

B. R. AMBEDKAR

---

Emancipation  
of the  
Untouchables

---

Thacker & Co. Ltd.

EMANCIPATION  
OF THE  
UNTOUCHABLES

# EMANCIPATION OF THE UNTOUCHABLES

*By*

**B. R. AMBEDKAR**

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER-AT-LAW



BOMBAY  
THACKER & CO., LTD.  
1972

*First Published: December 1943*  
*Reprinted: March 1972*

*Copyright Reserved*

*Set in 10 point Jubilee Linotype face*

PRINTED IN INDIA

BY MOHAN G. SHIRALI AT MOHAN MUDRANALAYA, ACME INDUSTRIAL  
ESTATE, SEWRI (EAST), BOMBAY 15 DD AND PUBLISHED BY Z. M.  
KADRI FOR THACKER & CO., LTD., 18/20, RAMPARTI ROW, BOMBAY 1 BR.

## PREFACE

IN RESPONSE TO the invitation of the Chairman of the Indian section of the Institute of Pacific Relations, I wrote in August last year a Paper on the Problem of the Untouchables of India for the Session of the Conference which was due to be held in December 1942 at Mont' Trambant in Quebec in Canada. The Paper is printed in the proceedings of the Conference. Ever since it became known that I had written such a Paper, the leaders of the Untouchables and Americans interested in their problem have been pressing me to issue it separately in the form of a book and make it available to the general public. It was not possible to refuse the demand. At the same time I could not without breach of etiquette publish the paper until the proceedings of the Conference were made public. I am now told by the Secretary of the Pacific Relations Conference that the proceedings have been made public and there can be no objection to the publication of my Paper if I desired it. This will explain why the Paper is published nearly 10 months after it was written.

Except for a few verbal alterations the Paper is printed as it was presented to the Conference. The Paper will speak for itself. There is only one thing I would like to add. It is generally agreed among the thoughtful part of humanity that there are three problems which the Peace Conference is expected to tackle. They are (1) Imperialism,

## PREFACE

(2) Racialism, (3) Anti-semitism, and (4) Free Traffic in that merchandise of death popularly called munitions. There is no doubt these are the plague glands in which nation's and man's inhumanity to man have their origin. There is no doubt that these problems must be tackled if a new and a better world is to emerge from the ashes of this terrible and devastating war. What my fear is that the problem of the Untouchables may be forgotten as it has been so far. That would indeed be a calamity. For the ills which the Untouchables are suffering, if they are not as much advertised as those of the Jews, are not less real. Nor are the means and the methods of suppression used by the Hindus against the Untouchables less effective because they are less bloody than the ways which the Nazis have adopted against the Jews. The Anti-semitism of the Nazis against the Jews is in no way different in ideology and in effect from the Sanatanism of the Hindus against the Untouchables.

The world owes a duty to the Untouchables as it does to all suppressed people to break their shackles and to set them free. I accepted the invitation to write this Paper because I felt that it was the best opportunity to draw the attention of the world to this problem in comparison to which the problem of the Slaves, the Negroes and the Jews is nothing. I hope the publication of this Paper will serve as a notice to the Peace Conference that this problem will be on the Board of Causes which it will have to hear and decide and also to the Hindus that they will have to answer for it before the bar of the world.

22, Prithviraj Road,  
New Dehi,  
1st September 1943.

---

## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

WE ARE proud of being the publishers of most of the famous works of the noted barrister-statesman Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and have pleasure in presenting to our readers a second reprint of his work *Emancipation of the Untouchables*, which was out of stock with us for nearly two decades.

Our readers would be happy to know that we are planning to bring out very soon new editions of other important out of print books of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. A reprint of his book *Who Were Shudras?* has been brought out recently.

---

## CONTENTS

Preface	5
Publishers' Note	7
I. Total Population of the Untouchables	11
II. The Importance of the Untouchables	13
III. The Political Demands of the Untouchables	15
IV. Hindu Opposition	20
V. Joint v/s Separate Electorates	27
VI. The Executive	31
VII. Public Services	34
VIII. Separate Settlements	37
IX. Caste and Constitution	43
X. Some Questions to the Hindus and Their Friends	48