be dubbed as people unfit for freedom. Let them try and convert the people in adult franchise. They can get votes, but if they persist in their ways, they will have no place at the polls also. There are people who say that communists ~~should~~ <sup>be</sup> banned. They say so out of sheer disgust. We have not done it except in some provinces, such as Madras. We do not do it all over India, for we still want to allow them a free field if they want to take to constitutional methods. The responsibility is not only on the Police, but on you also. If you find such people amongst you, even if they are your near relations, it is your duty either to convert them, or to inform the administration and hand over them, so that we will all be protected. That is a special message to you from me, because I find here a lot of things about communism. You may not feel so much about it at present, but if you allow it to grow, then it is possible they will make it difficult for you to deal with it.

You have now one organisation which has brought freedom. That is known as the Congress. All of you showed considerable sympathy and contributed to the growth of it. Now when you have got freedom, it is for you to strengthen it more and not to think that it is no more useful now. You may feel that there may be other parties. If there are other parties which are likely to handle power better than what is being done at present, by all means do so.

If you think your Ministry is going astray, go to them, speak to

tell them you can change them. We have got

But do it decently and in a civilised manner. Don't start the hare of communism or communalism. Do not start things that have been discredited or things for which we have had to pay very dearly. Do not leave the path of tolerance. When I heard some people say "Hinduism in danger", I feared whether Hindus have disappeared, or what has happened to them. Gandhiji who had a great reputation all over the world was a Hindu, and yet ~~it~~ it is a Hindu who killed him. Is that Hinduism? Can you preserve Hinduism by that process? How many castes and creeds and sub-castes there are amongst Hindus. Even amongst Christians, how many castes and sub-castes are there amongst them? Does Christianity teach that? Let us follow our own religion, and if we followed it properly, then nothing is in danger. Let us live as decent human beings. No religion will prosper if it is based on intolerance. No nation will prosper unless that nation has character and vitality, character and strength. Outward forms of religion will not strengthen a nation. While outside forms are good in their own way, the internal living thing which is in a human being, must be kept pure. Do not think that Hinduism is in danger. Hinduism can never be in danger in India. We are in a vast majority, ~~but we are not~~ Have we not produced men of religion in the past who have spread the culture all over India. What did Shankaracharya do? When he died, how young he was, but he did not raise the cry that Hinduism was in danger. Religion is a matter between a man and his maker, but for a decent human being, ordinary civic sense and ordinary rules of decency must not be forgotten for that is the duty of the citizen, and as a citizen he must discharge his duties. If you forget your citizenship and talk of religion, that is a cloak. Therefore when I hear of some people talking about Hinduism in danger, I feel they are going the wrong way. Do not take to scare-mongering for selfish purposes. Do not use wrong methods for catching votes or forming parties. It is a very dangerous game. After all, we ~~want~~ want to serve our own people. If you think your Ministry is going astray, go to them, speak to them, persuade them; if you like you can change them. We have got

at the Centre the power of superintendence, direction and control, because we knew it was a good thing. Although there was a lot of resentment from the Ministers of Mysore, Travancore, etc., we told them that it is in <sup>your</sup> their own interests, and that <sup>you</sup> they will ask for it afterwards and will get it; so let me put it in the Constitution now. I am not going to interfere in your business, if you keep your people contented. In an infant democracy, you will see that the Ministry means getting the right of committing mistakes. You have got that right now. Commit mistakes, but let me see that you do not fall in the ditch, so that we may have to pick ~~up~~ you up. When you are going to fall, we shall have to hold your hands. That is a safeguard which we got deliberately. We must not be forced to use that. I am glad to say that the Ministers in these three States have not forced us to take that course, but the moral responsibility is yours. If the Central Govt. is invoked, to that extent you are discredited. You must be the guardian of your Ministry. After all, what are they. They are your servants. You have selected them, and you have the choice of removing them. But people who change their ministry every other day do not know how to govern. They do not know the art of democracy. The Ministers are also human beings and will commit mistakes. Your business is to help them, create an atmosphere of unity and harmony in this Union. As I have appealed to the workers, let me appeal to you: Let us not create an atmosphere in which people begin to feel that there is something wrong somewhere. Let us create an atmosphere in which there is a fund of goodwill, a fund of harmony and a good deal of tolerance. It is only a couple of years ~~back~~ since we got our freedom. Our resources have been exploited for centuries. The country has been bled white by exploitation and we have to put blood in the veins. It is a difficult process and all must help in it and not create difficulties. I hope and trust that you will remember what I have said and will think over it. It is not easy for an old man of 75 to take such a long trip. I would love to meet you again, but it is not easy. If I don't come, then do not forget what I have said.

Let it not be said that we did not deserve freedom. Let us build our strength and our reputation from this Union at the <sup>foot</sup> ~~bottom~~, of the map of India. As we stand here, these are the legs of India. If the legs are shaky, then the whole edifice will topple down. Let other Unions learn from you. I wish you godspeed and a good administration.

I must, in the end, express my gratefulness to the organisations that have presented these addresses to me. At my age I do not need addresses. You know me I know you and that is enough for both of us. But these kind friends have taken the trouble of expressing their love for me and I am deeply grateful to them.

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Speech of the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Ernakulam at the Public Maidan on 13.5.50.

Perhaps the largest number of people attending this function was Your Highness, Chief Minister, Ladies & Gentlemen, and a large gathering given ~~the~~ <sup>honoured</sup> for the first time to this beautiful part of our country. There are few spots where nature has been so beautiful as in this part. It is, in fact, from the point of view of nature, I am a heaven on earth, and you are fortunate in being the residents of this beautiful place. But it is not always appreciated by the people in who have got nature's gifts. People who go from outside feel their real value.

In the first place, you would like to know—and I have heard some speculations also—as to why I have come here. I had given a solemn promise at the time of integration of the two States to His Highness and to the Ministry as also to the Maharaja of Cochin that at the time of integration I would be present myself and perform the ceremony. Unfortunately, my health would not permit me, and the Doctors gave me an injunction that I should not take the risk. So, I asked for being excused and they were generous enough to grant me <sup>the</sup> that permission of being absent at that time on condition that some time in the near future I would visit this place. I had that heavy burden of responsibility of keeping that undertaking on my shoulders and I am thankful to God that I have been able to discharge that obligation.

There is ~~another~~ another reason why I was anxious to come here. I have heard a lot of things about Cochin, Travancore and Mysore States. These are very advanced States in India, compared to other Indian States. While I have several times been to Mysore and shared their difficulties, sorrows and joys alike, I had never been to Travancore or Cochin, although from a distance I had always been in touch with the nationalist movement in these States.

To some extent, it is true. We have achieved <sup>mind</sup> I should have liked to take to you in your own language. Unfortunately, I cannot do so. As language is a vehicle of thoughts of the heart, there is a superficial barrier between you and me.



Perhaps the largest number of people speaking this foreign language, English, is in South India. We have, therefore, in our new Constitution given a concession to you, the people of ~~the~~ South India who still hug the old <sup>teaches</sup> shadows of slavery, by keeping that language for fifteen years more as the language of the Government. ~~And the Government~~ So, I crave your indulgence for speaking in a foreign language, which I rarely do, because all over India I am accustomed to talk to people in the language which they understand. There will be some difficulty in conveying to you the innermost thoughts of my mind because of this barrier, but you should excuse me for that.

I forgot to tell you that His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has been ~~allowed~~ <sup>to</sup> be absent today from this meeting because it is his prayer time and I would not like to interfere or interrupt him in his prayer. But although he is absent, you may take it that his heart is here ~~and there is~~ <sup>however</sup> nothing which I have to tell him or His Highness the Raj Pramukh. What I have to say is to you and not to the Princes, because they have fulfilled their obligations. They will not in any way interfere with the management of the administration of the affairs of the State in any matter, but they will watch with sympathy and also with care the well-being of you all and give you their blessings. It is a great thing. Whoever, a few years before or even at the time of the transfer of power from foreign hands to us, ever thought that there would be such quick transformation in India, so as to change the entire map of the country. It is a great thing, of which we of the present generation may not have full appreciation, but the future history will record its appreciation in full measure. Some of the friends who met me this morning in the meeting of the workers told me that we have achieved all this without much trouble, without much exertion and without facing much difficulty. We have not got the full measure of appreciation. To some extent, it is true. We have achieved our freedom with the minimum of sacrifice. Countries which have ~~achieved~~ gained their freedom or retained their freedom have made colossal sacrifices. We have not, compared to them, anything

much to our credit, but we had in this land a great saint, a great benefactor of humanity who taught us to gain our freedom with the minimum of sacrifice, and we have had, therefore, practically no bloodshed. We practically gained our objective without any drop of blood being shed for gaining such a high objective. Now, what did we do? As soon as we got our freedom, we were sinful enough to take his own life and put him to death by a cowardly and unforgivable act, for which the whole world got a tremendous shock. To him, it was the highest achievement of his life, but to us, it was a great tragedy, <sup>from</sup> for which we must perpetually hang our head in shame. But we must not forget him because although he had to go <sup>anyhow</sup> in life, he had come to us, and it was a good thing that, before he departed from us, he gave us freedom and saw the freedom of his country when he was alive. It was a great achievement. Now, he has left us a legacy, for which we must be fit. We <sup>have</sup> got power in our own hands. Freedom from foreign domination has been achieved, and freedom has come to us to manage our own affairs in the manner we like. Now, to make the future of this country or to mar it rests entirely on us. There is nothing between us and the future of our country that will obstruct our progress. How shall we do it? How shall we fulfil our obligations? Shall we be satisfied with the achievement of freedom? If that is so, then we will have no sweetness in life. We will not enjoy the fruits of freedom till we know what real freedom is. Freedom from foreign domination is not the real freedom. We have to build the edifice of Swaraj now. We have to begin from the beginning. We have now only removed the obstacles that stood in our way, but the future of our country has to be built from <sup>below</sup> the bottom. Therefore, when people feel despondent, desperate or frustrated or when they feel that we must get the fruits of freedom, <sup>now</sup> that we have got it, we must enjoy it, then I feel they have not understood either what we have achieved or what we have to do.

Now you have got adult franchise, that is every adult has got a right to vote. It is a great thing, and yet at the same time it is a great handicap, because unless people ~~must~~ are educated enough to exercise that franchise in the proper manner, they are likely to do

more harm than good. It is, therefore, our duty to educate the people on the right lines. We have not done so so far and have to do it now. There are enough people to educate the people on the wrong lines. We see it more especially here in South India in some parts, particularly in Malabar. I do not know how far it is in Cochin, but Cochin cannot be separated from Malabar or Kerala. A few young men think that by throwing a few bombs or by committing a few murders or dacoities, this land of ours can be changed into a heaven, which they think has come in China and will come to us. It will take a long, long time for China to build <sup>itself</sup> its own country. There is a considerable amount of devastation. Mutual slaughter and destruction did no good to any country. It will never do good to India. India is a country of many castes, many creeds, many religions and many cultures, and yet there is one culture, one nation. There is unity, a tremendous unity, in the great diversity of this land. There were six hundred princes. The number of princes in the whole world cannot be counted with the number of princes in our own land, but how quickly have they understood their place in the changed set-up of India? Shall we do the same and understand our own responsibility as to what is our position in the new set-up? Why do young-men go the wrong way? Why should they brutally murder the Police? Who is that Policeman who has been murdered. If a Police officer or Police constable is murdered, is he not under the changed circumstances our own servant. Does he represent an autocratic ruler? Is he not our own? If we have not realised it, we have not realised what we have achieved. ~~Today~~ Today, the Policeman is supposed to be the best servant of the land in which we live. If he is not discharging his duties properly, he stands to instant dismissal. Why should we kill him? ~~Now~~ A few young men think that revolution can be created by committing a few murders or dacoities. We have fortunately established a strong Central Govt. which cannot be so easily removed by such activities. India is not China. We have a strong force, a strong power, ~~an~~ a strong administration, a strong service, but that strength

is not to be used against our own people, in suppressing our own people. We are not going to do that, unless we are forced. If we are forced, we shall spare nothing. I must tell them that we have a responsibility to govern; whether it is Kerala or whether it is Kashmir, whether it is Kathiawar or Cutch or whether it is Assam or Manipur border, India is one solid block, which was never in its existence in the whole history of India, and we have made that unified India to preserve it and to build on it an edifice which is our dream, to build a magnificent edifice which would command the respect of the world and where all of you would share its prosperity and its joys. I wish to appeal to those youngmen who are going on the wrong way. India will stand as a solid block against any invasion of outside ideology, and it will not permit the incursions of ideologies which do not suit this land. People in foreign lands who were persecuted for their religions came to this country and settled down here. They made their home here, and between their Church and the Palace, there is only a wall. There is the Christian Church, there is then the Palace and there is the synagogue. This is a land of tolerance and that is what Gandhiji also taught us till his dying day. Shall we forget his teachings? You want levelling up of wealth. We also want that, but is there wealth enough to level or do you want to do the levelling up of poverty? Distribution of poverty will not do us good. We have not got freedom for distributing poverty. We have to create wealth, and wealth will be created not by idle hands. Quickness of brain alone is not enough. We must have union of the brain and the hand. Our education has been faulty. We have turned out many idle, educated youngmen in the past. How many people in the Union are without employment, and how will Government provide them with employment by employing them as Government servants? Youngmen must not look forward to getting employment in the Governmental administration only. They have and will always have their share of it. Brilliant youngmen will always go at the top, but the <sup>average</sup> normal ordinary youngman must have enough scope to use his hands along with his brains, and not brain alone. Many

youngmen take to the profession of starting newspapers. It is a very good profession, and we have given enough freedom in the new Constitution to the press. Freedom of the press is an ideal which we cherish and it is a concomitant of democracy. If we want a democratic set-up of Government, we must have freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom of association. All kinds of freedom are good, but if in this big assembly, one or two youngmen want to disturb the assembly and come here and frighten people by throwing bombs or crackers, what are we to do? Can we give them freedom? Can we ask the Policeman not to touch him, or ask you not to touch them? That is not freedom. That is not even licence. That is lunacy. A lunatic's place is in the asylum. Therefore, you must see that youngmen, frustrated youngmen, who have no employment and yet who have got good or bad education <sup>do not</sup> feel helpless; they feel restless. Idle hands do the devil's work. Therefore, we must change our educational system. We must change our ideals also. If youngmen in this part of the country have to live a life of happiness and peace, of honour, safety and dignity, they will have to learn to use their hands, and not merely brains alone. So, as I said, press is a good profession, but as we have just begun in democracy, the press is also in an infant stage and they have their lessons to learn. Newspapers are the best vehicles for training a young, infant democracy, but if they begin by ~~starting~~ throwing dirt and by vulgar abuses, personal attacks, they are teaching the principle of committing suicide of the democracy. That is not good. We will lose what we have. Therefore I appeal to the press once more that the press <sup>has</sup> is a great responsibility, and for all of us who have not that experience, that wisdom and that sobriety which is necessary for running a newspaper, it is not easy for a man to sit in an editor's chair and write every morning. This is what <sup>they</sup> I advise to the people. This is what the Ministers should do. But they do not say what they themselves should do.

I do not wish to criticise the 22 editors of newspapers here, because behind, and I am not to know the language of the country. I have not read their newspapers here. I do not know the language. Therefore, not with the intention of criticising them, but with the general experience that I have got, I shall give them a general advice, both to the editors and the readers — because there can be no newspapers if there were no readers. Just as the newspapers have to keep up a certain standard of decency, the readers have also the responsibility of not reading rags.

We have started the experience of running a democracy in a very infant stage. We have united two States now Travancore and Cochin Union is of recent origin. Some people say they want Travancore and Cochin to be united with Madras Presidency. A very good idea. I want all the provinces and all the States to be united to the Centre. Do not have the idea that you are separate. Let us digest Cochin and Travancore Union first. Some people want Aikya Kerala. They do not know the tremendous problems that would be created by such changes without thought, without plan or without consideration. It is not easy. Some people say they want provinces on a linguistic basis and ask for separation of Andhra, for separation of Tamil and of Aikya Kerala. What will be its effect in the north or in the west, nobody cares to know. It is not the way to build a nation. You must have faith in the people in whom you have entrusted the destiny of the nation, that they will do the right thing at the right moment. After all, what is our concern except the well-being of you all. That is what we have worked for all our lives, and that is what we live for. Therefore, the best way for you is not to start these new-fangled ideas or visions which are incapable of fulfilment in the near future. Just digest what you have got at present, and land wealth and resources in this land. If we can make the best use of our resources, this country would be one of the richest country should not feel that you belong to Travancore or to Cochin, but to the Union. You have to develop that sense of unity. Therefore, I say the first thing that you have to do is to try to learn the language of the country which is going to be the future language of the country according to the constitution, if you want your proper place. Otherwise, you must lag behind. If you do not want to lag

behind, start from now to learn the language of the country and appreciate the concession that has been made <sup>to</sup> ~~for~~ you by the country; ~~for fifteen years, English will be the language of Government. In the meantime, you try to learn quickly, and if you can assure the Centre "Why should we wait for fifteen years, we shall do it in five years", what a great change would it make? If you do not do that, for the present there is unemployment and there will be greater unemployment. You are now being absorbed in many places in the Centre, in the Provinces, wherever there is a possibility of employment. There are many young men with brilliant brains in this part of the land. They go anywhere in the country and they make their mark. It will be so in the future also, but the future will rest with the people if they realise that this is the first thing they have to do.~~

The second thing, as I have told you, is that the future of the nation depends upon its capacity to put forth its maximum effort to produce more wealth. ~~It does not produce enough to eat.~~ You know—at least, you must know—that a great deal of the whole of Madras is largely dependent for its food on the outside world. It does not produce enough to eat. You live on rice. There is not enough rice for you here. There is not enough land also. This is perhaps the most thickly populated area in the country. Population ~~is~~ is in itself a great advantage, and yet it is a great burden. Therefore, if we want to make the best use of our population, which is one-fifth of the world, we have now got an opportunity of building up this land according to our plans. Fortunately, the resources of this country have not been exploited to the full. There is enough richness and wealth and resources in this land. If we can make the best use of our resources, this country would be one of the richest country in the world. After all, we have been governed for centuries by foreign rulers, and we have lost the initiative. We must regain our initiative. Here, what a beautiful harbour you have got? Three-fourths of India with a big ocean surrounding it, has got a coast

line which is not guarded. The coastal trade is not in our hands. Coastal shipping is not fully in our hands, and yet we have unemployment, because we have not used our resources. Here, we have laid the foundation of a big naval school. Students from all over India will come and learn the art of defending our coastline. Up till now, our coasts were safe, because of the British Navy. In the mercantile marine, we ~~have~~ <sup>have practically</sup> ~~are~~ nothing up to now except boats to catch fish. Recently, we have started a ship-building yard at Vizag. We are completing a few ships, which are not economical. No country has built its shipping economically. It has always been started or financed by the State. If we want to have a good mercantile marine which is a necessary part of the Navy, then we must have good training. Therefore, we have started a training school here. You have the advantage of seeing the place. You get some employment here also, but to the youngmen who waste their <sup>hands</sup> ~~lands~~, the best thing is to start a co-operative enterprise. They have technical skill in their brains. They can use their hands. If, instead of wasting their energies, they try to build up, then there is plenty of scope and they will be supported in their enterprise both by the Government here and by the Centre. But if they go the wrong way, then there is no help, <sup>therefore</sup> ~~and to you~~ <sup>should</sup> ~~I must appeal~~ <sup>otherwise</sup> that before the disease gets deeper, ~~if you do not wake up~~ <sup>because I</sup> ~~then it~~ will affect you in such a way that you will repent. You must, therefore, co-operate with the administration in removing this canker from the body politic of your Union. There must be no such youngmen here who will mar the fruits of freedom which has been won with the sacrifices of men; they will have to be clapped, but if they want freedom, it is in their own hands. You must not allow any youngman to go astray, who in the respectable name of Communism wants to commit dacoity or murder. They do not deserve that name. I have seen several youngmen in these parts described as communists. They are not communists in the sense and do not deserve a political epithet they bear. Communism is of a different variety, and the communism that is practised here in India is of a different variety. There is communism in England, but they do not commit dacoities or



murders. They do not take to the disruption of communications. If one or two rails are removed from the railway line, ~~imagine~~ <sup>have</sup> the safety of many lives are jeopardised and travel by train by persons who never ~~had~~ <sup>have</sup> any idea of the risk they are running becomes unsafe. Can we allow such things? You cannot expect the Police to be everywhere all over the line over the entire length and breadth of India. Nor can we allow our communications to be disturbed. If we allow communications to be disturbed, then what will be our reputation outside? Apart from the fact that ~~their~~ <sup>our</sup> commerce would suffer, we would be dubbed as people unfit for freedom. Let them try and convert the people in adult franchise. They can get votes, but if they persist in their ways, they will have no place at the polls also. There are people who say that communists should be banned. They say so out of sheer disgust. We have not done it except in some provinces, such as Madras. We do not do it all over India, for we still want to allow them a free field if they want to take to constitutional methods. The responsibility is not only on the Police, but on you also. If you find such people amongst you, even if they are your near relations, it is your duty either to convert them, or to inform the administration and hand over them, so that we will all be protected. That is a special message to you from me, because I find here a lot of things about communism. You may not feel so much about it at present, but if you allow it to grow, then it is possible they will make it difficult for you to deal with it.

You have now one organisation which has brought freedom. That is known as the Congress. All of you showed considerable sympathy and contributed to the growth of it. Now when you have got freedom, it is for you to strengthen it more and not to think that it is no more useful now. You may feel that there may be other parties. If there are other parties which are likely to handle power better than what is being done at present, by all means do so.

at the Centre the power of superintendence, direction and control. But do it decently and in a civilized manner. Don't start the hare because we know it was a good thing. There is a danger of communism or communalism. Do not start things that have been discredited or things for which we have had to pay very dearly. Do not leave the path of tolerance. When I heard some people say "Hinduism in danger", I feared whether Hindus have disappeared, or what has happened to them. Gandhiji who had a great reputation all over the world was a Hindu, and yet it is a Hindu who killed him. Is that Hinduism? Can you preserve Hinduism by that process? How many castes and creeds and sub-castes there are amongst Hindus. Even amongst Christians, how many castes and sub-castes are there amongst them? Does Christianity teach that? Let us follow our own religion, and if we followed it properly, then nothing is in danger. Let us live as decent human beings. No religion will prosper if it is based on intolerance. No nation will prosper unless that nation has character and vitality, character and strength. Outward forms of religion will not strengthen a nation. While outside forms are good in their own way, the internal living thing which is in a human being must be kept pure. Do not think that Hinduism is in danger. Hinduism can never be in danger in India. We are in a vast majority. We have not produced men of religion in the past who have spread the culture all over India. What did Shankaracharya do? When he died, how young he was, but he did not raise the cry that Hinduism was in danger. Religion is a matter between a man and his maker, but for a decent human being, ordinary civic sense and ordinary rules of decency must not be forgotten for that is the duty of the citizen, and as a citizen he must discharge his duties. If you forget your citizenship and talk of religion, that is a cloak. Therefore when I hear of some people talking about Hinduism in danger, I feel they are going the wrong way. Do not take to scare-mongering for selfish purposes. Do not use wrong methods for catching votes or forming parties. It is a very dangerous game. After all, we want to serve our own people. If you think your Ministry is going astray, go to them, speak to them, persuade them; if you like you can change them. We have got

at the Centre the power of superintendence, direction and control, because we knew it was a good thing. Although there was a lot of resentment from the Ministers of Mysore, Travancore, etc., we told them that <sup>from</sup> it is in their own interests, and that they will ask for it afterwards and will get it, so let me put it in the Constitution now. I am not going to interfere in your business, if you keep your people contented. In an infant democracy, you will see that the Ministry means getting the right of committing mistakes. You have got that right now. Commit mistakes, but let me see that you do not fall in the ditch, so that we may have to pick ~~up~~ you up. When you are going to fall, we shall have to hold your hands." That is a safeguard which we got deliberately. We must not be forced to use that. I am glad to say that the Ministers in these three States have not forced us to take that course, but the moral responsibility is yours. If the Central Govt. is invoked, to that extent you are discredited. You must be the guardian of your Ministry. After all, what are they. They are your servants. You have selected them, and you have the choice of removing them. But people who change their ministry every other day do not know how to govern. They do not know the art of democracy. The Ministers are also human beings and will commit mistakes. Your business is to help them, create an atmosphere of unity and harmony in this Union. As I have appealed to the workers, let me appeal to you: Let us not create an atmosphere in which people begin to feel that there is something wrong somewhere. Let us create an atmosphere in which there is a fund of goodwill, a fund of harmony and a good deal of tolerance. It is only a couple of years ~~that~~ since we got our freedom. Our resources have been exploited for centuries. The country has been bled white by exploitation and we have to put blood in the veins. It is a difficult process and all must help in it and not create difficulties. I hope and trust that you will remember what I have said and will think over it. It is not easy for an old man of 75 to take such a long trip. I would love to meet you again, but it is not easy. If I don't come, then do not forget what I have said.

Let it not be said that we did not deserve freedom. Let us build our strength and our reputation from this Union at the <sup>foot</sup> bottom, of the map of India. As we stand here, these are the legs of India. If the legs are shaky, then the whole edifice will topple down. Let other Unions learn from you. I wish you godspeed and a good administration.

I must, in the end, express my gratefulness to the organisations that have presented these addresses to me. At my age I do not need addresses. You know me. I know you and that is enough for <sup>both</sup> of us. But these kind friends have taken the trouble of expressing their love for me and I am deeply grateful to them.

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Speech of The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on 13.5.50  
at the Naval Base, Wellington Island.

Commodore Ellison, Officers and Men of the Indian Navy,

I am extremely delighted to meet you all and to visit the institutions where you receive your training. Only some time ago, the Defence Minister laid the foundation-stone of your institution. We all look upon you with considerable interest and sympathy. We realise that you are working in somewhat difficult conditions. You have no spacious accommodation, nor permanent buildings. Good beginnings are, however, always made in trying conditions. These test your mettle and temper. Although we do know that you have inconvenience and discomforts to put up with, I am sure you realise that these are the pangs of growth which you will get over as time passes.

We have a vast coastline to guard. This has its advantages as well as disadvantages. Our resources are limited. Naturally, therefore, we can do our bit within those resources only if we do our best. You have heavy responsibilities, in that you have to get yourselves fitted for guarding this vast coastline and work within the limitations imposed upon you. The country naturally looks forward to you with a great deal of interest, and upon you rests the duty of defending our shores. You have also to take care of the future well-being of the Indian Navy, guard and promote its traditions and lay the foundations of a great defence arm of the country. We have great past traditions of the Indian Navy, but a modern Navy requires modern training, modern arms and modern equipment. In a changing world, we have to fit ourselves in the changes that have taken place. We have to get ourselves abreast of new discoveries and inventions. I have no doubt that, fully benefiting from the surroundings and expert guidance you are getting, you will conduct yourselves in a manner which will bring honour and credit to all of you and to your country. God bless you.

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Speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,  
Deputy Prime Minister, India, to the representatives and  
teachers of Colleges on the 13th January 1950 at 3.30 p.m.

Friends:

Very pleased to meet you heads of educational institutions. You are to mould the generation to whom the future generation would be grateful. Many causes are beyond our control. ~~Some~~ There are some within our control, because of which is world in turmoil.

Our freedom is in danger not because <sup>of</sup> some outside aggression. What is the use of freedom if it does not give bread.

I am worried, You must also be worried, when I read in the papers that a bomb is thrown, A short is fired there in the premier city. Cannot anything be done so as to rouse public opinion to its sense of duty? It can be roused by people who have got the opportunity to control large numbers. It is they who have to train large number of youngmen who don't feel their sense of responsibility. I appeal to you to use your influence to use your contacts to rouse their sense of duty. Everyday we ~~hear~~ hear police are between here. Injured here. But those who are responsible for it are neither hurt nor do they suffer. If the police had accepted the creed of non-violence, it was a different thing. If the police does anything and any one is hurt, everyone joins in the course that it is the same old police. We must have an enquiry.

Large ~~number~~ of graduates turn out every year. They have their own ideas of self-respect and position. They have no desire of physical labour. If they have an idea that they can all get jobs, it is an impossibility.

If there is this insecurity in the existing industry, some of it will be ruined and some will shift.

You have a responsibility. Unfortunately, the Congress is not functioning here. In a free country, we have not only to look to the Congress. We have to look to all ranks.

Why should a few be allowed to disturb the security and peace of the city. I would appeal to you to keep the students on the right path.

Unfortunately there are some in your profession who also are influenced by outside ideology. If the profession to which you belong is corrupted, you have a double responsibility.

If you are ~~xxxx~~ convinced of what I am appealing to you as a part of your duty, it is worthwhile. If we keep our country on proper lines for a few years. Here is a period on which the future of our country depends and on how we act.

The city's life is normal but there is an atmosphere of uneasiness. I hope you will take this not as a criticism, but as an appeal seeking co-operation.

(students joined)

Everybody talks of civil liberty. This is worse than foreign rule. This reflects the public opinion. Judiciary that is why thinks that a person caught red-handed should be released.

Under the judiciary system Gandhiji's murder case took a year and a half. And people began to feel sympathy for the murder. We had to spend 10-20 lacs. If the society does not rise then the judiciary also thinks the same way.

There is a cry: ~~Put~~ Put the Police on trial. Why should the police fire. Why are the innocent people shot down. Why do they mix up. The corruption is not only confined to police only. If the police get no cooperation and if subsequently he is taken to task if he fires, what is he to do. The complaint is that because largely police is employed from the province there is sneaking sympathy or it is inefficient.

For three years I have been maintaining law and order without military aid. The mistaken notion that police work is easy, they are corrupt.

In a large industrial city like this if the police have no sympathy, they feel disheartened.

If you ask youngmen to be enrolled, they will have to be scrutinised whether he is communist, because they want to get into the police and military.

In the rank and file, there is ~~xxxx~~ nobody else but our own people. We learnt to respect foreigners because of slavery.

The whole country feels why is it so in Calcutta. I agree with you - the increase in population has added to the problem.

If there are colleges containing 2000 to 8000 students should be broken up. There are long term programmes. You say the Centre should help. I have studied the Centre's budget. Two-thirds is army expenditure. Till our relations with our neighbours are straightened, we cannot reduce it. Then there is the Kashmir problem and refugees all over.

We shall try our hard best but you must have some sympathy with us. The day will be far off if this city's peace is disturbed. It is the first industrial city. We must try and see that the city's peace is not disturbed.

The youngmen are infected. They do not feel that it is their duty not to allow any one to disturb the ~~xxxx~~ peace of the city.

We have discussed this problem. They are very complex to be discussed in an hour and a half. I do not blame the youngmen of Bengal when leaders quarrel. I do not know whether I will succeed. It will be a misfortune if they do not unite. It will go a great way if all of you put pressure that they must unite. After all, what remains if Bengal is destroyed and disturbed. In a tram-car if two youngmen compell the rest to get down, that is no good. That feeling of helplessness must be removed.

I shall try my best to help you and take note of all your suggestions.



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Speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, India, at a meeting of the members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 13th January 1950.

**Friends:**

I have come here in order to see if I can be of any help in Bengal in the present state, although I am not physically strong enough to bear the strain. But outside we have been reading disquieting things about Calcutta; it will discredit us. I have often appealed to you <sup>to</sup> ~~far~~/forget the past and unite against the forces; otherwise, we will not be able to do any good work to the people whom it is our life mission to serve. I do not know whether I will be able to convince you in this hour of crisis to forget personal prejudices. After all, what is our ambition but to serve the people, forget all differences in whatever sphere we are and take one line of action. Perhaps they may be right and we may be wrong. I have come with only one object. It affects our reputation outside India. It creates a feeling of insecurity and uneasiness. Bengal has suffered much. We must find a way in which to smoothen matters. We are made of the same clay. It is no use blaming each other. One opportunity came of serving Bengal and we are failing. There was no one in Bengal who was against partition, but human memory is short. What was happening in Noakhali? Who can forget the deliverance day. Today moth-eaten Pakistan is stronger. They have beaten us in one way. They speak with one voice. If they can do so - if we had not been divided it would have been passed much earlier. If we ~~unite~~ unite first there is a chance of unity. But unity we have to decide. We do not want the unity of the past. The power behind has disappeared. So Hindus and Muslims can see in their proper perspective, but that can only happen if we are united first. The wound can be healed only when we unite. Please forget our differences and let us give a lead to the country. If there is ambition of service, what does it matter

whether I am in office or you are in office. With a certain amount of risk I have come here. I have no party. All of you are my colleagues and comrades. Can I not touch your heart to forget everything and give a lead and forget everything till the election is over. Let us put our foot down against disorder, crime and anti-social elements. People asked me why do you go. I said I go to meet the friends who, I think, will listen to me. When our leaders came last time we thought that election was the only solution which would bring you together. But what we thought was proved to be impossible. But if all of you think that election is impossible yours is greater responsibility. Do not use any paper or platform to show your differences. At least for some time when we are passing through crisis to pull together - see what we are what we have been and I appeal from the bottom of my heart to unite. Everybody believes and rightly believes that Bengal can only recover if the Congress unites. Before ~~Part~~ Partition there was no West Bengal and East Bengal.

Only last week I went to Lucknow and there were groups there. Although I appealed to them, there was not that success, but a lot of atmosphere has cleared. There is no division there and they cannot afford to quarrel.

After all no Congress Government can function unless the Congressmen support ~~xxx~~ Congressmen can function, unless the Government supports. Perhaps it is the past legacy, perhaps it is the division, but we find perpetual quarrel.

If two boys come and ask everyone to get down from the car and everyone gets down like a sheep it is no one's concern.

Today the police have become volunteers. Police has taken the place of Congress in sacrifice and suffering.

Bengal gave the lead and kept it for many years.

Our friends in Assam will put up with Bengal ~~muslims~~ Muslims but not a Bengali Hindu. Bihar won't have Bengalis. This is not a good sign. Don't get angry. Even if it is their

fault, we must win them over. Today atmosphere is vitiated by provincial jealousies and parochial quarrels.

Our past history has been that whenever there is freedom there has been quarrels. We are all brothers, servants of Bengal. We should not think that we are better servants. That is the only way to unite. This is the appeal-I make in your court and I will be happy if it is heard and you will let me have your suggestions, if any.

If congressmen say that there is corruption, people are bound to believe it. If there is corruption, its remedy is not in the press or platform, but in the organisations. We must set ~~it~~ ~~gkktk~~ it right.

Is it not that both Proful Babu and Praful Sen both have sacrificed and suffered. Both were united. They have quarreled. But if one is corrupt, we can punish him, if we can prove it.

It is a bad workman who quarrels with his tools. The Police will be the same whoever is in office. You cannot change.

Once you find there is a concrete thing, we can haul him, dismiss him, but that is for the Minister. But why do you bring in the police. Black-market is there with the control. Take sugar; it is not Bidhan Babu or Proful Babu who has done it.

A general complaint without specific charge that everything is bad then we are all bad. So I appeal to you to restrict to specific charges. When Congressmen make charges against Ministry, the officers ~~for~~ ~~congressmen~~ are bound to make.

Do you want to take my place. You have not got the capacity and you cannot give me the capacity that I have not got.

If these 3 combine, the combined pressure will create an atmosphere.

The zamindari system should go. Is there any difference of opinion on that?

Let us change the atmosphere and not go to the A.I.C.C.

I want to say a few words in this connection (or on this question). My attention was drawn on press cuttings in which Kumarappa was said to have asked the peasants to resort to scorched earth policy and Prafullababu was present. I could not believe my words that Kumarappa could preach such a thing. I wrote to Kishorlal so that he may ask him and influence him. He sent me a draft article for Harijan that if this is true it is bordering on lunacy. A few days ago, Bidhanbabu sent me a copy of his correspondence with Kumarappa. He wrote to him saying Bengal was not in his mind. ~~There~~ Then was England in his mind. I do find fault with Prafulbabu for not saying that he does not approve of it. I do find fault with him for saying that if we cannot say to the peasants. He is a member of the Working Committee. The policy of procurement is from the Centre.

I have worked for the peasant all my life. With all are faults. We may have bungled but not one has died of starvation, though there may be floods or famine.

We have to appeal to the peasant. He is more ~~patriotic~~ patriotic than any one else. There is not much deficiency in the country.

Please make a little sacrifice. You may not get all your cost. Otherwise we will have to get from Australia. We have to pay heavy freight. The country is partitioned. Our joint economy is broken. Jute, Cotton, and Food. If our house is in order, we can deal with the problem - our neighbour there is danger of aggression from them only.

Poor peasant rightly believes that he has spent he must ~~xxx~~ get it. But we must look to the whole picture. Prafulbabu could have gone to the Working Committee to the Minister. It is not Prafulbabu alone. I am quarrelling with Ranga.

If we stop import, you will benefit. Unless we stop the rise of prices and try to bring down the prices, the burden of cost cannot be born long. You do not know the amount of subsidy we have to pay.

We have cut down many schemes, because we have no money. I don't want you to enter into controversy as to who is wrong, but you must unite and unite with a clear heart. I appeal to you once more not in a spirit of criticism to unite. This is more important than any other question. If he comes on the 17th with a report that there is unity, it will be greater service.

If unity comes, it can come in one day. The way to approach is to look within.

This is the last chance before the election. If you do not unite, it will have its effect on the whole country. Discuss; but do not discuss in the Bengal fashion - no end to it. This is not a matter for the High Command. You must put your house in order. Anything done by order is bound to fail.

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Speech of The Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at 9.30 a.m. on board I.N.S. "Delhi" on 12.5.50.

the borders of India. Even there, the sword itself was confined. Commodore, Officers and Men of the Ship,

I am extremely delighted to have this pleasant meeting with you all. It is not only a rare but my first experience to be on the Indian Navy with the men of the Navy. When this flag-ship came to Bombay, I was invited by Admiral Parry, but I could not be present because of my weak health. Ever since, I was longing to take an opportunity to be on the ship with you all. This is our first cruiser which, like the Capital Delhi, is the Capital Ship of the Indian Navy.

You are all building up the traditions of our Navy. Upon you rests a heavy responsibility. You hold the honour of the Indian Navy in your hands. Our infant Navy has a tradition, during the last war, which has been very glorious. Infant as it is, it is a very healthy one and to see the birth and the growth of the Navy in its infant stage is a delightful experience. Your names will go down in history.

This infant Navy has a glorious past. India had a past in mercantile shipping, but in naval warfare its record has not been so long sustained. The Navy was of local rather than central importance and the emphasis has been more on land warfare. Many people of many races from other countries have come here into this country and settled down. Some have become conquerors, some have become our own, amongst us; but India goes its own way. It has never had, and will never have any aggressive intention or design on any country. It will never conquer any country except by the spread of its culture and its civilisation. In the past too, if it has ever spread its culture, it has never done so by force. Right up to Japan, Buddhism had its sway, and in Afghanistan and over the borders of Afghanistan, Indian civilisation spread, but it has never taken its sword beyond

the borders of India. Even there, the sword itself was confined to the few. In India, although the past traditions of mercantile marine were splendid, the record of naval warfare is not so impressive and has not caught the imagination of the people as land warfare has done. It is only for the last some years that we have been concentrating on the Navy as a central arm of defence and beginning to learn naval technique and strategy from a nation whose naval might and achievements have illumined the pages of history. Although we had British Rulers for a number of years, we are now masters in our own country, and we have parted as very good friends. It is an example rare in history—that a conquered nation could be friends with the conquerors, the transfer of power took place so smoothly and the representatives of the conquerors could remain here as teachers. It is a very good thing. Your Captain will, I am sure, be proud of all of you for the pioneer work that you have been doing. I feel proud to meet you all, and India will be proud of you all and your work. On you all, as I told you, rests the great responsibility of building up the traditions and keeping up the prestige and honour of the Flag that you are carrying. I wish you all good luck and success in your career. Do not think of comparative prospects of other professions. Your career may be less lucrative, but the spirit of adventure and patriotism have an interest which can compare favourably with any other profession, however lucrative it may be. We are beginning as a free nation in our country, where many adjustments will be made in the future, but bravery, courage, heroism, and chivalry are all attributes of the Navy rare to be found in other walks of life. It is a great thing that you are

getting training in these high qualities, for which young men get rare opportunities. India looks to you with great interest and knows that the future of the Navy is maintained by you in safe and sound hands. May God give you all that is necessary to build up the Navy which can make its mark amongst the great Naval Nations of the world and to promote the prestige and honour of our country.

May God bless you.



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અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની ખાસ સભા-૨

સભા ગ્રાંથી હોલમાં શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૦ મી

સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૨૬ ને રોજ સંજના

૪-૩૦ કલાકે મળી હતી તેનું

પ્રાસીડીંગ્સ

હાજર.

મિ. બલ્લભરાય પ્ર. ઠાકોર.

વાઇસપ્રેસિડેન્ટ.

— સભ્ય સંખ્યા ૨૫.

પાછલી મિટિંગનું પ્રોસિડિંગ્સ વાંચવામાં આવ્યું અને તે બહાલ રાખ્યું.

મે. ઉપ-પ્રમુખ સાહેબે નીચેનાં વધારાનાં કામો જાહેર

કર્તા:-

વધારાનું કામ નં. ૧

ફેક્ટુઅરિયુલ કમિટીનો ઠરાવ નં. તા. -૬-૨૬ નો કચરાપેટીઓમાંથી કચરો ખસેડવાના કામની ફેબ્રેજ રાખવા માટે એક ખાસ અમલદાર નીમવા બાબતનો.

વધારાનું કામ નં. ૨

મેનેજિંગ કમિટીનો ઠરાવ નં. તા. ૧૦-૬-૨૬ નો "

"કાચી ગટર" ખાતે બજેટમાં વધારાના ૧, ૧૨, ૦૦૦ ની રકમનો સમાસ કરવાની વિનંતી કરવા બાબત કેમકે તે ખાતે સમાસ કરેલી રૂ. ૩૦૦૦૦ ની રકમ ખર્ચાઈ ગઈ છે.

( આ વખતે મિ. અસગરમલી ખા. વ્યા. )

મ્યુનિસિપલ-કાઉન્સિલર-મિ. જોશ્વનભાઈ-ઉચ્ચરભાઈ

૨  
: આ જગતે મિ. અસરગદી આ બધા :

૨૬૫

મ્યુનિસિપલ કાઉન્સિલર

મિ. ગોવર્ધનભાઈ ઉસ્તરભાઈ પટેલ

પુલેલા સવાલો.

૧. મે. પ્રમુખ સાહેબ જણાવવાની

વસ્તી હેતે કે:-

(અ) મિ. આઈ. આર. ભગતે શહેરની

હદમાં મહાઈ દાટવાની પરવાન-

ગી આપી હતી અને આપી

હોય તો આ વિષયને લગતા

કાયદો મેજ ઉપર મૂકશે કે?

બ. આ વિષય પર તમે

મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની કોઈ

કમિટીએ કે પ્રમુખ સાહેબે કોઈ

(સમજૂતી કે અધુરી) તપાસ કરી

હતીશ અને કરી હોય તો તે

બાબતમાં સામાન્ય વિષય

ગ્રહણ કરવું લખાણ મેજ પર

મૂકશે કે?

મે. ઉપ-પ્રમુખ સાહેબે વા.

૧૦-૬-૨૬૫૧ રોજ આપેલા

જવાબો.

ફાઈ અને બિ) આ બાબતની

મરી હકીકતનું નીચેનું દૃઢ

લખાણ મેજ પર મૂકવામાં આવ્યું છે.

સુને. ૧૯૨૧માં કલમ ૪૮ (ગ)

આધારે મહાઈની વ્યવસ્થા કરવા

ના કૅન્સ પેટાકાયદાનો સુધારવા

પડવા જેવી કરીને સિવિલ સર્જન

સાહેબની પ્રાથમિક સમ્મતિ મેળવીને

જારિયાતના અપવાદરૂપ પ્રસંગે

શહેરમાં મહાઈ દાટવાની પરવાન-

ગતિ આપવાની ચિઠ્ઠી બોલિસરની

વિવેકાધિન સત્તા લઈ લેવામાં

આવી હતી. પેટા કાયદામાં આ

સુધારો કરવાની જારિયાત ચિઠ્ઠી

બોલિસરની આ વિવેકાધિન સત્તા-

ની હુકમપયોગ તેના પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટ

-ટ મિ. ભગતે તેની ચેરહાજરીમાં

ક્યારે લીધે ઉપસ્થિત થયો હતો.

એક પ્રસંગે બ્યારે મિ. નર્મ

મિ. નર્મદાશંકર - પહેલાં એક દિવસની કેડબુજલ  
રજા પર હતા ત્યારે મિ. ભગતે કે જેને કંઈ

સત્તા નહોતી તેણે હેલ્થ ઓફિસર અગર --

સીવીલ સરન્યન સાહેબની સલાહ લીધા

સિવાય કોઈ મુસ્તફામીયાં કાઢરી કે જે

મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના સભાસદ ધવાના હતા

તેનાં માણુગ્રીનાં મડદાંને ફાટવાની રજા

આપી. સિવિલ સર્જન સાહેબે આ કૃત્ય સામે

સખત વાંધો ઉઠાવ્યો કારણ કે તેમને આ કૃત્ય

શહેરની સુખાકારીને નુકસાનકારક લાગ્યું.

મિ. ભગતનું કૃત્ય મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ સખત

રીતે વખોડ્યું હતું અને આને પરિણામે પેટા-

કાયદા સુધારાવ્યા હતા કે જેથી કરીને

ચિક ઓફિસરની વિવેકાધીન સત્તા ખુલ્લી

સેવામાં આવી.

૨. સને ૧૯૨૧ માં આ સુધારો થયા

પછી મિ. એન. જી. મહેતાની કારકિર્દીમાં

આવી પરવાનગી આપી હોય એમ જણાવું

નથી. પરંતુ મિ. ભગતની ચિક ઓફિસર

તરીકેની દૂકી મુદતમાં શહેરમાં આવા ચાર

દાખલા ઉદભવ્યા.

૩. પહેલાં દાખલામાં આ મ્યુનિસિપાલિ-

ટીના સભ્ય મિ. ચુંદરીગર તરફથી સહયત્ત મીર

સાહેબ

સાહેબ- સેવકમીયારી કાઢરીના મુલદેહને  
 દાટવાની પરવાનગી માંગવામાં આવી હતી.  
 અને ન્યારે સેનીટરી કમિટીના અધ્યક્ષે સેનીટરી  
 કમિટીને આવી સલા છે એવો આધારભૂત અભિ-  
 પ્રાય તેને મળે નહીં ત્યાં સુધી આવી પરવાનગી  
 આપવા ના પાડી. મિ. ભગતે અરજ નીચે પેટા  
 કાયદા આધારે આવી સલા સેનીટરી કમિટીને  
 છે એવો શેરો પોતે જૂના અગર નવા પેટાકાયદા  
 આધારે આવી સલા કમિટીને નથી એવું જાણવા  
 હોવા છતાં કરી કમિટી અને અધ્યક્ષને ખોટ  
 રસ્તે દોચાં.

૪. બીજા દાખલામાં મિ. ભગતે પોતે  
 પ્રમુખ સાહેબની સૂચનાનું ઉલ્લંઘન કરીને અને  
 હેલ્થ ઓફિસર સાહેબે પ્રથમના દાખલામાં તેમની  
 ખૂબ ધવેલી તે પરત્વે ધ્યાન મેળવી છતાં અને  
 જોઈતી જોઈતી મેળવવાનું કલ્પા છતાં સદગત  
 કુલુહીન મીર સાહેબ કાઢરીના સહને દાટવાન  
 રજા આપી.

૫. ત્રીજા દાખલામાં ન્યારે બા. બા.  
 સમસુદ્દીન કાઢરીના પિતાનું શબ સહેરમાં  
 દાટવામાં આવ્યું ત્યારે જો તેઓ સહેજ વધારે  
 સાવચેત રહ્યા હોત તો તેઓ દટન ક્રિયા  
 અટકાવી શકત પરંતુ આ દાખલો સુધ્યસુધ્યન

સુધ્યસુધ્યની- ભૂલનો ગણી સકાય, જેને  
માટે તેને ઠપકો ન મળે.

૬. ચોથા દાખલામાં ત્યારે મિ.

અહમદાબાદની મીરસાહેબ કાદરીની પત્ની

બેગમબીબીનું શબ આ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના

સભ્ય દા. અહમદમીયાની સૂચનાથી ખાનપુરમાં

દાટવામાં આવ્યું ત્યારે મિ. ભગતે જાણીજોઈને

પૂરતા વખતથી તેઓ જાણતા છતાં તે અટકાવ-

વાને કાંઈ તજવીજ કરી નહીં. આ દાખલામાં

મે. ડિસ્ક્રિક્ટ મેજસ્ટ્રેટ સાહેબની ખાનગી સૂચના

ને આધારે પ્રમુખ સાહેબે મિ. ભગતને અમુક મુદ્દા-

ઓ ઉપર તપાસ કરવા અને તેની તપાસનું

પરિણામ મે. ડિસ્ક્રિક્ટ મેજસ્ટ્રેટ સાહેબને

નિવેદન કરવા હુકમ કર્યો. તેને આપેલાં

કરમાનનું જોઈએ તેવું પાલન કરવાને બદલે

તેણે તે કરમાન ઉપાડું દાડ્યું અને તપાસનો

મુખ્ય આશય પડી ભાગે તેવી રીતે વિષયનો

ઉપયોગ કર્યો. તેની વર્તણૂક <sup>પણી</sup> સહેજ વહેમવાળી

જણાયાથી પ્રમુખ સાહેબે <sup>તપાસ</sup> પોતે-હાથ ધરી અને

તપાસ દરમિયાન ઉપર જણાવેલા વૃત્તિ

ઉપરતિ દા. મુહંમદરાય, દા. સીરવાઈ,

સેનીટરી કમિટીના ક્લાર્ક મિ. બોઝા, રેકર્ડ

કારકુન મિ. શાન્તિલાલ અને અધ્યક્ષ દા. કાનુગા

ના પુરાવા ઉપરથી તેમજ હેલ્થ ખાતા

માતાની- ૨૭૦૮૨, ઉપરથી માલુમ પડ્યું કે  
મિ. ભગતે આ ફટકાની બાબતમાં તેનો  
ગુનો સાબિત કરતા અમુક કાગળોનો નાશ  
કર્ચો છે.

૭. ૭. પ્રમુખ સાહેબે મિ. ભગત સાથે નીચેના  
તહોમત કે જેને માટે પુરતો પ્રથમ ફર્જનીક  
કેઈસ હોવાનું જણાય છે તે સંબંધે રીતસર  
તપાસ કરવા સેનીટરી કમિટીમાં જમસાધીત  
અહેવાલ રજૂ કર્યો.

૧. સેનીટરી કમિટીને તેની સેવા  
બાબતમાં લેખિત આધારભૂત અભિપ્રાય આપી  
સેનીટરી કમિટીને ઉધે રસ્તે દોરી પેટા-  
કાયદાનું ઉલ્લંઘન.

૨. પેટાકાયદાઓનો જાણી જોઈને  
અવળો અર્થ કરીને ગેરઉપયોગ અને પોતાને  
સત્તા નથી તેનું જાણ્યા છતાં આપેલી રજા.

૩. તેનો ગુનો સાબિત કરતા કાગળો  
નો નાશ.

૪. સત્તાના ગેરઉપયોગથી પ્રમુખ સાહેબ  
શિશ્ય બોર્ડના વિભાગની ઉચેરથી અને  
કોમી વિરોધની સ્થાપના.

૫. સેનીટરી કમિટી તહોમતની મહત્તા  
સંબંધે પ્રમુખ સાહેબ સાથે સમ્મત થઈ અને મિ.  
ભગતની મંત્રિણી ઉપરથી આ કેઈસમાં

કેઇસમાં-- દેવાચેલી સપળી ગુલાનીની નકલો  
 આપવાનો અને બીજે કિલ્લે રીતસર તપાસ  
 થા કરવાનો નિર્ણય કર્યો હતો પ્રમુખ સાહેબ  
 જાણીને વિસ્મય થયા કે તેજ બીજે કિલ્લે  
 તે કેમિટીના પાંચ સભ્યોમાંથી વધુ સભ્યો  
 (મિ. જવાહરલાલ પટેલ, મિ. સત્યેન્દ્ર પ્રસાદ,  
 અને મિ. અસગરમજી) કે બહુમતીથી કાગળો  
 ફક્તરે કરવાનો નિર્ણય કર્યો. અધ્યક્ષ મિ.  
 માવળંકર અને બીજા સભ્ય મિ. પુરષોત્તમદાસ  
 જુનરે (મિ. ભગત સામે મુકાયેલા તકોમતનનમર્મ  
 માટે પ્રથમ ફરજીયાત કેઇસ છે. એવા પ્રમુખ સાહેબ  
 ના આશપ્રાય સાથે સંમત થઇને કાગળો પ્રમુખ  
 સાહેબ સમક્ષ આગળ નિકાલ માટે રજૂ કર્યા.

૬૭) મિ. ભગત નોકરીમાં (ક.) અને (ક) ૧. મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના  
 દાખલ થયા ત્યારથી મ્યુનિ- ફક્તરમાંથી મળી શકેલી માહિતી પ્રમાણે  
 સિપાલિટીના ફક્તરમાંથી જણાય છે કે મ્યુનિસિપલ કમિશનર મિ. ભાવે  
 મળી શકે તેટલા મ્યુનિસિપલ એ મિ. ભગતને તેના પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટ  
 નોકરી અને સિપાઇઓ સાથે- વેરીફાઇ કરી કામ તેના ઉપરી પરત્વે નહોતું  
 ની તેમની અપમાનકુળ છાજવી વર્તણૂક અને ઉધ્ધવદાસ માટે આપવાની,  
 વર્તણૂક સાથેની કરિયાદોની ના પાડી હતી અને છેવટે બોર્ડે મિ. ભગતને  
 સંખ્યા અને પ્રકાર. પ્રમુખ સાહેબ, ઉપ-પ્રમુખ સાહેબ અને મિ. વલ્લભભાઈ

૧. મિ. ભગત નોકરી- એ પુષ્ટી કર્યા પ્રમાણેની લેખિત માહીતી આપવા  
 માં દાખલ થયા ત્યારથી નો હુકમ કરીને આ બાબતનો નિકાલ કર્યો

ત્યારથી- મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી

ના કક્કરમાંથી મળી શકે

તેલના તેના ઉપરી અમલદારો

પરતે બીનવકાફારી અને

ઉધ્ધતાઉના કૃત્ત્વ સામેની

કારવાદોની સંખ્યા અને

પ્રકાર.

(૭૪ ૬૭) ને ભગવા ક

કાગળોની નકલો એજ પર

મુકિયામાં આવશે કે કેમ?

કર્મો હતો. માકીનો મુસફો અને તેને

ભગવા કાગળો કાઉલમાંથી કાઢાઈ

લીધા હોય એમ જણાય છે. પરંતુ મુળ

હકીકત અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપલ રેકર્ડ

અંક ૧૩૫ માં જણાવવામાં આવી છે.

કાગળો મિ. ભગવને આપ્યા છે એમ

કાઉલમાં એક ચીટકી છે તેથી જણાય છે.

૨. આગળના મ્યુનિસિપલ ઇન્જિ-

નિયર મિ. મલીકે મિ. ભગતની પાસે બાજુ

કાઢવ ઉડાડવાની અને મ્યુનિસિપલ

નોંકરોનું અપમાન કરવાની દેવ સામે

સખત રીતે કારિયાદ કરી હોય એમ

જણાય છે. તેણે આગ્રહ રાખ્યો હતો કે

આવા માણસને તેનાં ખાતાનું કામ

તપાસવાને પરવાનગી આપવી જોઈએ

નહીં. મિ. ભગતનો દેરો આગલા ચીફ

મોડિકસર મિ. મેન. ડક્ટ. મહેતાએ વળોડ્યો

હતો. મુળ કાગળો ગુમ થાય છે.

૩. અમદાવાદના આગળના -

કલેક્ટર મે. ચેટકિલ્ડ સાહેબે મિ. ભગતની

બીનવકાફારીના કારણે અમુક મુદત તેના

પગારનો વધારો અટકાવવાનો હુકમ કર્યો

હોય એમ જણાય છે. આ કાગળો પણ કાઉલ-

માંથી કાઢી લેવામાં આવ્યા હોય



એમ જણાય છે. આ કાગળો પણ કાઉન્સિલમાં  
~~ની કમિટી દ્વારા આપવા હોય એમ~~  
~~ભાવે છે પરંતુ કાઉન્સિલ તે કામ~~  
 કરતા કારકુનની નોંધ છે કે કાગળો  
 મિ. ભગતની ચિફ ઓફિસર તરીકે  
 નીમલુંક થઈ તે પહેલાં થોડો વખત  
 અગાઉ તેમની માગણી મુજબ તેમને  
 આપવામાં આવ્યા છે, મિ. ભગત આ સખ  
 સપના મુમ થતા કાગળો વિષે હંઈ પણ  
 માહિતી હોવાની ના પાડે છે.

૪. આગલા ચિફ ઓફિસર મિ.  
 મહેતાએ કમિટી ઓફ મેનેજમેન્ટના  
 ચેરમેનની અને મેનેજિંગ કમિટીની સમિતિથી  
 જલ્લા ઇન્સ્પેક્ટર મિ. ગોરીશંકરની  
 કરિયાદ ઉપરથી લેખીત તાકીદ આપી  
 હોય એમ જણાય છે. આ તાકીદ એવી  
 મતલબની હતી કે મિ. ભગતે તેમનો  
 મિજાજ કાબૂમાં રાખવો જોઈતો હતો  
 અને જલ્લા ઇન્સ્પેક્ટર પરત્વે સબ્યતાથી  
 વર્તવું જોઈતું હતું. જલ્લા ઇન્સ્પેક્ટરે  
 મે. સીટી માજિસ્ટ્રેટની કોર્ટમાં હુમલો કય  
 ની કરિયાદ દાખલ કરી એમાં મિ. ભગત  
 મુનેગાર ઠરાવવામાં આવ્યા હતા પણ

પણ-અપહિલમાં તેને નિહાળ કરાવવામાં  
આવ્યા હતા.

૫. આગળના સેસ કલેકશન સુપ્રિ-ટે-ટે-  
-ટ મિ. હામોદરદાસે સતત સતાવણીના

અને મિ. ભગતે તેને ખરાબ કરવાની ધમકી  
આપ્યાના કારણે સેસ કલેકશન સુપ્રિ-ટે-ટે-ટે  
ની જગ્યાએથી બહારી તેની મૂળ આસિસ્ટ-  
-ટ સેસ કલેકશનની સુપ્રિ-ટે-ટે-ટેની જગ્યા  
એ પાછા મૂકવા અરજ કરી હતી. ચિફ  
ઓફિસરે મિ. ભગતની વર્તણૂક વખોડી  
હતી. જે સામે તેણે વાંધો લીધો અને  
ચિફ ઓફિસરેને હુકમ ફેરવવા વિનંતી  
કરી. પરંતુ ચિફ ઓફિસરે તે હુકમ ફેરવ-  
વાની ના પાડી.

૬. કાઠપુર સ્ટોર્મ વોટર કેઇન

બાબતમાં રા. બા. રમણલાલ અને પ્રમુખ  
સાહેબે કરેલી તપાસનો નિર્ણય એમાં  
મિ. ભગતની વર્તણૂક સખત રીતે વખોડી  
કાઢવામાં આવી હતી તે જનરલ બોર્ડ  
બહાલ રાખ્યો હતો. મ્યુનિસિપલ  
ઇન્જિનિયર મિ. ગોરે પરત્વેનું તેનું વલણ  
અને કૃત્ય ઉદ્ધત, ઉતાવળિયું અને ઝેર-  
વ્યાજબી જણાતું હતું.

### ૭. પ્રમુખ સાહેબે ચિઠ્ઠી મોકલિસર

મિ. ભગતને અને મ્યુનિસિપલ ઇન્જિનિયરને

મિ. ગોરેને લેખોના સિન્ધાવનું સમાધાન

કરવા અને કસ્ટમ્સ કારોબારના હિત ખાતર

તાબાના નોકરોમાં સારો દાખલો બેસાડવા

બંનેએ એક વખત સલાહ આપી પરંતુ જેવા

કાગળો ભગત પાસે પહોંચ્યા કે તુરત ચિઠ્ઠી

મોકલિસરે કાઉલમાંથી પ્રમુખના સેરાવાળો

કાગળ કાઢી લીધો અને પ્રમુખ સાહેબે સલાહ

અગર હોય કાઢવો જોઈએ નહીં.  
આપવી જોઈએ નહીં કે આ પધ્ધતિથી

નોકરો ઉપર ખરાબ અસર થાય એવું લખીને

તે કાગળ પાછો મોકલ્યો.

### ૮. કરનાની એક પુલ પાસે રહે

પોસ્ટ અને પોસ્ટકોર્મના બાંધકામની બાબતમાં

એમ જણાય છે કે મિ. ભગતે પોતે કામ મંજૂર

કર્યું હતું પણ ત્યારે આ કામ તેમની મંજૂરીના

આધારે ગતિમાં હતું ત્યારે તેણે તેના પિતા

પાસેથી અરજ લીધાનું જણાય છે અને સ્થળ

ઉપર જાતે ગયા, મજૂરો સાથે કામ કર્યું,

કામ અટકાવ્યું અને ઓવરસિયરને જણાવ્યા

સિવાય મોટાં ટોળાંની હાજરીમાં ચલાવ

અથવા ભાગ પાડી નહિયો એવા કારણે

કે આ કામ તેની માતાના મકાન નજીક

હતું હતું.

૬. ગયા ડિસેમ્બરમાં ગ્યારે

તેમને પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટની જગ્યા

ઉપર મુકવામાં આગ્યા ત્યારે તે

એકાએક ઓફિસ છોડી ચાલ્યા ગયા.

પ્રમુખ સાહેબ<sup>જી</sup> કુકમનું ઉલ્લંઘન કર્યું અને

૬૦ પૃષ્ઠ કામ કરવાની ના પાડી.

અગત્યના એક અગર પણ જરૂરી કામઝોમ

માં સહી કરવાની ના પાડી અને

કારોબારની અંદર સ્તબ્ધતા રચવાનો

ચત્ત કર્યો, પ્રમુખ સાહેબની વખતો

વખતની અરજો ધ્યાનમાં ન લીધી અને

તેની વર્તણૂકથી પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટની જગ્યા

જગ્યા કાઢવા માટેની ઉત્તર વિભાગના

મહેરબાન કમિશ્નર સાહેબની મંજૂરી

જલદીથી મેળવવાની પ્રમુખ સાહેબને ફરજ

પડી.

૧૦. હાલમાં એક ડેવલ્યુએશન

ઓફિસર મિ. સેક્રેટરીએ મિ. ભગતની

જગલી અને અપમાનયુક્ત વર્તણૂક સામે

ફરિયાદ કરી હતી.

૧૧. કડવી ભાષામાં લખાણ

કરવાની તેની ટેલ સંબંધે લગભગ બધા

તાબાના નોકરોની તેમજ અમલદારોની

સામાન્ય ફરિયાદ છે.

(આ દરેક પાત્રના પાછળ પાંચ પાત્રો લેવામાં આવે છે)

૧૨. કક્કવી ભાગમાં લખાઈ

કરવાની તેની ટેવ સંબંધે લગભગ બધા જ

ભાષાના નોકરોની લેખન અમલદારોની

સાચા-અ કરવામાં છે.

સહી. ગોવર્ધનભાઈ આઈ. પટેલ,  
સંબંધ.

અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી

સહી. બલવંતરાય પ્રમોદરાય ઠાકોર  
ઉપ-પ્રમુખ

અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી

અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની બાંસ શાખા-૫

સભા મંથિરી હોલમાં શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૦ મી

જુલૈઆર ૧૩૨૧ ને રોજ મંજૂર

૪-૩૦ કલાકે મળી હતી તેનું

પ્રાંતીકૃતિ

હાજર.

મિ. બલવંતરાય પ્ર. ઠાકોર.

વાઈસપ્રેસિડેન્ટ.

સંખ્ય સંખ્યા ૨૫.

પાછલી મિટિંગનું પ્રોસિડિંગ્સ વાંચવામાં આવ્યું અને તે બકાલ રાખ્યું.

મે. ઉપ-પ્રમુખ સાહેબે નીચેનાં વધારાનાં કામો જાહેર

કર્ચા:—

વધારાનું કામ નં. ૨

ફેક્ટુઅર પ્રમુખલ કમિટીનો ઠરાવ નં. તા. ૬-૨૬ નો

કચરાપેટીઓમાંથી કચરો બસેડવાના કામની કેમરેજ રાખવા માટે

એક બાંસ અમલદાર નીમવા બાબતનો.

વધારાનું કામ નં. ૨

મેનેજર કમિટીનો ઠરાવ નં. તા. ૧૦-૬-૨૬ નો

"કાચી ગટર" ખાતે બેલ્ડમાં વધારાના ૨.૧૨,૦૦૦ ની રકમની

સમાસ કરવાની વિનંતી કરવા બાબત કેમકે તે ખાતે સમાસ કરેલી

૧.૩૦૦૦૦ ની રકમ ખર્ચાઉં ગઈ છે.

( આ વખતે મિ. બલવંતરાયની બાંસ. )

મ્યુનિસિપલ કાઉન્સિલર મિ. બોલ્ડનામાં ઉપસ્થિત

૨  
: આ સમયે મિ. નવસરમણી આ બધા :

મ્યુનિસિપલ કાઉન્સિલર

મિ. ગોવર્ધનભાઈ ઠાકરભાઈ પટેલે

પુઠેલા સવાળો.

૧. મે. પ્રમુખ સાહેબ જણાવવાની

વસ્તી હેઠે કે:-

(અ) મિ. ભાઈ. આર. ભવલે શહેરની  
હદમાં મહાદાં દાટવાની પરવાન-

ગી આપી હતી અને આપી  
હોય તો આ વિષયને સમતા  
કાગળો મેજ ઉપર મૂકશે કે

(બ) આ વિષય પરત્વે  
મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની કોઈ  
કમિટીએ કે પ્રમુખ સાહેબે કોઈ  
(સમૂહ કે અધુરો) વપાસ કરી  
હતી અને કરી હોય તો તે  
વાળતમાં સામાન્ય વિચલ  
પ્રકાર કરતું સમાજ મેજ પર  
મૂકશે કે

મે. ઉપ-પ્રમુખ સાહેબે તા.

૧૦-૬-૨૬૫૧ રોજ આપેલા

જવાબો.

(અ) અને (બ) આ વાળતની

પરી હકીકતનું નીચેનું હું

સમાજ મેજ પર મૂકવામાં આ બધું છે.

સને. ૧૯૨૧માં કલમ ૪૮ હેઠે

આધારે મહાદાંની વ્યવસ્થા કરવા  
ની સેલ્સ પેટાકાયદાનો સુધારવા

પડવા મેજી કરીને સિવિલ સર્જન

સાહેબની પ્રાથમિક સમ્મતિ મેળવીને

જારિયાતના અપવાદરૂપ પ્રતિ

શહેરમાં મહાદાં દાટવાની પરવાન-

ગી આપવાની ચિઠ્ઠી મોકિસરની

(વિવેકાધિન સત્તા હદેલવામાં

આવી હતી. પેટા કાયદામાં આ

સુધારો કરવાની જારિયાત ચિઠ્ઠી

મોકિસરની આ વિવેકાધિન સત્તા

નો હુકમથી તેના પર્સનલ આસિસ-

ન્ટ મિ. ભવલે તેની ચેરહાજરીમાં

અગતિ લીધે ઉપસ્થિત થઈ હતી.

મેક પ્રતિ આરે મિ. નર્મદાસકર

મિ. નર્મદાચંદ્ર - મહેતા એક દિવસની કેડમુખલ રજા પર હતા. ત્યારે મિ. ભગતે કે જેને કંઈ સવા નહોતી તેણે હેલ્થ બોક્સિસર મગર — સીવીલ સરન્મન સાહેબની સલાહ લીધા. સિવાય એવક મુસ્લકામીમાં કાદરી કે જે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના સલાહક પદાના હતા તેનાં માણુલીનાં મહાનિ દાદવાની રજા આપી. સિવલ સર્જન સાહેબે આ કૃત્ય સામે સખત વાંધો ઉઠાવ્યો કારણ કે તેમને આ કૃત્ય સહેરની સુખાકારીને નુકસાનકારક લાગ્યું. મિ. ભગતનું કૃત્ય મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ સખત રીતે વખોડ્યું હતું અને આને પરિણામે પેટા-કાચકા સુધરાવ્યા હતા કે જેથી કરીને ચિક બોક્સિસરની વિવેકાધીન સવા સુખલી દેવામાં આવી.

૨. સને ૧૯૨૧ માં આ સુધારો થયા પછી મિ. એન. ડી. મહેતાની કમિટીમાં આવી પરવાનગી આપી હોય એમ જણાતું નથી. પરંતુ મિ. ભગતની ચિક બોક્સિસર તરીકેની દુકા મુદતમાં સહેરમાં આવ્યા માર દાખલા ઉદભવ્યા.

૩. પહેલા દાખલામાં આ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના સભ્ય મિ. મુંદરીમર તરફથી સહયત મીર સાહેબ



મા સમયે મિ. અંબરભાઈ આગ્રા :

૮૪૦

મુનિસિપલ કાઉન્સિલર

મિ. ગોવર્ધનભાઈ ઠાકરભાઈ પટેલ

પુઠેલા સવાળો.

૧. મે. પ્રમુખ સાહેબ જણાવવાની

વચ્ચી લેશે કે :-

(અ) મિ. આઈ. આર. ભગતે સહેરની  
હદમાં મહાઈ દાટવાની પરવાનગી  
આપી હતી અને આપી  
હોય તો આ વિષયને લગતા  
કાગળો મેજ ઉપર મૂકશે કે :

(બ) આ વિષય પરત્વે  
મુનિસિપાલિટીની કોઈ  
કમિટીએ કે પ્રમુખ સાહેબે કોઈ  
(સમૂહ કે અધુરી) સપાસ કરી  
હતી અને કરી હોય તો તે  
નામલખાઈ સામાન્ય વિચલ  
ગ્રહણ કરતું લગભગ મેજ પર  
મૂકશે કે :

મે. ઉપ-પ્રમુખ સાહેબે વા.

૧૦-૬-૨૬ના રોજ આપેલા

જવાબો.

(અ) અને (બ) આ નામલખાઈ  
પરી હકીકતનું નીચેનું હું  
લગભગ મેજ પર મૂકવામાં આવ્યું છે.  
તેને ૧૯૨૧માં કલમ ૪૮૬એ  
આધારે મહાઈની વ્યવસ્થા કરવા  
ના કેસ-પેટાકાચદાઓ સુધારવા  
પડ્યા જેથી કરીને સિવિલ સર્જન  
સાહેબની પ્રાથમિક સમીક્ષા મેળવીને  
જારિયાતના અપવાદરૂપ પ્રસંગે  
સહેરમાં મહાઈ દાટવાની પરવાનગી  
અને આપવાની ચિઠ્ઠી મોફિસરની  
(વિવેકાધિન સવાળાં લઈ લેવામાં  
આવી હતી. પેટા કાચદામાં આ  
સુધારો કરવાની જારિયાત ચિઠ્ઠી  
મોફિસરની આ વિવેકાધિન સવાળાં  
નો દુરપયોગ તેના પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટ  
મિ. ભગતે તેની ગેરહાજરીમાં  
કયારે લીધે ઉપસ્થિત થયો હતો.

ચેક પ્રસંગે આપે મિ. નર્મદાસજી

મિ. નર્સકાલંકર - મહેતા એક દિવસની કેડપુખલ  
રજા પર હતા ત્યારે મિ. ભગતે કે જેને કંઈ  
સત્તા નહોતી તેણે હેલ્થ ઓફિસર અગર -  
શીષીસ સરખાન સાહેબની સલાહ લીધા.

સિવાય સેવક મુસ્તફામીયાં કાદરી કે જે  
મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના સલાહકાર ધવાના હતા  
તેનાં માલુમીનાં મહત્ત્વે કાદવાની રજા  
આપી. સિવલ સર્જન સાહેબે આ કૃત્ય સામે  
સખત વાંધો ઉઠાવ્યો કારણ કે તેમને આ કૃત્ય  
શહેરની સુખાકારીને નુકસાનકારક લાગ્યું.

મિ. ભગતનું કૃત્ય મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ સખત  
રીતે વખોડ્યું હતું અને આને પરિણામે પેટા-  
કાયદા સુધરાવ્યા હતા કે જેથી કદીને  
ચિક ઓફિસરની વિરેકાધીન સત્તા ખુલ્લી  
સેવામાં આવી.

૨. સને ૧૯૨૧ માં આ સુધારો થયા  
પછી મિ. એન. ડી. મહેતાની કાલકંઠામાં  
આવી પરવાનગી આપી હોય એમ જણાવું  
નથી. પરંતુ મિ. ભગતની ચિક ઓફિસર  
તરીકેની દૂધી મુદતમાં શહેરમાં આવા ચાર  
દાખલા ઉદભવ્યા.

૩. પહેલા દાખલામાં આ મ્યુનિસિપાલિ  
ટીના સભ્ય મિ. મુંદરીગર તરફથી સહાયત મીર  
સાહેબ

સાહેબ- સેવકમીયાં કાઠરીના મુલકેકને

કાલવાની પરવાનગી માંગવામાં આવી હતી,

અને જ્યારે સેનીટરી કમિટીના અધ્યક્ષે સેનીટરી

કમિટીને આવી સલાહ છે એવો આધારભૂત અભિ-

પ્રાપ્ત તેને મળે નહીં ત્યાં કુધી આવી પરવાનગી

આપવા ના પાડી. મિ. ભગતે અરજી નીચે પેટા

કાયદા આધારે આવી સલાહ સેનીટરી કમિટીને

છે એવો સેરો પોતે જૂના અગર નવા પેટાકાયદા

આધારે આવી સલાહ કમિટીને નથી એવું જાણત

હોવા છતાં કરી કમિટી અને અધ્યક્ષને ખોટું

રસ્તે દોષાં.

૪. વીજા હાખલામાં મિ. ભગતે પોતે

પ્રમુખ સાહેબની મુખનાનું ઉલ્લંઘન કરીને અને

હેલ્થ ઓફિસર સાહેબે પ્રથમના હાખલામાં તેમની

મુલક મથેલી તે પરત્વે ધ્યાન મેળવ્યા છતાં અને

જોઈતી જોઈતી મેળવવાનું કલ્પા છતાં સફળ

કુલુહીન મીર સાહેબ કાઠરીના સજને કાલવા-

રજા આપી.

૫. વીજા હાખલામાં જ્યારે જા. વા.

સમકુહીન કાઠરીના પિતાનું સબ સહેરમાં

કાલવામાં આવ્યું ત્યારે જો તેઓ સહેજ વધારે

સાવચેત રહ્યા હોત તો તેઓ દટન ક્રિયા

નહકાવી સકત પરંતુ જા હાખલો કુલુહીન

ગુણગુણિની- સુલનો ગણી શકાય, જેને  
માટે તેને ઠપકો ન મળે.

૧. ચોથા દાખલામાં ત્યારે મિ.  
અમુકદુલ્લેન મીરસાહેબ કાઠરીના પત્ની  
યેનમળીબીનું સબ આ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના  
સભ્ય હા. અમુકદમીચની સુચનાથી માનપુરમાં  
દાદવામાં આવ્યું ત્યારે મિ. સગતે જાણીજોઈને  
પૂરવા વખતથી તેઓ જાણતા હતાં તે અટકાવ-  
વાને કાંઈ તજવીજ કરી નહીં. આ દાખલામાં  
મે. ડિસ્ક્રિક્ટ મેજસ્ટ્રેટસાહેબની માનવી સુચના  
ને આધારે પ્રમુખ સાહેબે મિ. સગતને અમુક મુદ્દા-  
ઓ ઉપર તપાસ કરવા અને તેની તપાસનું  
પારણામ મે. ડિસ્ક્રિક્ટ મેજસ્ટ્રેટ સાહેબને  
નિવેદન કરવા કુકમ કર્યો. તેને આપેલાં  
કરમાનનું જોઈએ તેનું પાલન કરવાને બદલે  
તેણે તે કરમાન ઉપાડું પાડ્યું અને તપાસનો  
મુખ્ય માસ્ય પડી ભણે તેવી રીતે વિષયનો  
ઉપયોગ કર્યો. તેની વર્તણુક <sup>પણી</sup> સહેજ વહેમવાળી  
જણાયાથી પ્રમુખ સાહેબે <sup>તપાસ</sup> પોલીસમાં ધરી અને  
તપાસ દરમિયાન ઉપર જણાવેલા મુલતિ  
ઉપરતિ હા. મુહંમદરાય, હા. સીરવાઈ,  
કેનીટરી કમિટીના કલાર્ક મિ. મોઝા, રેકર્ડ  
કલરક્ટર મિ. શાન્તિલાલ અને અધ્યક્ષ હા. કાનુચા  
ના પુરાવા ઉપરથી તેમજ હેલ્થ ખાતાના

માતાની- રજીસ્ટર ઉપરથી માનુષ પડતું કે  
(મ. ભગતેને આ દલનાં જ્વાની બાબતમાં તેનો  
ગુનો સાબિત કરતા અમુક કાગળોનો નાશ  
કર્ષો છે.

૭. પ્રમુખ સાહેબે (મ. ભગત સામે નીચેનાં  
તહોમત કે જેને માટે પુરતો પ્રમાણ દર્શનીક  
કેઈસ હોવાનું જણાય છે તે સંબંધે રીતસર  
તપાસ કરવા સેનીટરી કમિટીમાં પ્રમસાધીત  
અહેવાલ રજૂ કર્યો.

૧. સેનીટરી કમિટીને તેની સત્તા  
બાબતમાં લેખિત આધારભૂત અભિપ્રાય આપી  
સેનીટરી કમિટીને ઉપે રસ્તે હોરા પેટા-  
કાચઢાનું ઉલ્લેખન.

૨. પેટાકાચઢાઓનો જાણી જોઈને  
અવળો અર્થ કરીને ગેરઉપયોગ અને પોતાને  
સત્તા નથી તેનું જાણ્યા છતાં આપેલી રજા.

૩. તેનો ગુનો સાબિત કરતા કાગળો  
નો નાશ.

૪. સત્તાના ગેરઉપયોગથી પ્રમુખ સાહેબ  
શિશ્ય બોઈના વિભાગની ઉછેરશી અને  
ગોમી વિરોધની સ્થાપના.

૮. સેનીટરી કમિટી તહોમતની મહત્તર  
સંબંધે પ્રમુખ સાહેબ સાથે સમ્મત થઈ અને (મ.  
ભગતની મંજિલી ઉપરથી આ કેઈસમાં

કેઈસમઈ- એવાયેલી સખળી ગુલાનીની નકલો  
આપવાનો અને બીજે કિલ્લે રીતસર લખાસ  
સર કરવાનો નિર્ણય કર્યો છતાં પ્રમુખ સાહેબ  
જાણીને, વિક્રમય થયા કે તેજ બીજે કિલ્લે  
તે કમિટીના પાંચ સભ્યોમાંથી ત્રણ સભ્યો  
(મિ. અબાલાલ પટેલ, મિ. સત્તે-કપરાઈ,  
અને મિ. અસગરમણી) કે બહુમતીથી કાગળો  
ફકતરે કરવાનો નિર્ણય કર્યો. અધ્યક્ષ મિ.

માવળંકર અને બીજા સભ્ય મિ. પુરખોતમદાસ  
જુજરે મિ. ભગત સામે મુકાયેલાં તહીમતનકમઈ  
માટે પ્રથમક્લીનક કેઈસ છે. એવા પ્રમુખ સાહેબ  
ના આશપ્રાય સાથે સમત થઈને કાગળો પ્રમુખ  
સાહેબ સમક્ષ આગળ નિકાલ માટે રજૂ કર્યાં.

૬) મિ. ભગત નોકરીમાં

(ક) અને (ક) જી. મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના

હાખલ થયા ત્યારથી મ્યુનિ-

ફકતરમાંથી મળી શકેલી માહિતી પ્રમાણે

સિપાલિટીના ફકતરમાંથી

જણાય છે કે મ્યુનિસિપલ કમિશનર મિ. ભાવે

મળી શકે તેટલા મ્યુનિસિપલ

મે મિ. ભગતને તેના પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટ-૯

નોકરી અને સિપાઈઓ સાથે-

લરીકેનું કંઈ કામ તેના ઉપરી પરત્વે નહીં

ની તેમની અપમાનગુસ્ત

છાજતી વર્તણૂક અને ઉધ્ધતાઈ માટે આપવાની

વર્તણૂક સામેની ફરિયાદોની

ના પાડી હતી અને છેવટે બોર્ડે મિ. ભગતને

સંખ્યા અને પ્રકાર.

પ્રમુખ સાહેબ, ઉપ-પ્રમુખ સાહેબ અને મિ. વલ્લભભાઈ

૧. મિ. ભગત નોકરી-

મે મુશ્કેલી કર્યાં પ્રમાણેની લેખિત માફતે ચાલ્યા

માં હાખલ થયા ત્યારથી

નો હુકમ કરીને આ ભાગતનો નિકાલ કર્યો

ત્યારથી- મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી

ના કલેક્ટરમણી મળી શકે

ચેટલા તેના ઉપરી અમલદારો

પરતે બીનવકાફારી અને

ઉધ્ધતાઈના કૃત્ય સામેની

કારવાઈની સંખ્યા અને

પ્રકાર.

(૬) (૭) ને ભગત ક

કાગળોની નકલો મેજ પર

મુકબાઈ આવશે કે કેમ

કર્વો હતો. માફીનો પુસ્તકો અને ચેતે

ભગત કાગળો કાઉન્સિલની કલાઈ

લીધા હોય એમ જણાય છે. પરંતુ મુજબ

હકીકત અમલદાર મ્યુનિસિપલ રેકર્ડ

અંક ૧૭૫ માં જણાવવામાં આવી છે.

કાગળો મિ. ભગતને આપ્યા છે એમ

કાઉન્સિલ એક ચીટકી છે તેમાં જણાય છે.

૨. આગળના મ્યુનિસિપલ ઠા. ન-

નિયત મિ. મલોડે મિ. ભગતની ચારે બાજુ

કાદવ ઉડાડવાની અને મ્યુનિસિપાલ

નોંકરોનું અપમાન કરવાની દેવ સામે

સખત રીતે કારિવાદ કરી હોય એમ

જણાય છે. તેણે આગ્રહ રાખ્યો હતો કે

આવા માણસને તેના બાતાનું કામ

તપાસવાને પરવાનગી આપવી જોઈએ

નહી. મિ. ભગતનો સેરો આગલા ચીફ

ઓફિસર મિ. એન. ડી. મહેતાએ વળોડવો

હતો. મુજબ કાગળો મુખ ધાય છે,

૩. અમલદારના આગળના -

કલેક્ટર મે. ચેટકિલ્ડ સાહેબે મિ. ભગતની

બીનવકાફારીના કારણે અમુક મુદત તેના

પગારનો વધારો અટકાવવાનો હુકમ કર્યો

હોય એમ જણાય છે આ કાગળો પણ કાઉન્સિલ

માંથી કાઢી લેવામાં આવ્યા હોય એમ

એમ-જણાવ છે. આ કાગળો પર હાઈલમાં

મી કલાની લેવામાં આવ્યા હોય એમ

હમને છે પરંતુ હાઈલમાં તે કામ

કરવા કારકુનની નોંધ છે કે કાગળો

મિ. ભગવતની ચિઠ્ઠી બોલિસર તરીકે

નીમણુંક પણ તે મહેલમાં થોડો વખત

અગાઉ તેમની માગણી મુજબ તેમને

આપવામાં આવ્યા છે. મિ. ભગવત આ સમ

સપજા મુમ થવા કાગળો વિષે કંઈ પણ

માહિતી હોવાની ના પાડે છે.

૪. આગલા ચિઠ્ઠી બોલિસર મિ.

મહેતાએ કમિટી બોલ મેનેજમેન્ટની

ચેરમેનની અને મેનેજર કમિટીની સમિતિ

જલ્લા ઇન્સપેક્ટર મિ. ગોરીશંકરની

કારિયાદ ઉપરથી લેખાલ તાકીદ આપી

હોય એમ જણાવ છે. આ તાકીદ એવી

મતલબની હતી કે મિ. ભગવત તેમનો

મિજાન કાગળમાં રાખવો જોઈતો હતો

અને જલ્લા ઇન્સપેક્ટર પરત્વે સબ્યતાથી

વર્તવું જોઈતું હતું. જલ્લા ઇન્સપેક્ટરે

મે. સીટી માઈસ્ટરની કોર્ટમાં કુમલો કમ

ની કારિયાદ હાજલ કરી એમાં મિ. ભગવત

મુનેચાર ઠરાવવામાં આવ્યા હતા પણ



પણ-અપહિતમાં તેને નિર્દોષ ઠરાવવામાં  
આવ્યા હતા.

૫. આગળના સેસ કલેકશન સુપ્રિ-ટે-એ-  
-ટ મિ. હામોદરદાસે સતત સલાવજીના

અને મિ. ભગતે તેને બરાબ ઠરાવવાની ધમકી  
આપ્યાના કારણે સેસ કલેકશન સુપ્રિ-ટે-એ-ટ  
ની જગ્યાએથી બહારી તેની મુજબ આશિસ્ક-  
-ટ સેસ કલેકશનની સુપ્રિ-ટે-એ-ટની જગ્યા  
એ પાછા મૂકવા અરજ કરી હતી. ચિફ  
ઓફિસરે મિ. ભગતની વર્તણૂક વખોડી  
હતી. જે સામે તેણે વધો લીધો અને  
ચિફ ઓફિસરેને હુકમ ફેરવવા લેખતી  
કરી. પરંતુ ચિફ ઓફિસરે તે હુકમ ફેરવ-  
વાની ના પાડી.

૬. કાલુપુર સ્ટોમ વોટર ડેઇન  
બાબતમાં રા. બા. રમણલાલ અને પ્રમુખ  
સાહેબે કરેલી તપાસનો નિર્ણય જેમાં  
મિ. ભગતની વર્તણૂક સખત રીતે વખોડી  
કાઢવામાં આવી હતી તે જનરલ બોર્ડ  
બહાલ રાખ્યો હતો. મ્યુનિસિપલ  
ઇન્વેનિયર મિ. ગોરે પરત્વેનું તેનું વલણ  
અને કૃત્ય ઉપ્પત, ઉત્તરવિજિત અને ગૈર-  
વ્યાજબી જણાવું હતું.

૭. પ્રમુખ સાહેબે (ચંદ્ર) બોલિસર  
 (મિ. ભગતને અને મ્યુનિસિપલ ઇન્જિનિયરને  
 (મિ. ગોરેને તેઓના સિનનાવડું સમાધાન  
 કરવા અને કસ્ટમ્સ કારોબારના કિલ ખાતર  
 લાખાના નોકરોમાં સારો હાખલો બેસાડવા  
 બનેલે એક વખત સલાહ આપી પરંતુ એવા  
 કામનો ભગત પાસે પહોંચ્યા કે તુરત (ચંદ્ર)  
 બોલિસરે કાઉન્સિલની પ્રમુખના ઘેરાવાનો  
 કામજ કાઢી લીધો અને પ્રમુખ સાહેબે સલાહ  
 આપવી જોઈએ નહીં કેમ કે આ પદ્ધતિથી  
 નોકરો ઉપર ખરાબ અસર થાય એવું લખીને  
 તે કામજ પાછો ખેંચી લીધો.

૮. કરના નીચ પુલ પાસે રહે-  
 પોસ્ટ અને પ્લેટફોર્મના બધાકામની બાબતમાં  
 એમ જણાય છે કે મિ. ભગતે પોતે કામ મંજૂર  
 કર્યું હતું પણ ત્યારે આ કામ તેમની મંજૂરીના  
 આધારે ગતિમાં હતું ત્યારે તેણે તેના પિતા  
 પાસેથી અરજ લીધાનું જણાય છે અને સ્થળ  
 ઉપર જાતે ગયા, મજૂરો સાથે કામ કર્યો,  
 કામ અટકાવ્યું અને બોવરસિયરને જણાવ્યા  
 (સવાય મોટા ટોળાની હાજરીમાં ચલાઈ  
 ગયેલો ભાગ પાડી નાંખ્યો એવા કારણે  
 કે આ કામ તેની માતાના મકાન નજીક  
 હતું હતું.

૬. ગયા ડિસેમ્બરમાં ત્યાં

તેમને પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટની જગ્યા

ઉપર મુકવામાં આવી ત્યાં તે

એકાએક બોક્સ છોડી ચાલ્યા ગયા.

પ્રમુખ સાહેબ<sup>જી</sup> કુકમનું ઉલ્લેખન કર્યું અને

કંઈ પણ કામ કરવાની ના પાડી.

અગત્યના એક અગર પણ જરૂરી કામગીરી

માં સહી કરવાની ના પાડી અને

કારોબારની અંદર સ્તબ્ધતા રખવાનો

વત્ન કર્યો, પ્રમુખ સાહેબની વખતો

વખતની અરજો ધ્યાનમાં ન લીધી અને

તેની વર્તણૂકથી પર્સનલ આસિસ્ટન્ટની જગ્યા

જગ્યા કાઢવા માટેની કિસ્સા વિભાગના

મહેરબાન કમિશનર સાહેબની મંજૂરી

જાહેરી થી મેળવવાની પ્રમુખ સાહેબને ફરજ

પડી.

૧૦. હાલમાં એક વેલ્યુએશન

બોક્સિસ્ટ (મ. સેક્રેટરીએ (મ. ભગતની

જગ્યા અને અપ્રમાન્યુઅલ વર્તણૂક સામે

ફરિયાદ કરી હતી.

૧૧. કઠવી ભાષામાં લખાણ

કરવાની તેની ટેવ સંબંધે લગભગ બધા

તાબેના નોકરોની તેમજ અમલદારોની

સામાન્ય ફરિયાદ છે.

૧૧. કબી વાપર્યાં લખાણ

કરવાની તેની ટેલ સંબંધી લખાણ વધા નહ  
લાખાના નોકરોની લેખન. લખાણારોની  
સામાન્ય કરવામાં છે.

સહી. ગોવર્ધનભાઈ મા. ઇ. પટેલ,  
સંબંધી.

અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી

સહી. જાગૃતરાય પ્રમોદરાય કાકોર  
ઉપ-પ્રમુખ

અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી



૯૩- ગુનાલક્ષી અને મલિન્યમાં સરકારી કાર્યાલય સુરક્ષા પત્રિકા (૩)  
 નાણાંની મદદ મેળવતી કાર્યાલયો સરકારી કોમ્પ્યુટર ખાતાઓ  
 સ્વાકષરિત કોર્પોરેશન શાખામાં નોંધેલી આવકમાં આવશે જો તે પહેલાં  
 આ કમ્પ્યુટર કોર્પોરેશનમાં નથી, અને જો તે સિસ્ટમ મ્યુનિસિપલ  
 સિસ્ટમમાં નથી તો સરકારી નોંધેલીમાં પણ કોઈકે  
 અને એ સંસ્થાઓ પછી બહુ સહેલું પૂરી શકે છે. અને  
 જુરુરની સ્થાનો મ્યુનિસિપલિટીને જ્યારે સરપંચ કાર્યાલયો  
 આવક વ્યયને લગતી સાબ રકમ મ્યુનિસિપલ સિસ્ટમમાં મ્યુનિસિપલ  
 નોંધેલી સંસ્થાઓ આવી રીતે અને પ્રમતીય પ્રાથમિક કોમ્પ્યુટર મંડળ  
 તરફથી કાંઈક આવશે સારી પ્રાથમિક શાખાઓમાં નોંધેલી લાંબો

સને જુરુરની સ્થાનો અનુદાવાદમાં પ્રમતીય મ્યુનિસિ-  
 પલિટી ફરીથી પાછી અસ્તિત્વમાં આવે તો પછી મોંઘરે ભાર  
 સુધી પ્રમતીય પ્રાથમિક કોમ્પ્યુટર મંડળ કાંઈકે શાખાઓ, મ્યુનિસિપલ  
 શાખાઓ તરફથી નોંધેલી આવક નથી, પછી તેમને અનુદાવાદ  
 રાખવામાં આવે અને તે અનુદાવાદ રિપોર્ટર મિ. લોરેન્સે એક  
 લાંબું કે, સારી બધી બાબતો સરકારી કોમ્પ્યુટર ખાતાઓ કાંઈકે

૭૬૨ અને સરકારે નોંધેલી કાર્યાલયો એક શાખાઓમાં મળી (૩)  
 એ કોઈકે નથી. અને લોક સરકારી કોમ્પ્યુટર ખાતાઓ પ્રતિબદ્ધો  
 હોય શકે છે તે સંસ્થા તે અનુદાવાદ ઉપર લિખાવેલી એક  
 રીંગલ ઉપર મેકેટર મિ. વકીલ મહેરુને મ્યુનિસિપલિટી સાથે  
 વાટાઘાટ કરવાનું શરૂ કર્યું. અને અંગે મિ. વકીલ અને મ્યુનિ-  
 સિપલ સુપર-કોમિટીના સેક્રેટરી કિયુન પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈ વચ્ચે  
 કોમ્પ્યુટર અભિવિચારના પ્રાથમિક વાલચીન થર્મો એ વાલચીન  
 થર્મો પછી, વાટાઘાટને સરકારનું પાકું સ્વરૂપ આવવાને  
 રિપોર્ટર મિ. લોરેન્સે અનુદાવાદ આવ્યા. મ્યુનિસિપલિટીના  
 પ્રમુખ કિયુન વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલ તથા સુકલબોડેના ચેરમેન  
 કિયુન બલ્લભભાઈ ઠાકોરે કોમ્પ્યુટર સૂચનાઓ આપીને, મ્યુનિસિ-  
 પલિટી તરફથી કિયુન પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈને મ્યુનિસિપલિટી  
 રિપોર્ટરને રિપોર્ટરને અનુદાવાદ મારે મોટામાં મોટામાં

ઉત્તર વિભાગના ઑન્યુકેશનલ ઇન્સ્પેક્ટરની ઓફિસમાં (૫)  
 સરકાર તરફથી ડિરેક્ટર નિં લેણી તથા ઉપર વિભાગના  
 ઑન્યુકેશનલ ઇન્સ્પેક્ટર નિં બીજા અને મ્યુનિસિપલિટી  
 તરફથી કમિશનર પ્રાઇવેટ હોસ્ટલ લગભગ ૫૦ ફીટ  
 સુધી સમાઈ જઈ, સમાધાનીની શરતોને ધોરણે સરકાર આજુ.  
 નિં બહાર ને શરતો કબાલ પર લખી લેશે, અને આ કબાલ  
 પર બંને પક્ષોએ સહીઓ કરીને આ શરતોની બંને પક્ષોની  
 હાજીઓવાળા કબાલની એક બેઠક કમિશનર પ્રાઇવેટ હોસ્ટલ,  
 મ્યુનિસિપલિટીની ઓફિસમાં આવે, કમિશનર અલમમુલની  
 કમિશન બાબતમાં નિં સમાવ સાબી બંનેએ શરતો કબાલ  
 સહી અને તેના ઉપર મ્યુનિસિપલિટીની ધોરણી  
 મંજૂરીની મહોર-હાથ મારવા, બંને ભક્ષમાં ઑન્યુકેશનલ  
 ઇન્સ્પેક્ટરની ઓફિસમાં ડિરેક્ટરને મળવા ગયા. જતાં જતાં

કમિશનર અલમમુલની કમિશન પ્રાઇવેટ હોસ્ટલ (૬)  
 પૂછ્યું: 'એ તો બહુ ઠીક છે, પણ તમારા પગલાઓ એકની  
 મંજૂરીનું શું?' કમિશનર પ્રાઇવેટ હોસ્ટલ જવાબ દીધો:  
 'એ વાત તો મેં બિલકુલ ધ્યાન નહીં કરી. એ તો તમારે કરી  
 લેવાનું?' મ્યુનિસિપલિટીના પ્રમુખ કમિશનર અલમમુલની  
 પહેલે ડિરેક્ટર નિં લેણે કહ્યું કે, 'તમે ને ~~નિં લેણે~~  
 નિં પ્રાઇવેટ હોસ્ટલ સમાધાનીની શરતો ગતી  
 કરી છે, તે બદલ તમારે કમિશનરને લેખે આપવાનું જ વાન  
 બાકી રહેવાનું છે અને તે કમિશનર પ્રાઇવેટ હોસ્ટલ પાસે  
 મ્યુનિસિપલિટીની ગતી કરાશે તમે ૨૦૦-૩૦૦ નો  
 એડ, ઉત્તર વિભાગના કમિશનર મંજૂર કરી લેશે, એ  
 લેખે આ પહેલે મંજૂર થશે તો હશે અને તે પણ સારું

સને ૧૯૨૧ના પચાસાં વરસે જિલ્લા-પ્રાધિકાર દેખાઈ છે  
 સરકારની ફરિયા ૩૦ ૨૦૦ નો પગાર મેલો તે તારીખથી  
 એ મંજૂર મેલો બોલિયો એ મંજૂર મેલો મેલો સાપ મને  
 મુખારી સાપના લો. નો જ કારણરતો મંજૂર મેલો  
 મંજૂર રાખેલો

મિ. હારીજી જાલો દાખો: ૭૨૫૨૨, એ મંજૂર કરાવો  
 સાપનાં મારે માથે નો ફરીયા સાપનાં વિષે કમિશનરને  
 લખો

મ્યુનિસિપલ વિભાગ પ્રમુખ સાપનાં વિષે કમિશનરને  
 ફરી લખાણ કરું. ઉપર વિભાગના કમિશનર મિ. પુ. કે.  
 જિલ્લા પ્રાધિકાર દેખાઈ નો પગારનો ગોડે મંજૂર નો ગોડો,  
 પછી સાંધરી બને પછી વળાવો મુકે, એ કહેવાર સમુદાય

મંજૂરીના પચાસાં કમિશનર લખે છે કે, 'સુલ-૨૨'  
 કમિશનર સરકારીનો ૨૨૫-૪૦૦ નો પગાર મને વધારે પડતો  
 લખો છે એ વળા મિ. પ. કે. દેખાઈને સરકારી ગોડે મેલું રાખું  
 બાપુ સાપ, હંમેશાને માટે મ્યુનિસિપલ વિભાગની નોંધરી સ્વાકારી  
 તે જાણ બહિસનરી કે મિ. દેખાઈને એ પગાર સાપનાં  
 સાવરે, એના મારી મંજૂરના હોવાથી, મને ૧૯૨૧ની સાલમાં  
 મેં એ ગોડે મંજૂર કર્યો જાણે પછી મારાનો એ જ  
 સરમિયાન કાયમ છે, અને તેથી પાંતો નો એ ગોડે મંજૂર  
 કરવાની વિરુદ્ધ છે. પરંતુ રિકરડર કોર્ડ પબ્લિક હોમરૂફેશન  
 મને ખુબર અગાધ કરે છે કે, મારે એ ગોડે મંજૂર કરવો  
 તેથી, એ અગાધને વશ થઈ, મારી પોતાની મરજ  
 વિરુદ્ધ પછી, એ ગોડે મંજૂર કરવો મને છે



આવીને સરકાર અને મ્યુનિસિપલિટી વચ્ચે સમાપ્ત  
 થતા મુદ્દા અને તેના પરિણામે તરીકે તા. ૧૬, સપ્ટેમ્બર-  
 ૧૯૨૦ના, પ્રતિષ્ઠિત પ્રાથમિક કેળવણી મંડળ તરફથી ચાલતી  
 શાળાઓને હિંમત કરી દેવાની આજીવન મ્યુનિસિપલિટીના  
 મુખ્ય શિક્ષકો, જેઓ મ્યુનિસિપલિટીની તોડેલી જોડી,  
 પ્રતિષ્ઠિત કેળવણી મંડળની શાળાઓમાં જોડાયા હતા તેમને  
 ફરી પ્રાથમિક મ્યુનિસિપલિટીની તોડેલીમાં લેવામાં આવ્યા  
 હતા. આવા સમયની, સમાધાનની સરખો મુજબ, તેમની  
 કેળવણી પગલે રાજ ગણવામાં આવી; પરંતુ સામેસામે આ  
 સમયનું મોટું કેળવણી આજીવનનું તેમને મોડવાનું જોડીએ  
 આપવામાં આવ્યું, જેથી કરીને તેમની શિક્ષકો પસારમાં  
 બિનકુલ મુકરમન થતાં મુજબ નહોતો.

૩. આ પ્રશ્નને આંગે સરકારે અપદવાદ તથા નોંધાયે (90)

મ્યુનિસિપલિટીના કોલેજિયલરો ઉપર માંડતા દાવાની વિગતો

અપદવાદ મ્યુનિસિપલિટીએ સરકારી ઇન્સ્ટ્રુ-  
 ક્ટરોને મ્યુનિસિપલ શાળાઓનું ઇન્સ્ટ્રુક્ટર તરીકે કરવા દીધું  
 નહીં તેમજ તેમને મ્યુનિસિપલ શાળાઓની પરીક્ષા લેવા  
 દીધા નહીં. તેથી મ્યુનિસિપલિટીએ ડિરેક્ટર મ્યુનિસિપલ સંસ્થા  
 કરતા પૂર્વેના આંગે કરવામાં આવેલા નિયમો પૈકી, નિયમ ૩૭ના  
 મંત્ર કરીને આંગે કરવામાં આવેલા નિયમો પૈકી, નિયમ ૩૭ના  
 મ્યુનિસિપલિટીએ મ્યુનિસિપલ શાળાઓનું ઇન્સ્ટ્રુક્ટર  
 કરવા આવેલા સરકારી ઇન્સ્ટ્રુક્ટરોને તે ઇન્સ્ટ્રુક્ટર

તે તપસીપદના કરવા દીધું નથી, તે તપસીપદના કરવા ૩૫ ૩૩૭

મધુનિસિપલિરો બાવરકુ રૂપ તે તપસીપદના, મોરકો

પા. ૮-૨-૨૨ રૂપ કાચદળો ભાંગ કરીને પ્રાપ્તિ

કેવળાને મોરકો મળ્યા કર્યો છે, તે કાચદળ નથી, મોર

મધુનિસિપલિરોના જે રૂપ સમાવેશો સમાવેશની મરફો

માં પોતાના મન માર્યા હતા, તે સમાવેશો પામે એ માર્યા

વચ્ચે તેવા સરકાર મધુનિસિપલિરોના આ રૂપ સમાવેશો

સામે ૨.૧, ૫૮, ૫૦.૦ નો દાવો કર્યો એ દાવામાં મધુનિસિપ

રૂપના સંનિરીના સોરેટરી મધુન પ્રાપ્તિ ન કરવાની મુજબ

મુજબના રૂપ હતા. એમાં એમણે જણાવ્યું કે, ડિસિટર

મધુનિસિપલ મોટરો કરાવવા પાં નો મોટો સરકાર કરેલ નિયમો

પીડી, મોટર મોટર નિયમ મોટર નિયમ ૩ નાનો ભાગ રૂપો

છે બાકીના બધા નિયમોનું પાલન કરવામાં આવેલું છે

દાવાના સમય દરમિયાન શાખાઓની વચ્ચેના ૩૫ ૩૩૮

સિદ્ધાંતોમાં કંઈ પણ ફેરફાર કરવામાં આવ્યો નથી. સમાવેશ

ક્રમ નથી પાલન કરવામાં પછી, કંઈ પણ ફેરફાર કરવામાં આવ્યો

નથી, તેમ જ શિક્ષકોને સરકારે નક્કી કરેલા દર મુજબ

પગારો પણ આપવામાં આવેલ છે. માર્ગર કોલના નિયમ

૭ મા પ્રમાણે શાખાઓ મુલાકાતોમાં મોર મુજબ રાખવામાં

આવેલો હતા અને મુલાકાત તેના રૂ. ડિસિટર બુકમાં નોંધે

કરતા તેની ગણતર પણ સૂચનામાં સોફિસ્ટિકેશન મોટરમાં આવતા

હતા આ દાવામાં સરકારના હાર રૂપો તે ઉપરથી સરકારે

દાખલોમાં આવતા કરી, પરંતુ આ પાલનના દર રૂપો

૩૨૮ ની સ્વદેશીને ઉપાસંજોગોમાં મ્યુનિસિપલિટી

છાંડના પાત્ર

તે વખતના સિદ્ધ ઔદિસર નિં મળતે, તે  
વખતના મ્યુનિસિપલ, ઔનિનિયર નિં ગોરેની સામે  
કાગળ પર ફેરવેલ સખત સંગત કાકોપો કમીં મ્યુનિ-  
સિપલ ઔનિનિયર લાગેલ. સિદ્ધ ઔદિસર જોરના જ  
દરમ્યાનો સખતદાર છું અને તેની સામે સાચા સંગત  
સાકોપો કાચે એ સહે ગાંભીર બાબત છે, એમ સમજ  
મ્યુનિસિપલિટીના તરફના પ્રયુક્ત મ્યુનિસિપલિટી  
સાતપાસે હાથે પર બાંધે એ તપાસમાં પોતાને મદદ  
કરવાને માટે મ્યુનિસિપલિટીના સાચા પ્રયુક્ત, ~~સાચા~~

૩૪૦  
૩૪૦ ની સ્વદેશીને મદદ મળી. ૩૪૦ ની સ્વદેશીને (૧૩૨)  
એ મદદ થઈ મુશકે સાચી એ તપાસમાં એમ મળ્યું  
પણ કે મ્યુનિસિપલ ઔનિનિયર નિં ગોરેની સામે  
સિદ્ધ ઔદિસર નિં મળતે કરેલે સાકોપો તદ્દન બિન-  
પાયાદાર છે, અને તેમજ સા પાછું બચ્ચેને બાંધેલ  
લાગ્યું. નિં ભગવાને એક વર્ષના પ્રામેશજન ઉપર  
સિદ્ધ ઔદિસર લોકો નીપવાનો સાચા લાગેલ. ~~સાચા~~  
વખતે વરસ લાગેલ. પૂરું થયું સાચું હતું. તેથી મ્યુનિ-  
સિપલિટીના તરફ એજી વકી કહ્યું કે, નિં મળતે  
દેજ કાચમ કરવા નહીં, પણ એમના પ્રામેશજને સખત  
એક વર્ષ બંધવાને નિં મળતે એ લોકોને લાગ્યું.  
તેથી તેમણે કાચમ થવા માટે મ્યુનિસિપલ સમાધાન તરીકે  
સરકારે નીખેલે સમાધાન સાચું મળેલ, કાચમ

ધરતી નીચે ~~સાથ~~ પડવાનો કસવા માંડી ની ઉપર <sup>૩૪૧</sup> (૧૫)  
 જાણુ ન અહમમીલ સારીઓ તથા આ અહમમીલ બચ્ચો  
 મિ. મસા નીચે પડાઈ સમયપૂર્વે થયો અને તેનો  
 વિદ્વંસોદ્ધારના અગાધરે પડાઈ. તેનો અગાધર અગાધર  
 — પડાઈના અગાધરે ૨૦૨ ટુપિ વિદ્વંસોદ્ધારના — અગાધર  
 પાછા પુતવાની સાથે અને મુંબઈ અધિકારિપતિની  
 મિ. રીડેને વિદ્વંસોદ્ધારના પડાઈ અગાધરના  
 સાથે. પડાઈ મિ. રીડે અગાધર અગાધર સાથે. તેનો  
 મુંબઈ અધિકારિપતિ કીર્તીરશીના કીર્તીરશીના  
 અગાધર અગાધર, તેનો મુંબઈ અધિકારિપતિ કીર્તીરશીના  
 સાથેની પાછા કીર્તી. અગાધર અધિકારિપતિની સાથે  
 અગાધર અગાધરના અગાધર અગાધર સાથે મિ. મસાને

મિ. વિદ્વંસોદ્ધારના અગાધરના સાથે <sup>૩૪૨</sup> (૧૬)  
 ઉપર પડાઈના સાથે છે, અગાધર તેનો સાથે અગાધર  
 નીચે અગાધર કીર્તીરશીના પડાઈ અગાધર નીચે અગાધર  
 કીર્તીરશીના સાથે. અગાધર મિ. મસાને સાથે  
 કીર્તીરશીના સાથે કીર્તીરશીના સાથે કીર્તીરશીના સાથે  
 અગાધરના સાથે અગાધર અધિકારિપતિ વિદ્વંસોદ્ધારના  
 અગાધરના સાથે અગાધર અગાધર કીર્તીરશીના સાથે. વિદ્વંસોદ્ધારના  
 અગાધરના સાથે મિ. મસાને સાથે અગાધરના સાથે અગાધરના  
 કીર્તીરશીના સાથે તેનો, અગાધર અહમમીલના  
 આ અહમમીલના મિ. મસાને સાથે અગાધરના સાથે  
 અગાધર.

આ અગાધર અધિકારિપતિની સાથે પડાઈ પડાઈ  
 પડાઈ અગાધર અગાધરના સાથે, તેનો



૧. મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી સભ્યે-૭ થવા પછી પ્રાથમિક સાળાઓના નિભાવ માટે કરેલા પ્રયત્નો.

મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી સભ્યે-૭ થવા પછી પ્રાથમિક સાળાઓના નિભાવ માટે મહોલ્લે મહોલ્લે જાહેરસ્થાનો બરી ઉપરાણે કરેલા અને તેમાંથી, પ્રજાકીય પ્રાથમિક ડેજવણી મંડળ તરફથી ચાલતી પ્રાથમિક સાળાઓના નિભાવનું કાર્ય થયેલું. પરંતુ જે રીતે ઉપરાણે કરવાથી પૂરતી રકમ ન મળી શકી તેથી એને અગ્રે કેટલુંક કેટું પણ કરવું પડેલું. પછી ૧૯૨૪માં પ્રજાકીય મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી કરી - અસ્તિત્વમાં આવી ત્યારે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી પાસેથી, પ્રજાકીય પ્રાથમિક ડેજવણી મંડળના નિભાવ માટે ઠીક લાખની ગ્રાન્ટ લીધી જે કેટું લાગતું. આ પ્રકારે અગ્રે બોલિટનો વધો ન આવે માટે - એડવોકેટજનરલનો અભિપ્રાય પણ માનવામાં આવ્યો હતો. તેમનો અર્થો અભિપ્રાય આવ્યો કે, સરકારે મંજૂર કરેલી ન હોય એવી સાળાઓને પણ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીને ગ્રાન્ટ આપવી.

૨. ૧૯૨૪માં અસહકારી ચલણોને મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીમાં કેવી રીતે પાછા લીધા.

અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ સરકાર સાથે પ્રાથમિક ડેજવણીની બાબતમાં અસહકાર કર્યો અને પ્રાથમિક ડેજવણી અગ્રે સરકાર તરફથી ગ્રાન્ટ તેવાનું વંધ કર્યું અને સરકારી ઇન્સ્ટ્રક્શનોને મ્યુનિસિપલ સાળાઓનું ઇન્સ્ટ્રક્શન તથા પરીક્ષા તેવા કીધી નહોતી. તે ઉપરથી હરેકદરે અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીનું પ્રાથમિક ડેજવણી વહીવટી તંત્ર ઊંચે ચિન્ન કરી નાખી, વહીવટને અસમ્યક્ બનાવી

૭૫૫૧-ગુજરાતી પ્રચલિત કથા, હિરેન્દ્ર નીક પાંચાલ ઇ-સકલને  
 સિદ્ધાંતને મેલી ધમકી આપી છે, તમારે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની નીકરી  
 ઠોઠી તરફ સરકારમાં પાછા ફરવું. (આ વખતે લોકલ બોર્ડ અને  
 મ્યુનિસિપલ પ્રાથમિક શાળાના સિદ્ધાંતો સરકારી નીકરો, ગણતંત્ર  
 અને તેમને સરકારે લોકલ બોર્ડો તથા મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીઓને ઠીકા  
 આપેલા છે, જેમ સમજવામાં આવતું હતું.) જો તમે ક્ષેત્ર સ્તરની  
 સરકાર નીકરીમાં પાછા ફરવા માટે તમે અમદાવાદ છોડના  
 કેમ્પુટી મેન્યુટેનન્સ ઇ-એક્ટરને, તમારું નામ નોંધાવી નહીં આપો  
 તો, સરકાર પાસેથી પેનશન મેળવવાના હક ગુમાવશો અને મનિષ્યમાં  
 સરકારી અથવા સરકાર પાસેથી નાણાંની મદદ મેળવવી અશક્ય તો  
 સરકારી કેળવણી ખાતાએ સ્વીકારેલી કોઈ પણ શાળામાં નીકરી  
 આપવામાં આવશે નહીં પરંતુ આ ધમકીની કાંઈ અસર થઈ નહીં,  
 અને ફક્ત મ્યુનિસિપલ સિદ્ધાંતોમાંથી માત્ર સરકારી સરકારી  
 નીકરીમાં પાછા ફર્યા અને જે સરકાર જગ્યાઓ પણ થકુ સહેલાઈથી  
 પૂરી થઈ. અને ૧૯૪૨ની સાલમાં મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ આરે  
 સર્વેન્સ કરવામાં આવી ત્યારે ભગભગ સાઠ દસ મ્યુનિસિપલ સિદ્ધાંતો  
 મ્યુનિસિપલ નીકરીનું રાજનાયું આપી દીધું અને પ્રજાકીય પ્રાથમિક  
 કેળવણી મંડળ તરફથી કાલવામાં આવેલી રાજકીય પ્રાથમિક શાળાઓ-  
 માં નીકરી લીધી.

સને ૧૯૪૪ની સાલમાં અમદાવાદમાં પ્રજાકીય મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી  
 કરીથી પાછી અસ્તિત્વમાં આવી તો પણ મોગસ માત્ર મુખી પ્રજાકીય  
 પ્રાથમિક કેળવણી મંડળે કાઢેલી શાળાઓને, મ્યુનિસિપલ શાળાઓ  
 તરફથી જોડી કેવામાં આવી નહીં, પણ તેમને પદાન્તે રાજ્યમાં  
 આવી. <sup>૨૫૫</sup> તે વખતના હિરેન્દ્ર મિ. લોરીને જેમ લાગ્યું કે, એટલું

અનુચિત લોકો સરકારી ઉચ્ચશી માતાની કાલુની બહાર

અને સરકારે નહીં સ્વીકારેલી એવી સામાજિક અને શૈક્ષણિક નહીં.

જાને બીધે સરકારી ઉચ્ચશી માતાની પ્રતિબંધને હાનિ થાય છે.

તેથી તેમણે તે વળતરના ઉત્તર વિભાગના મેન્ડેટેડ ઇ-એક્ટ મિ. વકીલ

મારકે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી સાથે વાટાપાટ કરવાનું શરૂ કર્યું. અને

એમ મિ. વકીલ અને મ્યુનિસિપલ સ્કૂલ કમિટીના મેમ્બરો શ્રીમુલ

પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈ વચ્ચે ડેટલીક અવિધિસરની પ્રાથમિક વાતચીત

થઈ. એ વાતચીત થયા પછી, વાટાપાટને રીતસરનું પાઠું સ્વરૂપ

આપવાને હિરેકટર મિ. લોરી અમદાવાદ નામના મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના

પ્રમુખ શ્રીમુલ વલ્લભલાઈ પટેલ તથા સ્કૂલ-બોર્ડના ચેરમેન શ્રીમુલ

વલ્લભલાઈ ઠાકોરે ડેટલીક સૂચનાઓ આપીને, મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી

વરકથી શ્રીમુલ પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈને મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીનું ફાઈનલ

હિરેકટરને સમજાવવા માટે મોકલ્યા. ભરમા ઉત્તર વિભાગના

મેન્ડેટેડ ઇ-એક્ટરની નોંધસમાં સરકાર વરકથી હિરેકટર મિ.

લોરી તથા ઉત્તર વિભાગના મેન્ડેટેડ ઇ-એક્ટર મિ. વકીલ

અને મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી વરકથી શ્રીમુલ પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈને સમજાવે

કલાક કુધી થઈ કરીમ સમાધાનીના સરવોને ઠેવડનું સ્વરૂપ આપ્યું.

મિ. વકીલે એ સરવો કાગળ ઉપર લખી બીધી, અને એ કાગળ પર

બીધે પછીએ સહી કરી. એ સરવોની બીધે પછીની સહીઓવાળા કાગળ-

ની એક નકલ શ્રીમુલ પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈને, મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની નોંધસ-

માં આપી, શ્રીમુલ વલ્લભલાઈ તથા શ્રીમુલ વલ્લભલાઈને વાંચવા આપી.

બીધે સરવો કબૂલ રાખી, અને તેના ઉપર મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની ઠેવડની

મંજૂરીની મહોર-છાપ મારવા, બીધે ભરમા મેન્ડેટેડ ઇ-એક્ટરની

નોંધસમાં હિરેકટરને મળવા ગયા. જ્યાં જ્યાં શ્રીમુલ વલ્લભલાઈને



ક્રમુખ પ્રા.નિ.સિ.પા.લિ.ટી.ના પ્રમુખે પૂછ્યું: "મેં તો બધું કીડ છે, પણ તારા પનારના ક્રેડની મંજૂરીનું કુંડા" શ્રીકુલ પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈએ જવાબ કીધો "મેં વાત તો મેં બિલકુલ છેકી નથી. મેં તો તમારે કરી દેવાનું." મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના પ્રમુખ શ્રીકુલ વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલે ડિરેક્ટર મિ. લોરીને કહ્યું કે, "તમે મેં મિ. પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈએ સમાધાનીની મેં સરતો નમ્કી કરી છે, તે બધી અમારે કબૂલ મંજૂર છે. માત્ર એક જ વાત બાકી રહી જાય છે અને તે શ્રીકુલ પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈના પનારનો મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ નમ્કી કરેલો નવો રૂ. ૨૦૦-૪૦૦ નો ક્રેડ, ઉત્તર વિભાગના કમિશનરે મંજૂર કરેલો નથી, મેં છે. મેં પહેલો મંજૂર થવો જોઈએ અને તે પણ સને ૧૯૨૧ના માર્ચમાં અમારથી શ્રીકુલ પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈને સરકારી નોકરીમાં ૧.૨૦૦ નો પનાર થવો તે તારીખથી મેં મંજૂર થવો જોઈએ. મેં મંજૂર થશે એવી માપ મને ખાતરી માપતા હો તો જ આ સરતો મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી મંજૂર રાખશે."

મિ. લોરીએ જવાબ કીધો: "અવ ભલે, તે મંજૂર કરાવી આ માપવાનું મારે માથે. તમે કરીથી આ બાબત વિશે કમિશનરને લખો."

મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના પ્રમુખે આ બાબત વિશે કમિશનરને કરીથી લખાણ કર્યું. ઉત્તર વિભાગના કમિશનર મિ. પ્રેટે શ્રીકુલ પ્રાણલાલ દેસાઈ ના પનારનો ક્રેડ મંજૂર તો કર્યો. પણ ચીફરી બંને પણ વજન ન મુકે. મેં કહેવત અનુસાર મંજૂરીના પદમાં કમિશનર લખે છે કે, "સ્કૂલ કમિટીના હેડક્લરનો રૂ. ૨૨૫-૪૦૦ નો પનાર મને વધારે પડતો લાગે છે. વળી મિ. પી. કે. દેસાઈએ સરકારી નોકરીનું રાષ્ટ્રનાયું આપી, હમેશને માટે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની નોકરી સ્વીકારી તે બહલ બહીસ તરીકે મિ. દેસાઈને આ પનાર આપવામાં આવે છે, એવી મારી માન્યતા હોવાથી, સને ૧૯૨૪ની સાલમાં મેં મેં ક્રેડ મંજૂર કર્યો તુલોતો માટે

જાણે- પણ મારો તો મેં જ અભિપ્રાય કાઢ્યો છે, અને તેથી હું  
પોતે તો મેં ક્રેડ મંજૂર કરવાની વિરોધી છું. પરંતુ હરેન્દ્ર  
જોકે પબ્લિક ઈન્ફર્મેશન મને આશ આપ્યું કરે છે કે, મારે  
મેં ક્રેડ મંજૂર કરવો, તેથી, મેં આપ્યું કરે વસ્તુ મળે, મારી પોતાની  
મરજ વિરોધી પણ, મેં ક્રેડ મંજૂર કરવો પડે છે."

આ રીતે સરકાર અને મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી વચ્ચે  
સમાધાન થયું અને તેના પરિણામ તરીકે તા. ૧૬, સપ્ટેમ્બર-  
૧૯૨૪થી, પ્રજાકીય પ્રાથમિક કેળવણી મંડળ તરફથી ચાલતી  
શાળાઓને બંધ કરી દેવામાં આવી. મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના  
જૂના સિસ્ટમ, જેમાં મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની નોકરી જોડી,  
પ્રજાકીય કેળવણી મંડળની શાળાઓમાં જોડાયા હતા તેમને  
કરી પાછા મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીની નોકરીમાં લેવામાં આવ્યા.  
વચગાળાના સમયની, સમાધાનની સરતો મુજબ, તેમની  
કપાતે પગારે રજા મળવામાં આવી; પરંતુ સાથે સાથે મેં  
સમયનું એટલે કે સગમગ જાતી વર્ધનું તેમને મેડવા-સ ઈ-ક્રીમે-૮  
આપવામાં આવ્યું, જેથી કરીને કોઈ પણ સિસ્ટમને પગારમાં  
બિલકુલ નુકસાન ન થયું પડ્યું નથી.

૩. આ પ્રશ્નોને એ સરકારે અમદાવાદ તથા નડિયાદ-

મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના કાઉન્સિલરો ઉપર મરજી દાવાની  
વિગતો.

અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ સરકારી

ઈન્ફર્મેશન મ્યુનિસિપલ શાળાઓનું ઈન્ફર્મેશન કરવા કીધું

તથા તથા -

દીકું નહીં સવા- તેમને મ્યુનિસિપલ શાળાઓની પરીચા લેવા  
 દીધી નહીં. તેથી મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીએ ડિસ્ટ્રિક્ટ મ્યુનિસિપલ  
 એક્ટની કલમ પઠને અંગે કરવામાં આવેલા નિયમો પેઠી, નિયમ  
 રજાનો અંગ કર્યો છે અને તે ચેરકાપોસર છે, મારે, મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી  
 એ મ્યુનિસિપલ શાળાઓનું ઇ-એકસન કરવા માટેના સરકારી  
 ઇ-એક્ટરોને તે ઇ-એકસન જે તારીખથી કરવા દીધું નહીં, તે  
 તારીખથી મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી વરતકક થઈને તે તારીખ સુધી,  
 એટલે તા. ૮-૨-૨૨ સુધી કાયદાનો અંગ કરીને પ્રાથમિક કેળવણીને  
 અંગે જે અંગ કર્યો છે, તે કાયદેસર નથી, મારે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના  
 જે ૧૬ સભાસદો અસહકારની તરફેણમાં પોતાના મત આપ્યા  
 હતા, તે સભાસદો પાસે જે અંગ વચૂલ લેવા સરકારે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી  
 ના આ ૧૬ સભાસદો સામે ૧, ૧, ૬૮, ૬૦૦ નો દાવો કર્યો. જે  
 દાવામાં મ્યુનિસિપલ સ્કૂલ કમિટીના ચેરમેનની શીશુ પ્રાણલાભ  
 ફેસાઈની મુખ્ય ગુનાની થઈ હતી. એમાં એમણે જણાવ્યું છે, ડિસ્ટ્રિક્ટ  
 મ્યુનિસિપલ એક્ટની કલમ પઠને અંગે સરકારે કરેલ નિયમો પેઠી,  
 માત્ર એક જ નિયમ એટલે નિયમ ૩ જા નો અંગ થયો છે. બાકીના  
 બધા નિયમોનું પાલન કરવામાં આવેલું છે. દાવાના સમય  
 દરમિયાન શાળાઓની વ્યવસ્થાના સિદ્ધાંતોમાં કંઈ પણ ફેરફાર  
 કરવામાં આવ્યો નથી, તેમ જ સિદ્ધાંતોને સરકારે નહીં કરેલા  
 દર મુજબ પગારો પણ આપવામાં આવેલા છે. માસ્ટર કોડના  
 નિયમ ૭ મા પ્રમાણે શાળાઓ મુલાકાતીઓ મારે પુલ્લી રાખવામાં  
 આવેલી હતી અને મુલાકાત લેનારા વિઝિટરોમાં જે નોટ કરવા

ગોપાલજી નરસિં  
 નાથપુત્રાણી ૪૦૧,  
 ફોન ૬૨૧૨  
 રૂપાણી કાલુજી નાથી.

કરવા-તેની નકલ પણ સ્કૂલ બોર્ડે બોલિસમર્ મોકલવામાં આવતી હતી. આ દાવામાં સરકારની હાર થઈ. તે ઉપરથી સરકારે હાઈકોર્ટમાં અપીલ કરી. પરંતુ ત્યાં પણ તેની હાર થઈ.

૪. ૨૮ માર્ચ સરકારીને કેવા સંજોગોમાં મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી

હોઠવી પડી

તે વખતના ચિંક બોલિસર (મ. ભગતે, તે વખતના મ્યુનિ-સિપલ મેજિનિસર (મ. ગોરેની સામે કાયમ પર કેટલાક સમય અંત આણેપો કર્યા. મ્યુનિસિપલ મેજિનિસર સત્તમન (ચિંક બોલિસર-તેલા જ કરનાનો અમલદાર છે. અને તેની સામે આવા અંત આણેપો થાય એ એક અભાર-લાગત છે, એમ સમગ્ર મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના તારના પ્રમુખ શ્રીયુત વલ્લભભાઈએ આ તપાસ હાય પર લીધી.

એ તપાસમાં પોતાને મદદ કરવાને માટે મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીના માણ પ્રમુખ, સર રમણભાઈની મદદ માંગી. સર રમણભાઈએ એ મદદ પછી ખુશી થી આપી. એ તપાસમાં એમ માલુમ પડ્યું કે મ્યુનિસિપલ મેજિનિસર મિ. ગોરેની સામે ચિંક બોલિસર (મ. ભગતે કરેલા આણેપો તફન બીનપાયાદાર છે, અને તેમનું આ પગલું બંને બાલિલ લાગ્યું. (મ. ભગતેને એક વર્ષના પ્રોવિસન ઉપર ચિંક બોલિસર તરફ નીમવામાં આવ્યા હતા- આ વખતે વરસ લગભગ પૂરું થવા લાગ્યું હતું. તેથી શ્રીયુત વલ્લભભાઈએ સાહેબે એનું નબ્કી કર્યું કે, મિ. ભગતેને હટ કાયમ કરવા નહીં, પણ એમના પ્રોવિસનનો સમય એક વર્ષ લંબાવવો. (મ. ભગતેને આ ઠીક ન લાગ્યું. તેથી તેમણે કાયમ થવા માટે મુસલમાન સભાસદો તેમજ સરકાર દીમેલા સભાસદોની સાથે મળી જઈ, કાયમ

કાચમ- થવાને માટે જલપટી કરવા માંડી. તે ઉપરથી ત્રીયુત  
વલ્લભભાઈ સાહેબનો તથા સર રમણભાઈ બંનેની મિ. સગત માટે  
જરાબ અભિપ્રાય થયો, અને તેમને થિંક બોહિસરની જગાએથી  
જાહેરી તેમની અસલ જગ્યા—પર્સનલ એસિસ્ટન્ટ ટુ મિ થિંક બોહિસરની  
— જગ્યાએ પાછા મૂકવામાં આવ્યા અને મુલઠ મ્યુનિસિપલ કોર્ટની  
માંથી મિ. શેટેને થિંક બોહિસર તરીકે નામવામાં આવ્યા. પણ  
મિ. શેટે કાગી વખત રહ્યા નહીં. તેમને મુલઠ મ્યુનિસિપલ કોર્ટના  
માં ઉંચુટી કામીશરની જગ્યા મળવાથી, તેઓ મુલઠ મ્યુનિસિપલ  
કોર્ટનાની નોકરીમાં પાછા ફર્યા. એટલે મ્યુનિસિપલ કોર્ટમાં  
જે જગ્યા માટે વર્તમાનપત્રોમાં જાહેર જાવર આપી. મિ. સગતને

તો થિંક બોહિસરની જગ્યા માટે નીચાણક કરાવી ઉતારી ૫  
પાડવામાં આવેલા છે, એટલે તેઓ આ જગ્યા માટે જરૂર કરે  
તો પણ તેના તરફ ધ્યાન ન આપવું એવું કરાવવામાં આવ્યું. આ  
ઉપરથી મિ. સગતે સિવિલ કોર્ટમાં હાજરી કરી ઇન્જીનિયર આપ્યું.  
કે તેમની જરૂર ધ્યાનમાં લીધા વગર મ્યુનિસિપલ થિંક બોહિસર  
ની નિમણૂક કરા સહે નહીં. થિંક બોહિસરની જગ્યા માટે  
મિ. સગતે આવી રીતે સિવિલ કોર્ટના મદદ લાઈ તેથી, ત્રીયુત  
વલ્લભભાઈ અને સર રમણભાઈને મિ. સગત ઉપર બહુ જ ખોટું લાગ્યું.

આ વખતે મ્યુનિસિપલ કોર્ટમાં ત્રણ પક્ષો પડી ગયા.  
હતા. એક ત્રીયુત વલ્લભભાઈનો પક્ષ, બીજો શેઠ મંગલસિંહ -  
સારાભાઈનો પક્ષ અને ત્રીજો મુસલમાન અને સરકારે નીચેલા  
સમાસહીનો પક્ષ. પહેલો પક્ષ મિ. શેટેની જગ્યાએ થિંક બોહિસર  
તરીકે મિ. એચ. એલ. દિવાનને લાવવા માગતો હતો. બીજો પક્ષ

પણ- જી મોરારજીભાઈને ( જેઓ જલ્દારે સરકારી નોકરીમાં  
હતા.) લાવવા માગતો હતો, અને જીજી પણ (મ. ભગવતે લાવવા  
માગતો હતો. ) આ રસાકસી ચાલતી હતી તે દરમિયાન ત્રીયુત  
વલ્લભભાઈએ પટેલે જાહેર કહ્યું કે, જો (મ. ભગવત ચિંક બોલે સર  
માથ તો હું મ્યુનિસિપાલિટીમાં રહેવા માગતો નથી. )

અસહકારીઓમાં જે પણ પડી ગયેલા હોવાથી, સરકારી સમાસહો  
કાલી ગયા અને (મ. ભગવતની કરી પાછી ચિંક બોલે સર તરીકે  
નિમજૂક થઈ, એટલે ત્રીયુત વલ્લભભાઈએ મ્યુનિસિપાલિટી છોડી  
દીધી.