CHAPTER 4

UNTOUCHABLES AND THEIR PLAGHT.

untouchables and their plight is focused and described in the essays of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar which are published by the State Government of Maharashtra in 1989 under the title “UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS UNTOUCHABLES OR THE CHILDREN OF INDIA’S GHETTO AND OTHER ESSAYS ON UNTOUCHABLES AND UNTOUCHABILITY SOCIAL-POLITICAL–RELIGIOUS”. This writings include the chapters under the four titles i.e. ‘Book I – untouchables or the children of India’s Ghetto’, ‘Book II – Social’, ‘Book III- Political and Book IV – Religious’.

The first chapter ‘untouchables or the Children of India’s Ghetto’ is divided into four titles. They are part I ‘What Is To Be An Untouchable’, ‘Part II (The name of the title is not mentioned), Part III ‘Roots Of The Problems’ and Part IV is ‘What The untouchables Have To Face’. These four parts of the book depict the condition of the untouchables, their calamities and their inconvenience in the society by upper castes. This writings also focus the feelings of anti-untouchability of the society and antagonism developed in the society towards untouchables.

The first part ‘What Is To Be An Untouchable’ of Book I st includes five chapters. These chapters are: ‘untouchability- Its Source’, ‘untouchables – their Numbers’, ‘Slaves and untouchables’, ‘Outside the Fold’ and ‘Unfit for human Association’. These chapters discuss the untouchables and untouchability from the different points of view. It also points out the various attitudes, reactions, views and opinions of the Touchables towards untouchables. This chapter also focuses the ratio of the untouchables in India. It also compares the untouchables with the other marginalized communities.
existed in the globe and points out how the untouchables’ condition is more pitiable than other marginalized communities. It points out the position of the untouchables in the village and the causes of the marginality of the untouchables.

In the first chapter ‘untouchability –Its Source’, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar focuses the views of upper castes towards untouchability. They possess different views towards untouchability. He refers three different views of upper castes towards untouchables. He refers the first view of Hindus who utter that something must be done to the untouchables. There are other kind of Hindus, referred by him, who utter something should be done to the untouchables. After referring these two views, he refers third kind of Hindus who utter that Hindus are noble and sound by mind and they are not responsible for the problem of untouchability. By focusing and referring these different views of upper castes, he points out the paucity and carelessness of the upper castes who utter that Hindus are not responsible for the problem of untouchability and compares their views with the Gentiles who say that they are not responsible to the condition of the Jews.

Jews like the untouchables are most exploited tormented and offended community. This community is also marginalized like the untouchables of India. Both are treated inhumanly and believed mean and trifle. Despite this, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar reveals the differences between these two communities.

The first difference revealed by him is that Jews is a separate community from the creed of the Gentile. Racially, Jews are different from Gentiles. But the untouchables belong to the same creed of the Hindus. Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar proved in his book 'The untouchables
Who Were They and Why They Became untouchables?’ that as the upper castes and untouchables’ Kul, surnames are same and as their nasal index is same; they belong to the same origin. He says:

The anthropological investigation shows that both have the same kul. Indeed the identity is so great that there is hardly a Kul among the Marathas which is not to be found among the Mahars and there is no Kul among the Mahars which is not to be found among the Marathas. Similarly in the Punjab one main stock of the people consists of Jats. The Mazabi shiks are untouchables most of them being Chamars by caste. Anthropological investigation shows that two have same gotra.¹

In the above statements, he exposes that the kula and Gorta of untouchables are same. He, to make his argument strong refers two instances. He points out that the many Kul of Mahar i.e. Utouchables and Maratha are same. In Punjab, most of them belong to Chamars by caste. He claims that the Anthropological studies have signified that they have same gotra.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, in the same book by quoting Prof. Ghurey from his volume on ‘caste and Race in India’, investigates that the nasal index of untouchables and Touchables is same. It signifies that the creed of the untouchables and upper caste is same. He also points out that the faiths and religious worship of the upper caste and the untouchables are same. This points out that racially the untouchables are not different from the upper caste.

The second difference denoted by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is the desire of the Jews not to merge with Gentiles. He refers instances from the history regarding the attempts of merging the Jews with the Gentiles. The first instance is referred from the reign of Nepolian and the second is referred from the Balavian Republic in which there was opportunities to
the Jews of amalgamating with the Christians but the Jews refused to join
them. They preferred to stay separate.

He points out those attempts of merging the Jews with the Christians were made in the history. But such attempts did not happen in India. The Christians realized that the treatment offered to the Jews is inhuman, not natural. They realized that they are also human beings. The upper caste though they belong to the same race and origin of the untouchables, never realized this. They never realize the poignant condition of their brothers. They never feel any the sympathy towards their brothers. The upper caste never attempts to alter their mind, views and perspectives towards the untouchables though they are of the same creed and of the same race. He writes:

*The responsibility of the Hindus is much greater because there is no plausible explanation he can offer in justification of untouchability. He cannot say that the Untouchable is a leper or mortal wretch who must be shunned. He cannot say that between him and the untouchables, there is a gulf due to religious antagonism which is not possible to bridge. Nor can he plead that it is the Untouchable who does not wish to assimilate with the Hindus.*

The above statements clearly state that the Hindus have no cause to deny the responsibility of untouchables. He asserts that the Hindus cannot say that they have nothing to do with the untouchables. The untouchables are not stricken to the diseases. The Hindus cannot say as the untouchables have incurable diseases, they should be avoided. They cannot say as the untouchables have infectious diseases, they will be infected by the diseases of the untouchables. They cannot say that as they belong to different religion, they cannot bridge the gap between them. The untouchables are the part of Hindus. There is no any type of gulf between them. They cannot either say that the untouchables have no
desire to come with them and they desire to be separated from the Hindus.

Vice versa the untouchables do not desire to be separated from the Hindus. They are pleased to come with the upper caste. But the Upper caste does not allow them to be the part of the Hindu society and even avoid the contacts with them. The untouchables do not desire to stay separately from the Hindus. They are forced to be isolated from the Hindus. They are forced to stay separately. Upper caste is not pleased to accept them and allow the untouchables to be with them.

It signifies that Hindus cannot eschew from the responsibility of the untouchables. They cannot put that untouchables are not pleased with them. There is a need to alter their perspectives, psychology and views towards the untouchables. They must try to bridge the gap between them. They can bring the untouchables in the main flow of the society. They can make efforts to uplift the untouchables. They can offer them good treatment and behave them like human beings. The untouchables should not be treated vilely and cruelly. Upper uaste can change the mournful condition of the untouchables by thinking positively and can assist the untouchables to lead an equal, peaceful and harmonious life.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar focuses the population of the untouchables in India in the second essay ‘untouchables- Their Numbers’ and explores the authentic figure of the untouchables. He refers various Census Reports to draw out the population of the untouchables. He points out that the Census Report of 1881 only focuses the population of India and does not signify the population of the untouchables. It does not classify the Hindu castes as upper and lower or touchables or untouchables. In the second Census Report, he designates, it was
attempted to classify the population on the basis of castes and race. The third general Census Report of 1901, he points out, did not fix the exact numbers of the untouchables in India. In the Census Report of the 1911, he points out that the untouchables are separated from the Touchables. The Census Report of 1921 and 1931 also separated the untouchables from the Touchables. He adds that on the basis of this Census Report the Simon Commission stated the population of the untouchables as 44.5 million. He expresses that the Census Report of the 1941 was the rough measurement due to war. He finds out that the Census Report of 1951 measures that the population of the schedule caste is 513 lakhs out of 3,567 population of India. Out of this, he adds that 462 lakhs are in the rural area, 51 lakhs are in the urban area. He brings out the detail information of the Schedule castes settled in the different states of India. He writes:

Out of the total Schedule caste population over 513 lakhs, 114 lakhs live in North India (Uttar Pradesh); 128 lakhs in East India (Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Tripura); 110 lakhs in South India (Madras, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Coorg); 31 lakhs in West India (Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch); 76 lakhs in Central India (Madhya Pradesh, Madya Bharat, Hyderabad, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh); and 52 lakhs in North West India (Rajasthan, Punjab, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Ajmer, Delhi, Bilaspur and Himachal Pradesh).

The above information vividly states that the population of the schedule castes is in lakhs in the different states, region of India.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar further discusses the slavery system in the third essay ‘Slaves And untouchables’ and compares it to the untouchability of India and concludes that the untouchability of India is more worse than the Slavery. He exposes the pompousness and falseness of the statement of the upper caste who utters that the untouchability is better than slavery. By expressing this type of view, the upper caste in a
sense vindicates the untouchability. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar reveals the paucity of the view that untouchability is not worse than slavery and focuses the slavery system existed in Roman Empires and United States with the Untouchability of India.

Slavery is the state of the slave in which the slave is treated like a property and property is kept for the benefit of the owner. They were believed as cattle. Slaves were purchased and sold. On the other hand, untouchables are not considered as property. They are employed and hurled like futile things. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar exposes that these slaves were educated and did all sorts of work. The slave was poet, lawyer, doing the work of Notari. In the age of Augusts, he adds, as it was the age of industry and trade, slaves played the roles of agents for their masters. The peculium was allowed to them. It indicates they allowed to keep property by the masters. The slaves were allowed to enter the business relation with his masters. Junius Rodriguez about the slavery says:

*Slavery existed in all provinces of the empire; although slave labour existed with free labour, slaves worked in nearly every area of production, commerce, administration and the arts. The periods of Greek and Latin literature is replete with the mention of slaves, ranging from offhand remarks to detailed instructions for slave breeding, training and employment to philosophical reflections on slavery.*

He states above that slavery was existed in all the proviences of the empire. Slaves were employed in every field. He adds that the period of Greek and Latin literature signifies that slavery was in full swing and there were remarks towards the philosophical meditation regarding the detail instructions for slave breeding, training and employment. It indicates that they had suitable position in those periods.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar after focusing the status of slavery states the situation of the Negros who is believed as slaves in the eyes of the law. The Negros who are recognized as slaves, were also employed to do all the sorts of work. They were craftsmen and trained as artisans. It exposes that the slaves had a good position in the society. These Slaves did not face troubles, predicaments in their life and they had their masters who because of the intellect and talent of the slaves were in favour of the slaves. The masters trained the slaves and were drawing out the hidden talent of the slaves and employed it for their benefits. By exposing this, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar points out that such is not the situation of the untouchables. Their situation is worse than the slaves. Like slaves, the untouchables are not engaged in any profession and no dignified jobs are offered to them.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar disapproves the claim made by the Hindus that untouchability is better than Slavery. He adds that like untouchability, Slavery is not obligatory. The situation of the slavery can be altered but it is not possible with the untouchability. If the person is born in the untouchability, he has to die with the stigma of untouchability.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar reveals another difference between slavery and untouchability. It is that untouchability is an indirect and therefore the worst of slavery. In Slavery, education, virtues, happiness, culture and wealth are possible but it is not possible in untouchability. It is believed that Untouchable is not worthy to possess these things. In Slavery, skilled slave was more valuable because he was fetching good price and if hired out was bringing more price. It was also obligatory to the owner of the slave to provide food, clothes and shelter because the slave was the source of earning for the owner. Though the owners business is in depression or boon, it is not affecting the slave. It was not
affordable for the owner to neglect slave because slave was his property. Untouchables are miles away from this situation. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar writes:

The Untouchable has no entry in the higher arts of civilization and no way open to a life of culture. He must only sweep. He must do nothing else. Untouchability carries no security as to livelihood. None from the Hindus is responsible for the feeding, housing and clothing of the Untouchable. The health of the Untouchable is the care of nobody.⁰⁵

He states above that the way of arts of civilization and cultured life is prohibited to Untouchable. He adds that the Untouchable has assigned the work of sweeping which is must for him to perform. His life is not secure. He further states that no one from Hindus is taking care of his nourishing, sheltering and clothing. It displays that he is deserted by Hindus.

As the Untouchable is believed a polluted, his contact is avoided. He is employed but is not cared by upper castes. The Untouchable faces the selfish perspectives of the upper castes. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar asserts:

untouchability is cruelty as compared to slavery because it throws upon the untouchables the responsibility for maintaining himself without opening to him fully all the ways of earning a living.⁶

He concludes above by comparing slavery system with untouchability that untouchability is cruelty because in the untouchability, the untouchables are assigned the responsibility to maintain him by closing the ways of earning to livelihood. It signifies that their ways of earning are blocked by the society.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar discusses the village system and the position of the untouchables in the village in his next essay i.e. ‘The Indian Ghetto-The Centre Of untouchability – Outside the Fold’. In the villages, the
situation of the untouchables is very wretched. The untouchables face lot of problems, obstacles while leading a life in the village. Every moment, they are offended and oppressed. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar about the system and position of untouchables in the village writes:

_The Indian village is not a single social unit. It consists of castes. But for our purposes, it is enough to say –

i. The population is the village is divided into two sections-(i) Touchables and (ii) untouchables.

(ii) The Touchables form the major community and the untouchables a minor community.

(iii) The Touchables live inside the village and the untouchables live outside the village in separate quarters.

(iv) Economically, the Touchables form a strong and powerful community, while the untouchables are a poor and a dependent community.

(v) Socially, the Touchables occupy the position of a ruling race, while the untouchables occupy the positions of a subject race of hereditary bondsmen._

He points out above that Indian village consists different strata of castes. He exposes that village is consists of two sections. The first section is the group of Touchable and the second section is the group of untouchables. The uouchables are major in numbers comparing to the untouchables. The uouchables form the main flow of the society in the village. They are settled in the village. On the contrary, the untouchables are less in numbers in the village. They stay outside the village. They have their separate quarters from the uouchables. The uouchables are socially powerful. They belong to the ruling class. Untouchables are subject race and hereditarily remain the same.

The reigns of the village are in the hands of the touchables. Untouchables depend on the touchables. As the reigns of the village are in the hands of the touchables and as they regulate the life of the untouchables, they have formed codes, rules and regulations for the
untouchables. If the codes, rules and regulations formed for the untouchables are violated by them, there is an arrangement of the penance for the untouchables. The violation of the code rules and regulation by the untouchables is believed as an offence. It is must for them to pursue the codes and rules, if they don’t pursue, they deserve the penance and fines. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar refers the list of the codes formed for the untouchables. The list is as below:

*The following is the list of such offences:*

1. *The untouchables must live in separate quarters away from the habitation of the Hindus. It is an offence for the untouchables to break or evade the rule of segregation.*
2. *The quarters of the untouchables must be located towards the south, since the south is the most inauspicious of the four directions. A breach of this rule shall be deemed to be an offence.*
3. *The Untouchable must observe the rule of distance pollution or shadow of pollution as the case may be. It is an offence to break the rule.*
4. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community to acquire wealth, such as land or cattle.*
5. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community to build a house with tiled roof.*
6. *It is an offence for a member of an Untouchable community to put on a clean dress, wear shoes, put on a watch or gold ornaments.*
7. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community to give high sounding names to their children. Their names be such as to indicate contempts.*
8. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community to sit on a chair in the presence of a Hindu.*
9. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community to ride on a horse or a palanquin through the village.*
10. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community to take a procession of untouchables through the village.*
11. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community not to salute a Hindu.*
12. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community to speak a cultured language.*
13. *It is an offence for a member of the Untouchable community. if he happens to come into the village on a sacred day which the Hindus treat as the day of fast and at or about the time of the breaking of fast,*
to go about speaking on the ground that their breath is held to foul the air and the food of the Hindus.

14. It is an offence for an Untouchable to wear the outward marks of a Touchable and pass himself as a Touchable.

15. An Untouchable must conform to the status of an inferior and he must wear the marks if his inferiority for the public to know and identify him such as –
(a) having a contemptible name.
(b) not wearing clean clothes.
(C) not having tiled roof
(d) not wearing silver and gold ornaments.

The above rules and codes are formed for the untouchables. It is stated that it is an offence for the untouchables to violate the rule of segregation. He must be isolated from the quarters of Hindus and must not attempt to become the part of the touchables. They should not locate in any direction instead of South which is considered the most unlucky direction. It indicates that they are believed as unlucky like the South direction. It is an offence if they locate any direction instead of South. They must observe the rule of distance pollution or shadow of pollution. It is an offence for them to possess wealth, to build good house, to wear good clothes, to put on gold ornaments, to put good names for their children, to sit on the chair in the presence of the touchables, to ride on horse, to take a procession, not to salute the Hindus, to speak a cultured life, to speak with the Hindus on the sacred day and to live like the touchables. It is also mentioned that the untouchables must believe that he is inferior to others.

These codes formed for them exhibit their miserable condition in the society. These codes deprive their freedom, liberty and basic. It dishonours them. It denotes that they have no right to lead a dignified and prestigious life. They have no right to live like human beings. Their rights of human beings are snatched by these codes and violation of these codes by them is considered crime or offence. These codes show their critical,
insulting and pathetic position in the society. This shows how inhumanly they are treated by the society. It also suggests that they have no right to lead a good and proper life like touchables and they are born to lead an inferior life. They have no right to develop and upgrade themselves. They are forced to pursue these codes. If they don’t observe, it means they are committing a crime.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also reveals the duties of the untouchables like the codes. Like these codes, duties are also attributed to them. It is must to perform the duties, like the codes, attributed to them. It deciphers that like the formation of codes, some duties are also attributed to them by the touchables. The duties attributed to them also points out the positions of the untouchables. He provides the list of the duties. It is as follows:

1. A member of an Untouchable community must carry a message of any event in the house of Hindu such as death or marriage to his relative living in other villages no matter how distant these villages may be.
2. An Untouchable must work at the house of a Hindu when a marriage is taking place, such as breaking fuel, and going on errands.
3. An Untouchable must accompany a Hindu girl when she is going from her parent’s house to her husband’s village no matter how distant it is.
4. When the whole village community is engaged in celebrating a general festivity such as Holi or Dasara, the untouchables must perform all menial acts which are preliminary to the main observance.
5. On certain festivities, the untouchables must submit their women to members of the village community to be made to subject of indecent fun.9

The above duties assigned to the untouchable show that the untouchable who is inferior in the social rank has to perform the various types of work considering it as his duty. He is a runner of the Hindu who has to carry the information of the death and marriage to the relative
without thinking the distance. He is a labour who performs different types of works on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of upper caste. He accompanies and goes with the upper caste girl when she goes with her husband after her marriage. He has to perform all types of work in the festivals like Holi and Dasara. He has to present his wife for the subject of indecent fun to the Hindus.

These types of heinous, hateful duties he has to perform without uttering a single word against them. These duties are injustice, tyranny which the untouchable has to face. He tolerates all these injustice and indignity very calmly. The duties assigned to the untouchable display that he is employed for the different types of indecent activities by the untouchables. These duties assigned to them show his deplorable position in the society. He has to perform their duties willingly or unwillingly. He has no options. He is compelled to perform these duties. If he fails to perform his duty, the troubles, tormented and insults are ready to honour him.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar after focusing social status of the untouchables discusses the economic position of the untouchables. He explains that untouchables have no land. As they have no land, they have to depend on the touchables for their livelihood. They have to do all sorts of work for the touchables to earn for their living. They are labours doing the work in the field of upper caste. For any work, they get low wages. It is a type of exploitation not to give proper value for a work. Their wages are in the form of cash or in the form of corns. They cannot even satisfy their basic need i.e. hunger. They have to depend on the touchables to satisfy their hunger. They have no options without begging.
This type of pitiable, depressed and tragic life, the untouchables have to lead. They face troubles, offences and sufferings in their life. Their life is full of obstacles, problems and catastrophes. They are believed by the touchables as inferior and born for doing their services only. The touchables have no sympathy towards the untouchables. They treat the untouchables mercilessly. They do not think that the untouchables are also human beings like them. They do not behave with the untouchables like humans. Touchables do not think that the treatment offered to the untouchables is inhuman, insulting and cruel. They do not think that this type of treatment to the untouchables should be ceased. On the contrary, they attempt to curb the life of the untouchables. They behave rudely with them. They offer respect to the animals but not to the untouchables.

In the further essay ‘Unfit For Human Association’ Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar discusses the odd treatment offered to the untouchables and quotes the newspaper’s report to show the ill-treatment offered to the untouchables. He regarding the treatment of the Hindus to the untouchables asks questions as below:

*The question however remains: How far removed are they from the Hindus? What respect, what considerations do the Hindus show to them as human beings if not as Hindus? Without an answer to these questions, one cannot get a complete picture of the life of the untouchables.*

While raising the questions above, he asserts that without the answer of these questions it is impossible to obtain the picture of the entire life of the untouchables. He emphasizes that by the answer of these questions, we can understand the situation of the untouchables. The first question is with the religion of the untouchables. He asks whether upper caste thinks that the untouchables are Hindus. He asks whether the
upper caste thinks that the untouchables belong to Hinduism, whether he thinks that as the part of their religion, he is affiliated to them or not. The second question is - are the untouchables not Hindus?, whether the upper caste thinks untouchables as human beings or whether they behave with the untouchables like human beings.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar himself replies these questions negatively. He asserts that the untouchables are not believed as Hindus. The gates of the Hinduism are closed to the untouchables. They are prejudiced only as polluted. Apart from Hinduism, they are not believed as human beings. The upper caste never acknowledges that untouchables are also human beings. It is believed that they are liable for inhuman treatment. On the other hand, they are regarded worse than beast and inauspicious. No sympathy, no mercy, no pity, no love and dignity is expressed towards the untouchables. They are not treated amicably but rudely and coarsely. They do not think that the untouchables have the right of living like them.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar exposes the inhuman treatment offered to the untouchables by upper caste. He reveals how they are treated inhumanly, tortured and exploited. He cites eight different cases from different sources regarding the inhuman treatment offered to the untouchables to make his argument powerful and authentic. He inspects the incidents occurred in the country regarding the exploitation of the untouchables. He ,with the reports from Madras High Court , ‘Young India’ , ‘Prakash’ , ‘Bombay Samachar’ , ‘Adi Hindu’, ‘a meeting of the Bhangi’, ‘Times of India’ and ‘Bharat Jyoti’, puts how inhumanly the untouchables are treated in India. He asserts:

The tale told by these cases is clear and simple. No comment is necessary. To the average Hindu, the Untouchable is not fit for human
association. He is the carrier of evil. He is not a human being. He must be shunned.\footnote{11}

He states above that there is no need to comment on the reports as it is clear and simple. The Hindus thinks that the untouchables are not proper for communication. They are not liable to put any type of relations and communications. The untouchable is the transporter of evil. It is better to close the doors to the untouchables. The untouchables must be avoided.

He blames that Hindus are not the well-wishers of the untouchables. They attempt to maintain the untouchables as a suppressed class. They do not desire untouchables should uplift and come into the same position of the touchables. They do not approve that the untouchables should live like them and should come in the social rank of them.

The untouchables mutely digested the inhuman treatment received to them by the upper caste. They are not in favour of the Established Social Order which opposes their progress, denies their human rights and discard them to admit as human beings. The Established Social Order denies the untouchables the right of equality and liberty. The untouchables realized this fact. They came to know that their basic rights are deprived off and they are the prey of the Established Social system. Recognizing this fact, the untouchables have started to oppose the system. They have started to fail the system. They know that without failing the system, they cannot acquire their rights. They do not desire to acknowledge the supremacy of the upper caste offered by the system. They have commenced to revolt, rebel against the system. The upper caste does not endure the rebel of the untouchables against the system and attempt to suppress the rebel of the untouchables. Whenever the
untouchables try to reset the system, rebel against the system and attempt to come forward, their revolt, rebel, and their efforts are conquered by the upper caste. They never think that the untouchables should come from the hardships, marsh of the untouchability and lead equal and comfortable life.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also discusses the lawlessness of the upper caste, in the essay ‘untouchability And Lawlessness’ which comes under the second part, for subduing the untouchables and their attempt to maintain the system. He also produces the cases of tyrannies and oppression of the intouchables. He says:

> Of forces which sustain the system the most important is the determination of the Hindus to maintain it at all cost. The Hindus are prepared to use every means to suppress the untouchables whenever the untouchables try to upset it even in the slightest degree.  

He points out above that the resolution is one of the factors which preserve the caste system. Hindus employ any means; pay any cost to subdue the untouchables whenever they attempt to upset the system. Their minor oppose to the system is not allowed by Hindus.

Upper caste is in the favour of this system. This system is beneficial to them. By this system, they are the commanders of the life of the untouchables. They can use the untouchables to fulfill their selfish purposes. Naturally, they attempt to keep the system as usual. Upper caste does not like the idea of equality. They do not desire to offer the equal rights to the untouchables. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar highlights the news from ‘Tej’, ‘Pratap’, ‘Hindu’, ‘Milap’, ‘Times of India’, ‘Arya Gazette’, ‘Young India’, ‘Hindustan Times’, ‘Free Press’, ‘National Herald’, ‘Jivan’, ‘Adi-Hindu’, ‘Samata’, ‘Savdhan’, ‘Indian News Chronicle’ to relate the ill-treatment offered to the untouchables due to their protest against the system.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar further focuses the views of the Hindus towards the lawless acts believed as lawful in the essay ‘Why Lawlessness Is Lawful? He discusses why the upper caste doesn’t think that the treatment given to the untouchables are lawless, why they vindicate the cruel treatment given to the untouchables.

He also discusses the relationships of the touchables and untouchables in the village. He explains that in every village there are two groups i.e. touchables and untouchables. Both stay separately. Touchables stay in the village and untouchables stay out of the village. These two groups are separate from each other. There is no resemblance between them. The identity of touchable or Untouchable is related to these groups. The person, who is born in the group, has to follow the rules and norms of the group. He has to pursue the occupations, Gods, dwelling and politics stated and determined by his group. These things of each group are different. The touchables never perform the things stated for untouchables and untouchables never perform the things of the touchables. He compares the relationship of these two groups with the relationship between different clans in primitive society. As in Primitive society, a clanless man is a stranger and he has no right of demanding justice, he is outlaw. Untouchables like the clanless have no right of demanding justice. The relationship between them is fixed and it is related to the matter of status. The status of inferiority is attributed to untouchables. He writes:

This status has unmistakably given the untouchables a position of inferiority vis-à-vis the touchables. This inferiority is embodied in a code of social conduct to which the untouchables must conform. What kind of code it is, has already been stated. The Untouchable is not willing to conform to that code.13
He points out above that the status of the untouchables offers them the inferior position. It is included, signified by codes formed for the untouchables which they have to pursue. These codes are already mentioned by him. He adds that untouchables are not pleased to observe these codes.

Touchables on the other hand has a prestigious status. As they have dignified position in the society, they are superior to the untouchables. On the other hand, the untouchables have low and inferior social status. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar further raises the question regarding the inferior status of the untouchables. He says:

*This raises some very interesting questions. How did the untouchables come to have the status of the lowliest and the low? Why has the Hindu cultivated this hostility and contempt for the untouchables? Why does the Hindu indulge in lawlessness in suppressing the untouchables as though such lawlessness is lawful?*

He raises the question above for acquiring the lowliest and the low status by the untouchables. He also raises the question regarding the cultivation, development of hate, repulsion and contempt towards the untouchables in the minds of upper caste and regarding the suppression of the untouchables which is illegal but is considered legal by the upper caste.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar not only raises the questions but seeks the causes behind it. He goes to the roots to find out the answers of the questions. He refers the law books of Manu, Yajnavlkya, Narad, Vishnu, Katyayan etc. to find out the answers of the questions. He focuses on the origin, different duties of different castes and *Varna*. He also points out, by focusing the rule from *‘Brihasapati’*, how the unequal, cruel penance are prescribed to the untouchables. The laws prescribed in these religious books refer and indicate that the ill-treatment, inferior status should be
offered to the untouchables. The laws also refer that the untouchables have no right to lead a proper and good life like touchables. Different rules and laws are formed for the untouchables. Equal status like touchables is denied to them in the society. Their basic rights are also snatched by the rules and laws prescribed in these books. He points put that the laws, rules prescribed in the religious books are responsible for the low status, cultivation of hostility and contempt of the touchables towards untouchables and lawlessness of the touchables in suppressing the untouchables. The untouchables are leading the life of helplessness and misery due to the laws of the religious books. He invents that these laws of the religious books pushed the untouchables in the hell of darkness and uncomfortableness. These laws are behind the dire, inferior status of the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also highlights the different marginalized communities which are discovered around the globe in essay i.e. ‘Parallel Cases’ which comes under third part. He acknowledges that like untouchables, many communities are found around the globe which is the social victims. It displays that only the untouchables are not the marginalized in the world but there are many sections in the world that are marginalized, socially exploited and tortured. He says:

*Social inequality is not confined to Hindus only. It prevailed in the other countries also and was responsible for dividing society into higher and lower, free and unfree, respectable and despised. It would be interesting to compare the condition and status of the untouchables in India with the condition and the status of the unfree and the despised classes in other countries ancient and modern.*

He illustrates above that social inequality is not only limited to the Hindus but also discover in other countries. This social inequality divides the society into higher and lower, free and unfree, respectable and despised sections. He also clarifies that it is an interesting to compare the
condition and status of the untouchables with the other sections which are socially inferior in the world. He is curious, interested to study the marginalized sections of the world and to compare the condition and status of the untouchables, the marginalized section of India, with the other marginalized sections of the globe.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar focuses the different marginalized sections of the globe and compares it to the untouchables. Like untouchables, the cruel and bad treatment was offered to the slaves; they face the troubles like untouchables. They are also socially paralyzed and lame. Slaves in the ancient Rome, Jews in the middle ages and Roman Catholics are also marginalized. These communities are also tortured and exploited by the majority of the people. But later, these slaves became the part of the society. They are allowed to be the main flow of the society. They are freed from the troubles and sufferings. Their bad condition is transformed into a good condition. They obtain their rights. But it does not happened with the untouchables. Their condition is same like previous. They have been leading the same life since a long time. Untouchability is not disappeared like other underprivileged classes from the different section of the world. It is stuck to the Indian society. Untouchables are prohibited to enter and use the public places and temples. Their wells are spoiled; their houses are burnt and looted. The upper caste thinks that these all acts are legal, lawful. Why do they think so? Why don’t they feel regret over their actions? Why do they feel their actions are lawful?

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar invents the causes behind the strange and lawless actions of the Hindus with the untouchables in the next essay which is titled as ‘Hindus And Want Of Public Conscience’. He writes:
There is only one answer to these questions. The class composition in other countries were based on economic and social considerations. Slavery and serfdom had no foundation in religion. Untouchability though it can give and does the economic advantages to the Hindus, is primarily based on religion. There is nothing sacrosanct is economic and social interest. They yield to time and circumstances. This the broad explanation why slavery and serfdom have vanished and why untouchability has not.\(^{16}\)

He states above that there is only one answer to this question and the answer is the class composition, structure of other countries. The slaves and the serfs of the other countries can empower themselves and merge into the main flow of the society because the class composition of the other countries is based on the economic and social considerations and not on the religious considerations. There is no base of religion behind slavery and serfdom. There are no hurdles in the progress of them. They are not prevented from the progress by the religion. On the other hand, untouchability has a background of the religion. Social and economic interest depends on time and circumstances. They have an opportunity to unchain themselves.

On the contrary, untouchability has its origin in the religion. As it has a religious touch, the upper caste never feels sorry for the cruel, disrespectful treatment offered to the untouchables. He never feels sympathy for the tragic life of the untouchables. They are not allowed to improve and better their condition. It is preferred that they should stay in the tragic condition, observe the codes and fulfill the requirements of the society.

He exposes that Roman religion does not find any difference between slave and master. It defenses the slaves from social degradation. It does not prohibit the slaves to enter the public places, to enter the temples. On the other hand, religion orders the upper caste to keep
distance from the untouchables believing them as polluted. It orders to observe the untouchability keenly and strictly. They are not allowed to enter the public and sacred places. It is prescribed in the religious books that untouchables are not proper to keep relations and communications. It is described that the untouchables are the sign of bad omen. He quotes the opinions of Manu regarding the untouchables. Manu mentions that Chandala and Shwapakas should live outside the village, their wealth should be dogs and donkeys, they should wear black iron as ornaments, they should wander from place to place, they should carry out the corpse who has no relatives, they should be miscommunicated, and they must not be touched. ‘Manu Smriti’ is considered as a great religious book of Hindus. These kinds of views are expressed in the ‘Manu Smritii’ regarding the untouchables. It clearly indicates that untouchability is sanctioned by the religion. It has a religious touch. The untouchability is stuck to Indian society due to the religious base. As it has a religious touch, the suppression, oppression and exploitation of the untouchables is considered legal. This is also the sole cause for not vanishing the untouchability from Indian society. If there had no religious touch to untouchability, it would have been abolished from Indian society like the other countries. But unfortunately, it is sanctioned by the religion and so there is no possibility of vanishing it from the Indian society.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar further exposes that the Hindus have no social conscience in the essay titled as ‘Hindus And Their Want Of Social Conscicence’. They are not desire to adopt the untouchables as Hindus. He refers ‘Pratap’ of 5th March, 1926, ‘issues of Sangram’, 1946 and ‘Milap’ to indicate that though the untouchables are the part of the Hindu society, they are separated from the upper caste. The upper caste never feels any sympathy towards them. The upper caste is not pleased to keep relations
with them. The people of the different religions feel sympathy toward the untouchables but not the upper caste feel any affinity towards the untouchables. The upper caste does not consider them as Hindus but as untouchables. They never assist the untouchables or solve their problems. But instead of assisting untouchables, they exploit and insult them and add their troubles. This is the plight of the untouchables. He further points out that there is no Hindu organization except the Harijan Sevak Sangh for assisting or raising the funds to empower or uplift the untouchables. He puts:

Not having conscience, the Hindu has no such thing in him as righteous indignation against the inequities and injustices from which the Untouchable has been suffering. He sees no wrong in these inequities and injustices and refuses to budge. By his absence of conscience the Hindu is a great obstacle in the path of the removal of untouchability.17

He asserts above that the Hindu has no moral sense of right or wrong towards the sufferings of the untouchables. He has no ability to judge the unfairness and injustice of which the untouchables are quarries. Due to this he is unable to feel the sufferings of the untouchables. He does not feel anything wrong in the treatment of inequality and unfairness offered to the untouchables by him. Due to this dearth of moral conscious, he adds, Hindu is the obstacle in removing the untouchability.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar exposes that Hindus believe in the caste system in his eleventh essay i.e. ‘The Hindu And His Belief In caste’. The caste system is the root of the untouchability. It is existed in Indian society due to the caste system. Caste system is the social stratification of Indian society. It divides the Indian society into different communities. It promotes divisions and social discrimination among the Indian people. The upper caste believes in the caste system so he observes it. He reveals
that it is the psychology of the Hindus to observe the caste system. He writes:

\[\text{Looked at from this point of view, the idea of hoping to remove untouchability without destroying the caste-system is an utter futility.} \]
\[\text{The underlying idea that caste system and untouchability are two different things is founded on a fallacy. The two are one and are inseperable. Untouchability is only an extension of the caste-system.}^{18}\]

He states above that without the elimination of the caste system, we cannot hope to remove the untouchability. He adds that it is a fault to consider that the caste system and untouchability are two different concepts. He asserts that these are not two different ideas but one. These two concepts are cemented to each other. Untouchability is only the extension of the caste system. It indicates as they are one, their existence depends on each other. So if the caste system is eliminated, automatically the untouchability will be vanished. He emphasizes that untouchability will be disappeared after the disappearance of the caste system.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also exposes the hostile, adverse atmosphere for the untouchables in India. In the next essay which comes under part four ‘What The untouchables Have To Face’, he claims that the untouchables face opposition, an antagonistic atmosphere in the country. Everywhere they are discarded and there is no good remark regarding the untouchables in the minds of the upper caste. He points out that though Indian penal code claims that every person shall be liable to the punishment under this code but the people who exploit the untouchables are believed innocent and the untouchables are believed culprit. The upper caste who is in administration assists the other upper caste and nullifies the complaints registered by the untouchables against the upper caste. The principle of equality goes in vain regarding the untouchables. He points out that though there is the Government of the British and they
are the rulers of India but the administration is in the hands of the upper caste. The upper caste is anti-untouchables. It possesses negative perspectives towards the untouchables. The upper caste attempts to cherish their established order.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in the essay ‘Problem Of Discrimination’, points out that the untouchables face discrimination as they are considered as inferior by upper caste. They face discrimination, inequality in schools, at wells and temples. He points out that the law courts, Government departments, co-operative Banks and Police are not exception to this. They also possess the feeling of discrimination towards the untouchables. The upper caste doesn’t adopt the principle of equality of the British towards untouchables. Instead of it, they possess discrimination towards the untouchables. He puts:

"Government of the people and for the people cannot mean Government for the untouchables; equal opportunity for all cannot mean equal rights for the untouchables; equal rights for all cannot mean equal rights for the untouchables. All over the country in every nook and corner the Untouchable faces handicaps, suffers discrimination, is meted injustice to the untouchables, the most privileged people in India."^{19}

He states above that the Government though it claims that it is for everyone but the untouchables are exception to it. Superficially, though it is seen that the government is of the people and for the people, but it is not the Government of the untouchables and for the untouchables and though it is claimed that equal rights are there for all kinds of people but these equal rights are not for the untouchables. They are away from the provisions, facilities of the Government. They are not treated equally and not benefitted by the Government. On the other hand, at every field, every sphere, they are handicapped, prey of discrimination and face
injustice of the society. He claims that they are the most restricted people in India.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar does not conclude by describing that the untouchables face discrimination, adverse situation and marginality but he attempts to find out the causes behind it. He points out that that the upper caste thinks that the untouchables are inferior to them. As the upper caste believes they are superior, they have the feeling of discrimination towards the untouchables. He claims that the untouchables are discriminated because there is the fear in the mind of the upper caste towards the untouchables. They think that if the untouchables are not treated discriminately, they will do progress and will uplift themselves.

He also highlights the isolation of untouchables from upper caste in his last essay ‘Problem Of Isolation’, of the first book. He points out the differences among the different castes which hamper to unite them. He brings out the structure of Hindu society. The Hindu society is consisted of caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus. Caste Hindus consists of two classes. The first is of upper caste. It includes Brahmins, Kshatriya and Vaishyas. The second class is of the Shudras. Non-caste Hindus consisted of third and fourth class of people. The third class is consisted of primitive and criminal tribes and the fourth class is of untouchables.

The untouchables are isolated from these three classes i.e. Shudra, Primitive and Criminal, though they are also discarded like the untouchables. If the three classes become one, they will hurl the Hindu Social system. He points out that these three classes are natural allies but they are isolated from each other and they do not cooperate to the untouchables to fight against the injustice and unfair Social system. He points out that though Shudra has offered no good and prestigious status
in the ‘Manu Smriti’ a sacred book of the Hindus; he is not ready to join the struggle of the untouchables against the upper caste. On the contrary, these three classes are more hostile towards the untouchables instead of joining the untouchables amicably. They acknowledge the dominance of the above castes and classes but do not join the untouchables to rebel against caste system. Due to this, the untouchables are isolated. He writes:

_The reason for this want of solidarity is not for to seek. It is to be found in the system of graded inequality whereby the Brahmin is above everybody, the Shudra is below the Brahmin and above the Untouchable. If the Hindu social order was based on inequality, it would have been overthrown long ago. But it is based on graded inequality so that the Shudra while is anxious to pull down the Brahmin, he is not prepared to see the Untouchable raised to his level._

He asserts above the cause behind the lack of solidarity among the marginalized classes. He invents that these marginalized classes are disunited due to graded inequality. He states that in this Social system _Brahmins_ are above, under them, there is _Kshatriya_, Under _Kshatriya_, there is _Vaishyas_ and under _Vaishyas_, there is _Shudra_. The untouchables are below the four _Varna_. He also exposes the mentality of _Shudra_. _Shudra_ is pleased to pull down the _Brahmins_, but he is not pleased to join the untouchables. He does not please to allow the untouchables to do progress and raise his level and be equal with him. There is the hate in his mind towards the untouchables due to this graded inequality. He asserts that if there is only inequality among the classes, they would have hurled the Social system, but as the graded inequality is there, they cannot unite and fight against the system together.

In this Book First titled ‘untouchables or Children of India’s Ghetto’, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar vividly focuses the situation, treatment offered
to the untouchables by upper caste. He, in the essays included in this book, clearly states that though the untouchables are belonged to the same Kul and gotra of the upper caste, they are discriminated and oppressed. He also puts that they are not only discriminated but forced to stay away from the upper caste. They are forced to dwell in their separate quarters outside the village. He further exposes that due to this discrimination and inequal treatment, the untouchables have also started to raise their voice against the Social system. But their voices are pressed by the upper caste. He adds that Shudra, Primitive and Criminal classes and untouchables are the prey of this Social system. But as there is graded inquality, the remaining three classes i.e. Shudra, Primitive and Criminal classes do not come forward to assist the untouchables in the rebel against Social system. Due to the lack of unity, the Social system cannot be hurled properly.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s five essays are collected under the second Book titled ‘Social’. The essays are ‘Civilization or Felony’, ‘The House The Hindus Have Built’, ‘The Rock on which it is Built’, ‘Touchables versus untouchables’ and ‘The Curse of the caste’. In these chapters, he focuses the position of the untouchables in the Hindu civilization, discusses the religion on which the Hindu society is based, the conflicts between Touchables and untouchables and highlights the harmful effects of the caste on the society and on the nation.

In the first essay titled as ‘Civilization Or Felony’, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar discusses the position of untouchables in the Hindu society. He points out that it is not civilization but it is a felony for them. He focuses three classes in the Hindu Civilization. They are primitive tribes, criminal classes and untouchables in the Hindu civilization. He points out
that the census of 1931 indicates that the population of these classes is 79 ½ millions.

The primitive classes are far away from the progress. They stay in the forest. Their living style is different. They wear small clothes made from the elements of nature. Their traditions, culture, Gods are different. Their religion is witchcraft, sorcers, animal and human sacrifices. The second class is Criminal Class who earns their livelihood by robbing, looting and plundering. The last class which he focuses is Untouchable.

Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar vividly discusses the position of the untouchables in Hindu civilization. Untouchables follow the rituals, traditions and customs of the Hindus. They have the same culture of the Hindus. He points out that though they follow the same culture, though they follow the rituals of Hindu, though they celebrate the festivals of the upper caste, they get different treatment from the Hindu community. They are believed as inferior part of the society and the source of pollution. They are also believed as the bad omen and hated by the society. They are not allowed to lead an elevated life. Their equality, superiority is not tolerated by the society. It is believed that they have no right to live superior life. They are not allowed to do any act which would convey them superior to the upper caste. It is also believed that they must do the work for others.

This is the miserable position of the untouchables in the Hindu civilization revealed by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. They have to announce the people that they are untouchable. Due to it, the Touchables can rescue themselves from being polluted. When the Touchables come to know that the Untouchable is arriving, he goes away and avoids the contact of the untouchables. Such is the life of untouchables in the Hindu
Civilization. The upper caste has closed the ways of sympathy towards the untouchables. He is not interested to see the faces of the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar points out that there is an opportunity to the Primitive and Criminal Classes of emancipation. Though they are far backward from the untouchables and stay in the forest area, they can settle in the villages. Though their culture, rituals and traditions are different from the upper caste, there is the soft corner in the minds of the upper caste regarding the Primitive and Criminal classes. They are tolerated by the upper caste because they are away from the stigma of the untouchability. On the other hand, untouchables who follow the culture, festivals and traditions of the Hindus are not allowed to settle in the villages, are not tolerated to public places due to the stigma of untouchability. Due to the stigma, they are forced to be away from the upper caste. They are forced to settle on the outskirts of the villages. There is no hope of the emancipation of the untouchables from this situation.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar claims that the situation of the untouchables can be altered if the upper caste changed their mentality towards the untouchables. When the upper caste comes to know that the treatment offered by him to the untouchables is an offence, there is a hope of the emancipation of the untouchables from the clutches of the untouchability.

Under the title ‘Politics’, the third book of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, seven essays are published. The essays are ‘From Millions To Fraction’, ‘The Revolt Of The untouchables’, ‘Held At Bay’, ‘Their Wishes Are Laws Unto Us’, ‘Under The Provience Of Mr. Gandhi’, ‘Gandhi And His Fast’ and ‘Warning To The untouchables’. In these essays Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar focuses the rebels of the untouchables and the reactions, suppression of the rebels of
the untouchables by the upper caste. He also throws light on the works of Mahatma Gandhi towards the untouchables and also warns the untouchables about the strategies of the upper caste which are employed against them.

In the essay ‘From Millions To Fraction’ Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar discusses the various Census Report regarding the population of the untouchables and points out that the Census Report of 1931 measures the population of the untouchables. Census Report refers that they are 50 million. The population of the untouchables is 50 million separating from Hindus. On the basis of the following tests the population of untouchables is recorded by the Government. These tests are as follows:

(1) denied the supremacy of the Brahmins, (2) did not receive the Mantra from Brahmana or other recognized Hindu Guru, (3) denied the authority of the Veda, (4) did not worship the great Hindu Gods, (5) were not served by the good Brahmanas, (6) have no Brahman priests at all, (7) have no access to the interior of the ordinary Hindu temple, (8) cause pollution, (9) bury their dead and (10) eat beef and do not revere the cow.21

The above tests are used to determine whether the community is untouchables are not. If the tests are applied to any community, and if it fulfills these items, it means that community is Untouchable. These tests are fulfilled by the Untouchable community. Untouchables do not acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmins. They do not receive any Mantra from Brahmins and are not served by Brahmins. Actually, they are hated by the Brahmins. There is the enmity between these two communities. The untouchables do not admit the authority of the Vedas which are sacred for Hindus. They have no Brahman priests. They do not invite Brahmins for any function. They are not tolerated in the Hindu temples as they are believed as polluted and inauspicious people. They
are stamped as dirty and unclean people. They bury their dead. This community eats beef and has no reverence for the cow.

These tests separate the untouchables from the Hindus. These tests indicate the difference between untouchables and Hindus. These tests focus on the practices of the untouchables’. The untouchables observe the different practices from the Hindus. Their manners, practices are different from each other. This also divides the untouchables from the Hindus. Untouchability is faced by this community due to the observances of these practices. The origin of the untouchability is in the different practices observed by the untouchables. Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar writes:

\[
\text{untouchability does not express itself through the hair of the head or the colour of the skin. It is not a matter of blood. Untouchability expresses itself in modes of treatment and observance of certain practices. An Untouchable is a person who is treated in a certain way by the Hindus and who follows certain practices which are different from Hindus. There are definite ways in which the Hindus treat the untouchables in social matters. They are definite practices which are observed by the untouchables. That being so the only method of ascertaining who are untouchables is to adopt their ways and practices as the criteria and find out the communities which are subject to them.}^{22}
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He refers above that untouchability is not expressed through the hair or the colour of the skin. It is not related to the blood. It indicates that the Touchables and untouchables are not differentiated due to the hair, colour of the skin or blood. These elements are same. Untouchability is not laid in these things but it is in the practices observed by the untouchables. The untouchables observed the practices which do not match with the Hindus. There is no resemblance between the observances of their practices. The practices of both are different from each other. The different practices from the Hindus observed by the people show that they
are untouchables. He explains that these practices observed by the untouchables are the perfect method to measure the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar further focuses the rebels of the untouchables against the injustice, suppression of them by upper caste in the essay ‘The Revolt Of The untouchables’. Untouchables, the prey of the unjust who are insulted and treated inhumanly by upper caste has commenced to rebel against the Established system of Hindus. They have started to struggle for their rights, for equal treatment and equal opportunities. These rebels of the untouchables are divided by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in two stages.

The first stage is the stage of petitions and protests and the second stage is the stage of open revolt in the form of direct action against the Established order. This was the period of the British rule. The untouchables started to rebel against the Hindu system by filing petitions and protests against the system. When they came to know that the way of petitions and protests is going to fail, they adopted the way of rebel. It is the period of the British Government which declared that the public utilities and public institutions are also opened to the untouchables. The untouchables have started to struggle for the use of Public utilities and institutions.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar focuses the second stage i.e. rebel of the untouchables. He mentions the rebel of untouchables of Travencore state in 1924 to obtain the use of the public road which skirted the temple at Vaikom. This was the satyagraha launched by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker. He also mentions the rebel under his leadership to take the water from Chavdar tank during 18th to 20th March 1927 when the conference of the untouchables was held at Mahad. The tank was opened to all, but the
untouchables were prohibited to use the water of this tank. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar with his activists did Satyagraha and opened the tank for the use of untouchables. By doing Satyagraha, he asserts that to obtain the water from the Chavdar tank is the right of untouchables and to prevent them from their right of taking water means doing injustice to the untouchables. On 14th Dec. 1927, the second conference of untouchables was called at Mahad again. Against it, the upper caste went to the court. The matter of opening the tank filed in the court and the court issued its verdict with the side of the untouchables.

He also discusses and focuses the resolution passed in the second conferences of untouchables held at Mahad. Under the resolution ‘Declaration of the rights of a Hindu’, the issues like to oppose the actions which produces social differences, to disapprove the literature of Hindu which supports the inequality underlying the Hindu social system, to repudiate the social and religious privileges enjoyed by some classes offered to them by Veda, Smritis or Purana, to consider a person as a public enemy who generates obstacles and opposes the untouchables in employing public places and institutions which are opened to untouchables by law, to repudiate the Hindu caste system firstly as being harmful to society, secondly as being based on birth and thirdly as being without any sanction from the people. In the second resolution, it is passed to burn the copy of ‘Manusmriti’, a religious book, which abuses and frames the inhuman laws for the lower caste. It was also passed to refuse to skin the dead animals and carry them.

The resolutions and issues are sounding a clarion against the Established order of Hindu society. These are open and direct rebel against the Hindu Social order. It was a challenge to the Established
Order. The conference not only disapproves and denies the religious book but also discards the dirty works assigned to the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar points out that as the untouchables have no option of earning and as all the professions are closed to them, they have no option to eat the flesh of dead animals and do the dirty works. He points out the objective behind not eating flesh of dead animals and not carrying the dead animals as follows:

The object of these resolutions was two-fold. The one object was to foster among the untouchables self-respect and self-esteem. This was a minor object. The major object was to strike a blow at the Hindu Social Order. The Hindu Social Order is based upon a division of labour which reserves for the Hindus clean and respectable jobs and assigns to the untouchables dirty and mean jobs and thereby clothes the Hindus with dignity and heaps ignominy upon the untouchables. The resolution was a revolt against this part of the Hindu Social Order.²³

He emphasizes above that it was the purpose behind the resolutions to implant self-respect and self-esteem among the untouchables. The main purpose behind the resolution was to shake the Hindu Social Order. The Hindu Social Order assigns good and clean jobs for the upper caste and assigns low and dirty jobs to the untouchables. The good jobs offer dignity to the Hindus and the dirty jobs offer disgrace to the untouchables. By asking the untouchables to abandon the dirty jobs assigned to them by the religious book is a direct rebel and attack to the system which is harmful to the progress of the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar reveals the reactions of the upper caste towards the rebels of the untouchables against the unfairness and injustice of the Social system. In the essay ‘Held At Bay’, he discusses the causes of the opposition of the Touchables to the revolts of the untouchables and their reactions to the movements of the untouchables. The revolts and
assaults of the untouchables on the Established Social Order are naturally not tolerated by the upper caste. He also prepares himself to face the revolt of the untouchables. They started to oppose the revolts of the untouchables. They prepare themselves to fail the revolt of the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar exposes the mentality of the upper caste behind the opposition to the revolt of untouchables. He explores three causes behind the suppression to the rebel of the untouchables by the upper caste. The first cause is a division between Touchables and untouchables. Touchables stay in the village and the untouchables on the outskirt of the village. It displays there is no affiliation between them. The second cause is that a person who borns in the groups has to follow the occupation, dwellings, Gods and politics of the group to which he belongs. He never thinks beyond his group. He maintains his relations only with the member of his group. As the untouchables are of other groups, the Touchables have nothing to do with the group of untouchables. The third reason is the relation between them is fixed. The Touchables have high status and the untouchables have low status. The Touchables think that the untouchables must pursue the social rules assigned to them. As the untouchables are inferior to the Touchables, they should not attempt to be superior. The untouchables should not rise above them. But the untouchables are not ready to suffer, to lead an inferior life. They try to improve their situation. They don’t want to lead an isolated life. They struggle to come in the main flow of the society. They revolt for their rights. But the Touchables think that they have no right to equal us. So whenever the untouchables try to revolt, their revolt is suppressed, pressed by the upper caste.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar refers three instances of the revolts of the untouchables in which the untouchables faced the bitter reactions of the upper caste and beaten by them. The three incidents on which he focuses are from Mahad, Nasik and Kavitha. The two revolts that are of Mahad and Nasik were performed under the leadership and guidance of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He was at the center of these two movements. He inspired and made aware the untouchables to fight for their rights as a Hindu. The third revolt is referred from the newspaper report. These three revolts of the untouchables are opposed by the upper caste. They not only opposed but assaulted the untouchables who were involved in it. By raising the revolt, they incurred the fury of the Hindus and became the prey of their outrage.

At Mahad, the conference of the untouchables was held. It was decided to perform a Satyagraha of Chawadar tank and to open the tank for the untouchables. Under the leadership of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the tank was opened for the untouchables. It was a satyagraha to indicate that untouchables have also the right of taking water like others. After the Satyagraha, the people started towards their home peacefully, at the same time, the rumor was raised that that untouchables are entering the temple of Vireshwara. The group of the upper caste, receiving this, assaulted the untouchables when they were on their way. Eleanor Zelliot describes this incident as:

*Large crowd of people including the anti-social elements armed with bamboo sticks first collected at street corners and later stormed the pendal of the conference. At that time many of the delegates had gone to the town in small groups. Some were busy in packing up their belongings while other were busy finishing their meals before leaving for their native places. In fact, the majority of the delegates had by then actually left the town and any few were in the pendal. The crowd pounced upon the small number of delegates in the pendal. They threw*
away their food on the ground and beat some of them, causing utter confusion.\textsuperscript{24}

The above description informs the details of the assault of the upper caste towards the untouchables. The crowd of the anti-social armed with bamboo sticks, first gathered at street corners and then marched towards the pendal of the conference. Many delegates at that time had left the pendal and were packing up their luggages, some were finishing their meal. At the same time, the crowd of anti-social assaulted small numbers of delegates, women in the pendal. This crowd of the upper caste also hurled the food of the untouchables on the floor and beat them. This indicates the horrible and inhuman reaction of the upper caste towards the rebel of the untouchables.

This type of assault was also experienced by the untouchables at the time of Kalaram temple satyagraha. Under the guidance of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and under the leadership of Bahurao Gaikwad, the Kalaram temple Satyagraha was launched by the untouchables on 2\textsuperscript{nd} March 1930 at Nasik. This saytyagraha was continued for six years. It was the satyagraha for entering the temple as untouchables were prohibited to enter it. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar demonstrates his role behind the Satyagraha. He in the letter to Bahurao Gaikwad on 5 March, 1934, writes:

\textit{I didn’t launch the temple entry movement because I wanted the Depressed classes to become worshippers of idols…or because I believed that temple entry would make them equal members in and an integral part of the Hindu society…[but] only because I felt that that was the best way of energizing the Depressed Classes and making them conscious of their position.}\textsuperscript{25}

He states that it was not his intention to make the untouchables idol worshipper but the Satyagraha was for the equal rights of the untouchables and it was the efforts to make the untouchables the integral
part of the Hindu society. It was also performed to make the untouchables energetic and make them aware about their position.

This Satyagraha was going on the path of non-violence. But this also provoked the anger of the Hindus and it was assaulted by them. The Hindus threw the stones on the procession of the untouchables. Dhanjay Keer about the assault of upper castes, says:

This Satyagraha provoked considerable ill-feelings in the minds of the orthodox Hindu throughout the District. As a result of this tension children of the untouchables were thrown out of the schools, roads were closed to them, and necessaries of life were denied to them in the market because they claimed equal rights with all other Hindus. Untouchables in several villages were maltreated.26

It is described above that this Satyagraha spoiled the mentality of the orthodox Hindu throughout the district. Due to it, the untouchables’ children were removed from the schools, streets were prohibited to them and basic things which are needed to lead life were also denied to them in the market. He adds that they were maltreated in several villages due to their claim of equal rights. It displays that they faced poignant situation and became the prey of upper caste due to their revolt for equal rights.

The third incident which Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar focuses is related to the admission of four Untouchable children in the school of Kavitha in Dholka taluka of Ahmedabad of the Bombay Presidency. The four Untouchable Children took the admission at Kavitha. When it came to know the upper caste, they removed the names of their children from the school. After that, a Brahmin assaulted the Untouchable. The untouchables came to Dholka to register a case against the Brahmin. In their absentee, the upper caste assaulted the women and old men of untouchables with sticks, spears and swords. They, after this, turned their morcha towards the untouchables to whom they suspected lead the role
regarding the admission of the untouchables. The upper castes broke
the doors, tiles and rafters of the roofs over their houses not finding them
in their houses. The upper castes also hatched a plan to assault the
untouchables who were gone to file the case against the Brahmin. The
upper castes concealed themselves behind the bushes and shrubs on the
way of the village waiting the untouchables. But as the untouchables
came to know the plan, they ran in the jungle and returned at 3 a.m. till
the upper caste returned to their homes. Lastly, the untouchables left the
village in the fear of the upper caste.

It discloses that whenever the untouchables revolt against the upper
caste, whenever the untouchables stand against the injustice, their revolt
is suppressed and they are penanced by the upper caste. Though the
untouchables strive for their rights, they are beaten and assaulted by the
upper caste. It indicates the psychology of the upper caste who thinks that
the untouchables must tolerate all the injustice, exploitation and torments
without any grievance. Instead of justice, the untouchables receive
penalty, sufferings. Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar writes:

In this conflict with the Hindus, the untouchables are always at bay. As
against caste lawlessness, the untouchables are always helpless. The
question is, why are the untouchables always beaten; why are they
always at bay? The question is an important question and needs to be
answered.27

He reveals above that in this conflict with the upper caste, the
untouchables are assaulted and their revolt is suppressed. This conflict
between them ends in the suppression of the untouchables. Finally, they
are beaten and penanced. The untouchable became helpless in this
conflict though their struggle is for the legal rights. He raises the
questions behind the helpless condition of the untouchables in this
conflict.
He does not only raises the question but invents the causes behind the helpless condition of the untouchables in this conflict. He explains that, in population, comparing to the numbers of the upper caste, the numbers of the untouchables are less. There is no unity among them. They are divided. They have to depend on the upper caste for their earnings. They have to depend on the upper caste for the purchase of the necessaries of their life. In this conflict with the upper caste, untouchables are not well co-operated by the administration i.e. police and magistrate. Due to these causes, though their struggle is legal against the upper caste for their rights, they became helpless in the conflict.

The untouchables are aware of their rights. They desire to be involved in the main flow of the Hindu society by acquiring rights. They desire to lead a normal and pleasurable life like the upper caste. But the society is not tolerated them in the main flow. The upper caste doesn’t tolerate and admit the equality of the untouchables. He is not ready to offer the equal state to the untouchables. He doesn’t think that the untouchables should live respectfully and lead their life with comfort and peace. Even the untouchables attempt to struggle for the equal status, their demand is repressed and they are penanced for their demand. The untouchables lead a tense life. There is a feeling of repulsion towards the untouchables in the mind of the upper caste. This feeling of repulsion, hate is so powerful that they are discarded every opportunity of leading a good life. They are not even allowed to develop themselves. They are not allowed to make progress. If they attempt to do progress, to uplift themselves, they are tortured and discouraged. Their movements which are for their upliftment are also discarded and beaten. The untouchables do their movements respecting the laws. The laws also take the lead and allow the untouchables to do their movements. While doing their
movements, they don’t harm anyone. But the Touchables don’t tolerate it. They don’t like the idea of equality with the untouchables. They think it horrible to treat equally to untouchables. They are brutal while offering the treatment to the untouchables. They do unlawful acts with the untouchables. The law states that all are equals and have equal opportunities. The law does not harbour any types of inequality. The law is same to the Touchables and untouchables. But the Touchables do not respect the law while treating the untouchables. Touchables do not acknowledge the dignity, security and good status of the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also exposes the repulsion of the upper caste towards the untouchables in the essay titled as ‘Their Wishes Are Laws Unto Us’. He points out that the upper caste does not like that the untouchables should live cleanly and neatly. He doesn’t like the untouchables should stay in the good house. The upper caste does not tolerate that the untouchables should enroll their children in schools. He does not like the idea of converting the religion of the untouchables. He does not like that the untouchables should open a business, to acquire land and become economically independent.

He exposes the reason behind the cruel, heinous and hateful treatment of the Touchables to the untouchables. He asserts:

*If you ask a Hindu, why he behaves in this savage manner, why he feels outraged by the efforts which the untouchables are making for a clean and respectable life, his answer will be a simple one. He will say: “what you call the reform by the untouchables is not a reform. It is an outrage on our Dharma”. If you ask him further where this Dharma of his is is laid down, his answer will again be a very simple one. He will reply, “Our Dharma is contained in our Shastras.”*  

The above description reveals the causes of the behavior of the upper caste towards the untouchables. The upper caste is outrages to see
the efforts of the untouchables for clean and dignified life. He opposes it. He adds if you ask him about his savage behaviour with the untouchables. His answer is very simple. The upper caste replies that the reforms of the untouchables are not the reforms but the encroachment on Dharma. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar further states if you ask him where is your Dharma? The upper caste replies that his Dharma is in Shastra. It indicates that his brutal behaviour is due to Shastra.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar goes to the root of the behaviour of the Touchables with untouchables. The root cause of his behaviour, manner of cruelty is related to the Dharma. The origin of his treatment with untouchables is in Dharma. If the untouchables start to live clean and respectable life, the Touchables think that the untouchables are encroaching on the Dharma. By living cleanly and respectfully, they are violating the Dharma. If the untouchables attempt to uplift themselves, they are rebelling against the Dharma. Their struggle for equal status is anti-dharma. Their movement is proper in the eyes of law, their movement though it is lawful, but from the point of Dharma it is anti-dharma activity. By demanding equal status, equal rights they are challenging the Dharma. The Touchables by suppressing the movements of the untouchables are doing the work of Dharma. The Touchables are by behaving cruelly with the untouchables are doing the work of Dharma. They are protecting the Dharma from the untouchables. They are suppressing the troubles of the Dharma and this Dharma is contained in the Shastras. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar exposes that Smritis are recognized as Dharmashatras and ‘Manu Smriti’, ‘Yajnvalkya Smriti’ and ‘Narda Smriti’ are considered as standard Smritis of Hindu Dharma.

Out of these Smritis, he focuses on ‘Manu Smriti’ which states rules for the peoples who are in the fold of ChaturVarna and who are out of the
fold of ChaturVarna. Manu refers the people who are outside the Varna are Dasyus. They should live under the trees, near the burial ground, on mountains, the Chandalas and Shwapak shall be outside the village, dogs and donkeys should be their wealth, they should wear the clothes of the dead, they should eat in broken dishes, their ornaments should be black iron, they should wander from place to place, intercourse should not be with them by the person who is performing the religious duty, they should carry out the corpse who have no relatives, they should execute the criminals in accordance with the law by the order of the king and they should not be touched. These types of cruel, hateful and destructive rules are formed for the people who are outside the Varna.

The people who are out of Varna are called Bahayas. These Bhayas are untouchables. He writes:

*Those whom Manu called Bahayas (outside the ChaturVarnas) correspond to the present day untouchables of India. The dividing line between the four classes – Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra included within ChaturVarna have in modern times become somewhat blurred and there has been some degree of amalgamation between them. But the line which Manu drew between those within the ChaturVarna from those outside the ChaturVarna is still clear and is not allowed to be effaced or crossed. That line is the line which at present separates the Hindus from the untouchables. The first thing that is clear is that the ancient divisions have descended to modern times. The only change is the change of names.29*

The above description clearly discloses that untouchables are the former Bahayas. The people of the past four Varnas are mixed with each other. The differences between them are disappeared in some ratio. But the differences between the people of Varna and the people of out of Varna are not disappeared. The line of the difference created for them is not crossed. This line is responsible for the separation of the untouchables from Hindus. This line which has been started since the ancient period
has not been disappeared. At the present day, it is similar like the ancient. Only the name of the people outside the *Varna* is changed.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar exposes that in the past, the untouchables were called as Bahayas. Automatically, the rules formed for the Bahayas in *Manu Smriti* are also applied to the untouchables. The rules in the *Manu Smriti* denies the equal opportunity and equal status to the Bahayas i.e. untouchables. It separates the untouchables from rest of the people. It does not allow them in the sacred places and warns the people to away from untouchables. It does not allow them to lead a respectful life and to do good jobs. *Manu Smriti* is the one of the root of Dharmastraas. The upper caste observes what is prescribed in the *Manu Smriti* regarding the Bahayas i.e. today’s untouchables. When the untouchables struggle for their rights, they struggle against the rules prescribed in *Manu Smriti* which are formed for them. Their rebel for the equal rights and status is a rebel against *Manu Smriti*. By rebelling against the Manu Smriti, they are rebelling, revolting against the Dharma. The upper caste is with the Dharma and untouchables are against the Dharma. By suppressing the revolt of the untouchables, they are protecting and preserving the Dharma. He adds that Dharma as it is preached by Pandits generation to generation, it became powerful and shaped the psychology of Hindus and the law also became powerless in offering equality to the untouchables due to it. The law becomes powerless before the teaching of the Dharma.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar after inventing the causes of the strange behaviour of the Upper caste with the untouchables focuses the role of Mahatma Gandhi and Congress party towards the untouchables of India in the essay ‘*Under The Provience Of Mr. gandhi*’. Mahatma Gandhi considers untouchability as a sin on Hinduism and thinks untouchability which is a
curse must be removed from Indian society. Congress, which was the leading party, had been struggling against the British for freedom also determined and undertake the constructive work to remove the untouchability from India.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar divides the work of Mahatma Gandhi and Congress party towards untouchables into two periods. The first period is the period which precedes the Poona Pact and the second period is the period which follows the Poona Pact. The first period, he mentions, may be called the period of Bardoli programme and the second period may be called the period of Harijan Sevak Sangh.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar focuses the meetings of Congress held at Bardoli in February 1922, Lucknow in June 1922 and throws light on the resolutions passed in the meetings regarding the eradication of untouchability and raising the funds of 5 lakh for the upliftment of the untouchables. He points out that the issues regarding the untouchables are also discussed in the meetings of Congress held at Gaya in January 1923, at Bombay in February 1923 and at Poona on 17th April 1923. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar claims that during these two periods the issues regarding eradication and upliftment of untouchability are discussed and passed but the required actions did not take place. The implementation of the resolutions and issues were not implemented during these two periods. The plan and problems were discussed by the leaders of Congress but they never went forward to solve the problems of untouchability. He says:

*The Bardoli programme for the untouchables was in no sense a revolutionary programme. It did attempt to abolish untouchability. It does not attempt to break up caste. There is no mention of intermarriage or interdining. It accepts the principle of separate wells and separate schools for untouchables. It was purely an ameliorative programme. And yet such a harmless programme the Congress failed to carry through.*

206
He asserts above that during these years, Congress attempted to abolish the untouchability but it did not attempt to demolish caste system. During this period, it did not take the programmes like intermarriages and interdinings which are helpful to bridge the gap between the Touchables and the Untouchables. Instead of it, the Congress emphasized to keep and maintain the separate wells and schools for the Untouchable. It indicates that nothing is revolutionary in this programme of the Congress. In spite of this the Congress became unsuccessful to alter the situation of the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar claims that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress party did not do any revolutionary activity to change and to uplift the situation of the untouchables. Instead of it, they assisted to suppress and blame the untouchables who struggle for their right against Hindu society and attempt to uplift themselves through the movements. The untouchables commenced civil disobedience against the Hindus for obtaining their civic and social rights. In this period, the untouchables launched the Satyagraha at Mahad for the right of taking water from a public tank and the Satyagraha at Nasik for the entry in the Kala Ram Temple under the leadership and guidance of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Mahatma Gandhi condemned these Satyagrahas by referring that untouchables are not sinner; Satyagraha should be done by Hindus for the removal of untouchability. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar points out that Mahatma Gandhi condemns the Satyagraha of the untouchables but at the same time he supports the Satyagraha of Vaikom by untouchables which was carried out under the shelter and support of the Congress. It displays that if the Satyagraha of untouchables is under the shelter and support of Congress, it is proper but if the same is under the protection and support of the others, it is condemned.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also blames that Mahatma Gandhi and Congress Party also prohibited the Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews from assisting the untouchables by saying that untouchability is the sin of Hindus. The Hindus should do penance and not others. It is the duty of Hindus to launch Satyagraha to remove the untouchability and not others.

He also discusses the role of Mahatma Gandhi towards the Representation of the Depressed Classes in the new constitution at the second Round Table Conference. It was the demand of the Depressed Classes of the Representation in the legislature of the country, provinces and central. This was the demand of the sufficient political power by the untouchables. If they had got the Representation in the legislature, they would have protect them politically and secure their welfare. They also requested the right to elect their own candidates as their representatives by adult suffrage and by separate electorates for the first ten years and thereafter by joint electorates and reserved seats. At the second Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi opposed this request of the Depressed Classes by remarking that it would generate rift in Hinduism.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also focuses the opposition of Mahatma Gandhi and his fast against the Communal Award in next essay ‘Gandhi And His fast’. It was the fast of Mahatma Gandhi unto death. When the Communal Award declared, Mahatma Gandhi began his fast unto death. Lastly, the Communal Award by which the untouchables were obtaining special electorates was altered and Poona Pact was signed between Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Poona Pact offered the reserved seats to the untouchables out of the general electorates. By Communal Award the untouchables were obtaining the right of double voting and the upper caste would have to depend on their suffrage which
was in the welfare of the untouchables. This interest of the untouchables was crushed by the Poona Pact.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also quotes the statement of Mahatma Gandhi regarding the temple entry of the untouchables published in ‘Gandhi Shikshan, Vol.II, P.132’ in which Mahatma Gandhi says that it is not possible to the untouchables of having the right to enter every existing temples, as long as the law of caste and Ashrama has the chief place in Hindu religion.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, by pointing out this, focuses the tragedy of the untouchables. Whenever the untouchables try to uplift themselves, whenever the circumstances start to be with them, these circumstances, efforts are made fruitless. By Communal award, there was a chance of their progress. They had a chance of special Representation and double voting. Hindus would have to depend on the suffrages of the untouchables. It means there was a need of the suffrage, voting of the untouchables for winning the election to the Hindus. With this weapon, the untouchables could have sanctioned their rights. They would have become the valuable, prestigious people. They would have a chance to become the main flow of the society. By their special Representation, they would have passed the various bills, resolutions regarding the upliftment of them. This Communal Award would have helpful to eliminate the discrimination and establish equality among the Hindus. This Award would have able to remove the untouchability from India. Untouchables would have rescued from the stigma of untouchability. But by opposing it, the upper caste became successful to block the way of progress of the untouchables. Untouchable’s struggle for salvation from the shackles of untouchability was suppressed. Instead of Communal
Award, Poona Pact was signed by which the untouchables have to depend on the Hindus for their rights. He asserts:

*The Communal Award was intended to free the untouchables from the thraldom of the Hindus. The Poona Pact is designed to place them under the domination of the Hindus.*

The above statement clearly indicates his displeasure towards Poona Pact. He asserts that by Communal Award, there was a possibility of the freedom of the untouchables from the yoke of the upper caste. He adds that Poona Pact formed to place them under the dominance of the upper caste. It indicates that Poona Pact was not beneficial to empower the situation of the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also warns the untouchables against the strategies of the upper caste in the essay ‘A Warning To The untouchables’. The untouchables struggle to fall the system which made them socially, religiously and politically paralyzed. They attempt to emancipate themselves from the tyrannies of the Hindus. On the other hand the upper castes claim that the untouchables should rely on the Hindus for their salvation. It is claimed by the Hindus that education and the works of social reformers will alter the situation of the untouchables. These things will alter the nature of the upper castes. But Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar warns the untouchables that it is a trap for the untouchables. It is an allurement that education and the work of social reformers will change the situation of the untouchables. He points out that if the untouchables become the prey of the allurement, it is impossible for them to come out from their tragic situation. Untouchables must not ensnare. He refers that it is generally considered by social idealist that reason and religion produce social justice. But these two agencies are also failed to bring out the exploitation of the untouchables and bring out justice for them. The untouchables should not wait and rely on Hindus and on social reformers.
for their salvation. They have to struggle themselves for their emancipation. He claims that to overcome their exploitation and injustice by the hands of Hindus, they should achieve education; they should spread the knowledge and achieve political power. This is the advice of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to the untouchables for bringing out Salvation from Hindus.

Under the fourth book ‘Book IV Religious’ four essays - ‘Away from the Hindus’, ‘caste and Conversion’(Hinduism as a Missionary Religion), ‘Christianizing untouchables’, and ‘The Condition of the Convert’. The two chapters ‘The Eternal Verity’ and ‘The untouchables and Their Destiny’ though are mentioned by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are not found to the Editor. The conversion of untouchables and the condition of the converted are discussed in these four chapters.

In the essay ‘Away From The Hindus’, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who struggles for the rights of the untouchables and leads movement under his leadership for the salvation of the untouchables points out that if the untouchables want to escape from the clutches of tyranny and injustice, if they want to avoid their exploitation and raise their social status, they should leave Hindu religion and convert themselves into other religion. The untouchables should take refuge under other religion to protect themselves from insulting and receiving the inhuman treatment. He writes:

A large majority of untouchables who have reached a capacity to think out their problem believe that one way to solve the problem of the untouchables is for them to abandon Hinduism and be converted to some other religion. At a conference of the Mahars held in Bombay on 31st May 1936 a resolution to this effect was unanimously passed. Although the conference was a conference of the Mahars, the resolution had the support of a very large body of untouchables through out India.
The need of the conversion is emphatically stated above. He points out that the untouchables think that to end the problem of the untouchability, they should abandon Hinduism and convert into other religion. The resolution of converting to other religion has been also passed in the conference of Mahars, one of the Untouchable communities of Maharashtra, and this resolution has been supported by the Untouchable communities all over India. Untouchables think that conversion is the key to their salvation.

He points out that such resolution has created a stir among the Hindu society. It is a blow to Hindu Society. The people of the Hindu society was threatening and cursing the people who were by the side of conversion and abandoning Hindu society. These people were opposing the ideas of conversion of the untouchables to other religion. They thought that conversion is not the solution of the troubles of the untouchables. The conversion would be futile and it would not be fruitful or beneficial for the untouchables. These people were objecting the Conversion of the untouchables. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar says:

Four principal objections have been urged by the opponents against the conversion of the untouchables:

1. What can the untouchables gain by conversion? Conversion can make no change in the status of the untouchables.
2. All religions are true, all religions are good. To change religion is a futility.
3. The conversion of the untouchables is a political in its nature.
4. The conversion of the untouchables is not genuine as it is not based on faith”.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar states above that the opponents of the conversion of the untouchables have objections. They raise the question about the usefulness of the conversion to the untouchables. They also raise the question can conversion help the untouchables to change their
status? The opponents also claim that all religions are true. It means if all religions are true there is no need to alter the religion. It is the futile effort of the untouchables to convert into other religion. The opponents also claim that there is the political touch to the decision of the conversion and it is the political stunt to convert into other religion. It is also claimed by the opponents that as there is no faith, the conversion of the untouchables is not genius. It indicates that the conversion will be without faith.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar very vividly replies to all the objections raised by the opponents to the conversion. He takes the fourth objection first and answers it. He points out that the conversion of the untouchables would be taken place after a careful thinking and the virtue of different religions. The conversion would not be done blindly and would not be a hasty act of the untouchables. It will be implemented with proper thinking. Such conversion will be genius. Then, he turns towards the third objection of the opponents. He explains that conversion is not political in nature. He points out that after conversion; the existing political rights of the untouchables are not going to alter. After conversion, they will enjoy the previous rights. To the second objection of the opponents, he replies that though all religions teach that the meaning of life is to be found in the pursuit of good but the meaning of good is different in different religion. One religion refers that brotherhood is good, the other refers that caste and untouchability is good. While answering the first objection, he explains that religion has a social fact and it concerns to society. He quotes the view of prof. Elwood in which he points out that religion functions like law and Government. It maintains Social Order. It is more powerful than law and Government. The religious sanctions are most effective means of social control.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar points out that Hinduism does not recognize untouchables as human beings. It does not offer liberty and does not form the bond of fraternity between untouchables and Hindus. It treats them like a beast and not like a man. It does not address the upper caste to love and respect untouchables. It does not advise the upper caste to extend the hand of help, sympathy towards the untouchables. It does not convince the upper caste that they should live amicably with the untouchables. He writes:

*On the contrary the wrongs to which the untouchables are subjected by Hindus are acts which are sanctioned by the Hindu religion. They are done in the name of Hinduism and are justified in the name of Hinduism. The spirit and tradition which makes lawful the lawlessness of Hindus towards the untouchables is founded and supported by the teaching of Hinduism. How can the Hindus ask the untouchables accept Hinduism and stay in Hinduism? Why should the untouchables adhere the Hinduism which is solely responsible for their degradation? How can the untouchables stay in Hinduism?*

He states above the acts, which are wrong are, supported and sanctioned by the religion. In the name of the Hinduism, the untouchables are targeted and beaten. Their beliefs, ways of behaving though illegal, are become legal because of the support and teaching of the religion. The teachings of the religion allow and support them to behave rudely, cruelly and in the insulting manner with the untouchables. Their position, status is degraded due to the religious sanction to the wrong acts of the Hindus. If the untouchables are tortured, exploited and insulted by the Hindus, they cannot live in the same religion. Naturally, they will think another option of the other religion. In this adverse situation, they will prefer other religion which will offer them respect and think about them in a proper way and abandon the Hinduism which does not offer them
equality and respect. They will convert into other religion. There is no need to adhere the religion which tortures them.

He further points out that by conversion, the untouchables will not receive wealth and not loss or gain of political rights. He asserts:

_Socially, the untouchables will gain absolutely and immensely because by conversion the untouchables will be members of community whose religion has universalized and equalized all values of life._

The above statement points out that by conversion, the untouchables will not become wealthy persons not they are politically much benefitted but socially they will obtain much. They will be the part of the other religion. By conversion, they will be the member of other community. The religion, of which they will be the part, will be universalized and it will offer them equal status and equal value of life like other members of the religion.

He points out that the conversion of the untouchables will help them to demolish their social isolation and feeling of inferiority complex. Automatically their social isolation and inferiority complex will be vanished. After conversion, the untouchables will establish kinship with the members of the other religion and they will be incorporated into other community which does not recognize caste. Caste system is available only in the Hinduism and not in other religions. By this way, their social isolation will be disappeared. Inferiority complex of the untouchables will also be disappeared by conversion. He points out that inferiority complex is due to isolation, discrimination and unfriendliness. As the untouchables are isolated, discriminated and treated unfriendly, they have the feelings of inferiority complex. The other religion would help the untouchables to draw out the feeling of inferiority complex from their minds. In the other religion, the untouchables would mix freely, they would behave with the
members of the other community equally, their communication with the other members would be developed and automatically, their social isolation would be disappeared and as they would be treated equally, the feeling of being discriminated would be disappeared and as they would receive friendly treatment, the feeling of inferiority complex would be harbour no more.

He points out that the word Untouchable has a negative meaning. The word generates the hateful, disgusting meaning in the minds of the people. He reveals that due to the word ‘Untouchable’, the attitude to look at the untouchables is prejudiced and the people become negative towards the untouchables. As they convert into other religion, the name untouchables would be disappeared and they would obtain new identity and the way of the other people to look at them would be altered. In this way, the conversion to other religion is beneficial to the untouchables.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar explains the significance and value of conversion to the untouchables. It would help them to raise their status socially and to raise them psychology. It is the solution of the problem of the untouchables. Conversion would assist them to lead a peaceful, respectful and prestigious life. It would also assist them to solve their psychological problem of the feeling of degradation.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also focuses the condition of the untouchables who are converted to Christianity in the essay ‘The Condition Of The Convert’. He points out that the conversion of the untouchables into Christianity does not change their social status. Christianity is failed to eliminate their castes and untouchability. The upper caste who is converted to Christianity does not desire to abandon his high position in the caste system. Though he is converted to Christianity, he does not
comply the principle of equality. He attempts to maintain the caste system in Christianity also. His perspectives, views are not changed towards the untouchables who have accepted Christianity. He offers the same treatment to the untouchables when they were Hindus. He possesses the same prejudice, repulsion and hate regarding the untouchables. He also avoids the contact of the untouchables. The untouchables who have adopted the Christianity receive the same treatment from the Converted upper caste into Christianity when they were Hindus. He exposes that in the Christianity, there are Maratha Christian, Mahar Christian, Mang Christian and Bhangi Christian. It mentions though they are converted to Christianity; the castes have also entered with them in the Christianity.

He points out that after the conversion into Christianity; nothing has been changed with the untouchables. Christianity does not solve the problem of untouchables. They have been leading the same life led in Hinduism. They have no right to take the water from the tank, no right to admit their children to public schools, to enter a hotel. There is no barber pleased to shave them. They are not allowed in the Touchables quarters of the village. The untouchables’ sufferings are not ended after adopting Christianity. Their condition is deplorable here also. Christianity is unable to offer them respect and prestigious social life.

Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar points out that Christianity is unable to remove the untouchability because it depends on miracles. It waits the miracle to alter the situation of the untouchables. The preaching of the Christianity, he explains, less centered on ‘practical’ reforms and more centered on the development of Christian social attitudes. He points out that educated Christians are failed to raise a movement against the untouchability in the Christianity due to the lack of desire to take up the cause of community and to fight for it and due to the fault in the mental
makeup of the convert. The converts are not ready to break the shackles of the untouchability.

He further points out that the untouchables are converted to Christianity for some advantages or because he likes the teachings of the ‘Bible’. The teachings of the Christianity is the fall of man is due to his original sin and in Christianity, there is a promise of the forgiveness of his sin. This teaching, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar refers, does not inspire him for the movement against untouchability. He asserts:

Instead of being taught that his fall is due to a wrong social and religious environment and that for his improvement he must attack that environment he is told that his fall is due to his sin.36

He states above that instead of teaching him to fight against wrong social and religious environment for his development, it is preached that it is the fruit of their sin.

These unpublished essays of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar fully focus the situation of the untouchables, their rebels and the strategies, perspectives of the upper caste towards the untouchables. He exposes the deplorable position of the untouchables in the society. He also exposes the treatment given to the untouchables. He points out the situation of the untouchables that whenever they attempt to rebel against the system, they are targeted. He also awakens them about the strategies of the upper caste. In these essays, he warns them that they have to fight for their rights. He also advises them that no one will come to their rescue. He advises them if they want to change their situation, they have to convert into different religion. In Hinduism, according to him, there is no possibility of their progress and improvement. He also warns them that in Christianity, their position is not altered and they have been suffering by the upper caste like Hinduism in Christianity.
Works Cited


3. ibid ,P.08


10. Ibid, P.27.

11. Ibid, P.34.

12. Ibid ,35.


15. Ibid, P.75.
16. Ibid, P.89
23. Ibid, P.258.
29. Ibid, P. 279.
30. Ibid, P.299.
32. Ibid, P. 403.
33. Ibid, P. 403.
34. Ibid, P. 412.
35. Ibid, P. 413.
36. Ibid, 473.