Dr. Ambedkar was a national leader of the movement of Untouchables in India. As a leader of this movement, he established different types of organizations to lead these movements. In all these were six as given below:

1. Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha (1924)
2. Samaj Samata Sangh (1927)
3. Samata Sainik Dal (1928)
4. Independent Labour Party (1936)
5. All India Scheduled Castes Federation (1942)

Of these six organizations, first two were mainly of social service type, third was a volunteer organization and remaining three were political parties. There is also a trade of the fact that he made attempts to organize Bombay...
Textile Workers in trade unions. To form and run these organizations he built a cadre of activists. These activists took part in a number of activities and actions led by these organizations.

Dr. Ambedkar expressed his views at various points of time regarding composition, objectives and functioning of these organizations, the conduct and behavour of these activists and the type of activities they should take up. A study of these views of Dr. Ambedkar gives us clues to generalize him on the aspects of nature of political organizations, activists and their actions, he thought fit for the cause of removal of untouchability. An attempt has been made in this chapter to deal with following questions regarding Dr. Ambedkar's views on the nature of organizations, activists and actions of the movement.

(1) What were the different objectives of these different organizations?
(2) How was there composition?
(3) What were their programmes?
(4) Who were expected to support these organizations?
(5) How should activists behave?
(6) What type of actions were suggested?
The aims and objectives of this Sabha were:

(1) to promote the spread of education among the depressed classes by hostels or other means. (2) to promote the spread of culture among the depressed classes by opening libraries, social centres, and classes or study circles (3) to advance and improve the economic conditions of the depressed classes by starting industrial and agricultural schools. (4) to represent the grievances of the Depressed Classes. Above-mentioned aims and objectives show that Dr. Ambedkar favoured the social reform organization for the upliftment of downtrodden.

The structure of the Sabha included the membership of caste Hindus and Untouchables from all castes. Dr. Ambedkar clearly stated that, for its successful working it needed the activists from the community for which the organization is formed or from the communities whose grievances are similar to one another. He also felt the necessity of co-operation from economically sound and sympathetic upper caste people to the vast work of upliftment of

the Depressed classes. He viewed further that the organizations for the cause of Untouchables started by upper caste Hindu people were limited in scope and their efforts had certain limits.

In 1925 Dr. Ambedkar praised Mahatma Gandhi's personal support to the Vaikam Satyagraha launched by the Iravas with the support of some caste Hindu reformers, for the use of temple road to the Untouchables.

Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha continued conducting the conferences at various places. Dr. Ambedkar personally altered conferences held for discussing the problems of Untouchables. He inspired the activists and the people to unite, educate and agitate for social, economic and political equality. Meetings were initiated locally and outside speakers were called to draw crowds and present a more sophisticated message than local talent was able to do. Dr. Ambedkar, in his addresses, stressed the issue of Civil Rights and advised the people not to live in degraded social conditions.

3. Ibid.
5. At Hipani Ratnagiri (1927), Nagpur (1930), Kampti (1932) etc.
In the year 1925, Dr. Ambedkar noted that the Orthodox Brahmans at Vaikam had used scripture to justify their position to Gandhi. Dr. Ambedkar said on this issue, "This clearly indicates that either we should burn all these scriptures to ashes or verify and examine the validity of their rules regarding untouchability and if we are unable to prove their falseness or invalidity, we are to suffer untouchability till the end of time .... Truly these scriptures are an insult to people. The Government should have confiscated them long ago."

In an address in 1926, Dr. Ambedkar advised the activists and the Depressed Class people that they should not surrender themselves to any act of social or political domination of the upper caste Hindus which enslaved the Depressed Classes. In March, 1927 Chowdar Tank Satyagraha was launched to secure the use of the water source to Untouchables.

In December, 1927, a direct action of burning of Manusmriti was held at the venue of Mahad conference. After this, mass meetings on the issue of temple entry were organized and symbolic attempts were made to enter


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the temples, at Amraoti (1927) Poona (1929) and Nasik (1930).

At the time of Nasik Temple entry, Dr. Ambedkar said in a mass meeting, "Your problems will not be solved by temple entry. Politics, economics, education, religion... all are parts of the problem. Today's 'Satyagraha' is a challenge to the Hindu mind. Are the Hindus ready to consider us men or not, we will discover this today .... we know that the God in the temple is of Stone... Darsan and Puja will not solve our problem. But we will start out and try to make a change in the minds of the Hindus."

Dr. Ambedkar gave advice to the activists, as in a letter to Mr. B.K. Gaikwad, one of the staunch activists and a close associate of him. He said, "We must not take our orders from the Government just as we must not take them from the Orthodox Hindus. We have trusted the Government long enough to remove untouchability. But it has not lifted its finger to anything in the matter and it has no right to ask us to stop. We must take the burden on our shoulders and do what we can to free ourselves at any cost from this curse. If the Government does not do anything to help

us it must not hamper us. There is no use telling us that we must not create ill feeling between different classes and communities. This appeal by Government should be addressed to all communities and not to us alone. It should especially be addressed to those communities who are in the wrong and who are sinning in the matter. You may publish a translation of this in handbills. 10. This statement helps us to know his views on the social base of the movement. According to him anti-untouchability movement should base on the support of untouchables themselves but should put all efforts to avoid spread of ill feeling among different communities. He was clearly of the opinion that the support should come from all communities.

**SAMAJ SAMATA SANGH (1927):**

Dr. Ambedkar had established 'Samaj Samata Sangh' in order to broaden the scope of Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha. He viewed that the organization should have broad principles of social equality. It should also work beyond the outcaste interests and try to unite the Hindu Society for equality. 11 The Samaj.

10. Ibid. p. 115
Samata Sangh started in the year 1927. Stressed inter-caste activities. It also organized dinners, published a newspaper and promoted such sanskritizing ceremonies as vedic weddings and the sacred thread rituals. This Social Equality League enrolled the members from all castes. Deorao Naik, Bhaskar Rao Kadrekar, Shridhar Balwant Tilak and G.N. Sahastrabudhe.

Sanskrit Hitkarini Sabha and its corollary organizations with caste Hindu leadership, the Samaj Samata Sangh are the most thoroughly documented of Ambedkar's organizations. There were others including various labour unions, which also seem to have been begun by Ambedkar and assisted by various members of the caste Hindu group which worked with Ambedkar. The unions operated chiefly in Bombay and their history, leadership and significance are not at all clear. The Bombay Textile Labour Union was organized in the 1920's possibly at the time of the great Bombay mill strike in 1929. During that period, it was in opposition to the Girni Kamgar Union (Mill Labourers Union), and there is some evidence that Ambedkar at this time attempted to force the larger Union to underwrite equal treatment to Untouchables in the mills by bringing in outside mill labour. The Union continued through
the 1930's with Ambedkar, the well known labour leader N.M. Joshi, R.R. Bakhale and G.N. Sehastrabudhe holding office at various times. Labour union history, however, does not mention Ambedkar's efforts. It is possible that Untouchable labour constituted sufficient number to make separate unions possible but not available organizations.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY (1936):

Dr. Ambedkar established the first political party named as 'The Independent Labour Party' in 1936. This party accepted the principle of state management and state ownership of industry whenever it may become necessary in the interest of the people. The party announced it would undertake to established land mortgage and marketing societies and to avoid fragmentation of land. The Welfare of the Scheduled Castes occupies little space as a separate item in the party programme. Two of the items included in the concern for the General Welfare are compulsory primary education and reform of the Watan Land System. Social peformist content of the party programme is as follows:

(a) attempts will be made by the party to remove all interceptions to free and complete life and to change, amend and root out any economic system which is unjust
to any caste, class or section of the people.
(b) Legislation will be undertaken by party for the progress of all necessary social reforms.\(^{12}\)

(1) to prevent social reformers from being out casted by the Orthodox; (2) to penalize all forms of organized attempts at direct action such as terrorism and boycott to prevent individuals or classes from exercising the rights and liberties given to them by law. Endeavours in preventing in administration from becoming the monopoly of any single caste or community.

Consistent with efficiency of administration the party will endeavour to bring about a fair admixture of all castes and communities in the administration of the presidency.\(^{13}\)

Here it is clear that the party desired that the social reformations were done by not following and entrusting such task to the orthodox people, but by penalising and relinquishing the evil. The injustice in political, social, economical and educational field will be eradicated and attempts would be made in the direction of progress, growth and development of the society.


\(^{13}\) Ibid

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The platform of Independent Labour Party clearly shows that Dr. Ambedkar's realization that the needs of the depressed classes were in economic as well as the social and religious fields. Dr. Ambedkar opposed the Watan Land and Balutedari and advised the depressed class people to give up the traditional occupations which enslaved them. The Independent Labour Party competently worked during the period of three years from 1937 to 1939 and protested against many issues as Watan System, agricultural and labour policies of Government in Bombay Legislature. Even though the ILP did not confine its legislative efforts to matters concerning Untouchables, if failed to secure a base among caste Hindu Workers. A conversation between Dr. Ambedkar and depressed class railroad workers in 1938 illustrated his dilemma. He was against capitalism and favoured effective organization of the workers, but he was against Brahminism and this justified a separate union for untouchable workers within the Labour Union Movement.

Dr. Ambedkar wanted a separate union of Untouchable Workers because he did not want any caste Hindu to entail and impose on them and deprive the Untouchables of their rights. In every domain - Dr. Ambedkar wanted separate identity and individuality.

14. Ibid, P. 254
To form a new party, to Dr. Ambedkar, was a legitimate question. He said, "The main object of the Congress is to achieve independence. My colleagues and I also want to attain freedom but to achieve freedom is not simple or an easy task. Even, the weapon of 'Satyagraha' evolved by Mr. Gandhi is not likely to be efficacious. Even with non-co-operation and civil disobedience it is not possible to achieve independence. This certainly is beyond our capacity. Everybody seems to be thinking in this manner. If this is so difficult, what is the use of having dreams of so much meaningless independence". He further said, "So long as we do not have the strength and capacity to win true freedom, it is wise and profitable to follow the well-tried methods to achieve our object. I believe this is the correct view". 15 He further clearly stated his view on the position of the Congress. "People with all sorts of conflicting interests are found in the Congress. Then thus can those who thrive on the blood of the poor ever be the friend of the exploited? Congress is sitting in the lap of wealthy people. How can they help the poor peasants, farmers and workers?" 16, Dr. Ambedkar criticised that Congress

16. Ibid, P., 145
is not the party of the peasants and workers. He argued, "Congress is the protector of the capitalists. It is difficult for the congress to protect and safeguard the interests of the working class and common people." 17

While addressing in a meeting of the Samata Sainik Dal, Dr. Ambedkar stated that the organization. Independent Labour Party stood for the protection of the weaker section of the society. It would be easy for the party to safeguard the interests of peasants and working classes than it would be for the congress. 18 He further stated that the main purpose of the party was to fight for the interest of the Untouchables, working classes, the poor and the deprived people. Without compromising "our declared principles and policies we shall form alliances with other parties to win elections." 19 Dr. Ambedkar stressed the issue of the greater strength and co-operation to the party. He said, "it is therefore, very essential to have a large number of people to help us. They must be our friends having similar ideas and principles. Those among the non-untouchables who have sincerely helped us,

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
sacrificing their own interests and fought side by side with us for our cause must be adopted by us as to contest election as our party (ILP) candidates. Further he advised in the meeting that they must not waste their time in polemics at that stage. He also advised them to put aside bickerings, petty quarrels, wasteful activities and discussions. He explained them, 'If you follow the spirit and the principles of the party in right earnest and work sincerely to make it a success then whatever I have been able to achieve for our people will be further strengthened.  

He also advised them to avoid distinctions between Mahars and Mangs. He reminded them that the Mahad Satyagraha, Nasik temple entry attempt, Poona pact all were the struggles they did for their self-respect and self-reliance and for their rights and political safeguards. Further he said "You must clearly understand and particularly keep this thing in mind that you have nobody to help you. At such times you will have to give up selfishness, greed and narrow-mindedness and love for factionalism." He stated that "With sufficient man-power available with us and with devotion, dedication and unity, it has never been a difficult task for me.

20. Ibid. P. 146.
21. Ibid. P. 149.
to find a way out of any situation no matter how grave.  

**SAMATA SAINIK DAL**

Dr. Ambedkar established Samata Sainik Dal in 1928. Its main function was to remove these practices of men which were full of inequalities. The aim of this volunteer army was to dislodge all those values which conserved and fostered anti-human elements in the name of traditional and cultural heritage. He expressed his confirmed views that the principle of social equality was the cornerstone of a stable society. For this, the social equality army and the like institutions were always a necessity in human society. The Dal was a part of Dr. Ambedkar's movement and a powerful weapon in his hands to maintain peace and security during the time of public meetings. Dr. Ambedkar explained the position of the organization that "There was a time when we wanted honourable place in Hindu social fold, now we demand that our community should be recognized as co-equal with society. The Dal is pledged to establish political, social and economic equality."  

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22. Ibid. P. 150.
23. Dalitbandhu Special number, P. 25.
Addressing the Samata Sainik Dal Conference in July, 1942 Dr. Ambedkar observed that he had love for non-violence, but he differentiated non-violence from abject surrender. Although love and kindness towards all creatures was a part of the principle of non-violence, to destroy all evil-doers was the principle element in the doctrine of achimga. After the assassination of Gandhi in 1948 this organization was banned. Dr. Ambedkar remarked that it was an act of cowardice.

Samata Sainik Dal was strongly advised to follow the way of non-violence. It had to achieve its aims not by shedding blood and practising any violence or aprocities—Though Hindus had obstructed and intercepted their progress, they were not their enemies. The feeling of enmity was hurling all of them again in a chaotic situation and Dr. Ambedkar knew that it was harmful to both caste Hindus and untouchables.

The doctrines behind Samata Sainik Dal's resolution are worth mentioning for a clean understanding. It resolved that, "(1) the Samata Sainik Dal severally condemns the agitation launched by the Hindus. Instead of Because such agitations were single sided and supporting the caste Hindus instead of desiring benevolent views of weaker, (2) it registers its sympathy with the victims of atrocities committed by caste Hindus, (3) it urges upon the leaders of all religious groups and political
parties to work for peace and understanding and to educate their adherents and followers to objectively study the problems of untouchables. It urges upon all the parties and groups to get united.

The Samata Sainik Dal was an organization which had objective attitude towards development. Devising its way through ordered Ahimsa was the principle behind it. It never followed the way of revolution and atrocities or revenge but followed Buddhist way and gave up Hindu traditional way of life. This was another aspect of Dr. Ambedkar's views of forming a volunteer youth organization.

He stated in the Nagpur Conference of the Depressed Classes in 1942, "I am believer in Ahimsa but in the sense defined by your great saint Tukaram. Tukaras said, and quite rightly, that Ahimsa consisted of two things; (1) love and kindness towards all creatures and (2) destruction of all evil doers. The second part of this definition of Ahimsa is often of that the doctrine of Ahimsa becomes ridiculous." He explained that, "to destroy all evil doers is the principal element in the doctrine of Ahimsa. Without that, Ahimsa is an empty shell, only a

beautitude. It ceases to be a positive duty. So long as we have no evil intention to do harm to anybody and so long as we have confined ourselves to destruction of all evil-doers, nobody can cavil at the acquisition and building up of our strength. 'Shakti' controlled by our 'Sheel' is our ideal.  

He advised the volunteers not to be scared of criticism and said, "Avoid doing wanton injury to anybody, exert to help every one who needs your help and you will be rendering great services to our people." He clearly explained that their activities had been mainly concerned with sustaining their political life. From this it becomes clear that Dr. Ambedkar wanted the volunteer corps to act against all sorts of atrocities and injustice to the Depressed Classes. He also emphasised the issue of strength of the organization. He asked for assurance from the corps that they would maintain strength, unity and determination to stand and fight for their rights.

25. Ibid.
27. Ibid, p. 137.
In July, 1942 Dr. Ambedkar declared his decision of building a new organization, The Scheduled Castes Federation, in a meeting of depressed classes of Nagpur.

The meeting resolved to provide tangible backing to Dr. Ambedkar's views on the Cripps Mission and condemned the proposals of His Majesty's Government regarding constitutional change, as brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps, as a betrayal of the interests of the Scheduled Castes and a breach of the assurance given them that a constitution would not be imposed upon them without their consent. It also resolved to support Dr. Ambedkar on the issues of Scheduled Castes' problems regarding education, separate settlement, representation and separate electorates etc. 28

The idea of separate village or new colonies propounded by the Scheduled Castes Federation met with little response, however, from British Officials, and the resolution of the 1942 Nagpur Conference served chiefly to underwrite the increasingly vocal Mahar demands for separate electorates. 29

Dr. Ambedkar praised the depressed class activists for the political awareness they possessed and expressed his satisfaction on the progress of the depressed class people made in education and in public services.  

Though the Scheduled Castes Federation had sound leadership and perpetual principles, the 1946 elections brought a great failure to the party due to the joint electoral system. Failing in his pleas to the British Government and in the elections, Dr. Ambedkar resorted to extra-parliamentary action to press the demand for recognition of the Scheduled Castes as a separate element in Indian political life. The Scheduled Castes Federation conducted large-scale satyagrahas for separate electorates before the state legislature at Poona, Nagpur, Lucknow and Kanpur from July to October, 1946. This encouraged the Scheduled Castes Federation's activists to act according to the circumstances but in a disciplined and united manner. Dr. Ambedkar stressed the issue of power in 1948 for the Scheduled Castes and advised them that, "political power was key to all social

31. Ibid, p. 266.
progress and that the Scheduled Castes could achieve
salvation if they capture this power by organizing
themselves into a third party and holding the balance of
power between Congress and Socialists.\(^{32}\)

It can be understood from the following statement
why Dr. Ambedkar stressed the need of a separate party
for the Depressed Classes. He said, "I am definitely of
the opinion that in this country political rights must be
shared between the Hindus, The Muslims and the Depressed
Classes. The Depressed Classes must by law have a proper
share in the Government of the country along with the
Hindus and the Musalmans. The future constitution can only
work if it rests on these three pillars." To achieve this,
he further advised that activists, that they all must come
under one flag and only one organization. He further
stated, "If we have not so far achieved the position in
the Constitution which is due to us it is because we have
not been united. If you all unite and work under one
organization, I have no doubt that you will reach the
position you are entitled."\(^{33}\)

While explaining the issue of the strength of the

\(^{32}\) Ibid, p. 274.

strength of the organization he distinguished between the Congress Party and the Scheduled Castes Federation. He said, "Congress is a big organization and its influence is spread far and wide. Some naturally ask why this is so, and why our organization is not so spread. There are two things at the command of the Congress. The Congress has the whole Press of India behind it. It gets full publicity. We can get no publicity from the nationalist Hindu Press. Secondly, the Congress has money at its command. You will remember that the Congress collected a fund of one crore of rupees. This large fund forms the secret of its success. But for the work of our Community I have never asked for funds. What progress and organization we have achieved, we have done without the help of any funds at all. I must, however, tell you that it is very necessary to collect funds to build up our organization and without funds our community will not be able to march forward and to keep pace with the other already well organized communities." 34.

He further advised the activists that, "in public life mistakes do occur but these should not discourage. Through errors only we can find out our weakness and put them right." 35. He asked them further to establish in each

34. Ibid, p. 135.
35. Ibid.

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province the branches of the Federation with emerging all other organizations in it. 36

The constitution of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation stated that, "the object of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation is the attainment by the Scheduled Castes of a status as a distinct and separate element in the national life of India and to obtain for them their political, economic and social rights to which they are entitled by reason of their needs, their numbers and their importance." 37 From this it becomes clear that the organization contained a wider interest for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes as a distinct element in the political life of India.

IV

In the year 1952, Dr. Ambedkar viewed that it was necessary to have a strong organization to share some position in the national politics and protect its interests. He stressed the issue of strengthening the Scheduled Castes Federation. He also favoured the politics of alliance. He stated the following reasons for going into

37. Ibid, p. 198.
alliance with other parties. He said, "Scheduled Castes people are in a minority. We have also not got separate electorate. Hence it will be necessary for us to enter into alliance for election purposes with other political parties. In the constituencies where there are reserved seats for the Scheduled Castes we have two votes each. We can give one vote to the political party with whom we will have alliance. One will go to the candidate belonging to the Scheduled Castes Federation." 38 For this Dr. Ambedkar advised activists to unite all backward classes so that they may be able to elect their true representatives. If they strengthen their party he hoped many parties will automatically come and ask for the alliance but he also warned not to be misled by them. 39

Dr. Ambedkar expressed his view on the necessity of separate organization of the downtrodden to fight against all sorts of exploitation. He said, "It is, therefore, necessary to have a separate organization of all the downtrodden and exploited classes. Without it these people will be doomed to utter ruin. We must, therefore, be very careful in being not caught in the


39. Ibid.
snare spread by the Congress. If we merge ourselves into an organization of the exploiters and the oppressors, we will be doomed to the worse condition prevalent in old times. The freedom that this country has attained will be exploited by the caste Hindus for their own ends. If we wish that we get the benefits of this freedom, we must strengthen our own organization, namely the Scheduled Castes Federation.40

Dr. Ambedkar further dealt with the issue of the capabilities of a representative to be sent to the Legislature. He said, "We, therefore, want our own people who will fight tooth and nail for our interest and secure the privileges for the under-privileged people who will undo the wrongs done to our people, people who will voice our grievances fearlessly, people who can think, lead and act, people with principles and character. We must sent such representatives to the Legislatures who will be slaves to none but remain free to their own conscience and get our grievances redressed.41

REPUBLICAN PARTY:

Dr. Ambedkar announced on the eve of conversion

40. Ibid, p. 61.
in Nagpur on 13th October, 1956, that The National Republican Party would come into existence before the next election. Its principles would be liberty, equality and fraternity, it would be open to all and it would have nothing to do with the present Scheduled Castes Federation.  

It is clear from the above view of Dr. Ambedkar that he had an idea of forming a new national political party namely 'The National Republican Party' which came into existence later in 1959.

42. Op-cit Zelliot Eleanor, p. 279.