

my dear Bhaurao



I returned yesterday from Mahad

Dr. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR

Nagpur mail. but I was called by Shri

WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

Borla for talking over our Satyagrah &

Vol. 21

our ... So

CORRESPONDENCE

that I ...
Mahad on ...
now spare ...
the ...
you and ...
here by ...
by ...
Borlas ...



return to ...
I cannot ...
Nasik. And ...
to request ...
one ...
can return ...
talk over ...
Sinh

B.R. Ambedkar

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule and Rajarshi Shahu
Source Material Publication Committee,
Govt of Maharashtra

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DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

VOL. 21
CORRESPONDENCE

DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

VOL. 21

CORRESPONDENCE

Edited By

HARI NARKE



सत्यमेव जयते

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule, Rajarshi Shahu Source Material Publication Committee,
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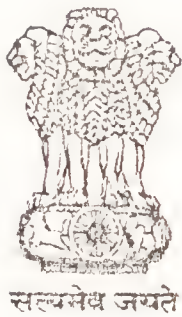
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CHIEF MINISTER
MAHARASHTRA STATE

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FOREWORD

It gives me immense pleasure to write foreword to this 21st volume of Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. I consider it my privilege to see that Government of Maharashtra have undertaken the task to publish the Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. To publish these volumes means to boost up the renaissance and the Government of Maharashtra has every reason to take pride in carrying out this noble task.

Dr. Ambedkar was determined to bring revolutionary changes in the national life of India. We all know that, in India there existed a traditional social set up which was held under the tentacles of caste-ridden graded inequality for centuries together.

He believed that democracy was not only a form of Government, but it was essentially a form of society. He wanted a society based on democratic values. He gave a gallant fight against orthodoxy to obtain these rights. He is the pioneer of democracy in India.

This volume envisages his vital role in nation building. He was associated with all the historical events like South Borough Commission, Simon Commission, Round Table Conference, 1935 Act, Cripps Mission, Cabinet Mission etc. He proved his metal in drafting the revolutionary document i.e. ' Constitution of India '. The Constitution has been hailed by many great statesmen and scholars. They see the Constitution as the Foremost Social Document. Through this Constitution he laid down the foundation of democracy. It was his conviction that, Political democracy should be strengthened with social and economic democracy.

The letters written by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are the source material of Indian Social History. Editor of this volume Prof. Hari Narke, who have been imbibed with the spirit of Ambedkarism and is committed to the cause. I am aware of his zeal to work. I congratulate him for the successful accomplishment. I am extremely happy that this volume No. 21 of Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is going to see the light of the day.

(VILASRAO DESHMUKH)



MINISTER FOR
ENERGY (EXCLUDING NON-CONVENTIONAL
ENERGY), MEDICAL EDUCATION,
HIGHER AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
Mantralaya, Mumbai 400 032

PREFACE

It gives me an immense pleasure to see that the 21st volume of Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is being published by the Government of Maharashtra. It was our sincere desire that people not only from India but outside the country should be benefited by the noble thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar. It was stupendous task to publish the literature of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Indian Society was a gradation of Castes forming an ascending scale of reverence and descending scale of contempt, where there was no scope for the establishment of egalitarian society. The liberty, equality and fraternity are fundamentals for the democratic form of Government. He was a pragmatic, political, intellectual and spiritual leader for millions. He laid emphasis on all-round development of the Indian society. He fought for social justice throughout his life.

He was convinced that, the education alone is a grand panacea to all social ills. He did not leave any stone unturned to imbibe the importance of education. He stressed the need of higher education. He started a new era by establishing Educational Institutions.

I am associated with the Editorial Board comprising of Prof. Hari Narke, who is of high caliber and drawn from diverse fields. I am also aware of the difficulties he encountered in the matter of gathering the relevant material for the present volume. On behalf of Government of Maharashtra and myself as the President of Source Material Publication Committee, I appreciate the work done by Prof. Hari Narke.

(DILIP WALASE PATIL)

EDITORIAL

This year is a historical year. It is a Golden Jubilee of Dhamma Diksha. It is with utmost pride and pleasure we place the Twenty First volume of the source material on Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the hands of people in India and abroad who have patronized earlier volumes of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Writings and Speeches, published by the Department of Higher and Technical Education, Government of Maharashtra.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a great thinker and visionary who fought for the 'empowerment' — social, educational, financial, political and cultural — of the oppressed. He stressed on the empowerment of the oppressed as a means of their release from exploitation and injustice, which are social forms of violence against such oppressed people.

He was a prolific writer. There was a remarkable combination of writing and waging protest on every possible front in him. He not only fought for the emancipation of the oppressed but strived for overall development of the nation.

His ideas and thoughts on social justice form a framework which needs to be seen in a proper way. His ideas need to be translated into practice keeping in view of the basic agenda i.e. social justice.

In the early twenties of the twentieth century Dr. B. R. Ambedkar emerged as a promising leader to break the centuries old shackles and liberate the untouchables from the ageold bondage of the Hindu Society. This volume envisages his vital role in nation building.

The present volume contains the correspondence of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to Karmavir Bhaurao (Dadasaheb) Gaikwad.

The letters written by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are the source material of Indian Social History. Bhaurao Gaikwad was very close associate of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He was trusted follower of Babasaheb. Babasaheb Ambedkar was not only the supreme leader of Bhaurao but he was also his Friend, Philosopher and Guide. Bhaurao worked with Babasaheb in Kala Ram Temple satyagraha. He was the chief organizer of Yevala Conference where Dr. Ambedkar declared his religious conversion. He said though I am born as Hindu but I will never die as Hindu.

Bhaurao played measure roll in framing and running of the Independent Labour Party and Scheduled Caste Federation.

The letters reveals that Babasaheb and Bhaurao enjoyed very close relationship. Babasaheb even shared his depest emotions, frustration and anguish with him.

He was a mass leader who organised and led one of the biggest movement to 'Bhumimukti Andolan' after the Mahaparinirvana of Babasaheb. In this movement he mobilised lakhs of unorganised bahujans so as to distribute land to landless bahujans masses.

Bhaurao was one of the most trustworthy follower of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Bhaurao was one of the very few followers who carried forward the legacy of Babasaheb in true sense.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote him more than 200 letters from 11th April 1927 to 24th September 1956. These letters are very valuable and most important source material for history of Ambedkariet social, educational, political and cultural movement.

Committee is making all out efforts to publish various correspondences Babasaheb had with his colleagues and followers. This 21st volume pertaining to correspondence with Bhaurao is a move toward the same. We will be highly obliged if readers can share the letters/correspondences written by/received from Babasaheb. It will help to further enrich the literature on Babasaheb. Such letters/correspondence shared with the Committee will be duly acknowledged in the respective publications.

Shri Ratnakar Ganvir, Shankarrao Kharat, Vijay Surawade and Surendra Adnyat have published some correspondence of Babasaheb with Bhaurao and others. 21st Volume includes all the correspondence Babasaheb had with Bhaurao.

Shri R. S. Gawai, Hon'ble Governor of Bihar is the senior most and the most respected member of this Committee. He has a vast and rich parliamentary experience. Shri Gawaisaheb has brought glory to the Source Material Committee. He has been a source of inspiration to the members of the Editorial Board. As an elderly figure, he richly deserves our grateful thanks.

Right from beginning to the movement of the publication of this volume has been made possible by guidance, help, support and co-operation from Hon. Sharad Pawar, Hon. Vilasrao Deshmukh, Hon. R. R. Patil, Hon. Dilip Walase Patil, Hon. Jayant Patil, Hon. Chhagan Bhujabal, Hon. Chandrakant Handore, Hon. Dayanand Mhaske and Hon. Suresh Shetty. We place on record our deep sense of gratitude.

Shri Prakash Ambedkar, Shri Ramdas Athawale, Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha); Eknath Gaikwad, MP-Lok Sabha, Prof. Jogendra Kawade, MLC., Shri T. M. Kamble, Prof. Nitin Raut, MLA, Prof. Janardhan Chandurkar, MLA, Shri Tukaram Birkad. MLA, Shri Gangadhar Gade and all the committee members encouraged the Editorial Board. We are very much thankful to them.

Dr. Joyas Shankaran, I. A. S., Principal Secretary, Department of Higher and Technical Education offered wholeheartedly and unreserved co-operation to the Source Material Committee and the members of the Editorial Board whenever they approached her for any help of material or financial. We place on record our deep sense of appreciation and gratitude to her.

Dr. Narendra Jadhav, Vice Chancellor, University of Pune, Dr. K. M. Kulkarni, Director of Higher Education, Government of Maharashtra, Mr. Ratnakar Gaikwad, I. A. S., Director General of Yashada, Dr. Sukhadev Thorat, Chairman, University Grant Commission, Dr. Bhalchandra Munagekar, Member, Planning Commission of India, deserves a special mention. The Committee as well as the Editorial Board has received all the necessary and timely help from them. We express our special thanks to them.

Dr. Andhale, Joint Director, Higher Education, Mūmbai, Shri Ramesh Ubale, I.A.S., Dr. Sanjay Chahande, I.A.S., Divisional Commissioner, Nashik, Shri B. I. Nagrale, I.A.S., Secretary, Tribal Development, Shri Shyam Tagade, I.A.S., E. Z. Khobragade, Shri Uttam Khobragade, I.A.S., Shri Kishor Gajabhiye, I.A.S., Shri R. K. Gaikwad, I.A.S., Commissioner, Apanga Kalyan, Dr. Harshdip Kamble, I.A.S., Collector, Yavatmal, Anil Choure, I.R.S., Anil Ramteke, I.R.S., Dr. Sunil Khaparde deserve our appreciation for their unflinching support and timely help.

Special thanks are due to Mrs. Sonalsmith Patil, Desk Officer, Finance, Shri Malvankar, Deputy Secretary, Higher Education, Shri Hemade, Desk Officer, Higher Education, Dr. Avinash Dhakne, Private Secretary to Minister for Higher Education, Shri Sanjeev Jadhav, Private Secretary to State Minister for Higher Education for their unstinted co-operation.

We take this opportunity to thank Shri Waman Nimbalkar and Dr. Yashwant Manohar for having readily agreed to co-operate in this venture for days together and helping for collection of these letters from Mrs. Shantabai Dani.

We wish to record our deep sense of gratitude to Shri Rajkumar Kamble, Shri M. S. Bahal, Gautam Chakraborty, Prof. Vilas Wagh, Prof. Vijay Khare, Prof. Dhananjay Lokhande, Prof. Vilas Adhav, Prof. Rajan Gawas, Prof. Sharmila Rege, Prof. Vidyut Bhagwat, Prof. Satish Shirsath, Prof. Sanjay Chakane, Prof. Sanjeev Sonawane, Dr. Arun Dalvi, Dr. Machindra Wahul, Prof. Anand Ubale, Prof. Vilas Kharat, Prof. Sudhir Ingale, Arjun Dangale, Pratap and Prerana Tambay, Nirranjan Waghmare, Naresh Barsagade, Ravindra Chavan, Millind Shambharkar, Prof. Manohar Jadhav, S. P. Gaikwad, S. P. Kamble, R. R. Patil, Prof. Tej Nivalikar, Prof. Harsh Jagzap, Bapu Sonavane, Prof. Pradip Lokhande, who not only encouraged and guided me to prepare this volume but also offered valuable suggestions.

I place on record valuable suggestions rendered by Mrs. Sangita Narke, I am thankful to her.

We owe our sincere thanks to Dr. Rahul Gajbhiye, Shri Sachin Shende, Mrs. Jyoti Shende, Dr. Riya Gajbhiye, Dr. Amol Suryawanshi, Shri Shuddhodhan Aher, Manik Bhongade, Sushil Mhasade, Ratan Bansode, Kuldip Ramteke, Jayant Ramteke, Takshak Chahande, Dr. Dilip Kamble, Vijay Mankar, Baban Kamble, Madhu Kamble, Sunil Khobragade, Divakar Shejawal, D. D. Ambade, Laxman Gaikwad, Mahadev Jankar, Uttam Kamble, Prof. Gautamiputra Kamble, Bandhuraj Lone, Rahi Bhide, Ashok Ankush, H. R. Gawai, Ravi Bhilane, Dr. Rahul Bagade, Dr. Vinayak Kale, Prof. Ganesh Raut and Mangesh Dahiwalde accomplishing this project.

We would be failing in our duty if we forget to **Late Mrs. Shantabai Dani**, who spared this valuable collection of letters of Dr. Ambedkar to Karmaveer Dadasaheb Gaikwad. Mrs. Dani handed over these letters to committee.

We also take this opportunity to thank Mrs. Shalaka Tambe, Mrs. Sumitra Nevarekar, Maruti Padave and Vijay Vaidya for their co-operation.

Shri P. J. Gosavi, Director of Govt. Printing, Stationery and Publications, Mumbai, Shri S. B. Waichal, Deputy Manager, Government Central Press, Mumbai ; the staff of the Government Central Press, Mumbai, and the Art Department of Government Printing and Publications, Shri Sachin Tipnis, from Scan skill for Scanning the letters deserve full appreciation and thanks for their expeditious printing with utmost care and sincerity.



(Hari Narke)

Editor and Member-Secretary,

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule,

Rajarshi Shahu Source Material Publication Committee,

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CONTENTS

		Page No.
1. Foreword	. . . Shri Vilasrao Deshmukh <i>Chief Minister.</i>	VII
2. Preface	. . . Shri Dilip Walase Patil <i>Minister for Energy, (Excluding Non-conventional Energy), Medical Education, Higher and Technical Education.</i>	IX
3. Editorial	. . . Prof. Hari Narke <i>Editor and Member Secretary.</i>	XI
□ Letter Nos. 1 to 236	. . .	1 to 434.

Note :

The original letters written by Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to Dadasaheb Gaikwad are 50 to 80 years old. The quality of the paper and the ink has become poor and faint. This book is a reprint (photocopying) of the original letters. However we have tried our level best to improve the quality. The Editor feels sorry for the poor quality of the reprint.—Editor.

B. AMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
 M. A. Ph. D. D. S. BAR-AT-LAW,
 Member Legislative Council, BOMBAY.

Damodar Hall
 Parel
 Bombay-12.

11/4/27

My dear Gaikwad,

I am sending her Gangavni to make collection on behalf of our Society at the meeting she on the occasion of the yatra.

I understand that the depressed India Association has sent its agents to make collections for a Temple in Bombay.

You must prevent the collection being made. The Association is a bogus body & beside our people must be told that it is not for our advantage to have a separate temple for us.

I am
Yours truly
B.R. Ambedkar

2

29. 2. 28.

my dear Bhaurao,

This is to introduce to you my friend
Mr Chitre. He will tell you the purpose
for which he is seeing you. Please do what
he will tell you. He has my support &
you will, therefore not hesitate in the matter. Better
if you can come over to Bombay. The
matter is urgent and important.

Yours sincerely,

Ambedkar

BHIMRAO P. AMBEDKAR
 10, 2, BRIDGE ROAD, BOMBAY
 (OPPOSITE TAJ HOTEL, BOMBAY)

DAMODAR HALL,
 PAREL,
 BOMBAY-12.

25/11/28

Dear Bhaurao,

I cannot accept 20th for the appeal.

I will let you know ~~presently~~ in a few days what date will suit me. It might be better if you can tell me when the Devotee people will be ready to hold the meeting. I will then be anxious to have to link the appeal to the meeting.

Yours Sincerely

B R Ambedkar

4-5



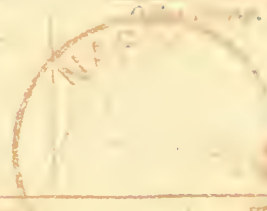
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17. 11. 28.

Dear Sir,

Yes you can come

I am in Bombay

on these dates.

Yours sincerely,

P. R. ...

6

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.

M. A. Ph.D. D.Sc. BAR AT LAW.

MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.2nd March 1929.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your draft of the address some time ago. I am terribly busy in writing my report as a member of the Simon Commission so much so that I am obliged to give up Court & Council for some time. This will explain to you the reason for my silence. Beside there is nothing about the address because we have consented to postpone the Conference sometime in April.

Can you tell me what is the economic condition of the 'Gulve' who has just now been sentenced by Kudav. This man had been to me today and desire to take up his work almost for nothing. I ~~am~~ am to have as you know the so charitable as that. Not that Charity has no place in my professional work. But I should

be satisfied that the man so poor as to deserve
charity: Hence the inquiry. My best regards
to you, T. B. & Rankhambé

Yours truly
P. R. Q.

7

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.
M. A. PH.D. D.S.C. BAR-AT-LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

very urgent

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.

8/10/ 1929.

My dear Gaikwad,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 5th. Will you please go to Mr. Kirtakoti ascertain from him the exact date of his arrival in Bombay after Dasseria? ~~Let~~ Let me have this information by return post.

I am most probably accepting 19th as the date for the Nasik appeal. But I have not informed Vartak to that effect finally. I am waiting for the date of an appeal at Dhule. Give my congratulations

to our friend Hale for his passing the
Exam. Also my best regards to Rankhan
and Sami

Yours truly
RRh

8



Dumotkar Hall

Bombay

Sunday - 17.

6-12-19.

My dear Bhamoo,

I am in receipt

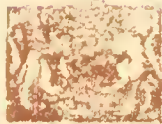
of your letter. I regret
that owing to engagements
previously made I cannot
come to Navagaon.

Yours truly

B.R. Ambedkar

P.S. I was sorry to hear
of Rankhanbi's illness.

my regards to Sami
& Kate.



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Words.

14

TO

Recd. here at

14

a.

35

M.

Bhaurao

Quartermaster

Tamaj

Mandir Panchwati

Masik

Reaching
Station

to-morrow morning meet-

= Ambedkar =

10

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.

M. A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.11th Feb. 1930¹⁹³².

My dear Bhaurao,

I have just returned yesterday from Dharwar. I have seen the handbills for your meeting at Chandori. I am writing this to forewarn you that I do not feel quite certain that I will be able to attend it. The whole work is congested and I have been asking for postponement on so many occasions that I feel I have no face to ask for any more. Under the circumstances you should be prepared to go on with the meeting in my absence altho I will try to come, subject to my being free from the High Court.

Hoping you are doing well I am

yours truly
B.R. Ambedkar

My regards to Kale & Rankhambhe.

KIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.

M. A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.

25th Feb. 1930.

My dear Bhaurao,

I had been expecting to hear from you every day since you left regarding the meeting at Simar and your silence had ~~been~~ held my programme of work which had resulted ~~to~~ in great inconvenience to all.

As at present situated I can give you only one day & that must be Saturday. I must return to Bombay on Sunday morning. Now the question is can you arrange the meeting at Simar at such a short notice as that of one day. Kind you the meeting must be largely attended to be of any use and must therefore, be widely circulated. Can you do that with only one day on hand? I doubt it. But if you can I have no objection to coming. What-

however of greater importance is that I should meet the Executive Committee & know how you are planning for Satyagrah. When can we do that. Can the members

of the Committee come to Bombay?

If you are arranging the meeting at Sunar let me know by wire so that I can start in time. But you must release me on Saturday night.

I do not know if you realize that your Satyagraha is a matter of great anxiety to me particularly because owing to the other pressing engagements I have not been able to devote myself to it.

With my very best regards to all

our friends I am
Yours affectionately

B. R. Ambedkar

To Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:

Everything arranged.
Please come morning
train. Waiting Nasik
station.

Please come to-morrow morning.

To Amrutras Rankha

Dr. Ambedkar coming

12



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	Rs. A.	By _____	

Nothing to be written by the Sender above this line.

If this telegram is to be classed EXPRESS, write the Class here.

If this telegram is on State business, the word STATE should be written in this space.


When a reply is to be prepaid, write the words "Reply Paid" and the amount in the space below. These words are not charged for.

TO	Name	Macdonalded President-India	NOTICE. PLEASE GIVE A FULL ADDRESS.
	Address	Round Table Conference London Mahatma Gandhi Indian Round Table Conference - London.	
	Telegraph Office	Dr Ambedkar, Indian Round Table Conference London.	

Nasik District Depressed Classes Public	Consisting	of 5000 held
meeting	under my	Presidentship on
eleventh	October	unanimously resolved
FROM {		

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED. { Signature _____
and
Address of Sender _____

13-14


INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT
INLAND TELEGRAM.

A. Class { } Prefix { } Code _____ No. _____

Office of Origin, Date and Service Instructions. Words. H. M. **Space for Postage Stamps.**
The stamps must be affixed by the Sender and must not overlap. Any Stamp for which there is not room here should be affixed at the back of this Form. Stamps cut, torn or defaced are not accepted.

Charge. Sent at _____
Rs. A. To _____
By _____

Nothing to be written by the Sender above this line.

If this telegram is to be classed EXPRESS, write the Class here. If this telegram is on State business, the word STATE should be written in this space.

When a reply is to be prepaid, write the words "Reply Paid" and the amount in the space below. These words are not charged for.

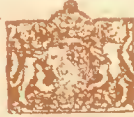
TO { Name _____ ✓
Address _____
Telegraph Office _____

NOTICE.
PLEASE GIVE A FULL ADDRESS.

to consider condemn strongly
Mr Ghadrís attitude towards their
Political demands and emphatically
declares that no constitution
will be acceptable to them

FROM {

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED. { Signature _____
and
Address of Sender _____


INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT
INLAND TELEGRAM.

A. Class { } Prefix { } Code _____ No. _____

Office of Origin, Date and Service Instructions. Words. H. M. **Space for Postage Stamps.**
The stamps must be affixed by the Sender and must not overlap. Any Stamp for which there is not room here should be affixed at the back of this Form. Stamps cut, torn or defaced are not accepted.

Charge. Sent at _____
Rs. A. To _____
By _____

Nothing to be written by the Sender above this line.

If this telegram is to be classed EXPRESS, write the Class here. If this telegram is on State business, the word STATE should be written in this space.

When a reply is to be prepaid, write the words "Reply Paid" and the amount in the space below. These words are not charged for.

TO { Name _____
Address _____
Telegraph Office _____

NOTICE.
PLEASE GIVE A FULL ADDRESS.

which does not embody
Their demand put forth
by their representatives i.e.
Ambedkar and Rasthapur
Srinivasan

FROM { Gokhale Amrutlal Mankharbe

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED. { Signature _____
and
Address of Sender _____

15



Damodar Hall
 Pare C
 Bombay-12
 18-3-30.

My dear Bhaurao,

Gupte has brought your letter to me. I was surprized at the Conduct of the Collector. My view is not to force a conflict with the Government if it can be avoided. I should therefore like to make a representation to H-E the Governor in the matter protesting against the conduct of the Collector and await his decision. If it is unfavourable we shall act up to our intention.

You will therefore let me

know in detail by a letter all
the facts and the letter of the S. M.
in your capacity as the Secretary
to enable me to make the
representation.

I will also try and see
the Governor in this connection

With my best regards to yourself
Amintas & the members of the
Committee I remain

yours Sincerely

B. R. A.

10-17

Dear Mr. Ambekar,

I have it cut at the station that I was supposed to see any one who cared to come to see me. The English people ask me if they can come in and see you. I am quite sure while you are away from the station at the station by the Punjab Mail.

[Handwritten signature]

ENT. 12

Post Office
NASHIK CITY
TEL:
11 APR 30

Head Office of Origin	Date	Post	Rate	Service Instructions	Weight
Ambari	11	11	5	K	
TO				14	11 35

Shri. Sambhaji Sahayaji
Camp. Chincholi Nasik

Could ask magistrali Temple
remains closed -
Ambekar

19

I must decline to see you in this matter. I quite agree with the DGP. No fresh satyagraha must be started. Those taking part will be removed.

16/3/30

AB Ambekar

20-21



GOVERNMENT HOUSE
BOMBAY

25th March 1930.

Dear Mr. P. K. ...

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th March 1930, and to say that it has been forwarded to the Secretary to Government, Home Department, for consideration and disposal.

*Yrs Sincerely,
E. K. ...*

(35)



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

NOTICE.

The following notice is hereby made respecting the telegrams...

Charges to pay.
Rs. As.



Delivered to at (if not of Origin).	Date.	Hour.	Minuts.	Service Instructions.	Words.
<i>Madras</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>18</i>

Read here at. *16 40*

*Go ahead with the ...
...
...*

*...
...*

22

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M A Ph D D Sc BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12.

Dak Bungalow
Mahad
29-3-30

My dear Bhaurao,

Thank you very much for your letter. I am very glad to read that you have already dispatched men to bring volunteers for the Nashik Satyagrah. I regret I am held up here and can't just at the moment help you in the matter. But I will do my best as I am freed from this case. I hope to return to Bombay about 6/7 of April on which date I think we will be able to finish our witnesses.

I have received a reply from H. L. Thacker which I am enclosing herewith - for your Committee's information.

With my very best regards to yourself & friends I am in every way yours truly

P. R. K.

23

MRAO R. AMBEDKAR.
M. A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HK
PAREL
BOMBAY-12

My dear Bhaurao

You must have been surprised at my silence. But there was no way but to be silent. My health as you know has been going down and the pressure of work has been increasing. The strain of it has broken the camel's back. I went to the States in a broken condition on the 11th and was extremely disappointed when I heard that the case had to be postponed on account of the illness of the pleader of the opposite party. All this has told on me and again resulted in my fainting fits.

Regarding the Pathard case I am coming back on the 20th for Luxumbhai's appeal. You can wait till then you need not hurry. If you can't then you had better come to court.

Amrit Rao

you choose not to come please remember - that
 my stay at Nasik will be for a day only. I shall
 have to return back on the same night - as I
 have to appear in court on Saturday on the next
 day. What I mean is that my stay in Nasik
 will be very short. ~~to~~ you better therefore
 take your own decision whether to come or
 to come.

Mr. Kava from Ahmadnagar had been
 and we had a long talk about
 internal quarrels at Nasik. Of that
 we meet. If Amritao can come please
 ask him to see on the station on the morning
 of 20th.

Tell Luxumbai to send me at least Rs 15/-
 for a pass. She has not even paid my pass
 till now. Let her at least pay out of pocket
 for the pass. Regards to all yours
 B. Ambedkar

24

Hand
6/3 32

Mr. B. L. Gaekwad is
informed that the
Commissioner C.D.
is to be present at
Kala Ran Temple
Sunday 9th inst.
at 7.30 a.m. (about)
Go with the

mention of the Maha
Satyagraha on the
spot.

R. Shinde
Collector

25

Order under S.144 Criminal Procedure Code.

Whereas it appears to the District Magistrate, Nasik, that there is danger of a riot in the neighbourhood of the Kala Ram Temple, Panchawati, Nasik, on account of religious disputes between different classes of the Hindu population,

And whereas it appears necessary in consequence to prevent people frequenting the neighbourhood of the said Temple,

Now therefore under S.144 of the Criminal Procedure Code I direct that no person shall sit or loiter on the public road or any other open space within one hundred yards of the said Temple and that no bodies of more than three persons shall collect within the said area for the period of one month from this date or till further orders.

Any person disobeying this order shall be subject to the penalties prescribed in S.188 Indian Penal Code or such other as may be found applicable.

15-3-31.

Sd/ R.G.Gordon

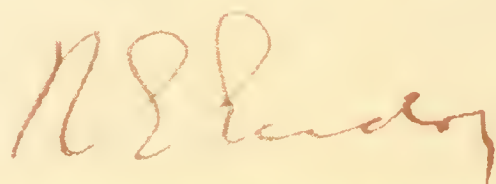
District Magistrate,
Nasik.

Order under section 42, Bombay District Police Act.

Under the provisions of section 42, Bombay District Police Act, the District Magistrate, Nasik, hereby - prohibits for a period of fifteen days from the date of this notice the carrying of arms, cudgels or other weapons and the carrying, collection and preparation of stones or other missiles within the city of Nasik within a - space of 3 (three) hundred yards on any side of the - outer walls of the Kala Ram Temple.

Any person offending against this order will be - liable to the penalties imposed under section 68 of the said Act.

Nasik
3/4/1930.



District Magistrate, Nasik



27

BHIMRAO K. AMBEDKAR,
M. A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

11th April
1930

To

His Excellency the Rt. Honourable
Sir Frederick Sykes, P.C., G.C.I.E.,
G.B.I., F.C.B., J.M.S.,
Governor of Bombay,
Bombay.

May it please Your Excellency,

The Government of Bombay must have received a report from the District Magistrate of West of the riot that took place there between the touchables and the untouchables on the 9th inst. I feel it necessary to submit to Your Excellency my version of the riot.

Origin of the riot - According to the practice of the Kale Ash Temple at West of the main (Gaur eye of the God Pan) was to be taken out in procession through the City. I was asked by Inspector Kerkik (one of the Police Officers on duty at the Kale Ash Temple) what attitude I propose to adopt in connection with the bath procession. I told him that if equal treatment was accorded to the untouchables I had no objection to the Ash being taken out and I also specified the nature of the conditions of treatment I had stipulated for by writing that I would insist upon two things - (1) that the untouchables will participate in carrying the bath along with the touchables and (2) the untouchables will offer Puja to the Ash in the bath. Mr. Kerkik then left and returned with the Ash in the bath. The District Magistrate told me that the conditions were accepted by the touchable Hindus and the untouchables were allowed to go to the main door of the temple and that they had placed it for 10 feet from

B. AMBEDKAR
 D. D. SC. B.A. AT LAW
 LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL,
 PAREL
 BOMBAY-12.

the gate the untouchables could join and together with the touchables join in carrying by holding the rope fastened to the net and questioned me whether I had any objection to the said procession, to which I replied I had none, and in order to help the cause of peace I went out of my way to sort out about 50 out of a lot of 5,000 untouchables and told them that they alone were to take part in the carrying of the bath. Accordingly the bath was brought out to the temple gate by the touchables, but the touchables who wanted to deceive both the untouchables and the police officers did two things - (1) the touchables held the rope so close to one another that no room was left for the untouchables to join in, & (2) the touchables instead of stopping the bath at the temple gate as previously agreed began to run away with it so as to give no chance to the untouchables to catch the rope and participate in carrying the bath. This manoeuvre to violate the agreement naturally created the feelings of the untouchables, but the immediate cause of the disturbance was the action of the Police. Some of the subjects of the lowest caste Hindus, they at once started to attack the untouchables who were struggling to hold a bit of the rope. The fight was started by the caste-Hindu Police. The only help that was given by the touchable Hindus, was that of some of the touchables who were subjected to an assault from the side of the touchable Hindus who had held the rope and were preventing them from taking part in the carrying of the bath. The untouchables were

HIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M. A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

-3-

struggling to take a position the caste-dingu Police were charging them with their batons and butt-ends of their rifles. Seeing their men assaulted in this way the rest of the untouchables followed the path with which the touchables were running away at a terrific speed, seeing that the crowd of the untouchables pursuing the path had come very near it the touchables abandoned the path on the road and went into the adjoining field and a volley of stones on the crowd of untouchables who were standing on the road. The road was lined on the side by barbed wire and on the other side by cactus and consequently the untouchables could not escape from the volley of stones as a result many of them were injured. The peaceful conduct of the untouchables is evidenced from the fact that there is not a single casualty reported from among the touchable Hindus.

Effect of the mischief done:- The crowd of touchable Hindus when they were dispersed from the field wherefrom they were throwing stones went to the camp of the Satyagrah Committee, pulled down the tent, smashed objects of the volunteers, stoned the motor car belonging to one of the members of the committee and stoned the women who were in charge of the kitchen and caused injuries to several children staying about. Upon their return to the bank of the river where they found some untouchable men, women and children who could not leave the bank of the river and join the main body of the untouchables at the temple site on account of the fact that there was no one to take charge of their baggage and carts, they were

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
 1881-1956
 National Commission for Scheduled Castes



-4-

DAMODAR HALL,
 PAREL,
 BOMBAY 14.

brutally assaulted, their belongings were burnt and some were thrown into water. According to the information given to me this attack resulted in the death of one man. Very little help was given to these unfortunate untouchables at the bank of the river. The main body of untouchables could not go to their rescue because they were stopped from moving from their place and the police cordon was placed around them. As most of the police force was engaged in keeping custody of the main body of the untouchables & the gate very few were left to give aid to those untouchables who became victims to the attack on the bank.

Attitude of the Police:- I must however guard myself against creating the impression that I have any complaint to make against the police officers. On the contrary I have not the slightest hesitation to say that they have done their duty. I wish particularly to thank the assistants of Districts - Shelke, Kalyanpur and Barake for their splendid work in the most trying circumstances arising out of the Satyagrah. My complaint is against the scoundrels who took sides and who - sustained their caste prejudice by assaulting some respectable untouchables in a most wanton fashion. Their names and numbers will be submitted to their superiors and I trust your Government will take disciplinary action against them.

Folly of the District Administrator:- I regret to say that I am not well-versed with the policy of the District Administrator in connection with the Satyagrah of the untouchables. In my 1941 letter I had informed that the Jail was being used by the

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. Ph. D. D. SC. BAR-AT-LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

-5-

public as an entrance to the temple and how our Satyagrah was being frustrated thereby. The District Magistrate did not pay any regard to our contention and on the Ramnavmi day not only allowed the public to use the private entrance of the Pujari in complete disregard of our contention but prohibited our Satyagrahis to sit as usual at the adjacent public way the barricade from which was removed to provide exit to the - touchable Hindus entering by the private door. As a result 98 un-touchables out of some 300 who offered Satyagrah were arrested on the Ramnavmi day.

After the riot of the 5th the District Magistrate proposed ~~me~~ to me that I must stop the Satyagrah or else he will withdraw the police. His proposal was considered by the Satyagrah Committee and was rejected and I think rightly. - Nothing could be a greater disaster to the movement of the un-touchables than the stopping of the Satyagrah at this juncture. The touchable Hindus would gain the impression that any slight use of force is sufficient to crush the movement of the un-touchables. Under no circumstances I or the Satyagrah Committee can allow such an impression to go round. Only on this if on no other account we must continue our Satyagrah. Regarding the withdrawal of the police I wish the Government of Bombay to realise fully the implication thereof. To my mind it means that the Government is not willing to use the power it has under its command to help people who are struggling for their rights, to win them. Such a power is good for nobody and the oppressed classes may then be justified in joining hands with

BIMBAD S. AMBEDKAR

M. A. T. S. D. S. S. S. S. S. S.

Member of the Council of the Government of Bombay



-5-

DEMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

now - he was seeking to be changed. I hope that the Government of Bombay will give proper instructions to the District Magistrate on this point.

I learn from the files of India of today's date that the District Magistrate has promulgated an order under Section 144 Cr.P.Code and prohibited people from coming near the Kala Han temple. I do not know if this order contemplates the prevention of our Satyagrahis from sitting at the temple doors as they have been doing heretofore. I must respectfully submit to Your Excellency that there is a chance (I use this word advisedly as I do not know the opinion of the Satyagrah Committee) of this order being respected only if the District Magistrate gives an assurance that the temple doors will remain closed during the period stated in his order and that the private door of the Priest will not remain open to the public. As I have made clear in my last letter the right is between the touchables and the untouchables and I have no desire to bring the latter into conflict with the Government.

I am anxious to have an interview with Your Excellency to discuss the situation personally and if Your Excellency is inclined to grant one I am available till 2 P.M. tomorrow.

Awaiting the favour of Your Excellency's early reply,

I remain,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient
Servant,

B.R.A.

28

AO R. AMBEDKAR,
M. A. PH. D. D. SC BAR-AT-LAW.
R. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAWODAR HALL
KAROL
BOMBAY-12.

18/4/30

My dear Bhaurao,

I returned yesterday from Mahad. I was to have left for Nasik today by the Nagpur mail. But I was called by Shri Birla for talking over our Satyagrah & our discussion continued beyond time so that I missed the train. I must return to Mahad on Monday & consequently I cannot now spare time for coming to Nasik. Under the circumstances I have to request you and Rantambhai to come over here by the morning Express. You can return by the Nagpur. We shall talk over Birla's suggestions

yours truly
B. R. Ambedkar

29-30

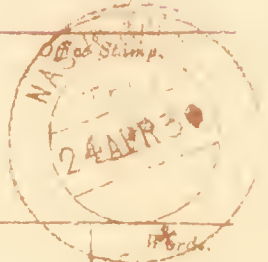


INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE
This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay.
Rs. As.



Handed in at (Office of Origin)
Mahad

Date. Hour. Mins.
26 12 45

Service Instructions

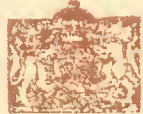
TO

Gayikwad Satyagrah
Camp Panchwati Nashik

Coming 2d evening
meet station
Ambedkar

MUPAB-499-22-7-30.

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.
This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay.
Rs. As.



Handed in at (Office of Origin)
mahad

Date. Hour. Mins.
26 8 -

Service Instructions

14

TO

Gayikwad Satyagrah
Camp Panchwati Nashik

Detained reaching Bombay Sunday
come Bombay wire
Ambedkar

31

BHIMRAO B. AMBEDKAR,
B.A. P., D.D., SC BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



CHAMBERLAIN HOUSE
BABEL
BOMBAY-12

3rd May 1910

My dear Sir,

I regret my inability to reply to your wires and letters immediately on their receipt that was because I was caught by the Doctors for treatment.

I see from your last letter that the conference is fixed for the 11th. I think I can attend it — as I hope to return to Bombay on the 7th. I am leaving Bombay today for Patna for the conference. With my best regards to all

Yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

32

DR. B. AMBEDKAR
 100, D. D. ROAD, PAREL
 BOMBAY 12



DAMODAR HALL
 PAREL
 BOMBAY 12

16th May 1948

My dear Bhaurao,

Since my arrival from Nasir I found myself busy with the All Parties Conference to which I was invited by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The Conference was going on for the last two days and that is why I was not able to write to your letter immediately.

I have not before me the text of the resolution - altho I have seen the substance of it in the papers. It is surprising how so much has been taken all credit for himself and left Kunt in the cold. As to the action we should take we should await the formal receipt of the Resolution from the signatories thereto. Thereafter it should be submitted to the Satyagrah Committee which should pass a resolution suspending the Satyagrah

the wording of the Resolution should be carefully
 tested. If you need my help in that matter
 I am at your service. Only you must
 send me a copy of the Resolution by the

Satanists

you had agreed to send the account of
 Satyagrah by Tuesday last you have not
 kept your promise. The Press is waiting to
 begin with it and I hope you will
 send it without delay.

Please convey my most sincere regards
 to Dale for my not stopping to visit him
 in hospitality. They need not be sorry to
 have been the losers
 with my best regards as

Your affectionately
 B. K. C.

DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR
 B.A. B. D. C. 2nd BAR AT LAW
 MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
 PAREL
 BOMBAY 12

26/6/30

My dear Bahurao,

I have received your letter of the 23rd June — and was very much pleased to read that you successfully carried out the plan at Kolgaon.

I congratulate you on your success.

Regarding the law case to which I had referred I have succeeded in finding out the volume. It is reported in Vol 97. Indian Cases p. 39. If the volume is in the High Court library you need not come for it. If not you had better come or send ^{some} ~~one~~ one. If you have to come then come before Sunday next. For I am leaving for Poona on Monday next.

With my very best regards to yourself and friends. I am

Yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

34

J. R. AMBERKAR,
A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW.
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAVEL
BOMBAY 12.

6/7/30.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter. I am of opinion that the convicted persons should not pay the fines.

I was glad to hear of your success in the hulgaam expedition. I should like to know how things are going on there after you left. Has the Petharde case been withdrawn?

It is rumoured that Patilparaudas Bawa is contemplating the issue of a paper विना मत. Is that a fact. If so it is in my opinion a very unfortunate move which must be deprecated. Do not misunderstand me but I do feel that these separatist tendencies are going to produce the same disastrous results.

which we notice in the non Brahmins. If
 Pantprasad Bawa or any of you think that
 you can run a paper why don't you
 take the Bahukrit Bharat? People may think
 that I want to centralize everything. But
 can't help feeling that safety lies in unity.

With my best regards
 to all I am
 yours sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

P.S. I am leaving for Poona. If you
 wish to write to me any thing there your
 letter will find me at the National Hotel
 opposite Railway Station Camp Poona

35-36

भिमराव रामजी आंबेडकर.
एन्. ए. सी. एच. ई. डी. एम्. सी. बार-एट-लॉ.
मैबर लेजिस्लेटिव्ह कौन्सिल, मुंबई.

दामोदर हॉल,
परळ, मुंबई, १२.

2/87 १९३०.

I am leaving for Nagpur by the
~~Wednesday~~ Nagpur mail on Wednesday
the 6th. I will expect you at Nasik
Station. Bring Dam & Kale with
you. They should attend the Conference.
Do not forget my raincoat.

Yours truly

B.R.A.

I am writing to Anurao ab



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram

Charges to pay.

Rs. 0/-

Office Stamp.



Handed in at (Office of Origin)

Date

Hour

Min.

Service Instructions

Words

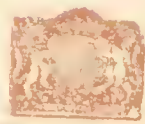
Bombay 9/1/1935

TO

Bhafurao Gaikwad
Tribhuk Gate
Nasik

Regret illness
prevents coming
- Akedkar

37-38



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

NOTICE.
 This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay. Rs. As. Office Stamp

Office of Origin: Bombay
 Date: 17/9/35
 Time: 9/35
 Recd. here at: 10/11

TO: Beharugo Garkwad Trimbak
 Gate Nasik
 Sunday impossible will write
 = ambedkar =

Stamp: NASIK TELEGRAMS

N.B. - The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

NOTICE.
 This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay. Rs. As.

Office of Origin: Bombay
 Date: 31
 Hour: 20
 Minute: 45

Service Instructions: Recd. here at 11.52 AM
 Garkwad Nasik

Stamp: NASIK TELEGRAMS

Coming useless cancel meeting
 letter explains
 = ambedkar

N.B. - The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D. SC. BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAHEL
BOMBAY 12.

30th August
1950

My dear Bhaurao,

Please take the bearer to Mr Sabnis & ask him to write to me in detail at once about the stage at which the Vani market case has reached. These people have to come to me and are telling me something which I am unable to understand. Mr Sabnis I am sorry to say has not acted up to my expectation in as much as he has not kept me communicated as I had asked him to do. Please therefore ask him to write to me by return post.

Yours Sincerely
B.R.A.

40

DR. B. AMBEDKAR
 MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



CAMODAR HALL
 PAREL
 BOMBAY-12

6-9-30

My dear Bhanrao,

I am in receipt of your
 l.c. I am trying to come to Nasik on the
 9th to attend to the Waki case. You will please
 ask Mr. Sabnis to send copies of depositions
immediately in receipt of this so that I can
 be prepared to argue before I reach. Please
 inform 'Ranikhantri' of this so that if he desires
 to meet me he can come to Nasik. You
 must have read in the papers that I
 have been invited to the R. T. C. More
 when we meet.

Yours Sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar

P.S. If I don't come on the 9th
 then you can come on the 10th with your
 client

41

11th Oct 1930.10.30th A.M.

P & O. S. N. Co.

S.S. Viceroy of India

My dear Bhaurao,

I am just dropping a line to say that the voyage has been so far very pleasant. The sea is calm and the people are very kind to me. I have forgotten the keys of all my trunks. It seems to be very providential for I am having compulsory rest as I cannot reach my books.

The delegates to the R.T.C. are holding meetings to discuss various questions and I am glad to say that they are very sympathetic to the demands of the D.C.

I am very anxious to know

~~that~~ how the criminal proceedings arising out of the Nasik Road Tracas has ended I should very gladly welcome any news from you in that connection at your earliest.

I need hardly tell you how very great is the responsibility that lies upon your shoulders & that of Amritsar. I think it very fortunate in having you two as my co-workers. I have not the slightest hesitation in believing that you will carry on even in my absence.

We shall be reaching Suez to-night at about 3 O'clock. I am going to Cairo to see the pyramids & will catch the steamer at Port Said. My next letter to you will be from London. My regards to you & Amritsar & Kale
Yours B.A.A.

my London address is

Thomas Cook Town Rd

378 Strand

London W.C.2

42

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

HONEY GROSVENOR 3303 (2 LINES)

8, CHESTERFIELD GARDENS,
MAYFAIR,
LONDON, W.1.

29. X. 30.

My dear Bhaurao,

I arrived in London on the 18th. My
colleague Rao Bahadur R. Shrinivasan are staying
at this place. I am not certain however that
I shall stay here permanently. You should
therefore write to me at the address I am giving
below

You must have read in the papers that
the Round Table Conference will be opened by the
King on the 12th Nov. The interval I propose to
spend in seeing important personages. So far I
have seen the Secretary of State for India and the
Under Secretary of State for India. I had been
called to lunch by Mr Lansbury a great labour

leader. I find a great deal of sympathy for the D.C. — and I am hopeful that this time our rights will receive full recognition. You will be glad to know that I also saw Sir Philip Chetwood the new — Commander-in-Chief who is coming out to India — and had a long talk with him on the — question of the employment of the D.C. in the Indian Army. He gave me a very — sympathetic hearing.

You must have heard of the developments that have taken place in Bombay since my departure. I am anxious to know what has happened in the Nasik Road Riots case.

Please give my best regards to Dani and Kale and all other friends. Tell Amitrao if you see him that I will write to him by the next — mail. Yours —

Sincerely
B. Ambedkar
c/o Thomas Cook &
Berkeley St.
London

43

Bhimrao R. Ambedkar.

M.A., PH.D., D.Sc., BAR-AT-LAW.

Member Bombay Legislative Council,
 Fellow University of Bombay.
 Vice-President Bombay Textile Labour Union.
 President Depressed Classes Institute, Bombay.

DELEGATE

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

Tel: ABERCORN 2401.

42, Clifton Gardens,

Maida Vale,

London, W.9.

17. XII. 30.

My dear Bhaurao,

I was glad to receive your two letters. You will excuse me if I have not been prompt in my reply to them. I have been very hard pressed for time. Much of my time has been taken up by the Committee of the Conference. Such leisure as I had I utilized in drafting a scheme for the Protection of the Depressed Classes in the future constitution of India. It is a very elaborate document drawn up in legal language and if I may say so puts the case of the Depressed Classes clearly and thoroughly. I am sure that you will all like it. I am getting 2000 copies printed—of which I will send some for circulation in India. When you will get it you will do well to telegraph to the Chairman minorities Committee Indian Round Table Conference saying that the D.C. report that is tabled therein is their irreducible minimum. Telegrams of this sort should come in plenty and should come from all provinces of India.

I hope to send printed copies of this by next week's mail

At present I am working on how best to promote the entry of the D.C. in the military. I am also preparing a memorial for this and getting into touch with the retired military officers who know our people. There is also the work of influencing members of Parliament. I am addressing the Labour M.P. on the 'untouchables' on Thursday. I am doing this because I want to get their support for Don't Enfranchise. I have arranged to address a similar meeting of the Liberal M.P. later on.

You will thus see that I am doing my best. My colleague is not of much use to me. But I have to thank him for the helpful cooperation and the spirit of ~~not~~ compromise he has always shows in our deliberation. We are acting as one man so far.

There are some very good photographs of mine taken by the best photographers in London. Perhaps some of you might like to have copies of them. They are very costly. Each copy would cost Rs 15/- If you let me know how many of you would want such copies I can put you in touch with the photographer who will supply on payment of cost.

Ram Narain

back for you

will be

that

quite

know

do

of

of

44

Bhimrao R. Ambedkar,

M.A. PH.D. D.S.C. BAR AT LAW.

Member Bombay Legislative Council,
Law University of Bombay,
Vice-President Bombay Textile Labour Union,
President Depressed Classes Institute Bombay.

DELEGATE

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

TELEGRAMS: AMRCORH 2401

42, Clifton Gardens,

Maida Vale,

London, W.9.

15.1.31

My dear Yashwanth

I think I have already written
 you in reply to your ~~present~~ ^{earlier} letter. I can
 not find time, as we are sitting in Council,
 to write a very short reply to your last letter in
 which you inform me the attitude taken by the
 Collector of Nasik towards our contemplated
 dalyagrah. All that I can say is that
 the attitude of the Collector ought not to make
 any difference to our programme and that
 you should go on with your plan and
 carry them out as they are. I have no
 doubt if you do I have no
 activity subject to the approval of
 the officials with necessary assistance

an inch

It may be that when you
start your salary work you may find
me in India

with regards to all I am
yours sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

45

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKER
M.A Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
LAW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL,
BOMBAY 12

29-5-31

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter. I had already learned about the tragic events of Patherdi before your letter came. It therefore did not shock me as it would have otherwise done. I was very much dejected to read that none of the assailants has been traced. I hope you will see the D. S. P. and urge upon him the necessity of making a through investigation. My information is that that the Patil of Patherdi is an accomplice — and was present along

with the assailants. This case is an eye opener
to all taking part in Satyagrah to be watched
to tell you ~~the~~ my real feelings you + Panikhanke
should take special precautions about yourself

I am sorry I cannot come for the Sunday
meeting - my presence is necessary in Bombay.
The Mahomedans are holding their meetings in
Bombay. We are trying to get the Mahomedans to
pass resolutions supporting our claims. A meeting
is arranged between A.C. leaders + Muslim ~~exp~~
on Sunday the day of your meeting - you will
agree that this matter is important and must be
given preference over them. Keep this information
strictly confidential. Besides my absence will
not harm you much. There is no fear of

2

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKER
M.A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL,
BOMBAY 12

52
my going to London soon. I will be available
till the end of July for any meeting that you
may arrange for the coming Satyagrah.
With my best regards for yourself & all
Rammamie and Damodar yours sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

46

भिमगव रामजी आंबेडकर,
एम. ए. पी. एच. डी. डी. एम. सी. वार-एट-लॉ.
सेवर लेजिस्लेटिव्ह कॉन्सिल, मुंबई.

दामोदर हॉल,
परळ, मुंबई, १२.

१९२ .

There is no foundation in the statement that ~~the~~ ^{the} Satyagrah by the untouchables at the Kala Ram Temple is suspended. The Satyagrah continues as before. Only ~~the~~ the method of Satyagrah is changed. In-
stead of sitting at the Temple doors the Satyagrahis patrol round the Temple in batches of four.

47

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.

M.A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL.

PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.

16th March 1931.

My dear Bhaurao

I have learned from D. V. of the fracas that took place yesterday. There is nothing surprising in that. I am however glad of the fight put up by our people. I congratulate them on their courage.

I understand that the Collector has promulgated a prohibitory order under Section 144 Cr. P. Code. I have not the text of the order before me. But it seems that the order applies to both parties and is to be in operation for one month. In view of this I think there is nothing to be gained by breaking the order. Our main object is not to offer satyagrah but

To prevent the pilgrimage and cause inconvenience
this the order helps us to achieve — and nothing
more can be gained by breaking the order. However
our camp of Satyagrahis must be maintained
and if the private gate is used by the public
then you may use the Satyagrahis for petrolling
the Temple in a manner as would not be
them in conflict with the order. Nothing more
for the present keep me informed of what goes on.

I am
Yours Sincerely
B. R. Ambedkar

48

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKER
M.A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALI
PAREL,
BOMBAY 12

21/5/51

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your yesterday's letter. I do not think that ~~it~~ under the conditions you report regarding the ~~the~~ arrangements for the Chamar Conference I can attend it. There is no possibility of my reaching Nasik before 6 P.M. you might as well therefore come to R. Narayangao on Saturday. I am told there is a regular motor bus.

My regards to all

Yours
B.R.A.

49

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M. A. PH. D. D. SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

7/7/31.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sorry I did not reply to your letter earlier. But I had gone to Kolhapur and returned on Sunday last.

I quite realize your anxiety regarding the coming Satyagrah. I am equally anxious about it — as it is certain that I am sailing for London on the 15th August at the latest if not earlier to serve on the Federal Structure Committee. Under these circumstances it

is necessary that we meet &
decide before I leave. I cannot
come to Nasik as the time left
at my disposal is too short
to finish the work pending in
High Court & else where. Therefore
the only alternative is that
some members of your Committee
should come to Bombay say
on Sunday next to discuss the
question. If you agree let me
have a word before hand if
you are coming.

With best regards
Yours Sincerely
B. R. G.

50) BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D.S. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

19/7/31.

My dear Bhamrao,

I am sorry I could not
come upon the 19th as desired
by you. I would have very
much liked you people to have
come over to Bombay. But
if you do not agree to that
I propose to come to Nasik on
the 1st August. It is Saturday. I
will come there at about 4 in the
afternoon and you must let
me return at 10.30 in the
night. I must be in Bombay
on Sunday the 2nd Aug. But this

gives you ample time of five
hours. Let me know if you
agree.

Yours Truly

P. R. Ambler

I suppose you know that
I am leaving for London on
the 15th Aug.

51

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D.S.C. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

23/7/31.

My dear Bhama,

I am in receipt of
your letter of the 22nd. As
desired by you I will
come on the 1st by the morning
express and shall be glad if
you can let me be back
by the afternoon train. I
generally do not like to
travel by night if I can
avoid it. Yours
B.R.A.

T.O.

Let the meeting be
between 12 and 2 so that
I can catch the train
at 2.30

52

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL,
BOMBAY, 12

26/7/31.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter with the enclosed ~~receipt~~ handbills. I quite understand the difficulty of changing the time of the meeting. But I think there are as ~~yet~~ ^{yet} ~~days~~ eight days and you can issue another handbill ~~and~~ ~~and~~ giving the new time and cancelling the old handbills. I should therefore advise you to do so immediately so as to permit my returning to Bombay in the evening. I am sorry to cause you this embarrassment but it seems to be unavoidable. I propose to come by the express. I will notify to you if I change. yours truly B. R. Ambedkar)

53

3 Bernard St
Russell Sq.
London.
14. X. 31

My dear Bhausaheb,

I regret very much not to have been able to write to you in reply to the letter you sent me sometime ago containing the interview you had with the Commissioner. I have been so ^{much taken up} busy with the question of minorities which as you know has become much more difficult owing to the attitude of Mr Gandhi that I have had no minute to spare. As anticipated by you I did get a letter from the Commissioner C. D. asking me to advise you & people to stop the ~~wasit~~ Satyagrah. I have not replied to him but I am going to do so by this mail. I am going to tell him that we cannot stop so you may tell our people to go on we must not take an order from the

Gork just as we ~~must~~ must not take them
 from the orthodox Hindus, we have trusted
 the Gork long enough to remove untouchability.
 But it has not lifted its finger to do any-
 thing in the matter and it has no right to
 ask us to stop. We must take the burden on
 our shoulders and do what we can ^{to} free our-
 selves at any cost from this curse. If
 the Gork does not help us it must not
~~not~~ hamper us. There is no use telling us that
 we must not create ill-feeling between
 different classes & communities. This appeal
 by Gork should be addressed to all ~~and~~
 communities and not to us alone. It should
 specially be addressed to those communities
~~are~~ who are in the wrong and who are
~~sinning~~ sinning in the matter.

You may publish a translation of this in
 hand bills and broadcast them ~~amongst~~

2

people.

I have been reading the telegrams ~~etc~~ ^{regarding} the struggles at ~~Mulched~~ between our people & the caste men. I am glad to find that our people are prepared at all cost to carry on the fight. I congratulate them. I see that you are starting Satyagrah on the 5th Nov. I hope you have made the best preparation. I am sorry I am not there to help you. But I know that our people in the Nasik District are now ~~to~~ live to their problem they do not need me.

I have had a telegram from Amritsar. It will strengthen my hands. My regards to you and my friends Kale, Dandekar & others.

Yours truly

P. S. R. Ambedkar

54

London

23.12.31.

My dear Bhanu,

I was very glad to receive your letter of the 4th. I should have written to you long before without waiting to hear from you. But you know in what poor state of health I left and I had to conserve all my energy for writing to the Janata. It is most gratifying to hear that the Satyagrah would be on a very big scale. I hope you all will make the best effort to make it a success. I feel quite ashamed myself when I think I am so little helpful in a campaign which if I have not started I have been at least responsible for. You will I hope on the other hand realize that I am engaged

in equally important business the ~~eff~~ results
of which are bound to be very lasting.

I am writing to Janata regularly
of the happenings here - and I am sure
you will not expect me to repeat them.
~~be~~ Do help for the - circulation of Janata

There was one thing I was very anxious to
know but about which you gave no
information who is the collector of Nasik?
I read that Gordon has been appointed to
inquire into the Bardoli Tenants' grievances.
You will realize that much will depend upon
~~the~~ who is the collector when the Satyagrah
Commences. My regards to yourself I am
Kale and Amritao. Write to me as
often as you can yours truly,

P. P. A.



Royal Hotel

Lucknow New Delhi

6/1/32.

My dear Bhausa

I am sorry you left Bombay
without telling me I was doubly
sorry not to have seen you at Nasik
Station owing no doubt to the great
crowd. I wanted particularly to see
you because I had to give you an
errand - which I am doing now.

An American woman by name Miss
Cumming is to come to India. I fear
she must have arrived in Bombay
by yesterday's P & O mail steamer.

She is a great friend of the Depressed
Classes and has as a correspondent

of an American Paper called the
 "Springfield Republican" she has given
 our cause the greatest publicity. She
 is very anxious to see our Satyagrah
 activity in Nasik and also wants
 to visit the Ellora caves I had
 promised her while in London that
 we will undertake to show her
 Nasik and the Ellora caves. It now
 falls to you and Amritrao to make
 good this promise. What I want
 you to do is to go to Bombay and
 get in touch with Miss Cunningham
 she is stopping either in the Grand
 Hotel or the Taj Mahal. Take her to
 Nasik by the night train, show her
 the temple and then ask Amritrao.



to take her in his car & Ellora.
 This is a word of honour and it
 must be kept. Please inform Amrutao
 that I have especially asked him to
 carry out the mission.

There is nothing particular to
 inform you regarding the work of
 our Committee. In Delhi we only
~~worked~~ considered our questionnaire
 we did not examine any witness.
 I came to Lucknow this morning
 and we will stay here till the
 9th — on we also do not propose
 to do anything in Lucknow. Our

Real work begins at Patna which
we reach on the 10th. More in
my next

I hope you are all doing
well. Sincerely

yours
B. R.

My address

B. R. Ambedkar
Member Indian Franchise Committee
Camp
India

56

Calcutta

21/5/32.



My dear Bhaurao

I was extremely sorry to read of the mishap to your father. I hope that the injury is not serious and that he is on his way to speedy recovery. I quite understand your feelings when you say that you have gone to Amba and that you must leave your father's sick-bed. I would just like to say a word of warning. You better place your father in the hands of a competent Doctor. It is no use listening to

old and village folks ~~of~~ who have
 a prejudice against doctors & hospital
 This is more important than sitting by
 sick-bed.

I am planning that you should
 give evidence before the Franchise
 Committee, of course on the understanding
 that your father by that time feels
 better. I ventured to do this notwithstanding
 your father's illness
 for you know we have all to
 perform public duties. I am sending
 you a copy of my answers for
 you to study. Nothing more for the
 present. Please convey to your father
 my sincere regrets for this mistake

Sincerely yours

W. R. A.

57

DEPRESSED CLASSES INSTITUTE.

(भारतीय-बहिष्कृत-समाज-सेवा-समिती)

Telephone
No 60066.Damodar Hall,
Parel, Bombay 12.

Ref Letter No

J/58

24th February 1932.

Dear Mr. Gaikwad

The Franchise Committee of the Round Table Conference have issued a questionnaire to the various institutions in the Presidency. Our Institution has sent replies to this questionnaire and the copy of the same is enclosed herewith for your information.

The Committee at present are touring in the country -- collecting evidence, written and oral. The Institute will have to depute a few of the representatives to appear before the Committee. The latter are in Bombay. Dr. Babasaheb desires you to be -- ^{Said} ~~the~~ ~~deputation~~ ~~may~~ I, therefore, request you to study the replies and be prepared for the evidence. The Committee will arrive in Bombay on the 6th of March 32 and the date of our deputation will be fixed later on, of which you will be duly informed.

If you want any information regarding the replies ~~still to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Committee~~ ~~may~~ ~~be~~ ~~obtained~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Committee~~ ~~glad~~ ~~to~~ ~~send~~ ~~you~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~as~~ ~~soon~~ ~~as~~ ~~possible~~ ~~as~~ ~~you~~ ~~are~~ ~~returning~~ ~~to~~ ~~Bombay~~ ~~along~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~Committee~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~6th~~ ~~of~~ ~~March~~ ~~next~~.

To,
Mr. Gaikwad,
Nasik.

Yours sincerely,

K. Shri. Tukar

58

MRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

6. IX. 32.

My dear Bhamao,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th. The reason why Shrivastkar was not able to answer your letter was because of my absence from Bombay for professional work. I arrived only yesterday. Mr Shrivastkar has informed you already that he & 2nd will visit me. I am writing this to ask you whether it would be possible for you to convert this Leaders Conference

into a Bombay Presidency
~~Leaders~~ Depressed Classes
 Conference. You can hold
 the general Conference on the
 1st day and the Leaders Conference
 on the second day. I think
 it would be an ideal
 thing if you can manage
 it. I cannot press for it because
 it would be an
 expensive matter. However
 I would like to have you
 consider my suggestion. With
 my best regard to yourself &
 Amrutas. Yours - Sincerely
 B.R. A.

59

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

15.9.32.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th. I did not reply

Amritrao's letter because I have been very busy and also because

I had sent you word already

with the Kale who had come

to see me. I think 15th and

16th would be better.

You will realize

that Gandhi's vow has created

a most critical situation

you must do nothing
by way of statement
which spoil the cause
I am going to Lawanwar
tomorrow and will not be
back till the first. I hope you
will be able to make the
Conference a great success

Yours sincerely

J.R. Ambedkar

60

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PARCEL
BOMBAY, 12

7. 10. 32

My dear Bhausa,

I have received your letter yesterday on my return from Poona. I am afraid I cannot agree with you with regard to the Yeola conference. If we can't discuss the Kalaram Temple question and it can't be discussed unless the conference meets at Nasik, there is no urgency left in holding a conference at Yeola. I am therefore of opinion that the Yeola conference be postponed to March next. I shall therefore be obliged if you will kindly issue another

handbill informing people that it is cancelled. I am sorry I have to trouble you in this connection.

I have ask you or Amitrao to kindly consent to preside over the Jalgaon Conference of the D.C. of Khandesh.

I am
yours sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

61

Daman

Hall

Porel

Bombay-2

15.3.33

My dear Shrihar

I am in receipt of

your letter. The ywala people

who came yesterday to see

me I am sorry that I cannot

give you the exact date

of the Conference which

is to meet at Ywala owing

to the uncertainties of my

I work in the High Court. All
 I can say is that I will
 try and give you a date
 some time after - the 15th
 April next. This is all
 very vague I must say.
 But here is no way out,
 I am here for one that
 you will for the present
 remain content with what
 I have suggested.

With kind regards
 Dani and Kale I am
 Yours sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar

P.S. Has Amuntrao returned?
Kinchu

Samodar Hall

Parel

Bombay-12

19.4.33

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your two letters sent to me some time ago. I did not reply immediately because I was ^{not definite} upon either of the two topics you had touched upon. I could not support the Stayagraha at Kalaram Temple. Having taken the attitude which I did towards the Temple Entry Bills the only thing left for me to do was to oppose it. But I did not like to do it. I adopted ~~of~~ I think the best course and that was to sit mum and say nothing. All the time however I was 'worrying' that the exercise of Specialdom might fall upon the D.C. in which the consequences would have been grave. I was therefore considerably

relieved when I read that Sec 144 was
 applied to both sides. Regarding the Yavala
 conference I must now say ~~that~~ that it is
 now beyond me. I am sailing for London
 on the 24th and it is impossible for me to
 attend to any thing else besides most urgent
 business of a personal character. I am
 ashamed to have to disappoint the Yavala
 people after having promised them so often.
 But I never thought that the call to
 London would be so sudden and so preemptory.
 Will you therefore tender my apologies to the
 Yavala people and say that they must carry
 on without me. I would have asked them
 to wait till my return. But it is a long
 wait and I do not feel quite confident that
 I would ~~be~~ be able to fulfil my promise of
 I gave you now of coming to Yavala on my
 return. With my best regards I am yours truly
 B. R. Ambedkar

63

Rajghata
Hindu Colony
Dadar

Bombay-14.

20.1.34

My dear Bhaurao,

many thanks for your letter. I was going to write to you but since my arrival I have not had a moment's leisure. I have had to write three memoranda which has entailed enormous work. I am not yet through with it and may not be through with it till the end of the next week. In these circumstances I suggest that you come to Bombay on the 27th instead of the 23rd. We will then have more leisure to talk things over.

With my regards to all my friends

I am
yours sincerely
B.R. Ambedkar

64

Rajgraha
Hindu Colony
Dadar
Bombay-14
3.3.34

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd Feb. It is very kind of you to have asked me for my views on the propriety of the S-C. launching upon a ~~Shayagraha~~ at the Kala Ram Temple in Nasik on the coming Rama Navmi day. I have no hesitation in saying that such a move would be quite uncalled for — and should not merely be suspended but should be stopped altogether. This may appear strange and surprising coming as it does from one who was the author of the Satyagraha. But I am afraid to declare this change of front. I did not launch the temple entry movement because I wanted the S-C. to become worshippers of idols which they were prevented

from worshipping or because I believed that
 temple entry would make them equal members
 in and an integral part of the Hindu Society.
 So far as this aspect of the case is concerned
 I would advise the D.C. to insist upon a
 complete overhauling of Hindu Society and Hindu
 theology, before they consent to become an integral
 part of Hindu Society. I started temple entry
 Satyagraha only because I felt that that was
 the best way of energizing the D.C. and making
 them conscious of their position. As I believe
 I have achieved that purpose I have no more
 use for temple entry. I want the D.C. to concentrate
 their energy and resource on politics and education
 and I hope that they will realize the
 importance of both.

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

65

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,

M.A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,

PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

Do not release this letter
for publication textually. For the
intention of ~~it~~ it merely saying
that I do not ~~adhere~~ Satyagraha

P.R.S.

66

Rajawade

New Trade

Bombay 4

25.94

My dear Bhanu

I came from Bordi last Sunday
and I am sorry to say with no better health than
I had before I went there. I have received
all the three letters you sent and it is strange
I should have taken so long to reply to them. But
that is inevitable in the present state of my
health which I have to use very sparingly.

It is very kind of Amrutao & yourself to
call me to stay at Vinchar. But I must ask
you to excuse me. It would seem strange to
trust your hospitality and your pleasant company
But my doctors advise is to turn away from company
- I wish to save myself. Reading and speaking

exhausts me — as nothing else ~~do~~^{do}. I am therefore ~~not~~^{not} live in solitude away from people and away from my books. I am going to Panhala (Kolhapur) tomorrow & spend the vacation — and will stay here till the first week of June. I am however very anxious to meet you & Anant Rao and perhaps it may be possible for both of you to come down to Panhala for two days say about the 4th or 5th of June to stay with me. We can then talk over many of the matters which must be discussed & settled. You can come down in Anant Rao's car if he has.

I would have taken up the case of the Mahomedan — but owing to these circumstances I can't. With kind regards to all friends

Yours sincerely

B. R.

My address at Panhala would be

c/o Postmaster

Panhala

Kolhapur State

67

Rajgraha

New Dadar

Bombay

3.6.34

My dear Bhaurao

I was sorry to learn that you and Amritrao could not come to Panhala owing to the illness of Amritrao. I did not however think that his illness was of a serious character. Your yesterday's letter has made me very anxious. I don't think that he can get the necessary medical treatment at Vinchu. He should come down to Nasik or better still to Bombay. Will you write to me by return post if possible as to how Amritrao is fairing

my stay at Panhala has done me
some good. I wish I had stayed here longer.
There are many things to discuss. But
they had better wait till Amrutao is better
with kind regards to Dani & Kale I am
yours sincerely,

B.R. Ambedkar

68

Rajgraha

New Dadar

Bombay-14

7.6.34.

My dear Bhaurao,

I was glad to hear that Amritrao is well and that you both intend to come down to Bombay. It would be better if you and Amritrao alone came as we shall have to talk over some ^{important} matters which must be treated as confidential. I am only anxious that I should not be away when you come. I am likely to go out of Bombay on ^{Monday} the 18th. It would be better if you came down on Friday the 15th in the evening. We could then have two full days Friday & Saturday to ourselves. Let me know if this suits you.

yours (m)

B.R.

69



The IMPERIAL HOTEL

RUSSELL SQUARE
LONDON, W.C.1

Telegrams Rustimp London
Telephone Terminus 3655

28. 0 33

my dear Bhaurao,

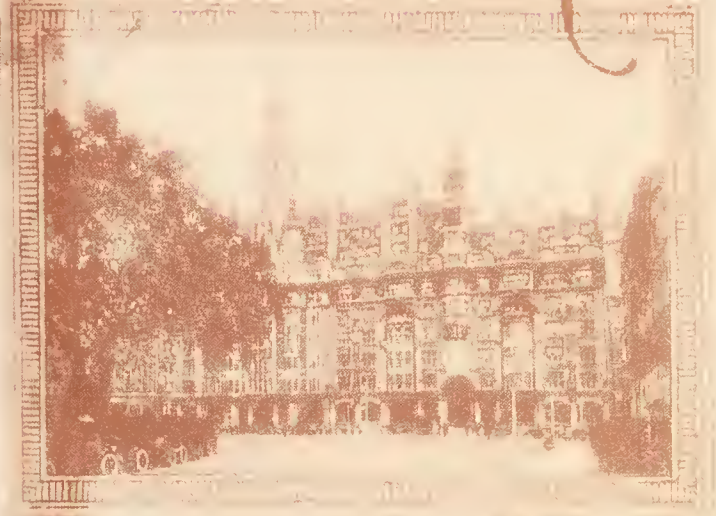
L. B. has sent me a letter proposing that an educational conference be held in the Nasik District and asking for my help. I have sent him a report a copy of which I am enclosing herewith for your information. This projected conference may be an honest effort to promote education or may be dishonest attempt to belittle you and Ran Khambhe and I want

you therefore to keep an eye on it and let me know how it is developing and what you think of it.

Nothing more for the present. I hope to be back in August. Give my best regards to Amrtao Dani & Kale.

Sincerely yours
B. R. Ambedkar

70



Confidential
 The
 IMPERIAL HOTEL

RUSSELL SQUARE
 LONDON, W.C.1

Copy

Telegrams Rustimp London
 Telephone Terminus 3655

28 6 33

My dear Sadhan,

I have received your letter of the 11th May 1933. I am sorry for the delay in replying to it and I hope you will excuse me for the same.

I agree with what you say regarding the importance of education for the depressed classes and I think adequate effort ought to be made in that direction. I am therefore in hearty sympathy with your project of a conference. I must at the same time point out



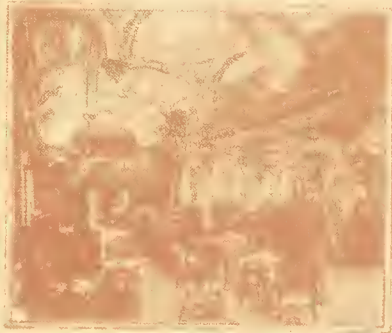
two things which I had an opinion for. The first
 is the relative importance to be attached
 to education and mass movement. I have
 noticed a tendency in you and your friends
 to belittle mass movement. I can of course
 never agree with that point of view. While
 I do not undervalue education I attach
 absolute importance to mass movement. Secondly,
 I cannot take any personal responsibility
 for education. I did take such responsibility
 in the beginning but I now think that
 such responsibility cannot properly belong
 to one who has a responsibility for the whole
 of the whole of the Province if not for the
 whole of India and for matters of general
 interest to the community as a whole
 and ~~not~~ not for a matter of individual



The IMPERIAL HOTEL

RUSSELL SQUARE
LONDON, W.C.1

Telegrams Rusimp London
Telephone Terminus 5655
(25 lines)



interest such as education. Subject to these observations you may count upon my support in your educational activity. I must however warn you that I will not allow myself to be used for beating down men like Bhaurao Gaikwad & Anurao Raukhambe who have rendered in my opinion invaluable services to the Nasik District in fact to the whole of the Province of Bombay if such be the

~~remot~~ ~~of~~ my association with your work
 I thought it was due to you and to me
~~that~~ I should make this quite clear.

With kind regards I am

Yours truly
 B. R. A.

71

BHIMRAO. R. AMBEDKAR

M. A. Ph. D. D. Sc.
Barrister-at-Law.
J. P. M. L. C.

RATIGRAHA

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY - 14.

2. 1. 35

My dear Bhaurao

This is not to say that I reached Bombay on the 30th evening. I trust that you and the rest have also reached your destination safely.

I had promised the boys of the Vasik Secular Printing Press to write to their Superior in respect of the delay. Before I actually do so I would like to know if there is really any necessity. Will you therefore kindly go to the Press and inquire if their Superior has created any trouble over their delay and let me know about it.

Nothing more for the present with my best regards to Dani & yourself I am

Yours sincerely
B. R. Ambedkar

72

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

3. 3. 35.

My dear Bhawrao,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter to Mr. Perry the Collector of Nasik in behalf of Mr. Kale. I shall let you know what he has to say when I receive his reply. In the meantime you and Kale should ^{treat} this letter as absolutely confidential.

yours truly

GR Rk

73

Private & Personal

3rd March 1935.

I thank you very much for your letter promising to give sympathetic consideration to the claim of the Depressed Classes for two seats by nomination on the District Local Board of Nasik.

I have however to trouble you once more in connection with the case of Mr. T.B. Kale.

Mr. T.B. Kale is a Mahar by caste. He was appointed first as a clerk in the Revenue Department in the - Nanigaoon Taluka in the Nasik District in 1925. In 1927 he was taken in the Accounts Branch in the office of the Collector of Nasik. His work there was greatly appreciated and ~~and~~ then he was sent to the Accountant General's office in Bombay for training. After three months' training in the Accounts Office in Bombay he returned to resume his duties in the Accounts Branch of the Collector's office at Nasik. In consideration of his efficient work he was sent out as a Circle Inspector in Baglan Taluka in July 1934.

The appointments of Circle Inspectors, I understand, are generally made only in cases of persons who are - intended to be raised to the posts of Head Karkuns or Amaltdars. A very unfortunate incident has happened, which I fear has prevented Mr. T.B. Kale from reaping the full advantage of his appointment as a Circle - Inspector. The incident arose out of the most humiliating treatment given to Mr. Kale by the Amaltdar of Baglan on account of his caste. Kale had complained to me from time to time of the Amaltdar's attitude - towards him.

I have instructed all the D.C. clerks working in the Government Departments not to lend the insults and humiliations offered to them by other high caste Hindu clerks and officers ~~and~~ as it was necessary for them to establish a foothold for the D.C. in the public services and I have no reasons to believe that Kale did not follow my advice. Evidently the conduct of the Amaltdar must have been unbearable. For Kale applied for transfer from Baglan to some other Taluka in the District. But to his mortification Kale was reduced to

-2-

the position of a clerk and transferred to Yevla. He has now been working as a clerk at Yevla since - November 1934.

There are probably not more than 2 - 3 clerks from the Depressed Classes in the Nasik District. They are placed in the midst of a ~~host~~ host of hostile - clerks of high caste Hindus, who are always administering all sorts of pinpricks and under Hindu Officers who are charged with complete antipathy. If a transfer asked on the ground of ill-treatment or humiliating - treatment was to be treated as a cause for degradation in rank no man from the D. C. can hope to complete his career in any Government Office. I have, therefore, to request you to kindly redress the wrong done to Kale by appointing him as a head Karkun in some Mamlatdar's Office. I have no doubt that he is honest and efficient and deserves encouragement.

I am writing this because I hear you are transferred to some other district and that you will be - relinquishing your charge as Collector of Nasik on the 22nd of this month. If you do not show sympathy to Kale and make his appointment Kale will be doomed for ever because your successor will not redress the wrong.

I was looking forward to meeting you personally at Nasik and to speak to you there about Kale. But as it is uncertain as to when I would be free to come to Nasik I have felt it necessary to write to you lest it should be too late.

Thanking you very much for your kindness and your courtesy,

I am,

74

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

16 8 35

My dear Bhaurao,

I have written to Ammanudom three weeks ago about your plot of land also about Kale also. It is possible I will be able to come to Nasik in October. If the Yevala people wish it I can preside over their conference I can not give the date yet

Yours by

B. R. A.

75

HIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.
J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"
NEW DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

2/10/35.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the 29th sept.

I am sending herewith the programme you are prepared. I have cancelled one or two items hope you won't mind. I won't be able to bear the strain and that is the only reason why I have cancelled them.

Chandamou and his friends had been to me. They bitterly complain that their names were deliberately omitted from the hand bills. They do not admit that what you say namely that you asked them and that they refused to join. It is unfortunate that this dispute which I find has become a feud has not been settled. They have shown their willingness

to you — and they have given me the names
 they wish to be included among the office-bearers
 and Reception committee members. I am sending
 you the slip of paper containing the names
 I am also sending you ~~you~~ ^{the old} handbill or the one
 these names entered in it at places where they
 should appear. Will you kindly issue and the
 handbill immediately with the additions of these
 names. We must see that the controversy is
 settled.

I have written to Ammudin that I will
 stop with him and I must now meet my
 word.

There is some school at the station
 the manager of which wants me to go there
 for a few minutes. I don't think there is
 any objection. You might include this in
 the programme — which I am sending back

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

76

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

16.8.35

My dear Bhaurao,

I have written to Ammanuddin three weeks ago about your plot of land also about Kale also. It is possible I will be able to come to Nasik in October. If the Yevala people wish it I can preside over their conference. I cannot give the date yet

Yours by
B.R.A.

77

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

8/11/35.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am returning herewith a draft of the ~~hand~~ bill you have sent me with one minor change. You can issue it now and distribute it. Yeshwant's condition has not improved and I feel very anxious on his account.

With my kind regards to yours and Dani I am
yours sincerely,

B. R. Ambedkar

P.S. The ~~has~~ reputation is coming on Sunday next at 4 P.M. The ~~books~~ have invited to the celebration they are holding in Bombay in honour of

When Nana's - on Tuesday next in the
morning. I am thinking of going.
Would you like to come? you can
return in the evening with the reputation
being done and a number of things found
at convenient.

78

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

19
" 35.

My dear Bhawrao

I am in receipt of your two letters. I did not hurry to reply because I was told that you were coming to Kalyan to preside over a meeting. I approve of your line of action. We must get rid of all superstitious gods and goddesses.

The handbill should be distributed not only in the Nasik district but all over the Bombay Presidency. Will you kindly do this. Yestwant is a little better. I am sending him out of Bombay. My regards to all

yours sincerely

B R Ambedkar

79

BHIMRAO K. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

25/3/36

My dear Bhaurao,

I am writing to know when you are coming down to Bombay and how many of you are coming. I expect you here on Friday evening at least on Saturday morning

yourself, Sami and Anantao will stay with me. The President is also staying with me. If your women folks are coming with you bring them. I shall be glad to have them as my guests only they will be accommodated separately.

Nothing more. Give my regards to all.

yours sincerely,

B. K. Ambedkar

80

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

22/6/36.

My dear Bhaurao,

I was very sorry to read your letter. I cannot understand his Dani's attitude. You must ask him to allow his Dani to file a complaint. If women can go to Court for getting property why should they ~~not~~ not get to vindicate their honour. Suppose his Dani was to get some property would not he allow his Dani to go to Court to file a civil suit? I am sure - his 'Rau Khambi' will not object.

Why have you not been able to
 form a Committee for election
 purposes? I do not understand your
 difficulty. At least send me the name
 of persons whom you think ought to be
 on the Committee. I am anxious to
 know what you have done regarding
 registration of our voters. I want
 the population figures of Dahar, Chawbar,
 Dhang and Bhangis in the Nasik District
 by Talukas. Please treat this as urgent.
 I need not say anything regarding the
 candidature of Mr Galvanhas to the
 University. He has spoken to you. I would
 like you to advise to support him. Or
 kind regards yours Sincerely P. R. Lambé

81

DEVDAAT N. TILAK B. A., LL. B.
ADVOCATE
EDITOR OF MARATHI DNYANODAYA
AND BALBODHMEWA

ज्ञानोदय
DNYANODAYA
"Rise of knowledge"
The Organ of six Missionary Organizations Working in
the area of Bombay Representative Christian Council.

Shanti Sadan
Nasik
India

July 30th 1936

My dear Gaikwad,

Mr. Lam writes to say that breakfast will be served -vegetable one-
for Dr. Ambedkar, you, Messers Dani and Rankhambe Dr. F'atakia and me at his
table on Saturday the 1st of August. He is coming with Dr. Ambedkar or earlier
and will be very glad to have us. His car will go to the station to fetch Dr.
Ambedkar at the train time.

I am writng him to send me his car inthe morning so that we can go in it
to Deplali and be ready to receive Dr. A.

With my nest regards.

Yours sincerely

C. N. Tilak

82



GOVERNMENT LAW COLLEGE
BOMBAY

31/7/36

My dear Bhausa

I have received your letter this morning informing that Amikrao does not propose to come to Bombay. In that I must postpone my coming to Deolali because, the question which I mentioned to you is settled I ~~cannot~~ can not do anything before the people whom you have called. We cannot discuss this question in the public. Therefore

Amikrao must make it convenient

to come so that I am able to ascertain
 his mind. We think ^{that} I cannot make
 up my mind. In that event ^{there}
 is no way but to postpone the meeting.
 you can fix it for ~~next~~ Sunday the 9th
 at 12. In case you ~~do~~ keep it for
 Sunday I must be home by 4 o'clock train
 the meeting must therefore be held at
 12. a. m. sharp. Also Anitrao must
 see me before that. He may come
 on Saturday evening. I am sorry but
 I see no way.

yours sincerely
B. R. U.

P.S. you have given me only 500 votes
 I also want total voters in both divisions

83

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

3/8/36

56
My dear Bhaurao,

Thanks for your letter. I think it would be better to meet at Mr. Law's place at Deolali. It seems that it is a very convenient place. It is not necessary for Mr. Law to be there present personally. Even if he is absent from Deolali I am sure he

will allow us the use of his bungalow. If that is
not possible you should arrange. The meeting
on Sunday the 16th. Kind let me know by return
post so that I may have time enough to
rearrange my programme in Bombay accordingly.
The meeting must be held at about 12. So that
I can return ~~at~~ by 4 P.M.

Yours sincerely

G.R.H.

84



"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

5/viii/36

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sorry it has become ^{next Sunday} impossible for me to come to Nasik, owing to some very important business having cropped up. I am sorry to disturb the arrangements but there is no way out and I must stay in Bombay. I will let you know the next date.

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

85



"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14

20. VIII. 36

My dear Bhauao

I have been anxiously waiting to hear from you as to what arrangement you have arrived at with Rankhambe. But I am sorry that has been no intimation from you in this behalf. There will be no issue my coming to Deslali on Sunday next unless you and Rankhambe have reached an agreement which I can

announce at the meeting. If I do not hear
 from you in the connection before Saturday next
 you can take it that I shall not be coming.

I have you read the programme of the Independent
 Labour Party which was published in the Times of
 India of Saturday last. Let me know what you
 think of it.

Yours
 B. A.

86

MGIFPAH—2891—17-1-35—1,35,440 Bks.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay

Rs.

Asst.



Handed in at (Office of Origin)		Date	Hour	Minute	Service Instructions.	Words.
Bombay dr		7	11	15		10
TO	Bhasrao	Eastward		Recd. here at	11	11

mark

Not coming Sunday next

Ambedkar

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

87

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

25. VIII-36


 41
 My dear Phauzee

I have received your letter of the 22nd in which you say that you have written earlier a detailed letter. I have not received any such letter. I cannot understand what you & Rankhambé have been doing. My health has completely failed, and the doctors are advising me to go out of India for rest. I may go abroad any time. I must have your decision without delay. I can't wait here. Therefore write to me by return post what agreement if any you have reached with Rankhambé.

Yours truly

B.R.A.

88



RAJGRAHA

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

27. 9 36

My dear Phawrao,

I cannot blame you for your silence. But I had expected you to keep me informed of the happenings in regard to the electoral campaign. I am sending you two handbills which have been sent to me. I am surprised to find Davis' name. Does Raukhambe know of it? Is it done with

his consent? I like to have some information on these points.

I have gone thro the Papers of the Bhagwat Mahars. I think St has a regulate the ~~right~~ remuneration of the mahars. However I will take up the matter with the Government and let you know what they say.

Yours truly

B. R.

89



RAJGRAHA
DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

16.10.36

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter. If Rankhe
wants to stand for the General Seat he must not
put in his nomination paper on the 15th for the
Reserved Seat. If he does he will not be entitled
to stand for the General Seat. You should inform
him of this.

Yours truly

B. R. K.

90-91

30 EPAB-



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay.

Rs.

As.



Handed in at (Office of Origin)	Date.	Hour	Minute.	Service Instructions.	Words.
Dadard	7	85			15

TO

Bhaurao Gaikwad
 main road nasik city
 going jalgaon tonight - come
 = Ambedkar

N.B.—The name of the sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

NOTICE



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay.

Rs.

As.

Office Stamp.



Handed in at (Office of Origin)	Date	Hour	Minute	Service Instructions.	Words.
Bombay	Dec 1	20	30		11

TO

Bhaurao Gaikwad
 main road
 nasik
 - Come at once
 = Ambedkar

92



Terms of Compromise

on the Trade Disputes Bill.

Government must agree to drop provisions relating to the following

1. ~~The~~ illegality of strike during Conciliation.
2. illegality of strike ~~by~~ by workers who have agreed to arbitrate.
3. organization of Trade Unions on prescribed lines.

We are prepared to agree to nothing more than making conciliation compulsory.

J.R.K.

J.R.K.

93



RAJGRAMA
DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

My dear Bhaurao,

13/10/36.

I have your letter of the 9th. I am very bad from the point of view of health. I have no energy left and I feel exhausted after any little exertion. I wish you spared me the trouble of going about. Besides I do not think that there would be an election even if ~~the~~ we have Rau Khambhe stands. You does not seem that there is any urgency if however you think that ~~you~~ I must come I certainly will. However the dates you have fixed will not suit me. We will have to take some other dates. I will let you know what dates

Will omit ~~you~~ me.

Roham who came here day before yesterday that there was a meeting held by the Raukhambe Party at Niphad and that not only a resolution was passed supporting Raukhambe but there was also another resolution passed condemning conversion. Please let me know how far this is true. I am sending you two handbills sent to me. Can you let me know what happened at these meetings.

Yours truly

B.R.R.

P.S. Raukhambe I hear is organizing a party against me!!

91

MR. B. AMBEDKAR
 B.A. AND D.S.
 DISTRICT OFFICE
 SATARA

'RAJOPALIA'
 DAURAK
 BOMBAY

21 Oct. 1936

My dear Bhauao,

I have received your letter. I am glad your section - has become easy. So far I am informed that there will be contest only in Satara and in Sholapur. In the former our candidate is ~~J. J.~~ Savant and in the latter Aidale. Now that ~~you~~ you are free I want you to go to Satara immediately to help Savant - and then to Sholapur to help Aidale.

I am ~~for~~ going to Gholwad today for rest which I need very badly. I will be returning to Bombay on or about the 1st November.

My address will be

King Hotel

Gholwad

3355 I Rly

Please treat this as very urgent. you
can take Bhole with you from Poona or
ask Bhole to lend you his car.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

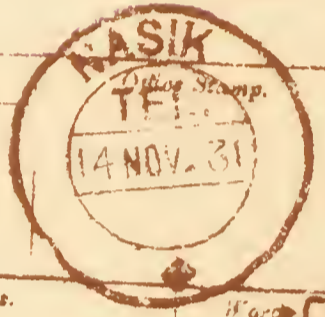
2

Or NOTICE.

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Rs. As.



Send at (Office of Origin)

London

Date, Hour, Minute

Spec. Instructions

Words

TO

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar
Committee
Nasik

Recd. here at

H.

Congratulations To arrested
Keep on only severe sacrifice
will bring us success
Ambedkar

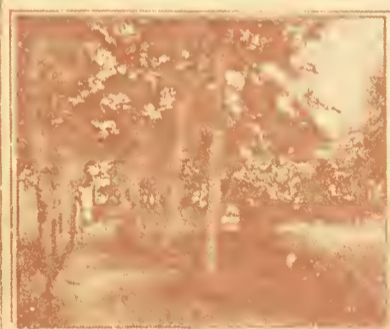
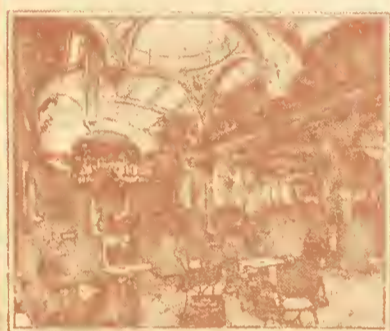
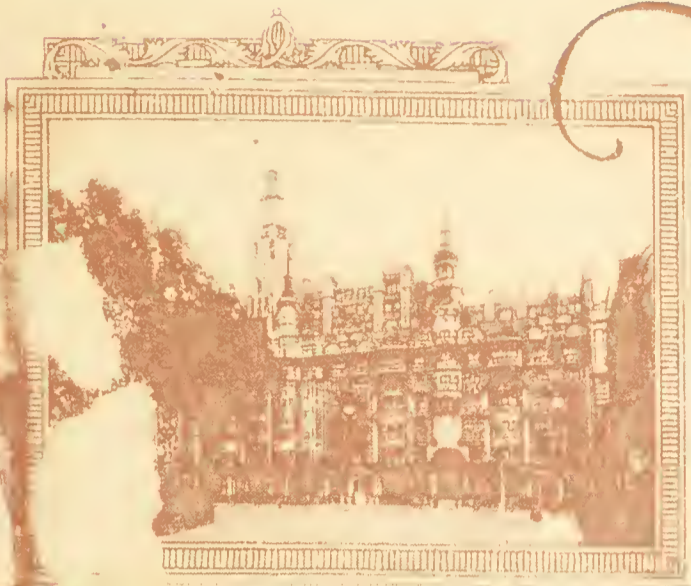
The name of the sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

The IMPERIAL HOTEL

RUSSELL SQUARE
LONDON, W.C.1

Telegrams Rusimp London
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(251 N.S.)

30. 92. 22.



प्रिय भाउसाह,
रणखांबे आपण वयाची या ही घावी मिळून
लिहीलें ता. ७ चे पत्र मिळाले. म. रणखांबे यांच्या
धाकट्या बंधूस. Hon. Rajwade नेहलें हें वाचून
मला आनंद सांगो. काड्या तर्फे आपण यांचे आभार
करावे...

आपल्या बद्दल माझे मन कळवित साह्या कुर्
मी आपणस पत्र लिहीलें गेलें असं जें आपण
जवळ आह्या बद्दल मला सर्वदक्षि वारलें. मला
स्वतःची काही कामाची क बुद्धी आहे असें काहीच
जणत गेलें. मद्रास जणताना मद्रासच्या पक्ष याताने
वागत. मद्रास दशस्थ जणताना मी का करत

नई व्यवस्था आने. एकपाटीय व्यवस्था की प्रस्तावनाओं
 को ध्यान में रखते हुए एक पार्टी के एक अध्यक्ष को चुना-या
 कौटुंबिक कुटुंबों, आदि, आदि न हो स्थिति में मालूम
 हुआ कि इन सबको ध्यान में रखकर आगे बढ़ना आवश्यक
 स्वीकार्य होगा। मरणा न हो कर कामे मानव जीवन क
 कामे मरणावकाश न हो कामे भी ठीक है आदि. जो कुछ आवश्यक
 अनुशासन करीगा करने आवश्यक होने से कुछ को कर्तव्य
 या पूर्व मान्यता पर साथ ही कामे आयोजन आदि काठलया क
 संशोधन आवश्यक करीगा करना न हो. जिसकी मरणा आवश्यक
 संशोधन आदि के साथ उपयोग करने होगा. जो करीगा
 को प्राप्त न हो करीगा भी साथ बुद्धि के वाग्विहारी आदि जरूर
 अनुशासन करीगा न हो करीगा करीगा उपयोग न हो.

विशेष की परत आना कर. कार्य सुधी, मरणा के
 ध्यान में रखकर

आयु का कु
 जि मरणा के आदि कर

97

BHIMRAO. R. AMBEDKAR

M. A. Ph. D. D. Sc.

Barrister-at-Law.

J. P. M. L. C.

RAJGRAHA

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY - 14.

9.10.34

My dear Bhaurao,

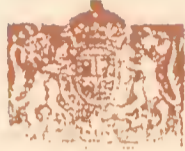
If I wonder if you have received my letter. I have had no reply. I hope you are well.

The beaver comes from Navik. He is very anxious to get some monetary help for the education of his brother. Can you get him a scholarship from the

D. L. B. Navik.

Yours Sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

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Send in at (Office of Origin)	Date.	Hour	Minute	Service Instructions.	Words.
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Recd. here at 12 H. 10 M.

Bhaikar Garkwad Nawapuria Narik

Come immediately
2 Ambedkar

N.B.—The name of the Sender if telegraphed, is written after the text.

98

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi.

My dear Bhanoo,

I have received your two letters. There is no objection to your attending the Conference of the Bahu-Jan-amaivadi Party. Beyond expressing general sympathy with the party there is nothing we can do for the moment. Even if we knew our own mind we are not opportune for ~~this~~ disclosing it to the public. We shall have to align ourselves with some party. Some times it would suit our interests to commit

2

ourselves ~~with~~ to one particular course we must keep our line clear.

I have read your second letter. I cannot say that the stand you have taken vis-a-vis the Collector of Nasik is not proper. At the same time I do not wish you to come into conflict with the Government of Bombay. There is plenty of party work to be done and there is no use getting locked up. I should therefore advise you to ~~get locked up~~ go slowly use less abusive language.

I am anxious to know what has happened to Falingkar

3

The date of the Constituent Assembly which was to meet on the 13th of July has been postponed to November next. I am therefore coming to Bombay on the 3rd of July by the Frontier mail — and will stay there for a fortnight. As the pain in my legs has increased I need some treatment which I can have only in Bombay.

I am badly in need of a cook who can cook both Indian and European style food. He must be well behaved. If you find one bring him with you on the 3rd.

During my stay I like to meet the
workers of our Federation as well as
of the I. L. P. for private discussion

There is nothing more for the
present except the Hyderabad crisis
which I feel a deep concern.

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely
B. R. A.

P.S. Rajbhoj was here. He seems
to be hale and hearty.

99

1 Haringe Avenue
New Delhi.

My dear Phauao,

I have received your letter. Many thanks for the same. I am ~~sure~~ what you say ~~the~~ cook will suit us — and I would like you to send him as soon as he can come. Let me know what salary he expects, and whether with ~~feather~~ or without. ~~feather~~, also he is single or with family and if with family, he wants to come alone or with his family.

I want to know what has been the attitude of the Government of Bombay towards you. Keep me informed about it.

Jai Prakash Narayan came saw me, on ~~the~~ Sunday last. We had a long talk. I told him that we could not commit ourselves to any ^{definite} attitude towards the Socialists unless we know what plan the S.C. will have in their programme & policy. He has promised to supply them to me. He also told me of the talks he had with more

and the reasons for ~~his~~ breakdown.
 He said that more was pro-Communist
 and wanted to amalgamate the Bahujan
 Party with the Communist Party. If
 more proceeds along this line he will
 I am sure ~~ruin himself~~ and
 the Bahujan Party. Do you agree with
 me?

Joshi has left for Bombay yesterday.
 Will you contact him & finalize the
 scheme for building hutments on
 the land. With kind regards from
 myself and my wife yours sincerely
 B.R. Ambedkar

100



"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR, BOMBAY

1.6.38

my dear Bhawrao

This is just to congratulate
Mrs Saikwad on her great success
in the D.L.B. election. I should
like very much to know how
our party and Throat's party
has fared in the elections.
I returned to Bombay
on the 25th May after a very

Strenuous love

yours truly

B. R. A.

101

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

8/6/38

My dear Phawrao,

I have had your letter. I am
 sorry not to be able to reply to it earlier.
 I am busy with my book wholly and solely
 I want to finish a good part of it before the
 High Court begins.

I have written to Mr. Shilliday in
 connection with Klausung. I hope his luck
 will come to his rescue.

With regard to your seeking for
 being a liaison officer I do not know what
 kind of a job it is and therefore unable to say
 one way or the other. All I can say in general
 is that we should ~~do~~ nothing which would

give an idea that we are craving for a personal gain. There is nothing to prevent us from seeking for a place in ~~the~~ any Statutory body or going to a minister to ask him to do some thing for a ~~particular~~ ~~man~~ our people. It is better to err on the safe side and not to give any body any chance to doubt our honesty. With these words of caution I must leave it to you to decide.

For my book I need a short account of the Nasik Satyagrah. I have to request you to furnish it to me without delay. I want the important dates and details. Treat this as urgent.

I am free from the Law College. I have handed over charge of my Principalship. This is just to say that if there is Court work in Nasik I shall be free to come.

yours truly
B. Ambedkar

102

BIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

11.7.38

my dear Bhaurao

Have you found out the
statement you gave to the Police in the Nasir
Satyagraha for the damage done by the Hindus?
I want it very badly. Send me information

regarding the recent case where our people
were molested - by their fields being thrown open
to cattle to feed because they attended some
conversion meeting. Also send the chapters
I need them for correction.

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

103



"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR, BOMBAY

5.10.38

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sending herewith the
Correspondence from her Fakira. you
will see that he is arranging to hold
a Conference of the Kaira District Intouches
at Dwaraka and that they have decided
to have you as the President. I trust
you will accept and relieve me. I
am writing to him that you consent
in anticipation of your reply. Please
write to Fakira if you acceptance.

My minute of dissent to the
Panchayat Bill is ready only it is

waiting to be typed I am not hurrying
 because the Select Committee is postponed
 sine die. However I will send it
 soon.

Nothing more for the present. Mr
 Jannadas was complaining to D.V.
 that our boys were not helping
 them in the carrying on the
 Debate on the Trade Disputes)

Brill

Yours truly
 B.R.L.

104

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

12. 10. 38

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

my dear Bhaurao,

I am sorry I could not
write to you earlier. This is because
your letter remained undelivered
It was kept by Hari among
my papers and I did not
notice it.

Of course we have to
oppose the Confiscated Land Bill.
It goes without saying. Gadhari
~~can't~~ on behalf of our
party had opposed the Eviction
Resolution last time.

The grounds of objection are

- (i) This Bill takes private property of one person & gives it to another person. There is no public purpose.
- (ii) It throws the cost on the general taxpayer. Why should those who do not pay for the land not pay for the cost?
- (iii) It destroys rights which have been in existence for over ten years under the best of titles a person can have.
- (iv) Many of those who have purchased the land are small cultivators, jungle tribes people, oppressed classes etc. Their needs are great. This bill takes away the land from the most needy.

105

HIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

21.7.39.91

My dear Bhaurao,

I am glad to have your letter
 of the 19th. I was ^{receiving} such damaging reports about
~~the Mang's Conference~~ that our people did at
 the Mang's Conference. I am glad to have a
 true account of the matter from you.

I am coming to Nasik on the 7th
 August in a lessious case. I shall
 be putting up at Lal's Hotel as arranged
 by the client. You need not trou-
 about it

I am glad to know that you

are getting over the effects of your
accident.

with kind regards to all.

yours truly

B. R. Ambedkar

106

HIMRAO R AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT LAW.

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

7.7.40.

My dear Bhaurao,

you must have received my
 wire. I am sorry to have to trouble you to
 undertake this journey. But there is no help.
 Dondé having failed to secure first vote from
 Thana it is necessary to secure one from
 Malegaon. The Mahomedan members of the
 Malegaon Municipality have agreed to vote for
 Dondé if our man Mahale joins them. I
 don't know Mahale. ~~However~~ But you must
 be knowing him. ~~See that~~ Give him my
 message and see that he acts up to it.

With kindest regards I am

Yours truly

H. R. A.

107

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT LAW

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

5.9.40

my dear Bhaurao

just drop a line to say if the
 Session Judge Nasik is willing to take up
 the criminal appeal on the 11th inst. It
 will help me to arrange my Court work.

With kind regards I am
 yours truly
 B. R. A.

108



"RAJGRAHA"

- DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

My dear Bhausa,

Can you get the District Judge to fix 21st Friday for the criminal appeal. Can make it suit me if it is suitable to him. Let me know immediately.

I am sorry to have troubled you to go to Jalgaon. There is no help. The Telegram regarding Jashav's health - rather

109

No. C.R.O./41/1942

Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, P
Camp Jammu, dated the 23rd February '42

Dear Mr. Gaikwad.

I have already once written to you thanking you for the assistance I received from you during my tour in your Taluka District. I daresay you have since been able to continue your propaganda in recruiting. The time has come when every public spirited Citizen should exert his utmost in War Effort, but especially in the matter of recruitment. I am very glad to inform you that in the course of my tour so far in the Satara, Nagar and Nasik Districts, many gentlemen have given me personal promises to the effect that during the coming months, they would make personal exertions and produce a definite number of recruits during a specified period. As I have had no opportunity to meet you personally so long, I am addressing to you the same appeal with the fervent hope that you not fail to respond. The idea is that each person of influence, Committee members, Secretaries, Pensioners, Patils and officials should make a definite promise to obtain at least one recruit, say, by the end of March. Some have already promised to produce many as 10 or 20. There is no doubt that a definite object in view helps to secure its fulfilment.

Yours



To :

Mr. B. K. Gaikwad

Nasik.

110

No. D.O.P./80/1941

Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, Poona,
Camp Janner, dated the 26th February 1941.

Dear

W. J. Khand

I have been informed by the Military Authorities that the Mahar Regiment will be further expanded with immediate effect and that they propose to take the following immediate steps :-

They intend taking 15 cadet Viceroy's Commissioned Officers who are Matriculates or who have studied upto Matric, their age being not under 22 or more than 30 years. The candidates should be of commanding personality and such as are likely to make good leaders

The terms on which they will be taken are that they will be enlisted as sepoy's and will be trained in the Unit for a period of 3 months. Those that pass the tests will be gazetted as Viceroy's Commissioned Officers i.e. Jamadars on a basic pay of Rs. 75/- p.m. with the usual free rations, clothing, allowances etc, they will be appointed to their gazetted rank from the date of enlistment i.e. with retrospective effect. Those that fail will be permitted either to continue as Non Commissioned Officers with a prospect of promotion to Viceroy's Commissioned Officer's rank later or, if they prefer, they can take discharge.

Besides, Viceroy's Commissioned Officers they will also be taking a number of Non Commissioned Officers i.e. Naiks and Havildars according to the result of the three months course, as stated above. The requisite education qualification would be standard VI or upto Matric, and their age should not be below 20 or 30 years.

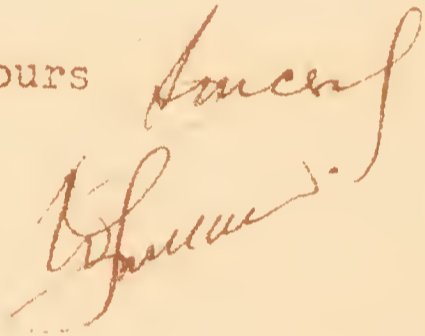
This process will be repeated when the Military Authorities ^{form} ~~form~~ subsequent battalions.

In addition to the above they will also be taking ^{immediately} 200 ordinary sepoy's, and more as found practicable.

- 2 -

I shall be glad if you will use your influence to get likely candidates from your community to avail themselves of this opportunity early. Those concerned should be asked to see the Assistant Recruiting Officer concerned at the earliest possible opportunity, and I would be very glad if you would keep me in touch with your activities in this connection.

Yours



To

Mr. Bhauroo Krishnarao Gaikwad,
White Cottage,
Sharanpur,
Nasik.

111

Western Court
Hotel

New Delhi

8.4.42

you must have read of the political events
 that have happened from newspaper Reports
 I have no more news than has appeared
 in the Papers. However if you are
 curious to know from me what I know
 first hand you may come to Bombay on
 the 13th afternoon. I shall be reaching Bombay
 on the 13th morning. If 13th is not suitable
 come after 17th. In the interval I shall be
 in Poona.

B. R. Gh.

Cripps's proposals are disastrous to the

D.C. and we must have counselors
as to what steps we must take to meet
the situation. From that point of view²
would be better. I shall be free from
~~the~~ as the High Court then closes

112

No. R.O.P./80/

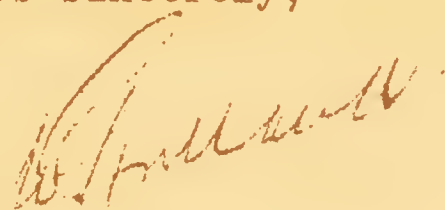
Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, Poona
Camp Poona, dated the 19th June 1942.

Dear *Mr. Gaikwad*

I regret to inform you that the Military Authorities are finding it hard to find suitable candidates for Non-Commissioned Officers and Viceroy Commissioned Officers for the expanded Battalion and I would again bring home to you the urgency of your help in inducing suitable candidates to apply for these Commissions.

Yours sincerely,

To
Mr. Bhaurao Krishna Rao Gaikwad,
Sharanpur.



Copy to all Mamlatdars for information

113

No. R.O.P./80

Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, Poona,
camp Poona, dated the 6th August 1942.

Dear *Mr. Gaikwad*

Dr. Ambedkar had suggested to me the appointment of a Provincial Organiser for the recruitment of Mahars and had proposed your name as a suitable candidate for that post. The Military Authorities have agreed to sanction such a post and the incumbent will be given a salary of Rs. 150/- plus travelling allowance of annas 4 per mile and Rs. 1-8-0 halting allowance per night. Will you please let me know whether you will accept this post? If so, will you please see me at Poona in my office on the 19th, 20th or 21st instant if you can between 9.30 to 12 noon?

Yours



B. K. Gaikwad, Esquire, M.L.A.,

Sheranpur, Nasik.

114



22 Pitkoi Raj Road
New Delhi
9. 8. 42

My dear Phawrao,

You must have been wondering why I have not written to you so far. The ~~fact~~ reason is not that I am too idle to write. In fact I do much more writing than I did before. But the matter is I have not had enough spare time to write or do any thing outside office work.

I like to know if you had any communication from Hulland. I have not heard from me. As I said you should

You should not reject the ~~offer~~ offer
 if it comes to you. It will give you
 a very great opportunity of ~~service~~
 our people. Although I am away ^{from}
 public life I ~~cannot~~ forget the necessity of
 maintaining the movement we have
 built at its level if we ~~do not~~
 succeed in raising its level. In my
 absence much of this responsibility
 must fall on you and I have no doubt
 that you will carry it through. I am
 determined to help our people in
 every way I can during the tenure
 of my office. I have already
 given a start by ~~the~~ writing

3

Dande and Bhole As delegates to the 97
 Labour Conference which was recently
 held in New Delhi under my chairman-
 ship. Such a thing has never happened
 before. I have done many more
 things in the course of the week.
 I will write in detail about them
 some time later on. In the meantime
 I want you to convey my kindest
 regards to Mr Salunke for her affection
 and the trouble she has taken on my
 behalf and also to Kale. I try my
 best to find out what I can do for her.
 Yours sincerely
 Rama Pala
 B R h

115

Sharanpur, Nasik,
11th August 1942.

My dear *Babasaheb*.

I received one letter from Mr: Hulland, the Recruiting Officer, Poona, copy of which is attached herewith for your kind perusal.

If I remember it correct, I think I was told that you have recommended for a Recruiting Board to be established to the Recruiting Officer just as one is established for Marathas. But from Mr: Hulland's letter it appears that the Military -- authorities are willing to appoint me as an Organiser for the recruitment of Mahars.

Will your honour kindly advise me in the matter as to whether I may accept the appointment. Early reply is solicited.

I remain;

Yours

To

Dr: Babasaheb B.R. Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D.,
D.Sc., Bar at Law.,
Hon. Member of the Viceroy's Council,
New Delhi.

116



22 Pitthoi Raj Road

New Delhi

13.8.42

My dear Bhauroo,

I have your letter with
Hullund's attached to it. You can go to
Hullund and tell him that the salary is
too low and that there ought to be
a recruiting board under you. However
do not accept any thing. Ask for time.
I am finding a job for you and it
seems I will succeed. But I can't say. Some
difficulty may arise on account of the
fact that you do not have sufficient

command over the English language.
 I wish you improved it. If no such
 difficulty arises you will have the
 job which will bring you at Rs 400/-
 per month.

When I was in Nasik I was
 thinking of purchasing some land.
 Has Rama some any thing in
 that matter. With kindest regards

I am
 yours sincerely
 B R Ambedkar

117

Sharanpur, Nasik,
14th August 1942.

Dear

In continuation of my D.O. dated 11th August 1942, I, before accepting the post of a Provincial Organiser for the recruitment of Mahars, respectfully beg to put before you the following points for consideration :-

- (1) Whether I will be considered as a part time servant or full time servant;
- (2) whether I will be allowed to devote some of my time for the uplift of my community the scheduled castes, as I am doing it since the last 16 years;
- (3) I am a member of the Bombay Legislative -- Assembly as well as am the Elected Chairman of the District School Board, Nasik. May I know whether shall I be entitled to work on these posts ?
- (4) If I am considered as a part time servant, may I know for how many days shall I have to work during a month ?
- (5) What will be my Head quarters ?

I shall be very thankful to you if the above points are clarified early and please let me know by return of post if possible along with other terms and conditions, if any, of the post in question. If it is ^{not} possible for you to inform me by return post, the same will be discussed in our interview on 20th or 21st instant.

I am,
Yours

To

W.G. Hulland, Esq., I.C.S.,
Recruiting Officer, Poona.

H.L.A.,
N A S I K.

118

grams:
"OUR"

Government of India,
Department of Labour.

D.O.No.A.C.31.

New Delhi, the 24th August 1942.

Dear Mr. Gaikwad,

It is proposed to create a post of Labour Welfare Officer for the Western Aviation Circle, Bombay, on a pay of Rs.500/- per mensem, plus the usual travelling allowance, for a period of three months, in the first instance. The duties of the post will be in connection with labour employed on aerodromes under construction by the Central Public Works Department in Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces. Recruitment of labour, arrangements for A.R.P. and Welfare will be included in the duties. Honourable Member ^{Labour} has asked me to enquire whether you are prepared to accept the post. If so, we will like you to come over to Delhi for discussion before taking over your duties at Bombay.

Yours sincerely,



To

B.K.Gaikwad, Esquire., M.L.A.,
Saharanpur, (Nasik,)
(Bombay, Presidency)

119

Sharanpur, Nasik,
25th August 1942.

My dear

Thank you very much for your two letters. I had been to Mr: Hlland as advised by you and learnt that he wants to appoint me as a full time servant on Rs. 150/- plus T.A. I further made enquiries whether I will be allowed to devote some of my time for the uplift of my community the scheduled castes, to which he replied in negative. I then refused to accept the post. He then put forth another proposal that I should work as an honorary Assistant Recruiting Officer on a fixed travelling allowance of Rs. 200/- p.m. and stated further that by accepting the post of an Honorary Recruiting Officer, I will be ~~able to~~ able to work in the community as I am doing at present. I think by accepting this post, I will be able to tour in the Province of Bombay and can make propoganda of establishing the Taluka and District Committees of the scheduled caste Federation.

I am very glad to assure you that I am very willing to accept the responsibility of keeping our movement alive and shall try my utmost for the uplift of our community. This is an -- opportunity for me to tour throughout the Province to do the needful for our people and therefore, I humbly request you to kindly advise me whether I should accept the above post.

Regarding the other appointment referred to by you in your last letter, I most respectfully beg to bring to your kind -- notice that suppose if I am appointed as a full time worker on this post, I will not be allowed naturally to work in the community as I do now. I attach more importance to the social service than any other, provided my brothers support me in every respect as you very well know that my family circumstances are poor. If my brother, 'Appa' gets a suitable business or my elder brother 'Bapurao Dada', who is qualified and working as a clerk in the Irrigation Department gets a suitable job than the present one, it will be very helpful to me in devoting my life for the social service. Your honour knows very well the situation, I have -- nothing to say more in this respect.

As regards land plot for yourself in Nasik, I am thinking that we should purchase it just on the main road leading to Nasik Road Station out of Municipal limit and near to this plot I am intending to have a Mahar Colony. The correspondence in the matter with the Government is in progress as the plot for Mahar Colony is a Government plot and there are other private plots near to it, for the purpose.

Will you therefore kindly let me know whether you would like to have a plot near the Mahar Colony or do you like to be away from it. With kindest regards.

I am,

Yours

To

Hon. Dr: Baba Saheb B.R. Ambedkar,
Labour Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council,
New Delhi.

120



New Delhi, the 28th August 1942.

My dear Bhaurao,

I find that my office has written to you with regard to the job to which I referred in one of my letters. I do not think that you should hesitate to accept this job. It would not be incompatible with the social work that you are doing. The job which Mr. *Hulland* has offered you, you can well resign and offer it to D.G. Jadhav. I think he might welcome the same.

Let me know when you are coming good time in advance so that I may send someone to receive you at the station.

Yours truly
B.K.G.

B.K. Gaikwad, Esq., M.L.A.,
Saharanpur,
(Nasik),
Bombay Presidency.

121



22 Pithoi Raj Road

New Delhi

29.8.42.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have dropped you a letter yesterday telling you to accept the job I am offering you ~~and to~~ come over if to Delhi if the office asks you to do so. I don't know how far your folks can be called on to support you. They have some so in the past and will no doubt ~~to~~ do so in future. Yet it is better to build up your own financial independence. The job I am offering you will financially

help you very much. Besides
 it is not a permanent job
 and while you are employed it
 will not come in the ~~work~~ way
 of work. It will be very ~~satisfying~~
 awkward for me now if you
 reject because I appointed you
 after cancelling ~~the~~
 recommendation made by the office
 in favour of another man.

When you come I want to tell
 you what dress you must wear.

I must give up Dhoti & Short Coat.
 wear an Achkan (long blue ~~kurta~~ of
 the up. fashion & chest paiyama.
 It is much better to look like a modern
 efficient man than to look like
 a Mahatma. It does not pay. with-
 kind regards from B.R.

122

Copy which
you should type
and send me by
return post.

Sharanpur, Nasik,
31st August 1942.

My dear Babasahib,

I have just this morning posted a letter to you and also to the Secretary to the Labour Department which you will receive in due course. After I had posted the letter, I met Jadhav and had discussion with him regarding your suggestion for transferring to him the offer made to me by the Bombay Government as a Recruiting Officer to them. Jadhav is not quite prepared to take it, and I am rather unwilling to relinquish it or to see it go to some third person. ^{Jadhav tells me that there} ~~There~~ is a strong rumour ^{in Bombay} that there are going to be changes made in the existing organization of the Provincial Governments and that not before long the Government may appoint non-official Advisers to advise the ^{Governor in Bombay} ~~Government~~. As you well know ~~that~~ I have some prospects of being selected as an Adviser ^{to represent the D.C.} In that event my chances would be prejudiced if I accept your offer, especially on the terms which are offered to me by your Department. I am sorry to say this to you, but I feel sure no one will be more ^{careful} ~~grateful~~ to safeguard my ^{interest} ~~prospects~~ than

yourself.

I would like you to inform your Secretary that pending your advice I propose to withdraw the letter which I have also posted to him.

Yours sincerely,

To

Dr. Hon. Baba Saheb, B.R. Ambedkar,
Labour Member of the Viceroy's Council,
New Delhi.

123

22, Prithviraj Road,
New Delhi,
2nd September 1942.

My dear Bhauroo,

I have your letter of the 31st August enclosing a copy of a letter which you have written to the Secretary to the Labour Department. I wish you had been more prompt in replying to my various letters, and owing to delay I have found myself in some difficulties which I want to explain to you. From your first letter I thought you were not prepared to come because the offer of the Bombay Government to take you for their Recruiting purpose was more agreeable to you. I was always anxious to have you take the appointment in my Department, and therefore I put up a note to the office increasing your salary to Rs.800 stating that you were not prepared to accept Rs.500. Your letter to the Secretary will, however, show that you are prepared to accept the original sum. As you see this puts me in an awkward position. Consequently to give time to think over I have sent you a wire a few minutes ago asking you not to come for the moment and to await my letter. What I am suggesting to you is this that you send me a letter dated the 31st in terms of the one which I am enclosing along with this. You sign it and send it.

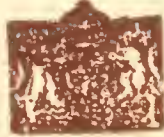
You must act promptly as soon as you get this
letter of mine.

Yours sincerely,

B.R. Ambedkar

B.K. Gaikwad, Esq., M.L.A.,
Saharanpur,
(Nasik),
Bombay Presidency.

124



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

<p>NOTICE. This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this telegram.</p>				Charges to pay.		Office Stamp.
				Rs.	As.	
Handed in at (Office of Origin).	Date.	Hour.	Minute.	Service Instructions.	Words.	
New Delhi	2	19	40	X Ste Immediate of Post 16		
TO				Recd. here at	H.	M.

Immediate B. K.
Gaikwad Saharanpur Nasik

Stop coming await letter
Ambedkar

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

125



22 Pitthvi Raj Road

New Delhi

4.9.42

My dear Bhaurao,

I have sent you a wire and also a letter. A lot of trouble was caused by your not writing to me immediately. However every thing will be alright. I have got your salary raised to Rs 800/- per month. In addition to that you will be able to draw T. A. at the first class which may bring your salary to Rs 1000/- at least. Unfortunately the post is only for three months. You must compare this

with the Recruiting Officers' post with
 its salary of Rs 2007. I don't know
 how long the Recruiting Officers' post would
 last. Assuming it lasts for a year
 it would not financially be better
 than this three months job. It may
 be that after this it expires I
 may be able to find for you another.
 you must consider both and decide.
 My advice is that you should
 accept this and let the other
 go to Jashar.

I have told you about your
 dress and the changes. That

you must make. you did not defer to it
 in your letter. But I have no doubt
 that you will not give effect to
 my suggestions.

you will get a fresh letter from
 the office giving you new terms.
 Send your letter of acceptance to me
 and I shall forward it to the Secretary
 by express wire when
 let me know by
 you will be coming.
 Phosle writes to me that he will
 give abba some contact.

B R R

126

New Delhi, the 13th Feby. 1943.



My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the 10th and also have had telegrams from Bhalerao. I have written to the Secretary of the War Department to make enquiries into the matter and will let you know the up-shot of it.

Yours sincerely,

B. K. Gaikwad

B. K. Gaikwad, Esq.,
Labour Welfare Officer,
"Rajgrah", Hindu Colony,
Dadar, Bombay-14.

*Bhalerao is here. He is discharged
I am having his case examined*

127

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

24. 7. 43

my dear Bhaurao,

I have this day received a letter from Mr R. M. Doiphode B.A. with your endorsement. I don't know Doiphode, at any rate I don't remember him. There are things which I can do, there are things which I cannot do and there are things which I won't do. You know my nature, how hard it is. Doiphode's matter is one of these which I can't do. It is a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission and they may well resent my intrusion in their affairs. Not many people are friendly to me. Any body may write to the ~~Governing~~ General complaining of my

trying to influence them. I shall never land myself in that situation. I am responsible for creating opportunities for our boys. But I don't think it is necessary or obligatory on you or on any boy me to take up the cause of any particular cause we might thereby be doing injustice to other boys who might have equal chance. You will now understand why I am not inclined to intervene.

There is another matter to which I want to draw your attention. Jashar writes to me that he has many vacancies of temporary clerks and these temporary clerks are afterwards taken up as Railway Inspectors, that he has asked many of our boys to join, but he has not had one. This considerably annoys me. What has happened to our boys & why are they so indifferent. Can you help Jashar?

Yours truly
B. R. A.

128

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

22.9.43

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter. As your letters are so rare and for the time being you have that I have not even time to read letters this one was very welcome. I have noted your efforts to look to the welfare of the workers. They are very commendable. As the aerodromes are nearing completion I don't know if it will be possible to extend your term. I shall of course do my best & extend it.

I wonder if I can bother you to send me the following books:

(i) Life of Savarkar by Karandikar

(ii) Auto Biography by the wife of Dev. Tilak.

They are both in Marathi & the latter
will be available in Nashik from your
friend Mr. Tilak.

There is nothing more from here

Bhole writes to me to say that the Nashik
Colony project is complete. I am glad to
hear of it. My regards to all

yours truly

B. R. R.

129

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

26.10.43

My dear Bhaurao,

I have had your letter regarding the project of starting a Paper. I am glad to know that there are a good few enthusiastic people who are prepared to run a Paper. I have been so much in this Paper-business that I have learned to be more cautious and less enthusiastic. The running of a Paper does not merely involve the question, which of course is a very big question, of finance it also involves the question of maintaining a standard of printing which will make it a respectable people paper and which will attract readers. With the question of finance I am not concerned because it will not be my responsibility. But I am very much concerned

with the other question. Who is the Editor, what are his qualifications, these are questions about which you have given me no information. Without this information I am unable to bless the project. I have not given much thought to the question of name. That may be considered later. I am however not in favour of any such name as seyawan or any thing analogous to it.

I am returning the plan of the Colony which Rohan brought to me. I like it. I would suggest only two things. There is no provision for a Common Hall. I should like to have one. It can also be a place of worship. All those who have having plots should contribute towards the cost of it. Another thing I would like is an uniform elevation and an uniform plan.

Your team has been ~~ended~~ ^{ended} for two months. It may not be possible to ~~end~~ ^{extend} it further. We may be appointing welfare officers to Coal Mines. Would you like to take one of these posts? Let me have your answer soon.

Yours truly
B. R. R. R. R. R.

130

Labour Welfare Officer
Western Circle, Bombay

Date 22 nd Feb. 1945

My Dear Babasaheb,

Yesterday night I had been to Rajgrah along with Mr. Chitre & phoned you about the telwgram which was sent to me by the Superintending Engineer to supply the necessary information as regards my qualifications. I am sending herewith the copy of the tele-gram and reply given to it.

If you are in trouble and if you think that it would be better for me to resign the post I will do it in no time.

With respectful regards to yourself.

Yours

Sincerely
B. A. Ambekar

131

To (1) Mr. Amery, India Office, London.
 (2) Mr. Churchill, Downing Street, London.

NEWSPAPERS FORECAST PROPOSALS REGARDING REORGANISATION OF
 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN WHICH OUT OF TOTAL OF FIFTEEN
 SCHEDULED CASTES BEEN ALLOCATED ONLY ONE SEAT STOP ON PRE-
 SUMPTION FORECAST CORRECT EYE BEHALF ALL INDIA SCHEDULED
 CASTES FEDERATION LODGE STRONGEST PROTEST AGAINST THIS
 GROSSEST INJUSTICE TO SCHEDULED CASTES STOP THIS INJUSTICE
 BE APPARENT FROM FACT EIGHTY MILLION MUSALMANS BEEN
 ALLOCATED FIVE SEATS SIX MILLION SIKHS ALLOCATED ~~ONLY~~ ONE
 SEAT AND FIFTY MILLION SCHEDULED CASTES ALSO BEEN ALLOCATED
 ONLY ONE SEAT ALTHOUGH NEEDS SCHEDULED CASTES MUCH GREATER
 THAN EITHER OTHER COMMUNITIES STOP WILL REMIND YOU
 HMGVERNMENTS REPEATED PROFESSIONS OF SYMPATHIES AS
 TRUSTEES MY COMMUNITY WHICH BEEN LOOKING FORWARD ERA FREE
 DEVELOPMENT UNDER AEGIS CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS STOP
 PROPOSALS GREATEST SHOCK LIKELY COMPLETELY SHATTER FAITH
 SCHEDULED CASTES IN BRITISH GOVERNMENT STOP WE STRONGLY
 OBJECT TO HINDUMUSLIM COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH NO POWER
 INFLUENCE THEIR ACTIONS STOP STRONGLY URGE ~~RECKON~~ REDRESS
 THIS WRONG BY ALLOCATION AT LEAST THREE SEATS TO
 SCHEDULED CASTES IN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE STOP FAILURE TO DO
 THIS BOUND HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES ENDS H. SIVARAJ
 PRESIDENT ALLINDIA SCHEDULED CASTES FEDERATION ROYAPETTAH
 MADRAS.

Grand Hotel, Simla,
 June 7, 1945.

132

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

18

6

H 5

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the
14th June. I did not know that
you had been asked to join the welfare
training class of the Calcutta University.

The political situation is of course
causing me deep concern. I have
however decided to wait till the last
act in the drama is played. There
will be time enough for such action
as we will decide upon. I am
and you are prepared for such sacrifice.

as you are capable of.

I feel the burden too much for
my shoulders. But I believe I shall
have strength enough to bear it.

I did not see any statement
by an Bengalee leader. It may
be that the A. P. J. has not
wired it out. I like to know if
they have.

Has Jadhav left for Bombay?
Lathi is very hot, in fact quite
unbearable.

With-kind regards
yours sincerely

B. R. Lambhodkar

133

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

17
~~7~~
45

my dear Bhamao,

I have been in touch
with Mr Joshi. He has already
written to your Committee
to release you. He has
also written to Mr Bisban
Chandra Roy about you. I don't
know if you wish to go straight
to Bombay. I suggest that
you better stay come to Delhi
and stay with me for a

a while and take treatment
from a baud who is very
proficient in his ~~work~~
job. I am going to be here
for a good long while
before I go on leave. Let me
know what you decide

yours sincerely
B.R. Rumbhakar

134

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

$$\begin{array}{r} 19 \\ \hline 7 \\ \hline 45 \end{array}$$

My dear Bhaurao,

I am very much shocked to read your letter of the 16th which reached me to-day. I shall speak to Joshi in the evening and let you know at how you can go back to Bombay! In the meantime it might be very good if you will

Commit Dr Bishan Chandra
Roy a very famous physicist
in Calcutta.

I don't want to worry
you about the failure of
the Simla Conference. If it
had succeeded we might
perhaps have been benefited
to some extent.

Wishing you speedy recovery

I am
yours truly
B. R. h.

135

BHIMRAO R AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT LAW,
MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
22, PRITHVI RAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

17
1
46

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sending herewith an important letter which fell in my hands immediately on my arrival. I want you to go alone to Ahmavav and make personal inquiry and send me a detailed report on the following points in the letter -

- (i) The alleged conduct of Paradhe.
- (ii) The alleged letter said to have been written by Rajtohoj to Kalyani.

This must be done quickly.

2. you must tell our people in Khandesh.

(i) That under no circumstances
will the Federation support
Meade.

(ii) If they want to be true
to the Federation they must ask
Meade to withdraw and ask
one of the other two to apply
to the Federation for the Ticket

3. I must have the names
of the Candidates for the
non-reserved Constituencies as
a week
Yours truly
B. R.

136

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT-LAW,
MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

29

1

46

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the
25th. I send you with ~~that~~ ~~was~~ ~~has~~
a letter to make inquiries about
Keshu's election. There ~~is~~ ~~no~~ ~~reply~~
I don't know what ~~has~~ ~~happened~~
to it.

As regards setting up candidates
in unreserved constituencies ~~our~~
Candidates should be found. It does
not matter if they ~~do not stand~~

win. They must stand. Much
 money is not necessary.
 I cannot say who should be
 put up for what constituency.
 I leave that to you.
 Kale cannot get more than

Rs 500/- as decided.

I am coming to Bombay on the
 10th Feb. I am prepared to have a
 meeting in Bombay on the 10th evening if
 they are ready to have one. I am prepared
 to leave Bombay on 14th evening for Belgaum
 and Satara and spend two days 15th and 16

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
 M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
 MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
 22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
 NEW DELHI

I must leave Bombay for Delhi
 on the 17th. Will you get into
 touch with Donwa, Varale and
 Savant and arrange a programme
 in consonance with the dates and
 let me know. Financial arrangements
 will be looked into when I am
 in Bombay.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

B.R.A.

137

MRAO R. AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 23rd as also your previous letter of 2nd. As the latter bore no address I could not reply to it. I however sent my acknowledgment of the your contribution of Rs 730 to our political fund. He must have conveyed the same to you. I need not say any thing about it except to thank you for the promptness with which you have responded to my call.

I have passed on to Mr Nimbkar what you have said regarding the miserable condition of the workers on

the aerodromes. He is going to take up the matter with the military authorities.

Your appointment has been extended upto 30th September. You informed me just two days before the date of expiry. This was rather surprising. Is it an indication that you do not want the job or is it one of your mahatmaic ways?

With good wishes I am

Yours truly

B. R. R.

138



"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

Express Telegram

Bhaurao Gaiwad Nasik

Wire how you are.

Ambedkar

From B. R. Ambedkar

Rajkatha
Dadar Bombay 14

139

Governor, Bombay.

Rumoured Government action
 against Depressed classes Satyagrahis
 at Sasik on ground Temple
 private property submit Temple
 not such. Receives grant ment
 for Hindus and declared public
 by court. Rumoured action
 un-warranted unwise present
 attitude — should continue
 Government should take ready
 for supporting struggle for justice

Ambedkar
 M.L.C.

140

BHIMBHO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. Ph.D., D.Sc. BAR-AT-LAW,
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

24th March 1930.

May it please Your Excellency,

I am extremely obliged to Your Excellency for the letter of the 13th of March 1930 in reply to my telegram giving me assurance that Government proposed to act impartially in the dispute between the touchables and the untouchables which is centred in the Satyagraha at the Kala Nam Temple at Nasik. I have however to bring to your Excellency's notice a recent development in the situation which seems to be fraught with the greatest danger. On the day on which the Satyagraha was started we purposely omitted to blockade the entrance to the house of the Pujari of the temple assuming that it would not be used by the public for the purpose of going into the temple and obtain Dev Darshan. But of late this entrance has become a public passage and the public Nasik is using it to go into the temple. If this is allowed it will entirely frustrate the principal object of the Satyagraha. To prevent this the District Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate were approached by the Satyagraha Committee to discuss the question and to communicate to them the intention of the Satyagraha Committee to blockade that private entrance to the general public and permit only the members of the family of the Pujari. The District Magistrate however refused to see the members of the Satyagraha Committee and turned them away, with a chit stating that he will remove those who will start Satyagraha at the door of the

R. AMBEDKAR,
 PH. D. D. SC. BAR-AT-LAW
 LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
 PAREL
 BOMBAY-12.

-2-

Pujari. It is not for me to say whether such a conduct on the part of a District Officer is wise. What I wish to point out to Your Excellency is that if the attitude of the Collector is to prevail it will immediately provoke a conflict between the Government and the Depressed Classes. Our real contest is with the touchable Hindus and I have been avoiding every circumstance which would leave the touchable Hindus out and make the Satyagraha a matter between Government and the Depressed Classes. Indeed this could have been done on the 1st day by our refusal to make our Satyagrahis stand outside the barricades and insist on forcing through the Police guards for seating them next to the Temple gates. This we did not do simply because we did not wish to make it a fight between ourselves and the Government. But it would be inevitable if the Government to depart from its original intention of remaining impartial by permitting the Pujari to permit to use his private entrance as a public passage and thereby be a party to the frustration of our object. Under no circumstances can we permit this new stunt of the Pujari and tolerate his rendering our Satyagraha futile even if it brought us into conflict with Government. I am writing this to inform Your Excellency of the situation as it is developing and to give a chance for the reconsideration of the attitude of the District Magistrate before bringing matters to a crisis. I am enclosing herewith the letter of the Satyagraha Committee addressed to me and also a copy of

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M A Ph. D D Sc. BAR-AT LAW.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

-3-

the chit sent to them by the District Magistrate with which he turned them away when they called upon him.

I have seen the place myself last Saturday and I am quite convinced that the fear expressed and the danger to the Satyagrah which is apprehended are real.

Awaiting the favor of an early reply,

I beg to remain

Your Excellency's Most Obedient servant

141

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT LAW,
MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
22, PRITHVIKARJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

26
—
3
—
46

Your silence has been most
annoying. It is not you alone have
been defeated but every one has been.
The defeat is no matter of shame
at all. Our people have been
done wonderfully. We have been
defeated because we have been
outnumbered by our enemies.

Your duty has ~~should be~~ as
the President of the Provincial
Federation is to gather the scattered

forces of our Party. That is
 what a ~~defeated~~ general of
 a defeated Army does. What is
 your conduct as compared to
 the general. You are hiding
 yourself some where I don't
 know I am waiting to know
 how many what has happened
 why you failed and in how
 many villages our people were not
 even allowed to go to the poll. Will you
 let me have this information
 at once.
 Gaikwad.

Yours
 B.R.

142

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
 M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT-LAW,
 MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
 22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
 NEW DELHI

13
 5
 46

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter. I was surprised to read that you did know if others have sent in their election petitions. I should have thought that you would have treated this as part of your duty to see that this was done. I can hardly tell you how very annoying it is.

I shall be in Bombay on the morning of the 13th which is a Sunday.

I want to hold a meeting of the

Scheduled Caste Improvement Trust - of
 which you, Varale, Madhe Parwa and
 Rajbhoj ^{and Parmat and B. G. Jadhav} are Trustees on the 15th in the
 evening I have no time to write
 to these people. I want to write
 to them of this meeting and ask them
 to be present.

You must have read that the
 Simla Conference has failed. There
 is no other news which I could communicate
 except that there would be a
 change of Government. What the position
 of the S.C. will be I am unable to say.
 We must wait, watch and see. Yours sincerely
 B. R. H.

143

my dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter.
Unfortunately I am leaving
for Delhi by tomorrow's
Kanties Mail in the evening.
It is not possible for me
to come to Poona. Will
you come to Bombay to-
morrow e.e. Saturday. We
can then discuss.

yours truly
B.R.

Jagan did come to Poona.
because he stopped to attend the
funeral of ~~the~~ one volunteer
who died in Bombay ~~by an~~
accident. He will be coming.
P.R.h

144

"Raj Grah"

Dadar,

Bombay 14

Dated 14th October 1946.

Please refer to your letter of the 1st September 1946. When I read it, I did not think that it called for a reply except to refute some of the points you have raised therein. That is the reason why I did not hasten to reply immediately. But I am going abroad and don't know when exactly I would be returning. Under the circumstances I feel I ought to send you a reply before my departure.

In your letter, you say that Mr. N. M. Joshi told you that I was anxious for a settlement with the Congress. I don't know what Mr. Joshi told you. I certainly never told Joshi that I was anxious for a settlement with the Congress and that he should therefore arrange for an interview with you. The truth is quite different. Our meeting has a history behind it. I should like to recount it in brief for your information as you do not seem to be aware of it.

On Sunday the 7th July 1946, members of the Scheduled Castes Federation staged a demonstration under the leadership of Mr. B. K. Gaikwad, before the Cowasji Jehangir Hall where the A. I. C. C. was holding its session. They refused to go unless they saw Mr. Gandhi as they wanted to ask him some questions. Mr. S. K. Patil came out and told Mr. Gaikwad that as Mr. Gandhi was observing silence, he would arrange for a meeting of the leaders of the Scheduled Castes with Mr. Gandhi on some other day. On that assurance the demonstrators left. On Friday the 12th July, Mr. S. K. Patil saw me. He told me what had

-2-

happened between him and the demonstrators on the 7th. He asked me who would like to meet Mr. Gandhi. I told him that he had better ask Mr. B. K. Gaikwad, the leader of the demonstrators. He asked me if I was prepared to meet Mr. Gandhi or any member of the Congress High Command. A meeting was arranged. I said I would have no objection. On the 17th, Mr. N. M. Joshi met me and told me that he had been asked, obviously by Mr. S. K. Patil, to arrange a meeting between us and that as you were ill, would I be prepared to go to your place. I said I had no objection. In the evening Mr. Joshi phoned me that the meeting was fixed on the 18th at 9 P.M.

This is the genesis of our meeting. You will see I have taken no initiative in the matter. It would be futile for me to have done so. Even when the Congress was down and out it had not shown the wisdom to make a settlement with the Scheduled Castes and win their support to the cause of the country. How could I believe that the Congress installed on the Gadi would think of settling with Brokenmen? It is only a person who has lost all hope, or with no self-respect who could think of approaching the Congress in its present ~~weak~~ condition. There is really nothing wrong and nothing shameful for a leader of one party to approach the leader of another party for a settlement. Like a wandering minstrel Mr. Churchill did go from country to country even to Russia to seek help for his country and I should do the same for the sake of the Scheduled Castes.

-3-

If one looks at it in the natural way as one ought to, there is no point in discussing who met whom and at whose instance. But as Congressmen and Congress newspapers have cultivated the habit of representing the approach to Congressmen by anybody who is not Congressmen for a settlement, as an act of surrender, one must in justice to oneself make it clear from where the initiative came.

Your reference to my quarrel with Mr. Gandhi is, to say the least, is, in my judgment, quite out of place. This is not the first time that you have known that I 'abuse' Mr. Gandhi. Whether you agree or not, I have reasons to be angry with him. I have written a whole book giving my reasons why I am opposed to Mr. Gandhi on the issue of the Scheduled Castes. I am prepared to take back my charges against Mr. Gandhi if he were to show that my facts and arguments are wrong. Many agents have been engaged to refute the allegations contained in my book. Unfortunately, for Mr. Gandhi they have all failed ignominiously. You seem to think that I am the only one who 'abuse' Mr. Gandhi. I know hundreds who do the same. They include some of those who are in the inner circle of Mr. Gandhi's kindergarten and are occupying the posts of Executive Councillors in the present Government of India. The only difference between them and me is that they 'abuse' Mr. Gandhi privately and praise him publicly. My misfortune is that I have not learnt the art of double-dealing, say one thing in public and quite opposite of it in private. Since you have taken my attack on Mr. Gandhi to heart in a manner which shows that but for the

-4-

'abuse' there would have been a settlement, I must say that you think Mr. Gandhi is greater than the country. My view is different. I think the country is greater than the greatest man. You think to be Congressmen and to be nationalists are synonymous. I think a man can be a nationalist without being a Congressman. If you will forgive me, I will cite my own case. I am a greater nationalist than any Congressman and if on occasions I have not been able to present the full front of a nationalist, it is because men like Mr. Gandhi have been stabbing me in the back by their opposition to the demand of the Untouchables for political safeguards.

As to the actual demands contained in my memorandum, I have gone beyond the stand I took at our meeting of the 18th July. I said I was prepared to have territorial separate electorates in place of communal separate electorates. In my memorandum, I have gone a stage further and set out a third alternative. I did that because I heard that in an interview between you and Mr. Joshi subsequent to our meeting, you told him that a settlement along that line had greater chances of success. If, in spite of this, you think there is no basis for a settlement, I am afraid I cannot help you.

That notwithstanding your disagreement with my proposals for a settlement you should have extended to me an invitation to see you, speaks for your goodness of heart. I am sure it can serve no purpose. I must therefore decline it.

In

-5-

In case you care to write to me, I give below my address. I hope you are keeping fit.

My address:

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Member, Viceroy's Executive Council,
New Delhi.

145

TELEPHONES:
 (HOTEL) GERRARD 4018.
 (VISITORS) GERRARD 2405.
 TELEGRAMS: TUSCANHOTEL, LESQUARE
 LONDON.

TUSCAN HOTEL.
 67, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE.
 LONDON, W.1.

29

10

46

121

My dear Bhamoo,

Your two letters reached me only to-day. I heard of Mr. Jinnah's plan to include a S.C. member in his quota while I was in Karachi but I did not know whom he had in mind. With regard to the appointment of Mr. Kausal there are two sides to the question. It is good that we have after all got two members in the Ex. Council

This is a great improvement. At the same time we cannot forget that we have lost the right to nominate our own men to the Ex. Council. Just as we do not wish to be tools in the hands of the Congress, we do not wish to be tools in the hands of the Muslim League. We are fighting for our independence and we must continue to fight for it until we achieve it. Looking at it from this point of view we cannot consistently express ourselves as being happy over it.

the result - and publicly congratulate Mr Manohar.
we must give our full support to Mr Manohar
and back him up. But I am afraid we
cannot congratulate ourselves ~~and~~ ^{or} congratulate
Manohar. What I suggest is send a wire
to Mr Jinnah thanking him for recognizing
all India Scheduled Federation as the only
representative organization of the Scheduled
Castes which the Congress and the
British Government had ignored. You
can if you like hold a public
meeting and pass resolution on the
above terms.

My arrival in this country has been taken notice of by all the newspapers. Last Sunday papers were full of it. I have prepared a memorandum which I shall be ~~sending~~ handing over to various people whom I am going to meet. I am sending you some copies under a separate cover.

There is a great deal of sympathy for us among those who are outside the Government. I am going to see Attlee. I shall be able to know from him what is the attitude of the Government. I thought Swa Raj

would be of some use to me. But he
 completely disappointed me. He returned
 the very next ~~day~~ after my arrival without
 doing any thing. The whole burden has
 fallen upon me.

It is very cold here. The food
 difficulty - is also very great. I want
 to return soon. It is possible
 I may fly back on the 10th
 of Nov.

I hope you are all keeping
 well. With kind regards to all

Yours truly
 B. R. H.

146



"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

$$\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ \times 11 \\ \hline 46 \end{array}$$

My dear Bhaurao,

I was glad to receive your letter. I think it is wise for you to stay with Mrs. Lonkar. You should give no occasion for a relapse which may be serious and which may occur for want of care and attention.

There has been no approach on the Congress side. The talks between me and Vallabhai broke off before I went to Lonkar.

As to my joining the interim there is absolute
 no truth in it. There is no sign from the
 Congress side. Even if there was I would take
 no step without in that direction without
 consultation of with our party and without
 proper safeguards.

I am going to Rashid tomorrow morning
 and will be back on Thursday.

With kind regards
 yours sincerely
 P. R. K.

147

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph D., D Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

My dear Bhaurao,

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \\ \times 11 \\ \hline 46 \end{array}$$

I returned to Bombay from Delhi on Saturday last. I was hoping to see you as I had not seen you prior to my departure. I was however sorry to learn from your post card to Kamalakar Chetee that you were not well enough to come to Bombay. It will relieve us from great anxiety if you or some one from that could say what is the correct position regarding your health and how soon you will be able to resume your normal activities. I am asking for this information not because I want to assign you new tasks before you are cent per cent fit. All I want to be sure about is that you are well on your way to speedy recovery.

As for myself I went to Delhi a sick man and I have also returned as a sick man. I have been examined to-day by doctors. They have taken blood

tests. They apprehend that my health is definitely on the decline. Don't let this worry you. I am holding on against a sudden collapse. I am sure I shall live as long as ~~it is~~ my existence is necessary to see our people through. There is my determination which sustains me against pessimism arising out of poor health. In addition I pray God to grant me that much span of life if no more.

You must have been reading the debates in Parliament and in the Constituent Assembly. Our prospects have been very much improved. I am particularly happy over the debates in Parliament. I can say that my visit was a complete success. Our position in the future Constitution has been completely assured.

I don't know if you have seen my new book on the Shudras. I am sending you a copy. I am sure you will like it.

Drop me a line and take great care of your health. With kindest regards
 Yours sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar

148

1 Harding Avenue
New Delhi

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47

Five days ago I have written to you
a letter in reply to your first two letters
which I did not post because just before
posting it I got the news that you
and Rajbhoj were arrested and taken to
Jubbulpore. Subsequently I learnt that
you were not among the arrested. I
should have written to you immediately
but for two reasons. One is
that I had ~~with~~ destroyed that
letter and the other is that

2

I fell ill, and could not therefore write. Even now I am ill and have been conserving what little energy I have by rigorously avoiding every sort of work except that of the Drafting Committee. I cannot write a long letter much I wish to — and will therefore set down my answers to your questions.

1. your ~~was~~ complaint regarding the conduct of workers is quite true but many are active and a good many are selfish. Part. This does not mean that you or I sh

3

are leading the movement must retire. A leader's test lies in his ability to make the best of bad material. The material is much better now. It was worse at when I began.

2. your desire to go to jail because the C.P. Government has arrested a few of the workers of the Federation betrays an incorrect approach to the problem. The new constitution has come into being. You and I and everybody must realize that under it a majority has the

right to rule. The ⁴majority - when it has
~~got~~ the right to rule means that it
 has got the right to misrule also. There
 are only two ways of ~~getting~~ ^{rid of}
 a bad majority. One is to raise an
 armed rebellion and destroy the majority.
 The other is to buy and replace the
 majority by ~~at~~ the next election.
 The second method may not be possible
 for us - altho I hope if other stewards
 in the Indian population it may become
 possible. But the first is ~~an~~ certain
 is quite impossible. Your method - that of
 going to jail is ^{neither} the one nor the other

If you will excuse my saying so is just nonsense. It might cover you individually with glory but it cannot turn out the majority. Besides this then is my standing argument against going to goal - namely when we have so few workers it is worse than useless for workers to get themselves locked up in goal and put themselves out of action.

That we should not surrender to the Congress is perfectly right. Don't have we? I am sure we

6

not compare the unbecoming of ~~the~~
 people since the 15th of August with
 the behaviour of the Muslims ~~of~~
 and their demoralization and abject
 surrender to the Congress. Our people
 have acted more heroically and
 more courageously. ~~if~~ it is
~~true~~ that ~~we~~ have

not surrendered where ~~is~~ the
 necessity of your going to jail
 to prove what ~~needs~~ no proof.
 I need hardly say that I am
 opposed to your proposal.

I am grateful ^{to you} for your proposal and
 I hope you are keeping fit. With
 kindest regards
 Yours truly P. R. K.

149

1 Hardinge Avenue $\frac{17}{\times 1}$
New Delhi $\frac{\quad}{47}$

My dear Phawrao,

I have just received
your letter of the 15th enclosing a
copy of the order served on Rajbhoj.
There is no doubt that the charge
against Rajbhoj of acting as the
agent of the Nizam is false and
malicious.

There are two ways of dealing
with the matter -

(1) To make a representation
to the C. P. Government

denying the charges.

(2) To apply to the Nagpur H.C.
for a writ of Habeas Corpus for
release of the Detenus.

In either case there must be affidavits
by caste Hindus who attended your
meetings and heard what you said
if they could come forward to
deny these allegations made by
the Government there is every
chance of the application in the
High Court being successful. I spoke

to Thawani who was here about the application to the High Court. I don't know what he has done. He may be preparing for it.

I have not been able to maintain steady improvement in my health. There are ups and downs. I am thinking of taking the ~~power~~ powder - as a cure against diabetes - which I had got from Dr. Gune of the Ayurved Pharmacy Ahmadnagar. I want

powder and not pills. Can you
 arrange to get it? you can go if
 you have time. If you can't—
 you can ask Rohan.

There is nothing more to say
 I am having a talk with
 the Prime Minister ~~of~~ Shukla
 g. C. P. and will let you
 know what he has to say.

With kind regards

Yours truly
 P. R. R.

150

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT-LAW,
~~MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL~~

22, PRITHIVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

I came back yesterday and
will be returning to Delhi on
the 9th. I need the black cloth. Either
send it or bring it

With kind regards

Yours truly
B.R.

4
7
47

151

New Delhi, the 18th December 1947.

I have been receiving so many complaints from the Scheduled Caste evacuees who come over from Pakistan to India as well as from those who have been locked up by the Pakistan Government and prevented from coming over to India that I feel that the time has come for me to draw your attention to their sufferings. For the purpose of giving you an idea of what is happening and what is required to be done, I am setting out below the causes of their sufferings and the measures that should be adopted to remove them.

I.

(1) The Pakistan Government are preventing in every possible way the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes from their territory. The reason behind it seems to be that they want the Scheduled Castes to remain in Pakistan to do the menial jobs and to serve as landless labourers for the landholding population of Pakistan. The Pakistan Government is particularly anxious to impound the sweepers whom they have declared as persons belonging to Essential Services and whom they are not prepared to release except on one month's notice.

(2) The organization known as the M.E.O. has been of some use in helping the Scheduled Caste refugees who are anxious to evacuate. I, however, understand that the Pakistan Government is not permitting the M.E.O. to get into direct touch with the Scheduled Castes who want to evacuate. Consequently, the process of evacuating the Scheduled Castes is going on very slowly, and in some places it is at a standstill. I am also told that the M.E.O. is going to be closed very soon. If this happens then the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes from Pakistan would be quite impossible.

(3) What is necessary to do is:

(1) to ask the Pakistan Government not to place any obstacles in the way of the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes.

- (ii) to allow the N.F. to get into direct touch with the Scheduled Castes and wish to evacuate;
- (iii) to maintain the N.F. till all the Scheduled Castes are evacuated.

(4) So far the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation has appointed only one officer from the Scheduled Castes to West Punjab. But other Provinces of Pakistan such as N.W.F.P., Sind and Shawalpur are left over and for which no such officer has been appointed. The Ministry should be directed to make appointments to these areas forthwith so that special officers could tour the Pakistan area and find out the places where the Scheduled Castes are prevented by the Pakistan Government from coming over.

II.

With regard to those Scheduled Castes who have come over from Pakistan to Eastern Punjab, they have also sent me their complaints. They are far more numerous than those coming from persons who are impounded in Pakistan. I have their list below:-

(1)

(1) The Scheduled Caste evacuees who have come to Eastern Punjab are not living in the refugees camps established by the Government of India. The reason is that the officers in charge of these refugee camps discriminate between the caste Hindu refugees and the Scheduled Caste refugees.

(2) It appears that the Relief and Rehabilitation Department has made a rule that it is only the refugees who are staying in the Relief camps can receive rations, clothing, etc. On account of their not staying in the Refugee Camps for the reason mentioned above, the Scheduled Caste refugees are not getting any relief. This is a great hardship.

(3) As discrimination cannot be prevented, it is necessary to modify the rule so that the Scheduled Caste refugees

- 3 -

living outside the camps should also be entitled to relief in the same way and to the same extent as refugees living in camps.

(11)

(1) In the allotment of lands made by the Government of Eastern Punjab the interests of the Scheduled Castes are completely overlooked. The administration of Eastern Punjab being entirely in the hands of the caste Hindus, there is nobody either to take a personal interest in the rehabilitation of the Scheduled Caste evacuees nor is there any agency appointed by the Government of India especially charged with the duty of bringing to the notice of the Eastern Punjab Government that the interests of the Scheduled Castes are overlooked.

(2) It is therefore essential that there should be a number of officers appointed by the Government of India to work in East Punjab charged with the special duty of seeing that the allotment of land is fairly made and that the Scheduled Caste refugees get their legitimate share.

(3) I have given to the Hon'ble Mr. Hoogy a list of persons for being appointed for this purpose who, so far as I know, are best qualified to carry out this work.

(4) (a) It is a notorious fact that the Sikhs and the Jats who occupy a very dominant position in East Punjab are compelling the Scheduled Castes who are residents of East Punjab to evacuate from their original homes in order to appropriate their houses or their landed property. The Scheduled Castes are unable to obtain any redress from the tyranny and oppression practised upon them by the Sikhs and the Jats to carry out their purposes for the simple reason that the Magistracy and the Police in East Punjab are wholly manned by Sikhs and Jats who quite naturally protect the wrong doers who are their kith and kin and pay no attention to the complaints of the Scheduled Castes.

(b) It is therefore absolutely essential that the Government of East Punjab should be compelled to recruit t

-4-

least 300 Scheduled Castes in their Civil Police. It was recently published in the newspapers that the East Punjab Government had recruited some 300 Scheduled Castes in their Police Force. An enquiry I found that this recruitment has been made for the purpose of the Frontier Constabulary and not for the ordinary Civil Police Force. That the Scheduled Castes need for the purpose of their protection is recruitment to the Civil Police of East Punjab. I am informed that the Civil Police Force of East Punjab does not include even a single Scheduled Caste person.

5. (a) The Land Revenue system of East Punjab divides the residents of a village into two classes - Zamindars and Kaminas. In the category of the Zamindars are included those families who have an exclusive right to own land situated inside the village boundary. The Kaminas have no right to buy or to own land situated in the village of which they are residents. Even the sites on which their houses are situated belong to the Zamindars, with the result that the Zamindars if they combine can compel the Kaminas to leave the village by asking them to remove their houses. This rule places the Kaminas of every village at the mercy of the Zamindars. The Scheduled Castes in all the villages in East Punjab are classed as Kaminas and are therefore living in complete servitude of the Zamindars of the village.

(b) It is therefore necessary that the East Punjab Government should be called upon to abolish this distinction by altering their Land Revenue system and making it similar to the Ryotwari System under which all villagers are placed on equal footing so far as the capacity to own land is concerned.

6. (a) In the Province of East Punjab there operates what is called the Land Alienation Act which is intended to protect the agriculturists from the moneylenders. But there cannot be slightest doubt that it is a most vicious piece of legislation inasmuch as it contains a definition of Agriculturist which is communal and not occupational. According to this law, a person is an agriculturist if he belongs to a

- 5 -

XXXX to a community which is declared by the Government as an agricultural community. The old Punjab Government took particular care not to declare the Scheduled Castes as an agricultural community although every member of the Scheduled Castes is either a cultivator of land or an agricultural labourer. The result is that the Scheduled Castes in East Punjab are debarred from buying or acquiring landed property and are compelled to lead the life of landless labourers dependent upon the Hindu, Sikh and Jat landowners for their livelihood. This is a very cruel piece of legislation and I think ought not to be allowed to remain on the Statute Book.

(b) The East Punjab Government should be asked to amend the definition of the term 'agriculturist' and make it occupational so that everybody who earns his livelihood by agriculture irrespective of his caste and creed becomes an agriculturist entitled to own and acquire landed property.

I have enumerated all the difficulties of the Scheduled Castes which have been brought to my notice and the remedies, which I think if adopted will remove them. Some of the remedies lie in the hands of the Government of India and the rest in the hands of the Government of East Punjab. There can be no question of applying such remedies as lie in the hands of the Government of India if it has the will to do so. Even with regard to those remedies which lie in the hands of the Government of East Punjab, the Government of India need not feel helpless. For, since the Government of India is paying the cost of rehabilitation, it has a moral right to compel the Government of East Punjab to adopt particular measure which the Government of India thinks necessary for a fair and equal treatment of all classes of people. That is the reason why I have not hesitated to include for action by the Government of India such remedies as lie in the hands of the Government of East Punjab. So far all care and attention has been

bestowed by the Government of India on the problem of the Muslims. The problem of the Scheduled Castes has either been supposed not to exist, or deemed to be so small as not to require special attention. Although some people do not like to mention the problem of the Scheduled Castes none- the less those of us who are concerned with the Scheduled Castes know that the problem exists and it is much more acute than the problem of the Muslims.

Many a times I had thought of drawing the attention of the public to the neglect by the Government of India of the problem of the Scheduled Castes refugees both in Pakistan and in India. For obvious reasons I have refrained from doing so. Owing to your pre-occupation with other matters, I have made no complaint regarding your silence about this question. But I am afraid time has come when I must insist upon your giving personal attention to this problem by issuing directions to the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation and to the Minister without Portfolio to relieve the Scheduled Castes of their sufferings either by adopting the remedies I have suggested in this letter or by devising better remedies to effectuate the purposes I have set out. I shall be grateful if you will give this matter your immediate attention.

Sd/- B.R.Ambedkar

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

152

PRIME MINISTER,
INDIA.

P. M.
New Delhi,

The 25th December, 1947.

My dear Dr. Ambedkar,

I have your letter of the 18th December about the evacuation of Scheduled Caste people from Pakistan to India.

We have been trying our utmost to help in the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes from Pakistan, notably Sind, where they have been prevented from coming away. Our High Commissioner there is in continuous contact with this problem.

As regards the other problems raised by you they have to be dealt with by the East Punjab Government. We shall certainly advise them in the matter and see to it that every help is given to the Scheduled Caste evacuees.

We have had some difficulty in dealing with the East Punjab Government in regard to many matters chiefly because the East Punjab Government has been overwhelmed with the multitude of the problems it faces. I shall gladly give my personal attention to this subject and am requesting the Minister without Portfolio to look into this matter specially.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

153

B

New Delhi

16
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48

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter. I quite appreciate your feelings. It is very stupid to say at least of the Rehabilitation Department to have kept you at Kumbheshwara without work and without a firm appointment. I am taking up the matter with Niyogi and will let you know the upshot of it.

With regard to the Samata Sainik Dal I am absolutely against winding it up. It is absolutely wrong and cowardly to dissolve an organization because the Government of the day has thought fit to ban it. If some members of the Samata Sainik Dal are arrested and imprisoned they must suffer. That is all. The Congress Government is not going to last forever. It is going and is sure to go. We must wait for our opportunity.

There are two other matters I wish to write to you.

The building of the hall for our people is being delayed. I don't know when we shall be able to collect the necessary amount. Few people I am sorry to say have not applied your energy to the

accomplishment of the task. The building of the Hall appears to me most urgent. It is the only source of income for us and we will stand very much in need of money for maintaining our movement. It seems to me that it would not be unwise even to borrow money for the construction of the Hall. Of course I cannot do it on my own authority. There must be the consent of the other Trustees ~~of among whom you are one.~~ Do you agree with my suggestion?

The next thing is about myself. Friends and medical advisers have told me in quite definite terms that while there is every chance of my recovering from

the malady I am suffering from it would
 be fatal if there was a relapse. Diabetes
 they say is a nutritional disease — and
 unless there is some one to look after
 my food insulin etc. the chances of
 a relapse cannot be altogether discounted.
 They have been urging me to keep a nurse
 or a housekeeper if I did not wish to
 marry. I have considered the matter for
 a long time. ~~and~~ I have no doubt that
 keeping a nurse or housekeeper would
 give rise to a scandal. The better course
 is to marry. After Yeshwant's mother's
 death I had decided not to marry.
 But circumstances have now forced
 my resolution. The doctor says that
 for me the choice is between
 marriage and ~~life death~~ Early death.
 While it is easy to make the
 choice it was of course difficult
 if not impossible to find wife. A
 woman to be my wife must be
 educated, must be a medical
 practitioner and must be good at
 cooking. It would be ~~poss~~ impossible

in our community to find a woman who would
 combine the three qualifications and also suit
 my age. ~~Unfortunately~~ It also appeared
 impossible to find a woman outside our
 community to marry me for the simple
 reason I have no contacts. My life
 has been so solitary that I have had
 no contacts with caste Hindu men much
 less with caste Hindu women. Fortunately
 I have been able to find one. She comes
 from the Saraswat Brahmin community
 The marriage as at present will take
 place in Delhi on the 15th of April

Keep this Confidential.

I came to Delhi on the 11th. I
 am feeling much better though I feel
 considerably weak. With kind regards
 yours truly
 B. R. G.

154

B

$$\frac{17}{4} \\ \hline 48$$

My dear Bhaurao,

I was sorry you did not come on the 15th. I did not write to you because I thought you must have gone back until I got your letter which was after the event.

I am sending herewith a letter addressed to you care of me. It was opened by the Jamaras before ~~asking~~ handing it over to me as he usually does without knowing it was addressed to you.

I want to know when they

are actually releasing you and if
you want my help in any way
to settle up your affairs with
the Government of India. If
you do write to me at once.

With kind regards

yours sincerely

P. R. R.

155

6th June - 19481 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi.

My dear Bhaurao,

I received one letter from you with pass cuttings. In a way then there has been no letter. I like to be kept informed as to the situation & upheaval that is going on in our province so as to be able to decide our own line of action.

You should contact Surba Tipnis and Pridesh Kulkarni and find out just how their minds are working.

You have not told me if you are prepared to do to

Bihar. That is important

I and Joshu have been talking over about the construction of the Hall. He has some alternative suggestions to make. Will you go to Bombay and meet Joshu who is there now and let me know if you agree to his suggestions.

I am going to Simla to night for test and will be back after a week.

I hope every thing is alright with you. With kind regards
Yours sincerely

B. R. R.

156

B

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi
$$\frac{17}{6} = 48$$

my dear Bhaurao,

I just received your second letter on my return from Simla. I was very much interested in reading the report of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Federation. I wonder who were the critics?

I am sorry I caused you unnecessary trouble for having to go to Bombay to meet Mr Joshi. I misunderstood him. He has however left for Bombay yesterday and

will be there till 21st June. Will
 you go and contact him? I have
 asked him to discuss with
 you some very important
 matters.

I am feeling better. My wife
 sends you her good wishes
 yours truly
B.R.R.

P.S. I agree this is not a good
 time to go to Porhar.

157

30th June 19481 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sorry to inform you that I have cancelled my tour programme ~~and~~ I shall not be therefore coming to Bombay on the 3rd of July. Important political events are impending and I do not want that they should happen in my absence. I am sorry to have to disappoint you but the events are really very important.

Will you let me know about the Cook. I like to hear from you about him before you actually send him to me

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

158

28th March 1948.1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

My dear Phauao,

I have received your letter of the 24th only yesterday. If facts are as you have stated them I agree that the best way out is for you to resign. I have written a very strong letter to Messrs. But I have not ~~written~~ ^{received} any letter reply and I ~~am~~ ^{am} ~~not~~ ^{am} ~~sure~~ ^{am} when it will come. I am ~~sending~~ ^{returning} you herewith your draft resignation with necessary corrections.

You will be sorry to hear that our Madhe Bawa died this morning at 4. A.M. at his residence in Bombay. I was ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~residence~~ ^{residence} in Bombay. ~~It~~ ^{It} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~residence~~ ^{residence} in Bombay.

2

informed of his death over the phone. ~~It~~ It has given me a great shock. He was a great social worker, great trade unionist. The Federation has lost a great organizer. His death has caused a void which it will not be possible to fill easily.

I wonder what you are going to do after your resignation. Would it be possible for you to take Bihar? I have received a letter from one of our men which I am sending herewith for your perusal. I have spoken to Thawara from Nagpur. He is prepared to accompany you to Bihar if you decide to go.

If you will of course see me before.

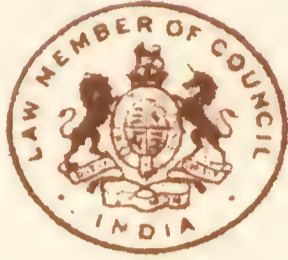
3

you return to Bombay. I have some things to
talk to you.

With kindest regards
yours sincerely
B.R.h.

P.S. I am slightly better though quite weak.

159



1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

My dear Pharoa,

Considerable number of Complaints
have been reaching me from the Scheduled
Castes from Sindh and from the Bhawalpur
State about the harassment to
which they are subjected by the Muslims.
On my representation the Government
of India have agreed to appoint
a special officer to go to Sindh to
look after them and report. I don't
know what would be duration of the

job though it may not be very long
 I have recommended your name and
 believe that within the next two
 or three days you will get a letter
 of appointment. I want you
 to accept it and to proceed to
 Simla immediately.

I have met Shukla to-day. He
 is calling for papers.

Yours truly

P. D. R.

19
 x1
 47

160

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. Ph.D. D.Sc. BARRISTER-AT-LAW
~~MINISTER FOR LAW, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA~~

26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi.
8/4/52.

My dear Bhauroo,

You were not well when we parted. I hope you have recovered since then.

What have you done with regards to Bhatnagar. People are complaining.

I hear from Kamlakant that there is a new law passed by the Bombay Assembly which requires that all public trusts shall be registered with the Charity Commission before the 21st of this month. You know we

have got ~~to~~ a piece of land situated at
 the Gokuldas Pesta land — on which
 we erected a building — and in which
 the Press is housed. In addition there
 is ~~an~~ some money in the Imperial
 Bank (Dadar Branch) which is
 part of that Trust.

I wonder if you could transact
 this business. Otherwise I shall have
 to go Bombay personally. Will you
 kindly let me know. you are ~~one~~
 of the Trustees — and as such you also
 could do it.

with kind regards
 yours sincerely
 B. R. L.

161

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Code 81

C



Recd. from	Sent at	H.	Office Stamp	
By 161	To	By		

Numbered in at (Office of Origin)	Date	Hour	Minute	Services Instructions	Words
New Delhi	26	16	45	SR Gdst	27

TO

Recd. here at H. 5 M.

Dharamo ~~is~~ Gaikwad Kishat
 Singh Nair

→ Come immediately to proceed
 direct to find stop question
 of clerk and poor will be

N.B. The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.
 Settled here = Ambedkar

162

New Delhi

My dear Bhauroo

3/2/49

I received your letter of the 31st January only yesterday. I should have written to you earlier. I could not do so as Mr. Mahatre was not ready with the site plans of the plots in Aurangabad which we want for our College. He also brought the plans only yesterday. I am sending you one copy for your use.

2. The land we want is the land enclosed within yellow lines. It lies on both sides of the Road which is shown in red ink.

3. In this connection what you have to do is -

- (i) To find out from the Collector of Aurangabad the Survey Numbers of the plots included in the area shown by the yellow line.
- (ii) To find out from the owners at what price they are prepared to sell.
- (iii) To find out from Mr. Coates the Collector in case we find it difficult to get the land by private negotiations whether he would recommend to the Hyderabad

- 2 -

Government that they should acquire the land for us as it is a public purpose.

4. I am enclosing a copy of a note containing particulars of the plots comprised in the area and their owners which was given to ^{me} ~~be~~ when we were in Aurangabad. It may be of help to you. You need not bother with the plots which belong to the Maharaja of Jaipur. I will deal with the Maharaja directly from here.

5. I have noted what you have said about other matters. I shall send a reply dealing with them separately.

6. I am waiting for a detailed report from you on the Pandharpur Dharmashala question.

Yours Sincerely .
B. R. Ambedkar

163

New Delhi,
10th February 1949.

My dear Ambedkar,

Will you please refer to your letter dated the 13th of January 1949 forwarding an application from Mr. K. B. Bhalerao for the grant of a Commission in the Indian Army ? Under the existing rules only serving or released personnel of the Indian Army are eligible for the grant of a Permanent Regular or Short Service Regular Commissions. Br. Bhalerao who served in the Civil Pioneer Force is not, therefore, eligible for either of these Commissions.

Yours sincerely,

Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,
Minister for Law,
New Delhi.

164

1, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, 14th February 1949.

My dear Bhauroo,

I regret my letter written to you the other day about Mr. Bhalerao was written under misapprehension. I had not read in detail his application and thought it was for Commission in the Army. I have just looked into it again and I found he is applying through the Public Service Commission for the post of a Deputy Collector. I shall, therefore mention it to Baba Sahib as early as possible.

2. As regards Bhalerao's application in the Army, I am sending you a copy of the letter from the Hon'ble the Defence Minister in reply to the recommendation sent by Baba Sahib in favour of Bhalerao. Though Bhalerao is not eligible for either a Permanent Regular Commission or a Short Service Commission, I think he might be eligible for an Emergency Commission for which, if he is suitable, he should apply to the closest recruiting Officer.

With best regards,

Shri Bhauroo Gwaikwad.

Yours sincerely,



165

1 Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

25th March 1949

My dear Bhanu,

I received your letter yesterday and was glad to have a detailed account of certain matters which we were not able to talk about when I was in Bombay.

With regard to the starting of a Branch of the Siddharth College in Bombay C.P. I do not think that it will be feasible proposition financially speaking. I think that if our project of starting a College at Aurangabad

we would be serving C.P. as well. Besides I am tired of these Brahmins whom we have to appoint as Principals etc. They are a self-seeking ~~lot~~ lot and ~~no~~ have no interest in thing as such.

Regarding the D.L.P. in C.P. Thawari came to New Delhi on the same day I arrived. I talked to him in quite sharp language and told him that I would not ~~tolerate~~ tolerate any disruption in our front nor can I give ~~me~~ up my old

3

workers in C.P. nevertheless I think
 it is desirable that you should issue
 a statement on the subject stating
 clearly what our point of view
 in relation to between S.C. 7. and
 D.L.P. It would be better if
 you send me your draft statement
 for my perusal before you actually
 write it out.

Regarding Kamble editor of Dai Janata
 have warned him against publishing
 news in Janata which are prejudicial
 to our party or policy. If he does

not listen to the advice I shall
have no hesitation from removing
him from the editor.

I am glad you are going to
Bhaurangabad. I am very much
interested in the mill site for our
college and would be prepared to take
it if he is not demanding exorbitant
price.

I am not progressing well. The
teeth have weakened me very much and
I am feeling very low. But I am hoping
for an improvement very soon. With kind
regards I am yours sincerely B.R.A.

166

Personal & Secret

1 Hardinge
Avenue

29th March 1949

My dear Bhaurao,

You must have got my earlier letter. I am writing this on a different subject. S.K. Patil is standing for the place of a mayor in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. Except a socialist there is not likely to be a Jewal Candidate. He however wants to make sure and has written to

Gadgil to speak to me that our
 members in the Corporation should
 vote for me. We have lots of things
 to be got down through the
 municipality and Patil is the only
 man who can help us. He
 is therefore desirable to be on his
~~good~~ right side personally if
 not politically. I want you to go to
 Bombay to speak to our corporators
 to vote for him. You must do this before
 you go to Aurangabad. With kind
 regards yours sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar

167

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi,

My Dear Bhanu,

I have received
your letter just this morning.
I am sorry for the election result
not because of
the loss of it but because
with a little more effort
we would have won it.

I am coming to Bombay
on Wednesday evening by Air

and will be there for
 1/3 say. if you come with
 Ahamadnagar friends we
 can discuss the matters
 you have mentioned.

I am not quite well
 but it is necessary
 requires me to be in

Bombay

With kind regards

Yours truly

B.R.

168

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi
11th April 1949

My dear Bhaurao,

While you & Chitra had
gone to Aurangabad I had been
seriously ill in New Delhi. Sunday
11th April was a very critical
day. I am better now. I am
now able to move out or
do any work. But I am
rushing to write to you
about Boral's election. He was

2

proposed to me by Parmar
 and as I did not see
 any objection I agreed. I did
 not know that there is another
 person from our workers who could
 have been considered. Any how
 we must now fight out
 the election. As there are three
 candidates Borale's chances are
 not bad. Our voters must must
 their full strength. It may be
 necessary to raise some

3

Subscription to help him. Some
collection can easily be made
at public meetings of our
people. For this purpose it
would be necessary for you
to go to Bombay and stay
there till the election. This
election is like a test match.
Our position in the new elections
will be judged by the results of
this election.

I read in the Bombay Papers
that a meeting of the leftists was
held in Bombay under the
president ship of Sarat Bose
and that the members of the
Bahujan Party had joined

With-kind regards

Yours sincerely

B.Rh

169

Personal + Confidential | Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

18/4/49

My dear Bhanu,

I received your letter just this afternoon. I am hastening to reply to two points which I find requires immediate attention. I do not think it would be right to pledge support to the Bahujan Party. We shall of course stand for the better -

ment of the condition of
 the peasants and workers and
 whenever such questions arise our
 candidate ^{will} stand for them we
 cannot bind ourselves to the
 Bahujan Party which means following
 them ~~in~~ every thing they do.

I was surprize to read that
 Sarat Bose said in Bombay that
 he had my support in what he
 is doing. This is an absolute lie. He
 has not even met me ~~at~~ ^{the}
 he came to Delhi several times.
 With kind regards I am
 Yours Sincerely,
 B. R. Ambedkar

170

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

21
— 4
— 49

My dear Phanas,

I am starting this evening
for Masoon for rest. I shall be
here for about a week. Chit
and Jaswar are here. They brought
a copy of the Vividha-Vrata. In
it I found a statement of the
effect that Boorale's candidature
was only nominal. This is
a mischievous statement. You must
contradict it by a small hand-bill
so that our people may not

be misled. I have written to you that
 Bhoarale's chances are very ~~good~~
 bright — and I believe they
 are. What is wanted is
 full effort which I have no
 doubt you will put forth.

With kind regards

yours truly
 B. R. R.

171

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi
3/6/49

My dear Bhaurao

I ~~have~~ got your letter only yesterday with more's note. I am extremely busy with the Constituent Assembly. But I will try to find time to speak to the Food Minister — and see what can be done.

You have not told me what has happened to more's party in the Local Board elections. I see from Papers that the Congress has won a majority in Ahmednagar.

There is one other matter about which I have been wanting to write to you but have not found time to do so. Yeshwant wants to get married. I am in search of a girl. Do you know of any one

The girl ~~is~~ must be (1) have looking (2) must have a personality and dignified appearance (3) must be coming from a good family having moral traditions and (4) must not be too young and (5) must be educated though it is not necessary for her to be a graduate. I ~~have~~ shall be glad if you will treat this matter to be urgent. I would like you to write also to Kawade if he knows any such girl in C.P. with kind regards
 Yours sincerely
 B. R. K.

172

5th June 1949

My dear Phaurao,

You must have got my last letter. In it I have written to you about Yeshwant's marriage. It would be better if you came here; we could discuss it personally.

It is possible the Assembly may close for a short

holiday. I am so tired I want
to go to Sinda & Massourie.
To avoid your missing me I
suggest you come here at
once.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely
B. R. h.

173

Camp Mussoorie

27/6/49

my dear Bhanoo

Here with is a reply
 from Gopal Swami Ayyangar
 to my letter about Pawar
 I don't think anything
 better can be done.

I am coming to
 Bombay on ~~the 15th~~
 5th & will be there

tell me ^{the} 16th you can
 see ~~me~~ ~~but~~ ~~coming~~
 this people and if you
 have spotted what I
 have asked you to do
 bring them with
 you.

Yours Sincerely,
 B. R.

174

1, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, 10th August 1949.

My dear Bhaorau,

You are aware that Government provides plain clothes armed guards to accompany each Minister. Lately Doctor Sahib has wished that he should have Scheduled Caste constables belonging to the area of Bombay Presidency to attend on him. The recruiting authorities here are prepared to take up ~~to~~ 15 Scheduled Caste recruits. Doctor Sahib has wished me to ask you to send me the names of 15 trustworthy candidates who are willing to join the C.I.D. Guard.

2. The candidates must have very good moral character and should be of strong built. They should be of 5' - 7" height. The emoluments of the post~~s~~ are - basic pay Rs.35/-, dearness allowance Rs. 35/- and Delhi local allowance Rs. 3/-. Total emoluments Rs. 73/-. These people will be given short training and out of them six men will be reserved to be the personal guard of Doctor Sahib. Their educational qualifications need not be very high. But they should be at least literate if not middle or Matric passed. Will you therefore send me an application from each of such candidates who are willing to come and be recruited? They will be posted in Delhi. Please treat this as urgent. The applications should contain along with other particulars, their full ~~xxxx~~ address. I hope you are keeping fit.

Doctor Sahib is in the best of health now and
inspite of a very busy time he is fit in all respects.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Massey

(M. Massey)
Private Secretary to
Honourable the Law Minister.

18/11/51
23/8.
Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismat Bagh,
Nasik.

175

Kismat Baug,
Nasik,
23rd. Aug, 1949.

My dear Faisaheb *Massey*.

Thank you very much for your D.O. letter of 18th. Aug. 49 .
I am sorry I could not get your letter early as I was out of
Nasik even after I returned from Delhi.

I returned from tour just yesterday night and noted ~~th~~
the contents of your letter. I will try to find out suitable
~~men~~ men who will be considered fit and trustworthy. Their --
applications along with other particulars will be submitted at
an early date. By the by I shall feel obliged if you kindly --
enlighten me as regards the age limit of the candidates under
reference . I think it will be rather difficult to get persons
of 5'.7'' in this Province. I presume that, that height of 5'.7'' is
applicable to Punjab Province. If you can consider applications
having 5'-5'' to 5'-6'' ^{height} then I will be able to produce the
requisit number.

Excuse delay.
With kindest regards,
Yours

176

1, Hardinge Avenue,

New Delhi, 29th August 1949.

My dear Bhau Rao,

Thanks for your letter of 23rd August, 1949. It does not matter if the applicants for the C.I.D. are of 5' 5" or 5' 6". I believe it is possible to overlook the difference of an inch or so but it will be better to aim at 5' 7".

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Motassini

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismat Baug,
NASIK.

177

J. H. SUBBIAH

135-C, PRENDERGHAST ROAD,
SECUNDERABAD-DN.

D/4th September 1949.

My dear Mr. Gaikwad,

I honestly apologise for having delayed replies to your letters and telegrams and I sincerely hope you will excuse me for the same. I am feeling rather in a strange position nowadays on account of various commitments due to which most of my monies are locked up and there is likely to be considerable delay in the realisation of those monies. It is due to the present state of affairs in Hyderabad State. As such I cannot make any promise when I shall be able to comply you. I can assure you in this connection that I tried my best to adjust things but it was not possible. If I am disappointing you anyway in this, I hope you will excuse me.

The work of the Federation is progressing alright. The elections are approaching very fast.

P.T.O.

-2-

We are putting up vigourously with out work and I hope we would be able to do well by the time the elections take place.

I hope you are doing well.

With my kind regards.

I am,
Yours Sincerely,



B.K. Gaikwad Esq.,
Kismat Baug,
Nasik.

178



$$\begin{array}{r} 20 \\ \hline 12 \\ \hline 49 \end{array}$$

My dear Phauao,

your two letters have
reached me ~~to~~ also the two sarees.
I am thankful to you for the same.
Please let me know the ~~value~~ ^{price} of
the sarees. I shall send you the
amount.

With regard to the circular
issued by the Govt in regard
to the managers of the hotels
taking part in politics I am
afraid I cannot give you

any definite advice as I have
~~not~~ got any adequate idea as
 to what exactly is prescribed
 by the Bombay Govt. You shall
 have to think about and find
~~out~~ some way out.

When Kawade was here he told
 me that there were three girls
 in Nagpur for Yeshwant to select
 from. Will you get into touch
 with Kawade and Yeshwant.

I expect to be in Bombay sometime
 in the ~~next~~ first week of January
 next. With kind regards yours only

B.R.

179

1

~~members of the
Questions to the Congress
President Working Committee~~

What is going to be
the place of the untouchables
in your Swaraj? The Congress
has talked a lot about protecting
the minorities. Why has ~~not~~ the
Congress ~~so far~~ ~~not~~ failed
to produce its blue-print of the
plan ~~to protect~~ ~~of~~ for protecting
the minorities? Is this silence not
calculated to create want of ~~the~~
confidence in the bona fides of the Congress?

2

2 ~~has~~ ~~Gandhi~~ Does the Congress regard the untouchables as a minority? ~~has~~ Gandhi in an article in the Harijan in 1939 admitted that the ~~only~~ real minority in India ~~were~~ the untouchables. Why did Maulana Azad in his last letter to the Viceroy said that the Congress was not prepared to recognize the untouchables as a minority?

3

3. What is the significance of the statement that the Congress does not regard the untouchables as a minority? Does it mean that the Congress will take away even those political safeguards which have been secured by the untouchables under the present Government of India Act?

4

4. Does the Congress admit or does it not admit - that the ^{Candidates} ~~representatives~~ of the Scheduled Castes who have been elected to the Provincial Legislatures came to the bottom in the Primary Selection and the Candidates ^{Scheduled Caste} put up by the Federation came to the top? Does the Congress admit or does it not admit - that if in the final selection the failed Candidates were elected it was entirely due to the Hindu votes? Can the Congress deny

T.O

5

Can that candidates selected by
Union votes can not be regarded
as real representatives of the
Scheduled Castes?

6

5. ~~In the~~ At the time of the
 Poona Pact- Mr. Gandhi gave ~~an~~
 pledge ~~undertaking~~ that the Hindus will
 not interfere in the selection
 of the Scheduled Castes to the seats
 reserved for them. Why did the
 Congress ~~break~~ ^{violate} the pledge and
 committed breach of faith?

7

6 In the Simla Conference ^{called} of
~~1945~~ by Lord Wavell in 1945
 the Congress raised no objection
 to two representatives of the
 Scheduled Castes being included
 in the Executive Council. Why
 did the Congress reduce the
 representation of the Scheduled
 Castes this time to one? Does it
 not prove that the Congress
 can ^{not} be trusted to keep its word

T O

That as soon as the Congress obtains
the right to decide it will ~~to~~
break all its promises and withdraw
all the political safeguards secured
by the Scheduled Castes?

9

7. It has been admitted by all
~~the~~ workers of the Harijan Sevak
 Sangh and also by ~~Dr~~ Mr Gandhi
 that the ~~the~~ removal of untouchability
 has made no headway at all.
 On the contrary the ~~work~~ the
 tyranny and oppression of the
~~Caste Hindus~~ untouchables ~~has~~
~~is~~ by the Caste Hindus ~~has~~
~~increased~~ which has been going on
 for ages has \pm increased \uparrow
 recent times and has become

T.O

10

intensified in its rigour and has
~~become~~ taken manifold forms.

It is necessary to ventilate these
 grievances on the floor of the
 legislatures if any redress is to
 be ~~ob~~ obtained. No sensible man
 will deny that this work of ventilating
 the grievances cannot be done except
 by the representatives of the Scheduled
 Castes who are returned through separate
 electorates. Why does the Congress
 alone oppose the demand of the Scheduled
 Castes for separate electorates?

//

8. There is no connection between
 the religion of a Community
 and its demand for ~~a~~ separate
 electorates. Even ~~Communities~~ among
 Communities professing ~~one~~
 religion have claimed separate
 electorates. Europeans, Anglo-Indians
 and Indian-Christians profess one
 common religion. Yet all of
 them have separate electorates.
 No body has raised any objection
 to these separate electorates, not

T.O

12

even the Congress. Why does
the Congress oppose ~~separate~~ the
demand of the Scheduled Castes
for separate electorates on the
ground of common religion
which it does not rely upon
in other cases?

13

9. There is no social separation
 between the Hindus and the
 Sikhs. In one family one member
 is a Sikh and the other is a Hindu.
 The Hindus and the Sikhs
 intermarry and interdine. Yet
 the Sikhs have a separate
 electorate to which the
 Congress has never raised any
 objection. The untouchables ^{in the} ~~are~~
~~intercourse~~ matter of social

T.O

14

inter course are far more separated
 than the Hindus than all.
 the Sikhs and ~~even~~ Muslims.
 Why ~~them~~ of the Sikhs
 and Muslims have can
 have separate electorates
 Why not the Untouchables?

7 Bombay
 6-7-46

B. K. Gaitwad
 President Bombay
 Provincial Scheduled Caste
 Federation

180

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

1 Harcourt Avenue

New Delhi

$$\begin{array}{r} 22 \\ \hline 3 \\ \hline 50 \end{array}$$

My dear Bhaurao,

you say you have written
to me four/five letters ^{to} for which I
have given no reply. Let me say
that I have received only one
letter from you having another
relating to the girls complaint. I
don't know what has happened
to the other letter. I have not been
writing to anybody. I do not
even write to Kaulakant for more

than a month. For the reason that
 after about a week from my return
 from Bombay my health began to
 give way. ~~The~~ The pain in my legs
 restarted and ^{has} kept on with considerable
 intensity. Giddiness also ~~started~~
 coming on. With the result I was
 disabled from doing any reading
 or writing. It is only 3/4
 back that the fit of giddiness
 has gone off. If they will return
 I can not say. As I am a

little better I ~~would~~ want to send
you ~~this~~ a reply.

Your reference about Yeshwant's
marriage. He is free to do what
he likes. He is not under my
control. As he has never cared
to follow my advice I do not
like to give him any advice.
I do not know why he has
rejected the girls in C.P. I
do not ~~can't~~ say how they looked. But
they were quite educated. Yeshwant

is very much charged with inferiority
 complex and does not want a
 wife better educated than he is.
 That is why he seems to be
 running after uneducated girls.
 I can't be a party to this. I
 have not seen Rajbhoj's daughter. I
 cannot have any objection on
 account of her caste because
 we don't believe in it. But she
 can't be regarded as cultured
 or educated.
 Yeshwant seems to be interested

only in having a ~~wife~~ woman to serve
as his wife. He does not seem to be
at all concerned about the name
and fame of the family in which
he is born. Nor does he seem
to be worried about the children
he is sure to have. This indifference
to matters of what I regard
as of prime importance on
his part has got me great distress.
I wish the my children were
not born. They are going to
degrade the name of my family

which I have taken such infinite pains
 to raise if my family became
 extinct after me I would not
 mind that I would not like to
 be degraded I know yeshwant and
 Mukund want ~~only~~ my ^{money}
 They don't want me. But ~~I don't~~
 mind that. But I do ~~not~~ mind
 their willingness to live a ~~life~~ on
 a level of low and uncultured
 life. I don't want their money and
 they will have mine when I die. That
 I want is their pursuing better ideals of
 life.

About the Poma L.C. Mission Committee's
 Resolution I do not know what activities
 they are running and the cost of
 each. If you can make a report
 to me on the subject I can
 give you my mind. It must
 be understood that we are not
 in a position to bear any loss.

I don't know what has happened
 to the Pancharpan Hostel. I am waiting
 to know from you. Here in
 my next. With kindest regards

Yours truly
 P. R. R.

181



J. H. SUBBIAH
135-C, PRENDERGHAST ROAD,
SECUNDERABAD-DN

MAY 10th 1950.

B. K. Gaikwad Esq.
President
Bombay Provincial Scheduled
Castes Federation,
NASIK ROAD.

My dear Dada,

I am extremely sorry that the other day in the evening I could not meet you at the College as promised, as I was informed when I telephoned there that you had left with Docotr, but later on, when I went there next morning I was told you had been waiting for me till late in the night. This was due to the misunderstanding and I sincerely apologise for the inconvenience caused to you.

Doctor Saheb is coming here in about a week's time and is going to stay here for about two or three ~~days~~. I hope you would kindly come at that time, when we can settle a number of things regarding our Federation.

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. Subbiah

jh:no

182

BB



P/156

18 31

O 28

Aurangabad on 16 12/25 41

Dadasaheb Garkavand Dalit Federation Khat Bang Nair

2 Sardar Baldevsing And Babasaheb coming Aurangabad on eighteenth Thursday morning by plane for one day stop please contact with babasaheb and Tar so that you will give advise to scheduled center

More 2

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

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

S. C. P. 1950



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

Class } V
Prefix } Code HF

No. G.

Recd. from W Sent at H. M. 07 00 00 00 00
By W To _____
By _____

Handed in at (Office of Origin)

W. B. M. J. V. I.

Date I Hour 20 Minute 00

Special Instructions

Rate

TO

Delivered

Recd. here at W. B. M. J. V. I.

most honorable Minister Bombay
Twelfth June positively
2 Musley

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphic, should be written across, but separated from, the price

MGIPPA-1

184-185

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

B. Class Prefix X Code *FK 6/50* No. _____

Recd. at *8* H. *50* M. Sent at _____ H. _____ M. Office Stamp *NASIK 16 MAY 50*

From _____ To _____

By *g* By _____

Office of Origin *Secunderabad* Date *16* Service Instructions X Words *25*

TO *B K Gachwad Kismet Bagh Nasik Road*

doctor coming with Sardar Baldeo Singh on eighteenth at aurangabad and arriving Hyderabad Nineteenth please come = Subbiah

N. B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.
P.L.P. 31-47 11-46.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

Class Prefix X Code *KC* No. _____

Recd. from *Dny 68* Sent at _____ H. _____ M. Office Stamp *3 M 1950*

By *Dnb* To _____

By _____ By _____

Handed in at (Office of Origin) *Pronibury B* Date *3/10/50* Hour *15* Minutes *15* Service Instructions X Words *14*

Recd. here at _____ H. *12-42*

B K Gachwad Kismet Bagh Nasik

Babasaheb wants you in Bombay Immediately = Bhonsle

N. B. The name of the Sender if telegraphed should be written after, but separated from the text.

186

6-3

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Received here at 13 H. 56 M



O L H

New Delhi 2 11/30

4 48

Pharwadgandhi Resmat Bhai

Meel ~~Hand~~ Houble lawmuck
on word at B bay

Personal Assistant

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

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting the telegram.

a. c. vance

187

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi.
23/8/51.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter. There is no change in the Programme of the President. It will take place on the 1st Sept as announced. I shall be reaching Mandla on the 30th morning by train and will go to Aurangabad straight. I am ready with the Paper. I am giving it final touches more in my next.

Yours sincerely
B.Rh

188

PEOPLES' EDUCATION SOCIETY'S COLLEGE

CANTONMENT,
AURANGABAD.

Ref. No.

527

Date, 2nd Sept: 19 51.

TO

Shri B. K. Gaikwad

Dear Sir,

I am glad to inform you that you are appointed ~~as~~ a Member of the Advisory Committee of the People's Education Society's College at Aurangabad. A copy of the Regulations framed by the Governing Body are enclosed herewith. The Registrar of the ~~College~~ College will inform you the date of the first meeting of the Committee.

Yours truly,

M. K.

8/9/51

B. R. Ambedkar

CHAIRMAN,
Governing Body of the
People's Education Society.

189

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Class Prefix } X Code Re

No. 25808.51



Recd. from By Sent at H M To By

Handed in at (Office of Origin).	Date	Hour.	Minute.	Service Instructions.	Words.
Bombay	24	17	15		14

TO Read. here at 7 H. 51 M.

Pyharao Garkwad Kismat Banay Nasik

Come immediately for scholarship meeting Jadhav has been Chitree

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text. B. O. Press, By.—1.50—50,000 Bks.

190

REGULATIONS

for

The Advisory Committee for the People's Education Society's
College at Aurangabad.

The functions of the Advisory Committee shall be as specified below:-

- (a) to make recommendations to the Governing Body regarding the creation of posts of teachers in the Institutions and the duties and emolument thereof,
- (b) to consider and to submit to the Governing Body a draft Annual Report of the activities of the various departments of the Institution,
- (c) to consider the budgets of the departments and to submit the same to the Governing Body,
- (d) to consider questions relating to fees,
- (e) to make rules for the award of free-ships and fellow-ships,
- (f) to make rules regarding :-
 - (i) disciplinary control of students,
 - (ii) the control of hostels,
 - (iii) the health and recreation of students,
 - (iv) social gatherings,
 - (v) setting up of Sub-committees for extra curricular activities,
 - (vi) the Gymkhana of the college,
 - (vii) the Award and ~~issuance~~ of Medals and prizes,
 - (viii) the purchase of books & periodicals for the Library,
- (g) to perform such other duties or functions as are conferred upon it by the Governing Body,
- (h) to make recommendations to the Governing Body on all proposals for new demands with due regard to the funds available,
- (i) to sanction re-appropriation of funds during the budget year. All ~~such~~ such re-appropriation shall be reported to the meeting of the Governing Body,
- (j) to give advice and make recommendations to the Principal and to the Governing Body on the initiative of the Principal or of the Governing Body or on its own initiative on any other question affecting the Institution,

2. Subject to the approval of the Governing Body the Advisory Committee may frame rules for the conduct of its business.

3. The Principal shall convene the meetings of the Advisory Committee. At least one meeting of the Advisory Committee shall be held by the Principal in each year. Additional meetings may be convened at any time by the Principal and shall be convened on the receipt of a requisition signed by four members of the Advisory Committee.

3. Unless otherwise provided for ^{by} the Governing Body, six members of the Advisory Committee shall be enough ~~to~~ to form a quorum. The meetings of the Advisory Committee shall ordinarily be held on the premises of the College at Aurangabad.

4. It shall be open to the Principal to obtain the views of the members of the Advisory Committee by circulation in cases of urgency.

191

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

23rd Sept - 1951

1 Hardsinge Avenue
New Delhi

My dear Phaurao,

I have long been wanting to write to you. But it has been quite impossible for me to find even a single minute. Today being a Sunday I ~~have~~ and there being no party meeting I have a few spare moments to send you a few lines.

I have informed Mr. Rajbhoj to call a meeting of the Working Committee of S. C. F. in Delhi on the 6th. I hope this will suit all. We must at this

meeting we must settle the following points

- (i) The manifesto
- (ii) Party alliance.

There may be other questions. But these are main questions.

I had decided to resign on or about the 6th Oct by which date it was expected the Hindu Code Bill would be passed. But there does not seem to be much chance of this happening. I am therefore in fix. The session is likely to drag on till the 15th Oct. It would hardly give me sufficient time to go about if I continue to be a member of Govt till the 15th. I am revolving the

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

whole matter in my mind & will
 come to a decision by the 6th
 with regard to my attending meeting
 in Nasik, Manmad and Chalisgaon
 I shall discuss the matter with
 you when we meet on the
 6th in Delhi

I have revised the draft
 manifesto and made some changes
 in it. I shall be sending you
 final copy of it by Tuesday. You
 will have to bring ~~also~~ cyclostyled
 copies when you come to
 Delhi

many of our people are likely to
make mistakes in filling these nomination
papers we have to issue clear
and simple instructions to them so
that their nomination papers are
not rejected.

With kind regards

yours sincerely

B. R. A.

192

1 Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

19th Oct 1951.

My dear Phaurao,

I have your letter. The N.P. people are not prepared to have an early date. Kureel was here just now. I have given him 9, 10 and 11 of Nov. I do not know what dates our Nagpur people want. I shall have to be in Bombay during the week of nomination from about the 24th - a few days before - and

a few days after. I shall have
to be in Delhi in the 1st of week
of December. Subject to these
limitations a few programme
can be arranged. With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

193

ALL INDIA SCHEDULED CASTES FEDERATION.

To,

Mr. B.K. Gaikward

This is to inform you that the Parliamentary Board of the Scheduled Castes Federation has accepted your application for being selected as a candidate for the forthcoming election to the Bombay Provincial Legislative Assembly.

2. The Board has nominated you for the seat reserved for the Scheduled Castes in Nasik West.....
Constituency.

3 The Board trusts that you will put such effort in the electoral contest as will do credit to the Federation as well as to yourself.

Yours sincerely,

General Secretary



C-3.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

No.

Received here at— H. M.



6922

0 14/10 NIPANI 3 70

DR AMBEDKAR OLD SIDDHARTHA COLLEGE BUILDING QUEENS ROAD BOMBAY-

-SCHEDULED CASTES FEDERATION IN BELGAUM DISTRICT INDISCRIMINAELLY SUPPORTING INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES AGAINST SOCIALIST PARTY CANDIDATES FEDERATION LEADER WARADI BARTERING VOTES AGAINST PARTY CANDIDATES FEDERATION IS SUPPORTING LANDLORDS CANDIDATES WHEN WILL PARTY THINK OVER THIS MATTER THIS UNHOLY ALLIANCE IS DENOUNCED BY MOST FEDERATIONISTS THEMSELVES GRAVE SITUATION IMMEDIATE ATTENTION INVITED PARTY HAS BETTER CHANCES WITH FEDERATION SURE SUCCESS DO NOT BETRAY PARTY IN HOUR OF NEED REPLY -

..... SHETTI CHAIRMAN KARNATAKA BOARD ...

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

CPD/NVK/80/15

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

REGISTRATION - 1959 - 10-18 - CLASSIFIED

195

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

Please see the enclosed
correspondence and do the
needful. I have sent a
telegram to Shiva Sharan
that your statement is
to be accepted in preference
to that of Rajbhoj

Yours sincerely

B.R.A.

196

26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Dechi

My dear Bhaurao,

I have been in the grip of a bad cold ever since my return from Bombay. I am confined to my home. There is also a lot of botheration from representatives of various parties wanting to have an audience with me. They come at all times and sit for hours. I have been able to settle matters for the Punjab

Rajbhoj and Dhole² have been writing
for monetary help. Of course as
you know and as they know ~~that~~
~~to~~ we have no party funds.

All that we have is a small
sum which I have been able to
collect on my tour. I do not like
to ~~filler~~ ~~it~~ away. Besides
if we pay some candidates the
rest will also ^{make a} demand which ~~it~~
will not be possible to resist.
I would like to have your views
on the question.

3



As to election tour I told you that you must do Hyderabad. I wonder if you can also do the C.P. It would be a great relief to me. I feel quite exhausted I don't know what alliance our people have made in C.P. for election purposes. That Province seems to me to be very difficult. There are so many parties, and one seems to be nearer to us.

I want to know the date of
 election fixed for C.P. and
 N.P. so that I may be able
 to work out a programme.

~~There is an account in my
 name in~~
 Keep me informed from time
 to time of how things are
 happening

With-kind regards
 yours sincerely
 B.Rh

197

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph.D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

3rd Feb. 1952

Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

I shall be in Bombay on the 6th. I want you to be present on that day. I have not much time to spend. I hope you have collected the material I have asked for.

With-Kind regards
yours truly
B.R.

198

26 Alipore Road
~~70th, Bombay~~
 Civil Lines
 Delhi 207
 29 / 1 / 52

I got your letter. It did not
 answer my ~~letter~~ question. I ~~don't~~ ^{wanted}
 to know why you failed. You
 did not answer that question.
 The Socialists are wanting me to come
 down to Bombay. I have promised
 to be there. They want to discuss
 the future. I hope you will be
 there. I shall let you know
 the exact date. It will be

in the first week of Feb. In the ~~first~~
~~place~~ ~~that~~ meaning time I want
 you to collect the following information
 in the following form.
 (and keep it ready —

1	2	3	4
Constituency —	Name of S.C. 7 Candidate	— Total Votes of belonging to S.C. in the Constituency	Total Votes polled by S.C. 7 Candidate
5		6	
Party with which Alliance was made in the Constituency.		Votes polled by the Candidate of the Allied Party.	

The money you sent with
 Babaria was received partly by

Kaulakant and partly by me.

About my standing again I am
not very particular but we shall
discuss ~~later~~ when we meet.

With kind regards I am
yours sincerely

B. R. Kumbhar

199



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Class } 0 OH
Prefix } Code

No. 6

Recd. from _____ Sent at _____ H. _____ M.

Office Stamp

By: *Am 81 JHP* To: _____

By: _____

Handed in at (Office of Origin)

Nasik

Date. *9* Hour. *14* Minute. *40*

Service Instructions.

35 Notes.

TO *B K Gaikwad C/o.*

Recd. here at *15* H. *48* M.

P N Rajbhoj 207 Ghorpade Peth W2

Doctor wants you meet him

Before your going Poona stop

Dont contact more stop doctor

Leaving Bombay Monday morning

Chetro
N.B. The name of the sender if telegraphed should be written at the end of the text.

200



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Class Prefix

Code

C.

Recd. from

By 98

Sent at

H.

M

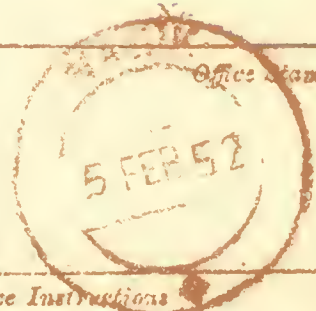
Office Stamp

By

By

To

By



Handed in at (Office of Origin)

Monday

5 42 -

Service Instructions

Words

o

Dhanurao
NSIC

Recd. here at

H.

M.

Jaikwas Kismat bag

Doctor wants you
here sixth afternoon

Restain = Chitose

A B. - The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from, the text.

MGT FPA - 5.6 - 2.6.50 - 5,49.100

201

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

21/2/52

26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Bhamao,

I got your letter just this morning. You have got just the minimum of it is difficult to face the prospect. If there is one defection we are gone. It would not be well to count defeat a second time. I want to do that. We must have at least 4/5 above the minimum.

You have I think made a great mistake in disclosing the plan to P. It may become known & is sure to give rise to a counter-move which we would never be able to counteract. Why you did this I am unable to understand. At such

one feels greatly distressed by such errors of judgement by friends.

How many more than the minimum ~~we~~ you can get. How about the two Ts. ? you don't seem to have met Varale or Rohan — or Angadi. They should be contacted for they might be useful. I see from to-day's Times of India that the election to the Council of States by the Bombay Legislature is to take place on the 27th March. There is just about a month.

I would like to know what you wish to achieve by starting your activity. Rajbhoj has already started his activities. He is going to fight for separate electorates. This has brought the Federation in great ~~repute~~ ridicule. Yours Sincerely
P. R.

202

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

29
2
5226 Alibore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

I got your letter yesterday. My reference to 'P' was to 'P' of Kolhapur. He may have been charged with good intentions. But to those he may speak will start counter-acting. That is why I did not like your mentioning the matter to him. However ~~why~~ what is done cannot be undone. Let us hope that nothing worse will happen. I did not like your mentioning the matter to Rajbhoj. He might speak to more who as you know has turned out to be a sworn enemy of the Federation. More if he comes to know of our move is sure to work against it. In view of the known attitude of more I was rather puzzled &

read that you had spoken to Wagh to canvass for more votes. Does not Wagh share the views of 'The Hero'? If he does what good can you expect from him. I must leave it to you. you know better.

I am enclosing two letters in original. After reading them please return them to me. Rajbhoj is going to be a great headache. Most people naturally blame you for the position he has acquired in the Federation. That he will misuse his position is the opinion of one and all, not merely of Nadkarni. As to the other letter written by Kasam at more it is a matter of inquiry. They have not given their address. I cannot therefore reply to them. But if you go to Bombay you might contact them.

2.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

With regard to your plea for starting some kind of agitation I am not sure that you have quite clearly understood what the situation is. We cannot come to any definite conclusion as to the future of the Federation unless we have got full reports regarding election results in the different constituencies. I am waiting and waiting but no report so far has come to me. My tentative conclusions are as follows -

1. The Scheduled Castes are behind the Federation.
2. The Federation will not and cannot win a ~~set~~ seat in any election by its own strength.
- (3). That being so the Federation must

be wound up and the scheduled Castes people following the Federation ~~shall~~ should be allowed to join any party they like or

(4) The Federation should align itself some other party which ~~is~~ (1) has a programme which will benefit the scheduled Castes (2) will allow them to work as an independent group inside the party.

(5) If the Federation is to exist as an independent body the Federation must have funds.

Each one of these is an essential condition. If any of these conditions fails the Federation must be closed down.

3

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

I would like to be outside the Federation. I would like to be out of ~~political~~ politics. I have my own political philosophy. I cannot easily give it up. Yet I quite realize that my political philosophy cannot result in ~~any~~ immediate benefit to them. There is nobody who knows better than myself how desperate is the condition of ~~me~~ our people and how hard it is for them to wait long for their betterment. I am inclined to advise our people even to join the Communists if they can give them immediate relief. The last point you should consider seriously namely my release from the Federation and also from my political

obligations.

The dates of nominations has been announced. It is between ~~the third~~ 3rd of March and 13th of March. I suppose I shall have to personally present my nomination Paper. That means I shall have to be in Bombay for the purpose. I shall ~~have~~ let you know the ~~rate~~ rate at which I shall be in Bombay.

As to getting into personal touch with our friends I don't know what more can be done except by writing to them a personal letter. If you can give me their names and addresses I can write to them or send the letters to you to distribute them. I am sorry to have troubled you so much for my sake.

With kind regards
Yours sincerely
P. R. A.

203

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

26, Alipore Road,
Delhi,
the 14th March, 1952.

Dear Sir

I am writing to you in connection with the coming elections to the Council of States for the Bombay State Legislative Assembly since you being a member of that Assembly you have a right to vote.

There are altogether seventeen seats to be filled and the election is by a single transferable vote. The candidate who gets eighteen first preference votes will win. I am standing as a candidate for election. There are also other candidates contesting the election.

May I have your first preference vote? I am sure in deciding as to which candidate you will give your first preference vote you will consider the merits of the different candidates. As for myself my public work done during the last thirty years is before you. I do not think I need say anything more to commend my candidature to yourself.

Voting for election to the Council of States is scheduled to take place on the 27th of this month. I shall be very grateful if you will give me further opportunity to carry on my public work by giving me your first preference vote. I hope you will give my appeal your best consideration.

Yours sincerely,



(B. R. AMBEDKAR)

204

Personal18th May 195226 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi.

My dear Phaurao,

I have just received your letter from about Mr. Shah. I don't recall anything about meeting him in Bombay. But it is due to my memory not being very strong. My how if he comes I shall be glad to do what I can for him.

I wonder if you had gone to Aurangabad to fix up the contract for bricks. I have been telling you that this is very urgent.

More from Aurangabad had written to me about some mischief being committed

by Mr S. K. Paksh in the Local Board elections — and it would very badly affect the S. C. 7. I wanted to send that letter to you. But unfortunately I have lost it. Will you write to him and ask him what the matter is — and advise him properly.

I am sorry my having to go to America is almost becoming certain. I do not like it very much. Since my return from Bombay my health has deteriorated considerably — and my wife whose enthusiasm was very high has ^{it} cooled considerably. But I suppose there is no escape now. Please keep this confidential. With kind regards
yours sincerely
B. R. h

205

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Delhi

6 May 1952.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have got your two letters. I am sorry I could not reply to them owing to my illness.

I am going to Secunderabad on the 9th for the meeting of the Managing Committee of the College. If you come we shall be able to decide

all the points you have raised
I hope you will find time to
come.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

B.Rh

206

14th May 1952.26 Alipore Road
Delhi

#

My dear Bhauro,

I have your letter of the 12th. I immediately got into touch with Mr. Poran Chand to find out if he could give me more detailed information regarding our requirements. Mr. Poran Chand has given the following information which I am passing on to you -

I Bricks(i) Total Requirement - Thirty lakhs

(ii) Specification of size

$$9 \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 3$$

(Same as Bindli)

II. Lime Five hundred Tons

III. Dabbar

(i) Total requirement - Thirty thousand ~~to~~ cft

(ii) Specification - $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches in thickness.

Pooran Chand agrees that the rate quoted by you are reasonable and may be accepted.

He cannot give the total quantity of lime and Dabbar in terms of crass

2

Point you can work out ton and cft
in terms of P brass.

you can now proceed to execute the
tasks that have been assigned to you. Of
course you will have to give advances;
but be very careful how much you
advance each time. Two conditions should
be fulfilled before any advance is made.
Except the original advance — other
subsequent advances should be (1) against
delivery ~~or~~ on spot (2) against 75 p.c. of
the value and (3) on certificate as to quality.
Either the certificate work should be
done by hesham or Baqul or by
both. For every advance must take

a receipt- only stamped.

I have told you how to negotiate for the ~~buses~~ trucks.

My health is what it is. It is a cause of sorrow for all of you. I have ceased to worry. For I don't think I ~~have~~ can do anything to regain my old self. As the Pundohra has said everything that comes into being perishes. You must learn to take it in that light. More important than worrying about my health is to think of taking over my responsibility which you must be soon ready to do. I am sure I will not last long.

The date of my departure I am sure

3

is approaching rapidly. I shall let you
know the exact date.

With-kind regards

yours sincerely

B.R. Kumbhakar

207

List of candidates for Election to the Council of
States as given in the Ballot paper

1. Abid Ali Jafferbhai १. अबिदअली जाफरभाजा २. अबिदअली जाफरभाजा ३. अबिदअली जाफरभाजा	18	
2. Alva, Violet Joachim २. अल्वा, व्हायेलेट जोअचिम २. अल्वा, व्हायेलेट जोअचिम ३. अल्वा व्हायेलेट जोअचिम	17	
3. Ambedkar Bhimrao Ramji ३. अंबेडकर, भिमराव रामजी ३. अंबेडकर, भिमराव रामजी ३. अंबेडकर, भिमराव रामजी	19	२०१११११ - १३ १११११
4. Deholkar, Shankarrao Gopalrao ४. दामोदर, शंकरराव गोपाळराव ४. दामोदर, शंकरराव गोपाळराव ४. दामोदर, शंकरराव गोपाळराव	0	
5. Dave, Somnath Prabhashankar ५. दवे, सोमनाथ प्रभाशंकर ५. दवे, सोमनाथ प्रभाशंकर ५. दवे, सोमनाथ प्रभाशंकर	18	
6. Desgirikar, Trimbal Raghunath ६. देवगिरीकर, त्रिंबक रघुनाथ ६. देवगिरीकर, त्रिंबक रघुनाथ ६. देवगिरीकर, त्रिंबक रघुनाथ	18	
7. Devkhandan Narayan ७. देवकिंदन नारायण ७. देवकिंदन नारायण ७. देवकिंदन नारायण	17	

208

Bhimrao R. Ambedkar,
 M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.,
 Barrister-at-Law

"Rajgraha"
 Dadar,
 Bombay, 14.

19-7-52.

My dear Phauao,

I have just had a letter
 from Mr. Meshram. He tells me that
 Appa who was doing such excellent
 work has closed his business and
 is returning to Nasik. Do you
 understand the consequences of
 this? Meshram says that in all
 probability he has acted under
 your advice and that

you are — also not allowing your eldest
 Brother to work — as an accountant
 All this is very regrettable. I — am
 dead certain that you cannot
 deny the services of — appa
 and ~~to~~ your eldest brother
 in connection with the construction
 work. If they have come back
 from Aurangabad they should return forth
 with. I hope you will carry on
~~my~~ ^{my} suggestions. I shall of
 course see you — on the 3rd
 with kind regards
 yours sincerely
 B R Ambedkar

209

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

7th Nov. 1952
26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Phaurao,

I received one letter from you on the eve of my departure from Bombay. Naturally I could not dispose of it myself. I handed it over to Kamalabhai to do the needful in the matter. Nothing came out of it. My boxes are still lying there in Bombay. I do not quite understand why your friends could not go to Bombay and bring the boxes. Surely they would have been paid their return fare from Kanwad to Bombay. I have been terribly inconvenienced. Unfortunately my keys have remained

behind and altho we are at Alipore we
 cannot get any of our friends here
 I cannot get at my cheque book. That
 is why I have not been able to send you
 the cheque which you had asked me
 to send. However I have not asked
 you to wait for any body and
 send the boxes with the college fees

I will now turn to your second
 letter which came after I had reached
 Delhi. I have read it carefully — and
 also the accompaniments.

You have the feeling that I am
 dissatisfied with you — and that the
 public has come to know about
 it and that is why they are
 issuing these antagonistic handbills.

3

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Let me clear up the position point
by point.

As to the contract being given to Appa.
The responsibility is entirely mine. You
do not come into the picture at all.
You can disown all responsibility and
throw it on me. I will defend myself
against any attack from any quarters.
I may do it in the near future or
some time later when occasion arises

many of our contractors from Nasik
had been to me and I have told them
the same thing. Even the contractor
whose contract was cancelled had been
to me and he received the same reply.

I told them that this was not the only work they could tender for. There was plenty of ~~other~~ other work with the Society - such as levelling the play ground and building a pavillion for the Sidharth College - and they went away quite satisfied.

I will now tell you what are the real causes - ~~not~~ of my dissatisfaction with you but of ~~the~~ the causes of why some of our old friends have become dissatisfied with you.

The first and foremost is your intimacy with Miss Dani. They think that there is more than

5

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Political friendship with you. I am speaking from what correspondents have written and what our mutual and common friends have told me privately. †

The second cause of dissatisfaction is your association with the girls' hostel at Nasik. I have no idea what part you play in the management of it. Some people have been talking about ~~the~~ the girls being misused.

There have been, in the third place, complaints about money

Collected but not accounted for. I received while in Bombay a long letter signed by some people raising this complaint

There are matters for which the public feel dissatisfied with you so far as I know. The third matter is of no moment you and Khyam can sit and settle what truth there is in the complaint

As regards the first two I don't at all share the sentiments of those who accuse you. All the same I cannot help saying that it would be in your own interests to dissociate yourself as much as you can from both Miss Dani as well as the girl's Hotel. Indians are ~~not~~ a bad people. They are always ready to attribute bad

7
 BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
 M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
 BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

motives and bad conduct even when there is no ground for it. Why give cause to such people.

you and all our workers have a feeling that they are safe if I protect them. This is a wrong feeling. This is only virtue that can protect a man against public calumny. I shall not last for ever. After I am dead and gone what can protect you is your own virtue.

I will now tell you of the causes which have made me

disatisfied you.

First is that whenever you ^{came} to Bombay you go back the very next day without any business being done. I have been wondering why you at all came if you have no intention to complete the business. Last you came to Bombay & we wanted to settle what legal steps we should take and you promised to bring a lawyer. You told me you were going to Mumbai but from there you went straight to Nashik and never returned. You know how very anxious I have been to get rid of the tenants. But if you behave in this

9.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

way what can I do. One
 cannot help feeling annoyed.

The second cause of my personal
 dissatisfaction with you is that
 you have not been able to
 set right the sinking condition in
 the Bombay City Federation
 which the Bombay City Federation
 is continuing to be. It is now
 several years since you have
 been its president and yet
 you have not been able to
 set things right. You think this
 is creditable? I cannot
 function as the head of the

Federation if the Federation is not functioning
 and if the Federation is not functioning
 it is the fault of the local heads especially
 in my present disabled condition

I have now given you an
 idea of new matters stand
 it is for you to do your part

With kind regards

Yours Sincerely
 B R A

210

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A. PH. D. D. SC L.L.D.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW
MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES

26, ALIPORE ROAD
CIVIL LINES,

DELHI 22nd Nov. 1952.

My dear Phauas,

I have received your two letters. I have been in the grip of a very bad cold and was confined to bed on that account. That is why I was not able to reply to you earlier.

I am glad you have understood the ^{true} import of my letter ~~in its true~~ ^{import}. I would suggest that you make Miss Dani the Superintendent of the Gills Hotel and let her manage it. You can help her in the matter of collecting funds keeping accounts etc. You free yourself from its ~~trammels~~ ^{trammels} so that you can move about freely.

Yeshwant seems to be wanting to quit the Press. I would also like him to quit. It gives a chance to some people to talk. I don't know what to do about it. I had mentioned this matter to you and Jashav suggesting that this might be done. Both of you were then against it. You might think over the matter. Janata has become a worthless bag.

As to your suggestion for a T.A. you certainly can charge T.A. to the Aurangabad College Construction Fund for journeys you have undertaken in respect of the construction either to Bombay or to Aurangabad.

As to your T.A. in respect of the Boardings you are supervising you certainly can charge T.A. either to the Hotels or to P.E.S.

As to your T.A. in respect of the Collection

for Building Fund I entirely agree that you have a right to it. Only question is when you should claim it. In the beginning or at the end. I think it is better if it was done at the end when all the money is collected.

I am coming to Bombay on the 16th Dec. We shall then discuss the matter.

With kind regards
yours sincerely
B. R. H.

P.S. There is going to be an election to the Poona. Sanasa has written to Bhosle soliciting the support

of our people to his candidate. Whole
he says is supporting the Congress
Candidate.

I am not much interested
in Politics. But you may look
into the matter.

211

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A. PH. D. D. SC. L.L.D.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW
MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES

26, ALIPORE ROAD
CIVIL LINES,

DELHI 1st Feb. 1953

My dear Bhanrao,

I have received all your letters. I have been unwell and we have had intense cold. Beside I have severe cold in my shoulder. All these circumstances have prevented me from replying to your letters.

I am wanting to write to the Governor of Bombay. But I find Baijai is leaving. We will have to wait until he returns. I cannot write the representation until I have

A Copy of ~~The~~ ^{Debates} ~~and the Reports~~
of the Bombay Legislative Assembly
Containing ~~Speeches~~ ^{the} ~~speeches~~
on the Bill.

As to ~~your~~ the other points
raised by you I shall write
separately.

I find that you are not
~~any~~ paying any attention to
the question of Court Proceedings
against the tenants occupying
the Gokuldas Pavia Land in Bombay

Yours Sincerely

B. R. R.

212

PEOPLES' EDUCATION SOCIETY

Chairman: Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M. A., PH. D., D. SC., BARRISTER-AT-LAW., LL. D. (COLUMBIA).

TEL. NO. 34897

ALBERT BUILDING,
DR. DADABHAI NAWROJI ROAD,
BOMBAY 1.

REF. NO. 356

12th April 1953

OFFICE ORDER IN RESPECT OF CONSTRUCTIONAL WORKS AT AURANGABAD

Owing to the sudden death of Mr. G.T.Mesnram, Registrar in charge of the constructional works at Aurangabad, the following orders are issued for disposal of the construction work :-

(1) Re:- Wooden Purlins for roof.

Telegraphic order dated 8-4-1953 placed with Messrs Khobaragade, Chanda, for the supply of 350 numbers of purlins be cancelled. Mr. B.K.Gaikwad to arrange to purchase about 400 purlins from Nasik.

(2) Re:- Steel.

Mr. M.G.Tipnis to contact Messrs. Tatas and Messrs. Jayantilal and Co. of Bombay and expedite supply of steel from them.

(3) Re:- Lime and bricks.

These are prepared departmentally and the work should proceed as before.

(4) Re:- Laddis from Shahabad.

Mr. B.K.Gaikwad should take necessary steps for getting the necessary wagons.

(5) Mr. M.G.Tipnis to work at Aurangabad, give all assistance to Mr. B.K.Gaikwad and Mr. M.B.Chitnis and look after the Engineering side of the construction work; Mr. Bagul continuing to be in direct charge of the works.

(6) Mr. B.K.Gaikwad to work as the Liaison Officer between the Chairman and the Principal M.B.Chitnis

(7) The cheques will be operated by the Undersigned as Chairman and Mr. M.B.Chitnis as the Principal till further orders.

PEOPLES' EDUCATION SOCIETY

Chairman : Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M. A., PH. D., D. SC., BARRISTER-AT-LAW., LL. D. (COLUMBIA).

TEL. NO. 34897

ALBERT BUILDING,
DR. DADABHAI NAWROJI ROAD,
BOMBAY 1.

REF. NO.

..... 19

- 2 -

(8) Payments in respect of construction work should be made by the Principal on vouchers signed by Bagul and countersigned by Gaikwad.

(9) Accountant should keep accounts as before.

(10) Mr. B.K.Gaikwad and Mr. M.B.Chitnis will dispose of jointly all matters relating to the works and in case of a difference, they should refer the question to the undersigned for decision.

(11) Mr. Tipnis to submit a weekly report to the undersigned of the progress of the work.

B. R. Ambedkar

CHAIRMAN.

h6
12/4

213

Bhamburao R. Ambedkar,
 M.A. PH.D. D.Sc., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
 MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES,
 CHAIRMAN, PEOPLE'S EDUCATION SOCIETY.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 DELHI.

22nd June 1953

My dear Bhamburao,

Ever since my return to Delhi I have been trying to contact the Railway authorities to get the necessary number of waggons for bringing the Glass from Calcutta. I have not been able to contact them — and even if I do it does not seem possible to get the waggons in time. I am therefore trying to purchase the

glass ~~in town~~ from a dealer in Delhi. It is easier to get transport from Delhi. I am meeting the dealer this evening.

I am starting from Delhi on the morning of the 29th by the Punjab mail which will reach Manmad on the 30th morning. I hope there is a connecting train to take us to Aurangabad. I don't like to travel by car.

I hope everything is alright
 Yours sincerely
 B.R.h.

214

Bhimrao R. Ambedkar,
 M.A. Ph.D. D.Sc., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
 MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES,
 CHAIRMAN, PEOPLE'S EDUCATION SOCIETY.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 DELHI.

25-6-53.

My dear Phaurao,

I was sorry to read your last letter which came to my hands yesterday. Varale has done a foolish thing. He should have at least consulted you. It was never my desire to make you ~~work~~ work without payment. I was only waiting for the meeting of the Governing ~~Bombay~~ Body to fix the

amount. But unfortunately no meeting could be held. But the thing will be done at the next meeting. You need have no worry about it.

I was also sorry to read about the quarrel between Varale and Chitnis. You did not mention the cause nor has Varale written to me about it.

I just got your wire about

the waggon for moving glass.
When will it reached? Has
it moved? Let me know
by wire if you can.

I am leaving Delhi on the
morning of the 29th and will
be reaching Manma on the
30th morning for Aurangabad

I hope you are keeping
well
yours Sincerely

B L L

IMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. PH.D. D.S.C. LL.D. D.LIT.
BARRISTER AT-LAW
MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES

Personal

26, ALIPUR ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,

DELHI the 28th July 1954.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have got your letters. I don't think that mere action against Bhole will be of any use. The disease of disunity has gone very deep and if you take action the whole thing will break up, a result which I am sure you do not want.

The best thing would be to call a meeting of our workers in the Bombay State and have the dirty linen washed before them.

Rajbhoj is of course another headache. We shall have to be dealt with. Janata is another problem. It has become a group paper. That is the complaint of the rival group. It must also be dealt with.

I must tell you that I do not propose to be at the head of the Federation. I feel I am too old and too sickly to play any effective part in Politics. You people can now run the party. You must by now learn to take responsibility which after my death will undoubtedly be yours. Why take it right now?

I cannot remain a titular head. For in that condition I get all the blame for the bad deeds done by others which I am unable to check by my inability to move about.

You have said that people are conspiring to oust you from public life. Matters should have come to this stage is indeed an occasion not merely for sorrow but also introspection. You do not as yet fully realize that there is so much discontent against you personally. There are letters with me which make all sorts of charges against you. The contents of these letters cannot be disclosed in letters. I wanted time to speak to you privately. But you have never allowed me an opportunity to do so. Whenever I am in Bombay you just pay a formal

-2-

visit, stay a minute or two and disappear, never to be found again. There may be many good reasons why you ^{cannot} stay in Bombay longer than a minute while formerly you used to stay for weeks. But the fact remains that there is no contact between us. I have a feeling that you deliberately avoid it. What can I do? I am helpless with such a person.

You once honoured yourself as Mahatma Gaikwad. Now the word Mahatma has been dropped. So much has the tide turned against you. But you have never asked within yourself why has this happened. You ^{in my judgement} have two bad habits about which I have already spoken. First is: you will never admit guilt. Second is: you never repent. You always justify your actions and in those in whom you are your friends. I have told you about your brother what sort of a man he is. You do not admit this. You keep on saying that I am being misinformed by Varale. This is absolutely false. I learned of this during Meshram's life. He too was unfortunately a party to your brother's conduct. What I learned about your brother's conduct was through registered letters sent by men and women workers. I see no reason to doubt them. For I have heard similar reports about your brother from other sources. Yet you still insist that your brother is innocent.

There is a limit to family feeling. One cannot carry it to the extent you carry - certainly no man who wants to play his part in public life can keep on distrusting the public and trust only his brother. You should copy a bit from me. You probably might be knowing how I turned out my eldest brother from my home on the mere allegation by a mill hand woman that he insulted her.

People have been very angry with you also on another ground. People say that they made themselves enemies of Danis and Rankhambes because of you. They have boycotted them on your account. They refuse to give their daughters to Dani or Rankambe. Yet you recently managed to get Dani's son - who was not getting any bride - married

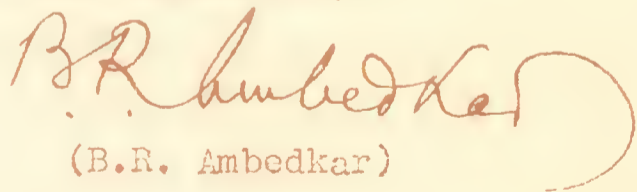
-2-

to the daughter of the Accountant working in the College of the People's Education Society's College at Arangabad. This double dealing. People say that why should we incur the enmity of Rankhambe for a man who is secretly in league with him.

I have just recently heard some thing quite unbelievable. But this is what it is: you had been, I was told, invited to address a meeting held by our people at Sholapur to celebrate Buddha Jayanti in May 1st. At that meeting you are reported to have condemned my move for conversion to Buddhism as being of no use. That you had discussed the subject with me several times but you were not convinced and that in your opinion the Buddha was a Buddha (fool) and that people should think before they accept my proposal. I wanted to get a copy of the Janata to verify the allegation. I did not get it. If the story is true this is a stab in the back. I do not mind it. I can still carry on in spite of your opposition or any body else's opposition. But if the allegation is true what friendship and regard can one have with a person who is capable of such treachery?

People have unfortunately associated with your hypocrisy. Sadhu and Bhondu that is what they say. If you can drop your mock humility and not aspire to be a Saint, you will perhaps regain your old position as Mahatma Gaikwad. People like a common man, living like a common man. There is yet time to do that.

Yours sincerely,


(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismat Bag, Nasik
G.I.P. Railway.

216

Cant. A'Bad

29th July 1953

My dear Dada

As per decision
 our great leader Sr. Babaji
 has written a letter and
 I have dispatched it
 today. Will you kindly
 come on 9th inst.?

My Jai Shree to Tai
 Jiji, Sakuntalabai

and others. Thank

Yours truly, P. S. Rowell

Copy forwarded through,
No. 2-1-51.

To
The Hon'ble the Minister,
Government of Madhya Pradesh,
Bhopal.

To
The Hon'ble the Minister
for Revenue,
Government of Madhya Pradesh,
Bhopal.

Dear Sir,

I have come to Bursangabad in connection with the construction of our college buildings. During the course of my stay, there have been people belonging to the scheduled castes and residing in the district of Bursangabad have flooded me with their complaints against the Government. I want to mention one in particular as it is so glaring and which relates to your department.

As told by the scheduled castes of Bursangabad that Government had given them some forest lands for cultivation and which they were cultivating for some years. Recently the Bursangabad Council has been transferred and merged in the Bursangabad District and their lands they had been cultivating were been taken away from them and made part of the forest area. The result is that they have been deprived of their only means of livelihood which they had. They are practically starving.

I have made inquiries into the matter from the collector's Office at Bursangabad and I am told that their dispossession of their lands is the result of the orders of the Government and my recourse must be sought from the Government. That is why I am writing to you.

I must frankly say that I am unable to understand the policy underlying such an order. Forests are necessary and very essential. But why deprive people of their lands which is their only means of livelihood for the sake of creating and enlarging forest areas? There is plenty of barren land which might be used for afforestation. I do not know that this sort of the plan has been followed in any other part of the country. It is a pity that the Government should be giving greater importance to the forest which a forest can produce than the welfare of the people. I am sorry to say that.

I hope you will take the report of the letter...

consideration and order the restoration of the lands to
the Scheduled Castes to whom they were given.

Yours truly,

Sd/- B.R. Ambedkar

Member Council of State

218

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 CIVIL LINES,
 DELHI,

Dated the 5th Feb. 1955.

My dear Baburao,

Thank you for sending me the report of the Backward Classes Board, Bombay.

I have just received your second letter. I am sorry the Times of India has not published my letter. I am sorry I have no copy of it with me. I had given you a copy of it when you saw me in Bombay. Will you be so good as to send it to me by registered post.

With regard to Maharki Watan before any agitation is started I would first like to represent the case to Morarji. For that I would like to have all information, such as Government Notifications, Government Legislation regarding the Watan of other Watandors. Send me complete information.

Yours Sincerely
B.R. Ambedkar
 (B.R. Ambedkar)

To
 Bhamrao K. Gaikwad
 Kismat Bang
 Nasik

219

B. R. AMBEDKAR.

*M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law.
Member, Council of States.*

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI,

Dated the ~~14th~~ 28th Feb. 55

Dear Mr. Gaikwad,

I have sent you under separate cover three copies of the Constitution of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation.

Hitherto the Constitution of the Federation was an unwritten Constitution. Time and circumstances require that the Federation should have a written Constitution.

The Constitution as drafted by me, so far as I am concerned, is final. I am however prepared to consider any suggestions that you may have to make. I shall be grateful to receive your suggestions if you have any to make. Your suggestions must reach me within a month.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Alias Dadasaheb Gaikwad,
President, Karnataka Scheduled Castes Federation,
Kismet Bag, Nasik.

All India Scheduled Castes Federation

President .

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
 M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt.,
 Barrister-at-Law,
 Member, Council of States

26, ALIPUR ROAD,
 CIVIL LINES,
 DELHI.

Ref. No.

Dated the 22nd March 1955.

My dear Gaikwad,

I have received your two letters and the bundle of papers on Watan that you sent.

I wanted to reply to you immediately on the receipt of your papers but I was over taken suddenly by severe illness which has disabled me from doing any work. Dr. Malvankar who had been called and has returned back only recently has warned me not to undertake any intellectual work for some time. I have not been very obedient patient but this time I cannot take liberty and it is impossible for me to attend to the work till I have completely recovered. The speech I made in the Rajya Sabha on the 18th has further lowered my vitality and I have been now lying in bed.

I mention this because you want me to act quickly in the Watan matter. That is impossible. If you think the matter is urgent you are of course free to take such steps as you think are likely to be effective. I however do not think that any thing like Satyagraha would be of any consequence. You might, if you like, hold public meetings to protest against the proposals of the Government of Bombay.

P.T.O.

-2-

I may be coming to Bombay soon for ^{further} medical examination, for Dr. Malvankar has advised me to come down to Bombay to enable him to diagnose what exactly is the melody which attacked me. You may then see me.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
President,
Scheduled Castes Federation,
Bombay State, Kismat Bag,
Nasik.

B. R. AMBEDKAR,

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister at Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI,

Dated the 25th March 1955.

My dear Bhaurao,

Please refer to your letter of the 21st. A letter from Mr. Bhandare on the subject had been received by me. I have advised him to be neutral.

Like you I too was surprised to read his views. They were only his views although the newspapers who came to know of them put them out as his proposals which was quite wrong.

What is however interesting to note the reasons/^{is} why he had taken such a view. He writes that two members of the Federation Party in the Bombay Municipality had already decided to vote for the Congress. It is better he thought that all should vote one way rather than show open split. Of the members who had decided to vote with the Congress is one of them is Mr. R.A. Jadhav and the other is Mr. Boricha. Mr. R.A. Jadhav is a man whom you and B.C. Kamble have been lending support against Mr. Bhandare although both of you know that he has been found guilty of embezzling money belonging to the Federation. You must be held responsible for encouraging this man.

As to your other cutting referring to the split in the Federation the author of the news is again your friend 'Mr. Rajabhoj'. He has been telling every body that there is a split. To-day somebody has sent me two cuttings from the Lokamanya of Bombay that Mr. Rajabhoj is going to join the Congress. You must have seen the news already.

The Federation is full of groups each fighting against

P.T.O.

-2-

another. For these internal dissensions within the Federation especially in Bombay, you alone are responsible. You have shown by your conduct that you cannot tolerate a rival. You fought with Bhole because he was sent to England and America and you were not. You quarrel with Bhandare because he has been appointed President of the Bombay City Federation. You are not only quarrelling with him, you have got hold of B.C. Kamble and Rajbhoj to form a group to oppose Bhole, Bhandare and support their opponents although they have been wrong-doers. You are in my opinion the hot bed of dissensions and party intrigue.

There is one matter to which I must refer in this connection although I could have referred to it at an earlier stage. When a public meeting of our workers was held in Bombay last November you were present. You were present when the resolution suspending the Bombay Federation was passed. You did not oppose it. I was not consulted before the resolution was moved. I kept quiet and accepted the obligation which was thrown upon me. You were ~~part~~ on the Committee. For a month there was no stir. Suddenly I find a statement of yours in the Janata - which according to many is a Gazette of Gaikwad, Rajabhoj and Kamble - that you repudiated your appointment of the Committee. I was greatly surprised that an old man like you should have done so foolish an act. What shocked me was that you were not content with announcing your own resignation. You went further and issued a cyclo-styled circular telling that they too should resign from the Committee. Fortunately you got only one victim.

There is a limit to which a man can carry his personal pick and pride. ^{In} Every party there are people who make mistakes. It is the duty of the elders to save the face of the party and not to exploit the mistakes for personal aggrandizement.

You must be by now 50/55 years old. You have experience of

P.T.O.

-3-

other political parties. As an elderly person it was your duty to bring all people together and make peace. Instead you started group rivalries and group fighting. How can a man like, with no health, work for the Federation? Indeed I am sick of the Federation and would like to do work which is more congenial to my mind.

Yours *Sincerely*

B.R. Ambedkar

(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismat Bag, Nasik.

222

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph.D., D Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

26, Alipur Road,
Civil Lines,
D E L H I.Jairaj House,
Colaba Causeway,
B O M B A Y 3.April 28th, 1955.

My dear Bahurao :

I had expected you to see me before leaving for Bhandare. As I shall be leaving for Delhi on Monday, before you return, I leave the following instructions :

- (1) If you are calling a meeting of the working committee it should be held in Bombay sometime in the last week of May.
- (2) I have told Mr. Pillai how to refashion the hall, so that it may both be a hall and a temple. I want you to leave the matter to him to design.
- (3) Mr. Pillai tells me that your colony is being built up by individual members who are planning their houses according to their own wishes. There is neither a master plan nor an uniform plan. This will result in great chaos. It would be better if you hand over the planning of the colony and the design of the houses and even the construction thereof to one single individual. It seems to me that Mr. Pillai is the best man for the purpose.
- (4) You have to arrange for the Yavala Conference.
- (5) The colony should have one name.
- (6) You have not sent me the notices issued by the Government against the Mahars in respect of the commutation of their Watans.
- (7) You have to attend the Small Causes Court on the 8th of May to give evidence. Herein fail not.

Yours sincerely,

To:

Mr. Bahurao K. Gaekwad,
Kismet Baug,
N A S I K.

223

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Dated the 8th June 1955.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter with its accompaniment I have read all the debates on the subject of comutation of Maharki Vatan. Every body seems to have gone wrong, our Kamble as well as Government.

The matter will have to be taken to the High Court and if we fail to the Supreme Court I am ready for action. Of course it will cost quite a lot of money we shall have to collect it from the Mahars. We shall discuss the whole thing when I come.

It now appears that I shall be in a position to come down in the beginning of July. We can also hold meeting of the Working Committee in the beginning of July. I shall let you know the precise date of my tour programme.

I have heard nothing from Avode. He is naturally very uncommunicative. Indeed I have not seen the announcement of the Returning Officer as to who has been elected. What have you done about Yevala?

Yours *Sincerely*
B. R. Ambedkar
(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismat Baug, Nasik.

224

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Dated the 9th February 1956.

My dear Gaikwad,

I have your letter of the February 1956 asking me to state out the stand of the party in order that you may determine the question of resignation. The stand I have taken is as follows:

- (i) the mixed state of Bombay consisting of Maharashtrians and Gujratis must be desolved;
- (ii) Bombay city should be part of Maharashtra but may be made an independent state;

I am against Samyukat Maharashtra. I want Maharashtra to be divided into four states:

- (a) Bombay city State;
- (b) Western Maharashtra;
- (c) Central Maharashtra; and
- (d) Eastern Maharashtra.

All these points are explained in my book which has been published and you can obtain a copy of it from our Press.

For the present the struggle that is going on is on the issue of Bombay being part of Maharashtra. On that issue I am one with the Maharashtrians but I don't allow a conclusion to be drawn from this unanimity that I am also in favour of United Maharashtra. It is difficult in these circumstances to take a stand which is one single one in all circumstances. If the resignation is limited to the issue of Bombay being part of Maharashtra there is no harm in tendering the resignation although to me tendering resignation seems to be a very childish act. It would be much better to force the Government to suspend the local bodies rather than you people tender your resignation.

You may have to issue a statement so that in case you have to tender resignation people should know what are the terms and conditions under which you are tendering it.

Yours sincerely,


(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Gaikwad,
Kismatbagh, Nasik

225

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,

^{1/2} DELHI,
12th March 1955

My dear Bhanoo,

I have received your wire and your letter ^{to-day}. There is no harm in your standing for the election. What good it can do is more than what I can. You need however withdraw your nomination Paper.

I may perhaps ~~have~~ ^{add} in this letter that I have been receiving many complaints about Gho baragade. Many people from various sect centres have been inviting him to attend public meetings and have been expressing their willingness to meet to his expenses. But he does not even reply to them. People have

been unable to ~~a~~ understand his conduct.
Can you explain this? I would like
to know the cause.

With kind regards

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

P.S.

I have had no letter from him.

226

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,

DELHI,
12th March 1953

My dear Bhauroo,
Yave chent has not sent
full ~~full~~ fees as yet. He has
sent only Rs 2000/- . He has yet
to pay Rs 3000. I have to
engage a junior who has to
be paid. What is to be done!
ask Pawan

Yours Sincerely
B.R.

227

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Dated the 3rd May 1956.

My dear *Bhaurao,*

I have received your letter dated 1-5-56 along with the Wakalatnama signed by the Prisoner. You have mentioned whether you should stand for the election or not. I had informed you categorically to stand. Unfortunately the word 'not' was not mentioned so I am making this clear.

There is a difference in the appeal to be signed by Shela. There is a condition precedent to an appeal in the Supreme Court that the prisoner should first file a petition for appeal ~~for~~ leave in the High Court. This has not been done. I am sending herewith a copy of a petition for leave to appeal to be signed by Shela and send directly through the Supdt. of Jails to the Registrar of the High Court. You will kindly ~~send~~ go to the Jail and meet the Superintendent of Jail and have the appeal memo signed by Shela and ask the Supdt. to send it to the Registrar of the Bombay High Court.

I spoke on Monday on the States Reorganisation Bill. You must have seen the report of my speech in the Times of India. I have pleased no body as is usually the case with me. But I find that the Government is pressed and may likely concede the points I have made. If this happens I shall myself pray the Buddha to bless me.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh, Nasik.

P.S. I intend to distribute a few hundred saries to the needy on Buddha Jayanti. Please ascertain ~~whether~~ it could be possible for you to arrange the same from some wholesale dealer there or from any local mill as the case may be

228

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI,

Dated the 10th July, 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter. I do not think it will be necessary for you to come here. **Although** my legs have been troubling me I am feeling much better and I believe that I would be able to attend Parliament without distracting you from your work.

With regard to the question of what Federation should do in the new Election Campaign I shall send you a Memorandum. We can then discuss that Memorandum at a Working Committee meeting. I don't know that there is any thing more to be said at this stage. I have received a similar letter from Khobragade and I am going to give him the same reply.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh,
Nasik.

229

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINE,
DELHI.

Dated the 23rd July 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,

Please refer to your telegram of 22nd July 1956. The dismissal of the application to the High Court was expected. It was done with the object of saving limitation in the Supreme Court which is newly introduced. There are still 80 days ~~while~~ to file a petition in the Supreme Court. We want a certified copy of the application filed in the High Court and the order of the High Court thereon. It might well be better if you can bring it yourself and bring Khobragade with you. There are many matters which have to be talked about regarding election in which you people are so greatly enthusiastic.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh,
Nasik.

230

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
*M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.*

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI,

Dated the 8th August 1956.

Respected *Baba Sahib,*

I am directed by Baba Sahib to remind you about the telegram which he sent ^{to} you in connection with the case of Shelare. The necessary papers have not yet been sent by you so far. As the time is very short you are requested kindly to send the papers immediately.

In his last letter you were also asked to come over here along with Shri Khobragade but nothing has been heard from you so far. Please let us know, by the return of mail, the probable date, when you can be expected over here.

Baba Sahib is keeping good health.

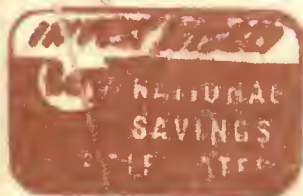
With regards,

Yours sincerely,

N.C. Rattu
(N.C. RATTU)
Hon. Private Secretary to *B.R. Ambedkar*

Shri Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh,
Nasik.

231



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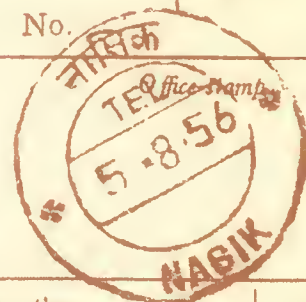
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9 H.30

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Gaikwad Kismit Bag Nasik

Send Shelar Case papers

Immediately = Ambedkar

232

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINE,
DELHI.

Dated the 8th Sep. 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the 4th September 1956.
Shelar's appeal has been filed. Unfortunately some copies
were indistinct and the court has returned the same for
better typed copies. They will be submitted to-morrow.

I was told by the Pleader that the case ~~ix~~
might come on the board for hearing after about ~~two~~
two months but no one can be certain about it. You
better make arrangement for the payment of the fee.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismet Bagh,
Nasik.

233

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINE,
DELHI.

Dated the 8th September, 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,


I have your letter of 4th September 1956.
I had some stomach ~~st~~ upsets ^{and} I have had to change
my programme completely. I am better now.

I am not thinking of coming to Bombay till
December or so. I have decided to have my conversion
about the Dussehra holidays. In November I shall be
ascending to Buddhist conference in Nepal. So I have
very little spare time for political work.

I have to go to Aurangabad but I don't know when
I could do the trip. I will let you know about it.

I am thinking whether the Working Committee
meeting could not be ~~be~~ held in Delhi. If you all are
agreeable to come to Delhi we can easily do so. It
would save me much of the botheration arising from tra-
velling. We can have it in the third week of September.
Inform Khobragade.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh, Nasik.

36 Allipur Road

Calcutta, dated the 23rd Sep. 56

M E S S A G E

To

Press Trust of India,
Calcutta.

CONVERSION OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR TO BUDDHISM

The date and place of Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism has now been fixed. It will take place at Allipur on the Dussehra day i.e. 14th of October, 1956. The ceremony of conversion will take place between 9 and 11 A.M. In the evening of the same day Dr. Ambedkar will deliver his address to the gathering.

Sd_____

Forwarded for information

(B.R. Ambedkar)

to wasa

Subh Chakravarty
K. R. Patil

H. S. to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar
(W. C. RATTY)

235

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 CIVIL LINE,
 DELHI.

Dated the 24th September 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,

I quite understand the sorrow of our people in Bombay for having changed the venue of my conversion. But we have also to bear in mind the criticism which is levelled by people outside Bombay who are also, our own people.

Time has come that we should give preference to their wishes. There is really no ground for regret or though the first ceremony might be held in Nagpur it is not that similar ceremonies will not be held in Bombay or other places. These will be held wherever there is big gathering of people desiring to convert themselves and I will be present there.

I have been wondering as to what has happened to the manuscript of the booklet "Dhamadiksha" which I gave to you and asked you to give it to Upsham to have it printed. Mr. Upsham has not acknowledged the receipt of the manuscript. I sent him a wire but there is no reply even to the wire. I have been beset with a certain amount of concern as to what has happened to the manuscript.

I am issuing a public announcement through the P.T.I. regarding the date of my conversion. It will of course appear in the Prabuddha Bharat.

Yours sincerely,

B.R. Ambedkar
 (B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
 Kismetbagh,
Nasik.

236

B. R. AMBEDKAR,

M.A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,

Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Dated the 23rd February 1956.

This is to inform you that I have received several communications from Mr. Upsham that you are not allowing him to conduct his duty as Accountant and Cashier of the Boudha Bhushan Printing Press. You seem to be under the impression that by these tactics you will be getting possession of the press. I am writing to warn you that press is public property - neither yours nor mine, and it is not possible to allow a public account to be misappropriated by an public individual.

Your conduct has been utterly disgraceful. You have mis-appropriated several hundred rupees and although many concessions have been given to you, you have not cleared yourself. I write this final letter to tell you that you had better hand over charge to Upsham and not disturb him in performing out his duties. If I don't hear from you that you have acted in accordance with my last and final direction which I am giving you I shall not hesitate to turn you out of the press and also to prosecute for the defaultication of this warning.

I am coming to Bombay in the last week of February and I want to have this matter cleared up before my arrival. The blame for the consequences will be entirely yours. I take no responsibility for the maintenance of you or your family. You have received more than your share. I am sending a copy of this letter to Upsham.

Yours

B.R. Ambedkar
(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Yeahwant B. Ambedkar,
Boudha Bhushan Printing Press,
Gokuldas Pasta Road, Dadar,
Bombay.

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बहिष्कृत भारत आणि मूकनायक.



22 Taitkoi Raj Road
New Delhi
13.8.42

My dear Bhanu,

I have your letter with
Hullund's attached to it. You can go to
Hullund and tell him that the salary is
too low and that there ought to be
a recruiting board under you. However
do not accept anything. Ask for time.
I am finding a job for you and it
seems I will succeed. But I can't say. Some
difficulty may arise on account of the
fact that you do not have sufficient
command over the English language.
I wish you improved it. If no such
difficulty arises you will have the
job which will bring you at Rs 400/-
per month.

When I was in Nasik I was
thinking of purchasing some land.
Has Rama done any thing in
that matter.

With kindest regards
I am sincerely
yours
B. R. Chhabra