

A Comparative Study of Race and Caste with Reference to W. E. B. Du Bois and B. R. Ambedkar

A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial Fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature

By

Siddharth Yashavanta Khandare

(Reg. No. 12HCPH04)

Supervisor

Prof. J. Bheemaiah



Centre for Comparative Literature

School of Humanities

University of Hyderabad

Hyderabad – 500046, India

December 2023



Centre for Comparative Literature

University of Hyderabad

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I, Siddharth Yashavanta Khandare , hereby declare that this thesis titled “**A Comparative Study of Race and Caste with Reference to W. E. B. Du Bois and B. R. Ambedkar**” submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature is a record of the work done by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof J. Bheemaiah, Centre for Comparative Literature, School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad. It is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that the dissertation, in part or in full, has not been submitted previously for the award of any degree or diploma in this or any other University or Institution to the of my knowledge. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shoddhganga/INFLIBNET.

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Parts of the thesis have been:

A. Presented/ Participated in the following conferences/workshop:

1. Khandare, Siddharth. “A Critical Study of Bhakti Movement and Dalit Literature: Shifting Dalit Aesthetics”. The English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad, Department of Commonwealth Literary Studies, School of English Literary Studies on “Postcoloniality in Transition: Cosmopolitanism, Transnationalism and Globalization. Hyderabad. 16-17 January 2013.
2. Khandare, Siddharth. “Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s Revolt against Brahminical Patriarchy: A Study” Centre for Comparative Literature, School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad on “Counter writing: Dalits and other subalterns”. Hyderabad. 30-31 October 2014.

3. Khandare, Siddharth. "I Belong to the other Caste: Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Voice of Assertion" Centre for Comparative Literature, School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad on "Other as Plural: Narrativizing Marginal Self History and Culture". Hyderabad. 28-30 October 2015.

Workshop:

1. Participated in workshop on "Philosophy and Methods of Babasaheb Ambedkar" organized by Ambedkar School of Governance, Nagaloka, Nagpur. 5- 20 November 2015.

B. Published in the Following:

1. Khandare, Siddharth. "Symbol and Images of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in Dalit Songs (Bheem Geete) of Maharashtra". *Minority Discourses*. Ed. Dr. Parvez Aslam Shaikh. March 2013. 326-328.

2. Khandare, Siddharth. "I belong to other caste: Voice of Revolt". *INSIGHTS: Terns in English Language & Literatures in English*. Ed. Rajesh Gore. Januray 2020. 114-126.

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards the fulfillment of course work requirements for the Ph. D. degree.

S. No	Course Code	Name of the Course	Credits	Pass/Fail
1.	CL 801	Regional/Vernacular Maternities	2	Pass
2.	CL 802	Representation and Discourse	2	Pass
3.	CL 803	Counter Canonical Writing	2	Pass
4	CL 804	Comparative Literature & Research Methodology	2	Pass
5	CL 826	Reading Religion in South Asia	4	Pass
6	CL 827	Indian Folk Narratives	4	Pass

Supervisor

Head of the Department

Dean, of School of Humanities

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sense of gratitude to all of my teachers who have enlightened me in drafting the thesis. Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. J. Bheemaiah for the support of my Ph.D. work, for his patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me for the writing of this thesis, and it was a great pleasure and privilege to work under his guidance.

I am grateful to my doctoral committee members Prof. K. Suneetha Rani and Prof. K. Yesu Ratnam. I am thankful to Prof M T Ansari, Prof Sowmya Dechamma and office staff of CCL, Rajani and Sreesailam.

I am also grateful to Prof Kashinath Ranveer (Retired), Department of English Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, my colleagues Sudarshan Bhaware, Bivita Easo, and Dr. Tukaram Hapgunde, Pradeep Paikrao and Ashok Thakur

I would like to thank Librarians and Staff members of Various Staff members of various libraries, - IGM Library, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad., Library of OUCIIP, Hyderabad., Library of JNU., Library of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad.

At last, I thank all my friends who helped me directly or indirectly

Siddharth Yashavanta Khandare

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Introduction

The African American and Dalits are the oppressed social groups in America and India respectively. Before comparing these groups and their leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois and B.R. Ambedkar one has to understand what is Comparative Literature.

Comparative Literature

Susan Bassnet in his book *Comparative Literature: A critical Introduction* wrote:

“Comparative literature involves the study of text across cultures that it is interdisciplinary and that it is concerned with patterns of connection in literatures across both time and space”. (Bassnet 1)

Bassnett’s argument makes it clear what comparative literature is. According to him, in order to compare texts they must be from across cultures and it must be concerned with connection in literature.

The idea of comparative approach begins with a desire to go beyond the boundaries of a single subject area that might appear to be too narrow and restrictive and must look out for similarities between texts or authors from different cultural contexts. It could almost be argued that the study of any writer or any book in comparative perspective can be termed as “Comparative Literature. (Bassnet 3)

In addition to this, Henry Remark tried to define Comparative Literature by way of stating that it is the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country, And the study of the relationship between literature on the one hand, and other areas of knowledge and belief, such as the (e.g. painting, sculpture, architecture, music), philosophy, history, the social sciences (e.g. politics, economics, sociology), the sciences, religion, etc., on the other.

In brief, it is the comparison of one literature with other spheres of human expression. Moreover, Benedetto Croce discussed the definition of comparative literature as the exploration of ‘the vicissitudes, alteration, developments and reciprocal differences’ of themes and literary ideas across literatures, and concluded that ‘there is no study more arid than researchers of this sort’.

Sisir Kumar Das in his article “Why Comparative Indian Literature?” distinctly spells out the concerns and taboos that the corporatist should bear in Mind:

A corporatist is hardly in a position to exercise any aesthetic judgment in choosing the best works in all languages of the world. He is concerned

mainly with the relationships, the semblances and differences between national literatures; with their convergences and divergences. He has to work within a rigorous framework to avoid subjective predilections and personal preferences. But at the same time he wants to arrive at a certain general understanding of literary activities of man and to help create a universal poetics. (Das 114)

Thus, from the above definitions one can understand the meaning, nature and scope of comparative literature.

History of the African Americans

African Americans are the people of African descent who were brought to America as slaves. Earlier, they were also called as Negroes, later blacks and now the African Americans. Their history is a history of slavery, racism and their relentless struggle against the slavery and of course, their fight for civil rights so as to achieve the humanity.

The history of the blacks in America, as we know it, began with the first captives who were brought at Jamestown in 1619. In *I Too Am America: Documents from 1619 to the Present* Romerrio Patrica observes as:

They came, originally as indentured servants, filling the need for labor in the developing Virginia colony. Soon they were followed by more of their fellow Africans, all ostensibly brought here as servants. But most remaining under a modified form of slavery, In 1662 Maryland passed the laws that legally recognized the slavery that already had begun in many areas". (Patrica 3)

The slavery is not a new system. It existed in the ancient time and its existence could be observed in all parts of the world in direct or indirect form. This is a system created for the benefit of some groups of people who want to dominate and control over the other groups of humanity. Through the system of slavery some limited people want to rule over the other groups of humanity. In order to maintain their power, the dominant ideology and hegemony over the other groups of humanity. This particular system of slavery was sanctioned by the laws and also by some of the religious scriptures.

Similarly in America slavery emerged or was established after the arrival of the Africans on the shore of America. The cargo that brought the Negroes to America in Jamestown, Virginia were sold on the auction block by the whites. Since, they were sold on the auction block, they were commodified and their humanity was taken away from them. After their sale, the white man saw

towards Blacks as commodity. Once any group of humanity which considers the other group of humanity as commodity or things the process of the dehumanization of the sold group begins.

The Blacks in America lost their humanity. Once they lost their humanity, it resulted into loss of everything that was owned by them. The Blacks in America lost everything: they lost their culture, language, religion and motherland. The status of Blacks in America became equivalent to that of animals. One may say after studying their past that their position was worst than animals. In connection of the slavery, Newman and Sawyer observe:

What emerged in North America was unique kind of slavery, in which slaves were legally defined as chattel, a term related to the words cattle and capital: that is to say, the slaves were property not persons, and what the master owned was not merely the slaves' labour but his or her body as well. (Newman 12)

In addition to this, slavery was an all pervasive, all-encompassing system which robbed people of their humanity, destroyed their family and persona relationships, denied the retention of any identity creating African culture, and turned African Americans into the victims of one of the most oppressive and degrading system in history. A brilliant ex-slave, Fredric Douglass aptly called the slavery "the graveyard of the mind". After the imposition of slavery on the Blacks, their status in the American society was at lower order. The Blacks were placed at the lowest position in the social order. Not only this, the white society in America had put some restrictions on the Blacks, so that they would not escape from the bondage of slavery. One might think that that was the base of slavery, and of slavery, and of course the answer is simple: color or race. The Blacks slaves were not allowed to learn, read or write. The white masters deliberately kept them away from the knowledge because knowledge is power. In other words, if any one gets the knowledge, he or she would become powerful. Therefore, they kept away from the enlightenment. It is important to underscore that the chattel slavery system of North America came into existence by evolution. There was nothing natural or inherent or even historical about it. The restrictions and prohibitions of the colonial period were multiplied and intensified in the era of national slavery.

The blacks had to work on the plantation of their white masters throughout the day, from the sunrise to sunset. As August Meier and Elliott Rudwick says:

In the plantation of the New World, it supplied labour cultivating the table crops of sugar, cotton, and tobacco, indigo. The slave traffic was an important incentive to English industry, and to agriculture, fishing, and rum manufacture in the Northern colonies on the mainland. (Meier 37)

It is through the labour of the blacks, that America got its prosperity and wealth. In the slavery the blacks were forced to learn the language of their masters. They were forced to accept the religion of their masters. They lost their culture. They lost their own identity. Their family system was broken. The masters if wanted to sell the wife or the children of slaves, he sold them to anybody who would give more price. Meier and Rudwicck put in *From Plantation to Ghetto* as:

Slaves were expected to obey the sexual standards legally set for whites. Marriages were duly solemnized and legally recorded in the same manner as for whites, yet slave families were frequently broken up through sales and the settlement of wills. (Meier 45)

The blacks or the slaves could buy their freedom but for that they had pay the price and it was difficult for them to buy their freedom. However, everyone could not buy their freedom. The slavery was purely an economic institution. It was created with the intention of economic profit. Through this institution the blacks were exploited a lot. There was no way to escape from the bondage; the only way was to go to the God. However, the blacks were not allowed to go to the whites' churches. There was no equality for the blacks in racist America. From their inner prayer the spirituals were born. W.E.B. Du Bois call these spirituals as sorrow songs. He in his *The Souls of Blacks Folk* has written a chapter on these sorrow songs in which, he says that the eco of these songs in that the soul of the black slave spoke to men. Moreover, he observed about sorrow songs:

They are the music of an unhappy people, of the children of disappointment; they tell of death and suffering and unvoiced longing toward a truer world, of misty wanderings and hidden ways. (Du Bois 157)

It means that these spirituals reflect their inner feeling, their sorrows and sufferings. Du Bois called it "the slave's one articulate message to te world". Moreover, it is also true, that many of the songs had double meanings and were used by slaves to communicate secretly with one another, sometimes in the very presence of the whites. The blacks did not revolt against this

system of slavery till the year 1831. However, Nat Turner, a black man who was slave revolted against the slavery. His act of revolt was the first rebel in the history of the African Americans. Meier and Rudwick recorded in their book *From Plantation to Ghetto*.

“The most serious slave insurrection occurred at Southampton County, Virginia, in the summer of 1831, when Nat Turner, a thirty –one-year-old Baptist slave preacher, led a band of rebels who slew about sixty whites. In the years before the rebellion, the mystical Turner, viwing himself as a divine instrument to deliver the race from bondage, had innumerable visions, one of which he described in this way:

I saw white spirits and black sprits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened-the thunder rolled in the heavens, and blood flowed in streams... Later, he became certain that God had instructed him to arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons...it was my object to carry terror and devastation wherever we went. (Meeir 68)

However, some whites came forward to faith against this tyrannical system of slavery. They started the movement for freedom of the blacks and their constitutional rights. They wanted to abolish the slavery; therefore, they were called as abolitionist. They were progressive and radical. These abolitionists helped the slaves in running away to the North and Canada. As a result many slaves moved to the North through these secret routes.

The Undergrounded Railroad was the name given to series of secret routes from the South in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Jersey and northward from these states into New England and Canada. Moreover, Carlisle writes:

The most famous “conductor”, or guide, on these escape routes was the escaped slave Harriet Tubman, called “the mosses of her people”. She personally led over three hundred slaves to freedom through the system of night journeys and daytime hideouts in northern communities. (Carlise 96, 97)

Frederick Douglass, who was a slave later freed and worked for emancipation of the blacks, emerged as leader of the blacks and joined with abolitionists in the cause of blacks, Carlisle observed this as:

“A number of black leaders cooperated with the white abolitionists to bring their point of view before white audiences. Frederick Douglass was the most famous black leader in the period 1831-1865. Douglass was born as a slave in

Maryland, taught himself to read and write. While as a slave child, though denied access to books and schools, planned and carried off his own escape. (Carlise 94)

In a Fourth of July address in 1952 Douglass eloquently told his white audience what they did not want to hear-that the holiday was an empty celebration Frederick Douglass said:

What to the American slave is your Fourth July? I answer a day that reveals to him more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of trants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religions parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud and deception, impiety, and hypocrisy- a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation of the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of these United States. (qtd. in Carise 95)

The Civil War had taken place in America between the North and the South. The blacks were forced to participate in the Civil War. It was Frederick Douglass who made efforts for participation of the blacks in the Civil war. Meier and Rudeick stated:

For Negroes the Civil War was, from its beginnings, inextricably bound up with their future and their freedom. They saw it first of all as war for the emancipation of the slaves. Beyond this, they believed that the recognition of their rights as men and citizens was at stake. In addition to this, they further stated, "At the outset of the war back and white abolitionists raised two crucial issues: the emancipation of te slaves and the right of Negroes to bear arms in defense of the Union. The Free black men hoped that by fighting for the Union they would contribute to the liberation of the slaves. (Meier 135, 138)

Although white antislavery activists and others fought for the abolition of slavery, their attitude of looking towards Negroes was not fair one. Their attitude was primitive. They were of the opinion that blacks were of inferior race. They considered the blacks as inferior in comparison to the whites. In this regard Meir and Rudwick say, Lincoln's attitude toward Negroes was essentially a conservative one, reflecting the racial biases of the vast majority of American

whites. It is doubtful that Lincoln believed that the races were equally endowed; like Jefferson he thought it unlikely that Negroes and whites could live peacefully with equal rights in the same country. He had long been an admirer of colonisation. Moreover, from the necessity President Lincoln emancipated the blacks from the bondage of slavery. Lincoln issued an emancipation proclamation of January 1, 1863. In this regards Bain and Lewis says:

The institution of slavery in the Border States, as well as in the states in rebellion, created serious dilemmas for President Lincoln and Congress in the conduct of the war. The final proclamation of emancipation, issued by President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, left many fundamental issues unresolved. (Bain 322)

Though, slavery was abolished in 1863 by the law, the freedom which blacks got had meaning because this freedom was limited. This emancipation did not give them right of citizenship. The Negroes were free but they could not become the citizens of America. No arrangements of their livelihood were made. They only got freedom. This freedom was half freedom. The thing was that at that time, he was not slave. He would not be treated as property for selling and buying. The blacks did not get all the civil rights from the constitution. However, education was made available for them. Moreover, after their long struggle, they got citizenship right by the fourteenth amendment in the constitution. However, the blacks did not get right to vote. For voting right, they were asked to qualify the literacy test, in addition to this, a new legal Negroes from voting. It required payment of the tax in order to qualify for the ballot. Nearly, all the states of the South had passed many laws in order to keep the African Americans in economic and social slavery. Thus African Americans were kept away from the political rights. Though, they were free, the perspective towards them was not changed by the whites. They were forced to be slaves not only socially, economically or politically but mentally and psychologically.

Although, this particular period 1863-1896 is considered as a period of reconstruction, however, no reconstruction took place in the life of the African Americans. Their life was completely destroyed, their life became dual. This dual life was started in the year 1896. The Supreme Court of the United States of America in the case of Plessey Vs. Ferguson had given a verdict of 'Separate but equal'. It means that the black and the whites can live separately but there is nothing in equal in that. It was the law of the land that had given birth to a principle of separate

but equal. By this law, the blacks and the whites were segregated in the United States of America. Patricia Romero writes:

Homer Plessey was the man, and he symbolized a turning point in American Negro history. Protected on paper by the Fourteenth Amendment, blacks had not long enjoyed their constitutional privileges before new and more subtle means of segregation were found to limit their liberties. The shift in attitudes eventually found its way to the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1896, seven justice (with one not voting) upheld the Louisiana conviction of Plessey and further ruled that segregation could be practiced if the facilities were "separate but equal". The lone dissenter, Justice John Marshall Harlan, in a prophetic statement envisioned the trend that would follow this lawful separation of the races. (Patrica 322)

Harlan says,

Our constitutions colorblind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens in respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest I the peer of the most powerful (qtd.in Patrica 166)

The whites wanted to keep Negroes away from them and for that they were in need of law and that was given to them by the Supreme Court of United States of America. In this period they tortured the African Americans severally. This 'separate but equal' was practiced in American society up to 1954. For the growth of inequality, Southern States had passed many laws which were called as Jim Crow laws. The educational institutions of the whites were different from that of the blacks. In the railways and buses there was there was different siting arrangement for the blacks and the whites. The colonies of the whites and the balks were different. The blacks were not allowed to sit on the seat reserved for the whites. Even the African Americans were not allowed to have houses in the colonies of the whites. The separate colonies of the blacks were created in the slum areas of Northern cities. They were called Ghettoes. Similarly, in India separate arrangement for the living of the untouchables were made. That is called as 'Gavkusabaher' in Marathi and outskirts of the village in English. The whites excluded the blacks in the United States of America. Likewise in India, the upper castes excluded the Ex-untouchables. In order to pray the God the blacks were forced to build their own churches. The whites' churches and the black's churches were appeared that denotes separation.

Booker T. Washington was an African American leader, who was born a slave and educated later in difficult situation following Civil War. He established the Tuskegee Institute for the blacks in order to give them industrial and technical education so that the blacks could become economically strong. He emphasized on industrial education rather than social and political rights. He opposed and was against the civil rights movement. In speech entitled as “The Atlanta Exposition Address” he said the blacks:

“Cast down your bucket where you are” cast down in making friends in every many way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

(Washington 106)

It means that Booker T. Washington urged his black people to stay at the bottom and try to progress living at the bottom. The above statement indicates the compromising attitude of Booker T. Washington. He also supported the ‘separate but quail’ principle by saying:

In all things that are purely social “, he said, “We can be as separate as the fingers, yet [he called the fingers into a first] one as he hand in all things essential to mutual progress”. (qtd. in Bennet Jr. 228)

Another leader born in African American community was W.E.B.Du Bois. He was a radical leader of the blacks in America. He opposed and criticized the compromising attitude of Booker T. Washington. Du Bois stood for fighting for the civil rights. He emphasized more on the civil rights as he was a great sociologist, researcher and writer. He studied the Negro problem and analyzed it through his writing. He has written a book *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903 in which he writes “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line”. (Du Bois 9)

It means Du Bois was scientifically analyzing the Negro problem. Since, America followed racism, therefore, he wrote like this. He analyzed the Negro problem sociologically and psychologically. Du Bois has put his theory of Double Consciousness in *The Souls of Black Folk*. He wrote:

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Tauten and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort f seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second –sight in this American world,-a world which yield him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of

always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness-an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois 2)

Du Bois argues that the blacks have two souls one American, one African the blacks see toward themselves from the eyes of others. It means the blacks had no identity. Their identities had lost. Therefore, for the upliftment of the blacks Du Bois and others founded the Niagara movement in 1905. Through this movement, they raised the Negro problem. He put the concept of Pan Africanism. Through this movement the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People was formed in 1909. In this regard Patricia says,

In 1910, a permanent organization was formed as an outgrowth of the National Association for the the Advancement of coloured People; its object was to fight for equal rights and opportunities for all. (Patrica 183)

W.E.B. Du Bois was chosen to edit an official publication for the organization, which was called *The Crisis*. The magazine the Crisis became organ of the African of the African American movement. The magazine stood for the rights of men, irrespective of race, for the democracy. W.E.B. Du Bois fought throughout his life for the civil rights of the blacks. The .N.A.A.C.P. fought for the equality.

After this movement, the Harlem renaissance was the cultural movement of the African Americans. The Harlem is suburb of New York city where the black population is concentrated. In order to escape from lynching, torture and exploitation many African Americans concentrated in the region of Manhattan of New York called as Harlem. The African American got education and jobs in Harlem and they tried to express their experiences of slavery and racial discrimination through different. They created their own arts, literature, music and dance. Many African American writers published their autobiographies, poetry, novels and dramas during Harlem renaissance. Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Zora Neale Hurston, Jessie Faust, James Weldon Johnson and Georgia Douglass Johnson were the major literary figure of the Harlem renaissance. The period from 1915 to 1930 is considered as a period of Harlem renaissance. In this situation, another leader of the blacks, Marcus Garvey, started a movement. The movement started by Marcus Garvey was not for the civil rights but to create a separate and independent nation. It was

Garvey who created the Black Nationalism in the minds of the Negroes. It was Garvey who created the feelings about 'separate nation' in the Negroes. He founded Universal Negro Improvement Association, a Negro organization.

Richard Newman and Marcia Sawyer have observed Marcus Garvey and his movement:

Garvey and the UNIA were Africanist, prideful, nationalistic, militant, even separatist, and as their success testified, the spoke to a deep level of racial consciousness within the black community, a level obviously not addressed by the establishment and integrationist African American organizations and their leader. (Newman 211)

Moreover, Marcus Garvey said to his people: "Up you mighty race", "you can accomplish what will". (qtd. in Newman). In fact, Africa becomes the symbol of identity, freedom and pride for the Negroes. It is one of the metaphors in the life of blacks. Africa was a dreamland of the blacks. The number of blacks have participated in the Second World War and fought bravely. In this World War Germany was defeated. The defeat of Germany means defeat of racism and racial superiority. The African Americans feel that after the end of war, America would treat them equally and there would be no racism in America. However, above feelings of the African Americans did not come into existence. The dream of equality was shattered. The civil rights of the African Americans were neglected. Another thing happened in 1954 in the life of African Americans was the case of Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas which stood for the principle of 'Separate but Equal' which was ended by the Supreme Court of the United States of America. The principle of separate but equal was inherently unequal. It was illegal. Justice Earl Warren in his judgment stated "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal". (Newman 212). In addition to this, K. Sue Jewell in his article entitled "African Americans" in the *Encyclopedia of Civil Rights in America* has stated:

Despite the series of social, economic, political, and early twentieth century, African Americans continued to strive for civil rights in the United States. A major development in African American's efforts to affect social justice occurred in the Supreme Court decision in 1954 in Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. This decision by the Supreme Court not only marked an end to the Separate-but-Equal principle in education, but also served as the impetus for the Civil Rights movement. The Brown decision

inspired scores of legal challenges to social inequality and facilitated the mass protests that ensued throughout the 1950's and 1960's. (Jewell 28)

In this way, segregation has come an end by the law of the law of the land. The Black Muslim Muslim Movement was another movement of the blacks whose leader was Eliza Muhammad. This movement of the black Muslims has the legacy of Garveyism. The black Muslims were glorifying their race. The black nationalists feel the total give up of religion and culture of the whites. They did not consider themselves as Negroes. They threw away their surnames because they knew that they got them from their masters in the slavery era. They used 'X' in place of their family\ surnames. Malcolm X was another leader of the blacks who believed in Black Nationalism and nation of Islam. However, at the end of his life his thinking had changed and he moved away from the separatist and economic nationalist views of the Nation of Islam to a revolutionary form of pan-Africanism. He founded the organization of Afro-American Unity before his assassination. Larry M. Grant has observed Malcolm X in an article entitled "Black Nationalism":

Malcolm X personified Black Nationalism in the late 1950's and early 1960's. As leader of the separatist Nation of Islam (also known as the Black Muslims), Malcolm taught Black Nationalist concepts that reflected the cornerstones of racial pride, knowledge of black history, and political and economic self-determination. (Gant 116)

Another incident has had happened in the life of African Americans in 1955 in the month of December. A black lady Rosa Park who was tired sat on seat of the whites. As result she was asked to go to the other seat meant for the blacks. However, she refused to vacate the seat when asked by the whites. She was dragged down by the whites from the bus and Rosa Parks was arrested. The arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to vacate her seat resulted in Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. This bus boycott movement in Montgomery was transformed into the civil rights movement. The bus boycott in the capital of Alabama made Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. the key figure in the civil-rights movement. In this regard Charles H. Wesley in his *The Quest for Equality: From Civil War to Civil Rights* says that the Negro clergy hastily formed the Montgomery Improvement Association, with Dr. King its head. It called for a bus boycott which proved almost 100 percent effective in terms of Negro riders. The boycott introduced a new philosophy to counter the 'massive resistance' of the South. Dr. King, a disciple of Mohandas

Gandhi, called it ‘passive resistance’, led the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and also the civil rights movement. All the blacks protested against this incident. K. Sue Jewell says:

The Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956 was sparked by the refusal of black woman to relinquish her seat to a white man in a city bus. In 1960 black students in North Carolina launched the sit-in movement. Other forms of mass protest included nonviolent marches, such as the March on Washington led by Martin Luther King Jr in 1963 (Jewell 28)

Martin Luther King Jr. was a leader of the blacks who believed in the principle of non-violence. He led a march on Washington in 1963 for the civil rights of the Blacks. He addressed to the marches which became famous speech called ‘I have dream’. He has seen the dream of social, economic, political and cultural equality. He in his speech says:

I have dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal. (qtd. in Wesley 254)

1964, Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded Nobel Peace Prize. Patricia Romero has put his Nobel Prize acceptance as, Dr. King addresses:

I accept the Nobel Prize for peace at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the night of racial injustice. I accept his award in behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice. (Patrica 269)

Although, Dr. King had got Nobel Peace Prize, the blacks in America were fighting for the civil rights. As result, President Lyndon B. Johnson passed the bill of Civil Rights in 1968. At the same time, on the Western Coast of America, Stokely Carmichael emerged as a leader of the blacks through his black power movement. It was a movement of the African American in 1960s. The black power was against the integration. Michael F. Scully in an article entitled “Black Power Movement” in the *Encyclopedia of Civil Rights in America* says that phrase ‘black power’ entered the American Vocabulary in mid – 1966. At a rally on June 16 of that year, Stokely Carmichael, then chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), declared “We been saying freedom for six years and we aint’t got nothing. What we gonna start saying now is black power”. (Michael F. 120)

The black power advocated the African Americans to take control of their lives in social, economic, political and cultural aspect. Moreover, Michael F. Scully says that:

many activists, 'Negro' described a captive people filled with fear and self-loathing. They seized upon the term 'black' as one of their own choosing, appropriate for people who were proud of their race. (Michael F)

. In addition to this, Michael F. Scully says that in actuality, the Black Power movement was a significant phase in a black revolt against white domination. The Black Power movement sensitized many blacks to the political and economic nature of their oppression. It educated others to the need to establish an agenda for change that put the interests of Blacks in the forefront. Black Power's more strident voice helped enhance the bargaining position of moderate civil rights organizations. The Black Panther Party was militant African American organization founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby G. Seal in Northern California in 1966. Rodney P. Carlise observed:

In Oakland, California, in 1966 the soul students' advisory council, a student group at Merritt College led by Bobby Seal and Huey Newton, formed the Black Panther Party for Self-defense, combining in their name the symbol of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization and part of the name of the Deacons for defense and justice. (Calrise 244)

The black panthers were radical because they wanted revolution. They believed in the philosophy of Malcolm X, Frantz Fanon and communist leader Mao Zedong. The party changed from being local organization to a national organization when Eldridge Cleaver joined the party. The party started their own newspaper titled as 'The Black Panther' which was their voice. Carlise says, Cleaver viewed Newton's act of arming blacks as a revolutionary actin requiring great courage. He wrote:

It is merely criminal to take up arms against one's brother, but to step outside the vicious circle of the internalize violence of the oppressed and take up arms against the oppressor is to step outside of the life itself, to step outside the structure of this world, to enter, almost alone, the no-man's land of revolution. Huey P. Newton took that step. For the motto of the Black Panther Party he chose a quotation from Mao Tse-Tung's Little Red Book: ...We are advocates of the abolition of war; we do not want war; but war can

only be abolished through war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun. (Carlise 245)

There were always conflicts between the police and the panthers. Moreover, the panthers were victims of police brutalities. The Black Panther Party included the ten-point programme in their manifesto. The ten-point programme of the panthers had emphasized on the basic needs of the African Americans. They wanted freedom, employment, housing, education, and end to police brutality, freedom for all black men, land, bread, clothing, justice and peace. The stand of the Black Panther was clear; their aims represent resistance to white economic exploitation and right to self-determination. In short, the Black Panther Party was a party for self-defense of the African Americans.

As a result, one can say that history of the African Americans is nothing but a history of the struggle of the African Americans for freedom and civil rights. Their battle against social, economic, political and cultural inequality represents their history of freedom.

History of Dalits

Like the African American, Dalts or ex-untouchables is a group of humanity in India who were oppressed by the social slavery of Brahmanism. They were oppressed just because they were born in the lower castes. The position of ex-untouchables or Dalits was at the lowest level in caste bound Hindu society. The Hindu social order is based on the theory of Chaturvarna. The Chaturvarna consists of four classes of people such as, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudras. However, the Dalits had no place in the Chaturvarna. They were placed outside of the Chaturvarna. In Rigveda there is a hymn of the tenth mandala, which is also known as Purushukta that says about the Chaturvarna:

Brahmanosyo mukhmasid babu rajnya krut

Uru todsya yadvaishya padabhyama shaudro ajayat

(Purusha Suktam).

In English it means that the Brahmans were his mouth, the Kshatriyas became his arms, the Vaishyas were his thighs, and from his feet were born the Shudras. In this Chaturvarna system, the Brahmins being born from the mouth performed the function of priest enjoyed the top most position. While, the Kshatriyas being born from his arms performed their duties as warriors, the Vaishyas were born from the thighs, were traders who look after the trade and commerce and the

Shudras, who were born from feet, were at the lowest position and performed the menial work and served the upper three Varna people. This Varna system or Chaturvarna is a peculiar feature of the Hinduism. Once a person was born in a particular Varna, he/ she was forced to live in the same varna till his/ her death. A person was not allowed to change the varna. The Chaturvarna is a four floor building which do not have a ladder. The place of the Shudra in the Chaturvarna is at the lowest position. B.R. Ambedkar wrote a book *Who Were the Shudra* in which he says: "There was a time when the Aryan society had only three varnas and the Shudras belonged to the second or the Kshatriya Varna". (Ambedkar 7: 139) It means that earlier there only three varnas and Ambedkar says that the Shudras belonged to the Kshatriya Varna. But due to the continuous conflict between the Brahmins and the Shudras, the Brahmins degraded the Shudras from their second position to the fourth. Ambedkar says: "The technique employed by the Brahmins for this purpose was to refuse to perform the upanyana of the Shudras. I have no doubt that it is by this technique that the Brahmins accomplished their end and thereby wreaked vengeance upon the Shudras" (Ambedkar 7: 156)

The Brahmins refused to perform the upanaya of the Shudras. The refusal to perform the upnayana of the Shudras led to their social degradation in Hindu social order. For the persistence and support to the Chaturvara system, the Brahmins created the religious texts and scriptures, smritis and holy books and have given base of law to it. There are another group of people who were placed outside of the Chaturvana, there; they are called as Avarna or Ati-Shudras. The Avarna consists of the Untouchables, Aborigines and the criminal tribes. The Untouchable were a group of humanity in India who were not allowed to touch any human being. Their mere touch could pollute the other persons. They were prohibited from having access to knowledge and knowledge system. Their life was lower than the animals. They did not have any civil rights, as if they were the slaves. The Untouchables in India were deprived from the social, economic and political rights. The case of Untouchables was much similar or parallel to the African Americans of the U. S. A. The Untouchables were forced to live outside of the village till recent time. Ambedkar used the term 'Broken Men' for the Untouchables. He says: "To the question: Are the Untouchables in their origin only Broken Men, my answer is in the affirmative." (7: 278)

Moreover, Ambedkar says:

Difference in totems between Hindus and Untouchables would be the best evidence in support of the thesis that the Untouchables are Broken Men

belonging to a tribe different from the tribe comprising the village community. (7: 378)

The totems between Hindus and Untouchables were different. It means the tribes of Broken Men were Buddhist and the Brahmins hated them as a result the Broken Men also hated the Brahmins. However, the Brahmin stopped and banned eating of dead cow; But Broken Men continued to eat it. Therefore, the Brahmins had put the stigma of untouchability on the Broken Men. Ambedkar observed:

The Broken Men hated the Brahmins because the Brahmins were the enemies of Buddhism and the Brahmins imposed untouchability upon the Broken Men because they would not leave Buddhism...The new approach in the search for origin of untouchability has brought to the surface two source of the of the origin of untouchability: one is the general atmosphere of scorn and contempt spread by the Brahmins against those who were Buddhists and the second is the habit of beef eating kept on by the Broken Men. (7: 339)

According to Ambedkar there are two roots of untouchability. He says:

The reason why Broken Men only became Untouchables was because in addition to being Buddhists they retained their habit of beef-eating which gave additional ground or offence to the Brahmins to carry their new found love and reverence to the cow to its logical conclusion. We may therefore conclude that the Broken Men were exposed to scorn and contempt on the ground that they were Buddhists and the main cause of their Untouchability was beef-eating. (7: 320)

Ambedkar is the view that the birth of untouchability took place in the 4th century. In this regard he says:

We can, therefore, say with some confidence that untouchability was born some time about 400 A.D. It is born out of the struggle for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahmanism which has so completely moulded the history of India and the study of which is so woefully neglected by students of Indian history. (7: 379)

One can say that the Shudras and Ati-Shudras were the slaves of upper three varna in one way or the other. It is ideology of Brahminism that made them the slaves and put the social, economic, political, cultural and educational restriction on the Sudras and the Ati-Shudras.

Braj Ranjan Mani in his book *Debrahmanising History* observed: “Brahmanism uses the ideology of caste as a crucial instrument to dehumanize, divide and dominate the productive majority”. (Mani 15) Ambedkar in his paper *Caste in India: Their Mechanism Genesis and Development* defines Caste, According to him caste is an enclosed class and due to the superposition of endogamy on exogamy created the caste. He further says:

Endogamy or the closed-door system, was a fashion in the Hindu society, and as it had originated from the Brahmin caste it was whole-heartedly imitated by all the non- Brahmin sub-divisions or classes, who in their turn, became endogamous castes. It is “The infection of imitation” that caught all these subdivisions on their onward march of differentiation and has turned them into castes. (Ambedkar 1: 18)

The Varna system and the caste system in India were created by the Arya-Brahmins in order to maintain their superiority and supremacy to rule over the Dalits (ex-untouchables). The Chaturvarna or the caste system is a powerful ideology of the Brahmins against the powerless masses. Although, the Varna system the caste system is a powerful ideology of the Brahmins in ancient time there was an attempt of resistance against the Chaturvarna system and preached the egalitarian ideology? He challenged Brahminism and the Caste system. Braj Ranjan Mani Says:

The shramans rejected the scriptural and Brahmanic authority, *karmakanda*, and *varnashrama dharma*. Most importantly, they stood against the brahmanical scheme of disenfranchising masses from their human and property rights. (Mani 73)

Basically shramans were against the *varnashrama dharam*¹ they did not believe in scriptures, *karmakanda*⁴⁵ or Varna system. Shramans opposed the unequal Chaturvarna order and the Brahmanism. Further, Mani mentioned: “A parallel movement ranged against the vedic-brahmanic tradition of domination and discrimination can be traced from, the time of Buddha and Mahavir in the sixth century B. C.” (Mani 85)

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1. The religion based on grad division of the Hindu body into four Varna and the four stages of the Brahman.
 2. The rites and observances collectively obligatory on Brahmins

Moreover, Kancha Ilaiah comments that since Brahmanism was constructing a religious structure and process that would make the common people serve brahmanical interests by supporting *Brahman hitay, Brahman sukhaya* (Welfare of Brahman), the Buddha reframed the whole spiritual and material process to embody a new world view: *Bahujan hitaya, bahujan sukhaya* (Welfare of all People). By negating Brahmanism he shifted the emphasis from hierarchy to the masses. After a strong revolt of Buddhism against Brahmanism, emerged another movement called the Bhakti movement. This movement consists of the saints who opposed inequality and challenged the Brahmanism but there were some exceptions to this, who only devoted to the God and believed in scriptures. However, the saints under the Bhakti movement preached equality but within the system. But, this movement played a significant role in the Indian history. Braj Ranjan Mani says:

The top leaders who shared striking similarity on this count included outcaste Brahman Basva, the leather-worker Haralayya and the protofeminist Akka Mahadevi (Karnataka); the tailor Namdeo, the village servant Chokhamela, the gofer Tukram, the vegetable grower Savata Mali (Maharashtra); the weaver Kabir, the cobbler Ravidas, the cotton comber Dadu Dayal, the rebellious princes Mira, the Khatri Nanak, the potter Gora, the barber Sena (the north). Though the multifaceted, monotheistic, sometimes even agnostic Tamil sitters or siddhas like Tirumular, Sivavakkiyar and Pambatti Sittar who sang subversive songs did not belong to the established Bhakti stream, they shared their shared their anticaste radicalism with Kabir, Ravidas, and Tuka. (Mani 135, 136)

Kabir says:

It's a heavy confusion.

Veda, Koran, holiness, hell, woman, man,

A clay pot shot with air and sperm----

When the pot falls apart, what do you call it?

Namaskull! You've missed the point.

It's all one skin and bone, one piss and shit,

One blood, one meat.

From one drop, a universe

Who's Brahman? Who's Shudra? (Mani 146, 147)

Kabir believed in the reconstruction of society on equal principles and not a concurrence of different castes. He stood for annihilation of caste. Ravidas was another saint from North India, who was leather worker. He says:

Oh well-born of Banaras, I too am born well known:

My labour is with leather. But my heart can boast the Lord----

I, born among those who carry carrion in daily rounds around

Banaras am now the lowly one to whom the mighty Brahmins come

And lowly bow. (Mani 151)

Dadu Dayal is another saint who is from Rajasthan, is follower of Kabir. He believed in non-sectarianism. Dharmdas, Darya Sahib and Yari Sahib belong to Bihar, who preached castelessness. Guru Nanak is another saint who founded Sikhism. His religion is based on equality. He attacked the casteism, rites and rituals. Braj Ranjan Mani observed:

Not surprisingly, he [Nanak] discarded the brahmanical scriptures, incarnations, and idolatry, and despised the selfish priests who sold superstition and false hope to the gullible masses. (Mani 153)

Mirabai is another saint who belongs to Rajasthan, composed hymns in Hindi and wanted to become a disciple of Ravidas. Mira, who was princess, belonged to high caste decided to become disciple of Guru from Untouchables, Ravidas. Her act represents a revolt against the caste system and the patriarchal social order. Tirumular belongs to the land of Tamilnadu. Other than Tirumular there were other saints such as Triuvalluvar, who belonged to low-caste and Nandnar, who was Untouchable saint who faced the brahmanical tyranny. Sirvavakkiyar was another saint from Tamilnadu who challenges Brahmanism and priestly orthodoxy. He says:

The chanting of the four Vedas

The meticulous study of the sacred scripts,
The smearing of the holy ashes,
And the muttering of prayers,
Will not lead you to the Lord!
Let your heart melt within you.
And if you can be true to yourself
Then you will join the limitless light
And lead an endless life.
You dumb fools performing the rituals
With care and in leisureliness.
Do gods ever become stone?
What can I do but laugh?
Of what use are templets,
And of what use are sacred tanks?
Slavishly you gather to worship
In temples and tanks! ⁵¹

Pambatti Sittar was another saint from Tamilnadu who challenged the brahmanical ideology. The Virashaiva movement raised a voice under the leadership of Basava in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Basava, a Brahman by birth, had refused to undergo the upnayan ceremony hence, challenged Brahmanism and Brahman domination. He rejected the caste-system. The Varakari³ movement raised a voice against Brahmanism in Maharashtra from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. In Maharashtra, the saints from the lower castes struggled for equality and wanted the social justice.

3. A man that performs vari or a periodical pilgrim to sacred place

Namdev, a tailor by profession, is a saint from the land of Maharashtra. He in one of his *abhangas* says:

When I entered the temple,
They all went mad after me:

Shouting ‘Shudra! Shudra!’ they beat me and threw me out:

What shall I do, o my father Vitthala?

If you grant me salvation after death,

Was it not a blow at your Honour?

You are known as the Merciful, the compassionate one,

All-powerful is your arm!

Then the temple itself turned round towards Nam

And turned its back on the Brahmins! (Mani 159)

Namdev rejected the traditional religion, rituals and rites. It was Namdev who is pioneer of Varkari movement. Janabai, Gora Kumbhar, Narhari Sonar, Jogo Paramananda, Savata Mali, Banka Mahar and Chokhamela were supporters. Chokhamela was a saint from the untouchable community Mahar. He was friend and contemporary of Namdev. He composed the abhangas, which are devotional in nature but at the same time subversive and express protest against oppression. He was less rebellious in comparison to Kabir and Ravidas. He says

O Vithu! Now run to my help! Hurry up!

The Badves (priests) are beating me (saying)

What crimes have you committed?

That garland of Vithoba how has it come to your neck?

They abuse me, crying:

The Mahar has polluted God! (Mani 175)

Tukaram is another saint who was born as grocer maltreated by the Brahmans for his rebellious social thinking. He rejected the caste culture and hence, challenged the Brahmanism strongly. He says:

I am ashamed of calling myself your servant,

You are cruel and callous

You allow your children to cry with hunger. (Mani 179)

Braj Ranjan Mani observed the Varkari³ movement as:

However, the Maharashtrian saint poets could not develop a consistent radical critique of Brahmanism like their counterparts in the north and south because some of their fellow-travellers-Gyneshwar and Eknath, for instance, who came from Brahman families-found it difficult to disown their scriptures. (Mani 181)

In this way, the Bhakti movement raised a voice against injustice and inequality but within the given situation and system. The Mahars who were Unouchables and their situation was worsened during the Peshwa regime in Maharashtra. The Unouchables were not allowed to walk on the streets. They were forced to carry the brooms for erasing their footsteps and were forced tie a pot to their neck for spitting. Hence, the Mahars of Maharashtra decided to fight against the Peshwa regime. The Mahars are the martial people; this could be seen in their past military records but due to the stigma of untouchability their status was degraded. Elenor Zelliott has recorded about the battle of Bhima Koregaon:

But it is from the records of their service in the armies of the British that the The Mahars draw the contention that they are a martial race. A military monument at Koregaon near Pune serves as a focal point in the legend of Mahar heroism, and a number of Mahar gatherings have been held at its foot. The Koregaon pillar commemorates the soldiers of the British Army who fell during an 1818 battle with the Peshwa's forces. Of the 49 names of the 2nd / 1st regiment recorded there, twenty-two are Mahar, or Parwari, as army Mahars were known then (identifiable by the nak ending of the names, a designation used for Mahars into the early years of this century), sixteen are Maratha, eight Rajput and other Hindu, two Muslim and one probably Indian Jewish. (Zelliott 89, 90)

Mahatma Jotirao Phule made the Shudras and the Atishudras aware of their alavery. It was he awakened the consciousness among the Shudras and Atishudras. He said that knowledge is power much before Faucault. He says:

Vidyevina mati geli

Mativina niti geli

Nitivina gati geli

Gativina vita gele Vittvina Shudra Khachale

Yevdh anarth keval eka avidene kele. (qtd. in Phadke 253)

In English it means for want of education, intellect was lost; for want of intellect, morality was lost; for want of morality, dynamism was lost; for want of dynamism, wealth was lost; for want of wealth the Shudras were degraded (demoralized)-want of education (being uneducated) has caused all these disasters! It means that it was only because of lack of education that Shudras and the Atishudras were degraded. The Shudras and Atishudras were deliberately kept away from education, knowledge and knowledge system. Mahatma Phule strongly critiqued the brahmanical philosophy through his life. He exposed the priestcraft. His writing and activism stood against the Brahmanism. He kept open his own water tank for the Untouchables in 1868. He published a book *Slavery* in 1873 and dedicated this book to the good people of the United States as a token of admiration for their sublime, disinterested and self-sacrificing devotion in the cause abolition of Negro slavery. He linked the parallel case of the untouchables of India with slaves of America. He formed the *Satya Shodhak Samaj* (Society of Seekers of Truth) on 24 September 1873. He wanted to liberate the *Shudras* and *Atishudras* from the clutches of slavery of the Brahmins. His book *Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Pustak* was published in 1891. He worked throughout his life for the cause of the downtrodden people and envisioned a society based on liberty, equality, justice and fraternity.

In south India it was Periyar Ramaswami Naicker and Narayan Guru who stood against Brahmanic ideology and hegemony. Narayana Guru believed in one caste, one religion and one God for man. Braj Ranjan Mani has observed about Periyar Ramaswami Naicker:

The Self-Respect League that he formed in 1926 bore a striking similarity-in

its objectives-to that of Phule's Satyashodhak Samaj, calling for the annihilation of caste, opposing brahmanical hegemony, and championing the liberation of subjugated classes and women. (Mani 320)

In Maharashtra after Mahatma Phule, it was Gopal Baba Walangkar, born in Mahar caste, an Untouchable, who worked for the upliftment of the Untouchables. He founded Anarya Doshpariharak Mandali in 1890 in order to do active social work. It was the first attempt by an Untouchable for organizing the excluded society in India. He wrote a small book *Vital Vidhavanasan* in 1888. Apart from this, he wrote about the problems of Untouchables in the *Dinbandhu* and *Sudhark*. In 1894, Gopal Baba Walangkar, a Konkani military man, drew up a petition in Marathi requesting the British rulers to re-allowing the entry of Untouchables into army ranks, but secured little support from his less audacious caste fellows. The petition was never translated into English or presented to the British, but it serves as document for Mahar attitudes of the time. Sent from the Anarya Doshpariharak Mandali at Dapoli, the petition speaks for the *parwari* (Mahar), *Mochi* (Chambhar) and *Mang* people who have served loyally in the past in both the army and domestic services. It makes the claim that the Untouchables were former *Kshatriyas*, demoted by the Peshwa at the time of Mahadurgadevi famine in 1676 for eating whatever they could find to save their lives. In this way Gopal Baba Walangkar fought against the untouchability.

Shivaram Janaba Kamble another leader from Mahar community was butler in army who also worked for the betterment of the Untouchables. EleanZelliot in her book says:

Shivram Janaba Kamble, organizer of most of the petitions, conferences, night schools, temple and hostel entry movements in the Pune area from 1903 to 1930, was a butler in the Masonic Hall in the Pune Cantonment. (Zelliot 36)

Zelliot further states:

The Mahars of Pune, a large army camp centre, found themselves better organized with a spokesman, Shivanan Janaba Kamble, who was eloquent in English. Ten years after Walangkar's efforts, a memorandum was sent to the Governor of Bombay on behalf of fifteen hundred Mahars in the Deccan (the *Desh* area) and Konkan. The reply from the Poona Collector's office indicated that he could do nothing about their requests: admission to the lower

grades of public service, removal of restrictions in public schools, permission to join the police and the Indian Army. A longer and more sophisticated document was sent in 1910 by the conference of Deccan Mahars, with Subhedar (Captain) Bahadur Ganaram Krishnajeel as president and the same Shivaram Janba Kamble as secretary to the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of state for India, asking for employment in the lowest grades of the public service, in the ranks of police sepoys and of soldiers in the Indian Army. (Zelliot 36)

He founded “Shri Shankar Parsadik Somvanshiya Hitchhitntak Mitra Samaj” on August 1904. He started a newspaper *Somvanshiya Mitra* in 1908.

According to Gangadhar Pantawane, Kisan Fagoji Bansode was another leader who worked for the upliftment of the Untouchables. He founded ‘Chokhamela Girls School’ in 1907. He also led *Tarun Mahar Sangh*. However, in this context against the conversion, Eleanor Zelliot in her book *From Untouchable to Dalits: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement* writes:

Kisan Fagoji Bansode of the Nagpur area and G. A. Gawai of Amravati, both important Mahar social reformers and spokesmen for increased participation in a higher form of Hinduism, joined the Prarthana Samaj in 1910. (Zelliot 94)

Zelliot says further:

Kisan Fagoji Bansode, 1879-1946, a labor leader, newspaper editor, social worker and a poet of the Nagpur area, persisted with the approach of the Mahar claim to religious worth. Bansode went almost all the way with Ambedkar in social and political matters, but retained the belief that progress could be made within Hinduism. (Zelliot 95)

In this way the leaders like Gopal Baba Walangkar, Shivram Janba Kamble, Kisan Fhgoji Bansode and G.A Gawai worked for the Untouchables in the pre-Ambedkar era. However, their strategies and thoughts and techniques were different. Some wanted progress within Hinduism and some were for conversion. Notwithstanding, all of them wanted abolition of untouchability and equal rights like the other Hindus. After these leaders, Ambedkar who was born in an untouchable community of Mahar led the movement of untouchables. In true sense it is because of him that the Untouchables got their freedom. He was educated in America and England and earned the degrees of M.A., PhD. M. Sc., D.Sc. Bar-at-Law. He was the first man from the Untouchables who was highly educated. After completing his education, he returned to

India and started the movement for the progress and development of the Untouchables. He Founded the *Bashiskrit Hitkarini Sabha* in 1924. Through the medium of this organization, he organized the Untouchables. The natural resource like water was not available to the Untouchables from the public ponds, lakes and wells. Therefore, he launched the Satagraha at Mahad for water in 1927. The water was easily available to animals such as cats, dogs, cows and buffaloes but the untouchables were not allowed to touch and have it. Ambedkar says:

It is not as if drinking the water of the Chavadar Lake will make us immortal. We have survived well enough all these days without drinking it. We are not going to the Chavadar Lake merely to drink its water. We are going to the Lake to assert that we too are human being like others. It must be clear that this meeting has been called to set up the norm of equqlity. (qtd. in Dangle 259)

Ambedkar himself compared the Mahad Satyagraha of 1927 with the French revolution of 1789. He says:

I feel that no parallel to it can be found in the history of India. If we seek for another meeting n the past to equal this, we shall have to go to the history of France on the continent of Eurpe. A hundred and thirty-eight years ago, on 24 January 1789, King Lois Xvi had convened, by royal command, an assembly of depties to represent the people of the kingdom. This French National Assembly has been much vilified by historians. The Assembly sent the King and Queen of France to the guillotine; persecuted and massacred the aristocrats; and drove their survivors into exile. (qtd. in Dangle 259, 260)

In addition to this, Ambedkar further says:

The thing to bear in mind is there is a great similarity between the French National Assembly that met on 5 May 1789 at Versailles and our meeting today. The similarity is not only in the circumstances in which the two meetings took place but also in their ideals. (qtd. in Dangle 260)

In this way Ambedkar compared the Mahad Satyagraha with French revolution. We can say that an attempt made by Amedkar for drinking the water of Chavadar Lake was the beginning of social revolution. The Hindu *dharmasharstas*, religious books supported and stood for the practice of untouchability; therefore, Ambedkar burnt the *Manusmriti* Publicly and ceremoniously on 25 Decembr 1927 at Mahad. The burning of *Mnusmriti* was the symbolic act

by Ambedkar. He went on the *Satyagraha at Kalaram* at temple, Nashik. The act temple entry *Satyagraha at Kalaram* at Kalaram temple was not for the worship of Rama but to assert equal rights like any other caste Hindus. Ultimately he felt that reformation within Hindu society was impossible. Because, the caste-Hindus were not in a position to treat the Untouchables as human beings and they were not ready to give the equal status and rights to the Untouchables. As a result, he announced to convert himself into the other religion and to leave the Hinduism at Yeola conference in 1935. Dhananjay Keer in a biography of Dr. Ambedkar writes:

Ambedkar said that unfortunately for him he was born a Hindu Untouchable. It was beyond his power and control to prevent that, but he declared that it was within his power to refuse to live under ignore and humiliating conditions, "I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu", he thundered. (Keer 253)

Ambedkar was concentrating more on political right for the Untouchables. In the Round Table Conferences at London, he demanded the separate electorates for the Untouchables. He also confronted and fought against Mahatma Gandhi for the separate electorates in the Round Table Conferences. The British government approved the demand of separate electrodes of Amedkar. However, Mahatma Gandhi went on indefinite hunger strike at the Yervada prison, Pune, later Amedkar signed the pact with Mahatma Gandhi which came to be known as Poona Pact which disenfranchised the Untouchable permanently. Ambedkar was in need of a political organization of the Untouchables. Hence, he formed the 'Independent Labour Party' in 1936. He formed 'All India Scheduled Caste Federation' in 1942, a political in order to back up the demand of the separate electorates. He knew that education is the solution for the problems of the Untouchables. Therefore, for the upliftment of the Untouchables, he established the People's Education Society in 1945 at Mumbai, and started the Siddharth College at Mumbai and Milind College at Aurangabad. Knowledge is power; the one who has knowledge can command power. It was Ambedkar who gave the slogan educate, organize and agitate. It was under the chairmanship prepared. He presented the constitution to the nation on 26 November 1949. He is the chief architect of the Indian constitution. He made the provisions in the constitution for the development of the Schedeled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. He work in the making of India's constitution in the constituent Assembly was remarkable. He finally converted himself to Buddhism on 14th October 1956 at Nagpur. He was the first law minister of

Independent India in Nehru's cabinet. He died on 6th December 1956. He worked through his life for the upliftment of the Untouchables and emancipation of them. He is the messiah of the downtrodden communities of India. After the death of Ambedkar, Dadasaheb Gaikwad led the movement of Dalits. The Republican Party of India was founded on 3rd October 1957 at Nagpur by the followers of Babasaheb Ambedkar but due to groupism in Republican Party of India, it split into many small groups. It was the downfall of the Dalits movement after the death of its leader. However, in the decade of 70s Dalit youths founded a radical organization called Dalit Panther. This movement of Dalit Panthers was led by Namdev Dhasal, Raja Dhale, J.V. Pawar and Arjun Dangle. In post-Ambedkar era, the Dalit Panthers was the most significant organization of Dalits.

This movement of Dalit Panthers took inspiration from the Black Panthers Party of America. The Black Panthers Party was an organisation of the blacks for the self-defence. Dalit youths, Namdeo Dhasal, J.V. Pawar and Raja Dhale modeled it on the Black Panthers Party. (Dhasal 260)

The programme of Dalit Panthers was to establish the political power of Dalits and the labourers to create a casteless and classless society. The panthers concentrated their attention on the burning problems of the Dalits such as food, water, clothes, shelter, employment, land, untouchability and social and physical injustice. They projected their 18 point programme through this organisation. The Panther Raja Dhale wrote an article in *Sadhana* entitled *Kala Swatantrya Din* (Black Independence Day), in which he criticized the policy of the government regarding the Dalits. After a few years, Dalit Panthers split due to the leadership crisis and on the issue of Ambedkarism or Marxism. A well-known thinker Gopal Guru analysed the reasons of defeat of the Dalit Panthers. Guru says:

The main reason behind the defeat of Dalit Panthers is the lack of ideological role. Due to this, Panthers could not organize the Dalit on the basis of the class. They did not decide the first preference either to economic or cultural issues. Therefore, due to these ambiguous ideological positions, Panthers were unable to do anything in order to organize the Dalits on the class base. (Guru 72)

Further, he says:

There was the difference in thought and action of Dalit Panthers. They have given priority to cultural issues and neglected the economic issues. (Guru 72, 73)

The Dalit Panthers movement mobilized the Dalit masses but they were unable to organize them on the basis of the class. The Dalit Panthers also fought for the renaming of the Marathwada University after Ambedkar. The Panthers fought almost 17 years for the renaming of the university after Ambedkar. This was an emotional issue and they concentrated on the renamed. On 14th January 1994, Marathwada University was renamed as Dr. Ambedkar Marathwada University. The demand of Panthers was a betrayal 'Namantar' (to change the name) but the government of Maharashtra went for the 'Namvistar' (Extension of name). This was a betrayal for Ambedkarites by the so called progressive government of Maharashtra. In this way Dalit Panthers struggled for the social justice. This is the only organization in the history of India which was born from the movement of the Dalit writers and Dalit literature. It is a significant event that the movement of Dalit literature has given birth to the Dalit Panthers.

Hence, we can say that Dalit movement in India in general and in Maharashtra in particular worked for the betterment of Dalit society. Their efforts to bring a total revolution are significant. Dalit movement is a democratic movement which wants to reconstruct the society on the basis of liberty, equality, justice and fraternity. Therefore, the history of Dalit movement is nothing but a history of the struggle for human rights.

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Chapter 1

Race and Caste

The relationship between race and caste is firmly established in the opinions many scholars, thinker, philosopher and activists today. The ‘racial caste’ or ‘color-caste’ became frequent expressions in use. Both legislative bodies and courts in the US, UK and South Asia are facing pressure to acknowledge “caste discrimination” and “racial discrimination” as kin to base on caste and race. This line of thought linking race and caste has been developed especially by scholars from the United States and India over many decades. Typically, these authors compared past and present racial discrimination in the United States with the caste discrimination in India.

National human Genome Institute defines race as:

Race is a social construct used to group people. Race was constructed as a hierarchal human-grouping system, generating racial classifications to identify, distinguish and marginalize some groups across nations, regions and the world. Race divides human populations into groups often based on physical appearance, social factors and cultural backgrounds. (National human Genome Institute)

As a researcher, W. E. B. Du Bois presented a paper at the American Negro Academy entitled “*The Conservation of Races*.” In his paper he asserted that:

The American Negro has always felt an intense personal interest in discussions as to the origins and destinies of races: primarily because back of most discussions of race with which he is familiar, have lurked certain assumptions as to his natural abilities, as to his political, intellectual and moral status, which he felt were wrong. He has, consequently, been led to deprecate and minimize race distinctions, to believe intensely that out of one blood God created all nations, and to speak of human brotherhood as though it were the possibility of an already dawning to-morrow. (Du Bois, the Conservation of Races)

Du Bois explain the theory of social change. He proposed the following definition of race:

It is a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life. (qtd. in Bloom 121)

By some Du Bois was viewed as a black leader who was justifying the white system of racism by placing the blame for black failures on the on the shoulders of those black who were in oppressive situations. However, this was not the case. Du Bois presented a powerful argument against institutional racism. Du Bois said that by discouraging blacks from entering certain trades and labor unions, and through segregations and political and social oppression, white unions, and through segregation and political and social oppression, white society condemned all African American behind a wall of social justice. Du Bois joined the faculty of Atlanta University in 1897 as a professor of history an economics. In *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois* he wrote:

I was going to study the facts , any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight , and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalization which I could . I entered this primarily with utilitarian object of reform and uplift; but nevertheless, I wanted to do the work with scientific accuracy. Thus, in my own sociology, because of firm belief in a changing racial group, I easily grasped the idea of a changing developing society rather than a fixed social structure. (Du Bois 206)

While en route to Atlanta University in July and August of 1897, Du Bois collected data in Farmville, Virginia, a town he selected because many blacks in his Philadelphia study were from this area. Again, much like the Philadelphia study, Du Bois noted irregular employment opportunities as problematic.

Du Bois asserts that blacks in the United States are unable to simply be Americans; they are daily bombarded with information that reminds them of their status in society. While European Americans are rarely reminded that they are white, black Americans were unable to function in society without having to address issues of racism and prejudice. Segregation, lynching, and general injustice were constant reminders that to be black was not be an American in the sense that blacks could not participate in the benefits of society at the same level as whites.

Du Bois' work *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) contained more of his powerful statements concerning the state of race relations in the United States and his perspectives on the effects of racism. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois again address the problems of institutionalized racism. By referring to institutionalized as veil that made black virtually invisible to whites, and kept blacks from attaining a clear view of their own circumstances, Du Bois provided the reader with imagery that represented the situation in which blacks found themselves in the United States. In *The Souls of Blacks Folk* Du Bois wrote:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois 2)

Further, Du Bois suggested that racism grow from the exploitation of people and that exploitation affects all parties involved both the exploiter and the exploited. Because of his knowledge of history, Du Bois could point out the fact race as mean of categorizing people only gained wide acceptance after the onset of slavery in the New World. Races were then assigned certain psychological and physical characteristics that had little to do with the individual members of racial group. The need to make a distinction between people of different races grows from two sources; the first, when a group of people is increasingly identified solely through the marks of their oppression; when there was contrast between Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, appeared radical. As Washington gained popularity, he spoke of black taking up their financial system and working within the segregated society in which they lived to achieve their financial goals. Du Bois was willing, at first, to be an advocate for Washington; however, as time progressed, Du Bois became less satisfied with Washington's perspective, While Washington urged the creation of black society and not making demands on white society, Du Bois pushes for 'perfect equality before the law's for black. In W. E. B. *Du Bois and the Evolution of 'Race'* Stephanie J. Shaw observes:

Du Bois's paper seems designed to begin redirecting the conversation, first, away from one that was defined by notions of "one blood," which in this case means monogenism and biology, and, second, one increasingly focused on race relations. Du Bois's intent, it seems, was to move the attention to the idea of "race" itself. (Shaw online library)

Du Bois studied inner-city life in Philadelphia and published the result in 1899, *The Philadelphia Negro*. In that study, Du Bois observed that: "The city was a social environment of excuse, listless despair, careless indulgence, and lack of inspiration to work" (qtd. in Horne 178) Du Bois noted that the inner city functioned as social entity for economic and social subordination. He also noted that blacks were receiving lower wages than usual or less desirable work and, because of that work and wages, were forced to live. Du Bois often refer Race and

caste in one category. In his speech given to The Twentieth Century Club entitled “*Caste in America*” he said:

The excuse of caste is the first instance is always the short deficiency of other people but since even the high born are fallible and low born are capable of improvement, the result of caste system is in the long run simply to enthrone over the destinies of the nation that particular form of immorality prevalent among the ruling classes of land. (Du Bois Amherst Libraries)

Early in his fight against racism, Du Bois envisioned democracy within the system of American capitalism; Du Bois envisioned democracy within the system of American capitalism as a way to end oppression of blacks and racism. He said that the “the power of Ballot” was an important tool,. And striving to preserve the democratic rights of African Americans was crucial. Later in life, Du Bois believed socialism would better tool for achieving equality, and ending racism, than democracy. In *A Biography of W.E. B. Du Bois* David Levering Lewis wrote:

Du Bois had done his best to prepare the race not only for the political realities governing FDR but also for the grim consequences of the descent of people of color in to pariah caste, category all but ostracized from the contract. (Levis 566)

At the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) stated that Every leading land on earth is moving toward some form of socialism , so as to restrict the power of wealth , introduce democratic methods on industry, and stop the persistence of poverty, ignorance, disease, and crime. His perspective on the value of socialism grew in part from distaste for class. He referred to these “most intelligent members” of black society as ‘the Talented Tenth’. As time passed , he became aware that the Talented Tenth were separating themselves from the working classes , and instead of providing leadership , they were taking part in capitalistic society, sometimes to the point of exploiting other blacks. Du Bois saw these class divisions in the black community as threat to unity, and as such , it would also be a threat to social reform., his belief in cultural pluralism. .

Du Bois was one of America’s most outspoken intellectual leaders from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. His belief in cultural purism and his dedication to ending racism and oppression transcended color and country. Through his many writings, Du Bois managed to generate discussion at the highest levels of government. Du Bois left behind a legacy of critical

inquiry into the problem of race and racism that continues to provide clarification of the situation of blacks and white in United States.

As like Du Bois Jotirao Phuley, the pioneer of socio-political renaissance in modern India, first recounts the problems of African American and Dalits of India. In 'introduction' of Slavery he wrote:

The shudras and atishudras will really appreciate this more than anyone else as they have a direct experience of slavery as compared the others who have never experienced it so. Only slave can understand what it is to be a slave and what joy it is to be delivered from the chains of slavery. Now the only difference between them and slaves in America is that whereas the blacks were captured and enslaved by Bhats and brahamans. Except for this difference, all the others conditions in which they lived were the same. There is simply not an iota of difference between them. All the calamities suffered by blacks were endured by the shudras and the atishudras who probably suffered more but not less at the hands of brahamans. The tales of their suffering would not only cause the hardest hearts to shed tears but would also dissolve the hardest layer of rocks on the earth and release streams of tears from within which would drown the whole world. (Phule vi)

Here, Phuley used the term 'atishudras' for 'untouchable'. In India there were hierarchy of Varnas, later it became caste system.

Hierarchy of Varnas:

Brahmins: Vedic scholar, priest or teacher



Kshatriyas: Rulers, administration or warriors



Vaishyas: merchants



Shudras: Agriculturalists, farmer



Atishudras: Artisans, laborers or servant

It is interesting that Brhamins considered themselves *Bhudeva* (God of Earth), highest of other Varnas. Moreover, Kshatriyas considered themselves higher than Vasishas, Shudras and Atishudras, then Vaishyas considered themselves higher than Shudras and Atishudras., agin Atishudras have sub castes also. After some time Varna became caste, Atishudras became loest than lower and also became 'untouchable' (forbidden to the touch).

In *Class and Caste in Literature* J. Bheemaiah observers as:

The Spanish word "Casta" was applied to the mixed breed between European, Indians (Americans) and Negroes. But "caste" was not used in its Indian sense till the Seventh century . (Bheemaiah J. 40)

He quoted Sridhar Ketkar as:

The Indian used is the leading one now, and it has influenced all other uses. As the Indian idea of caste was but vaguely understood, this word was loosely applied to the hereditary classes of Europe resembling the castes of India who keep themselves socially distinct. (qtd. in Bheemaiaj J. 40))

Caste in India has been defined by M. N. Srinivas as hereditary, endogamous, usually localized group having a traditional association with an occupation, and particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relation between castes is governed by the concepts of pollution and purity and generally, maximum commensality occurs within the caste.

As like Du Bois and Phuley, Ambedkar also compare race with caste. On June 4, 1913, Ambedkar joined Columbia University as Gaekwad scholar; He was first Mahar to study in a foreign university. Before the Anthropology Seminar of Dr. Goldenweizer during Ambedkar stay at the Columbia University for the Doctoral studies Amedekar read a paper *Caste in India*.in 1913. Naturally he deals with the subject of Caste system from the Anthropological point of view. He observes that the population of India is mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Scythians. Ethrically all people are heterogeneous. According to him, it is the unity of culture that binds the people of Indian Peninsula from one end to the other. After evaluating the theories of various authorities on Caste, Ambedkar observes that the superimposition of endogamy over exogamy is the main cause of formation of caste groups. Amedkar has put the definition of caste by various scholars of caste such as Mr. Senart, Mr. Nesfield, Sir H. Risley and Dr. Ketakar, but

he has not satisfied with their definitions. He goes beyond and defines caste as: “The superimposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste”. (Ambedkar 1: 9)

He further recounted the relationship of Negroes and white, and American Indian. According to him the Negroes and the Whites and the various tribal groups that go by name of American Indians in the United States may be cited as more or less appropriate illustrations in support of this view. But we must not confuse matters, for in India the situation is different. As pointed out before, the peoples of India form a homogeneous whole. The various races of India occupying definite territories have more or less fused into one another and do possess cultural unity, which is the only criterion of a homogeneous population. Given this homogeneity as a basis, Caste becomes a problem altogether new in character and wholly absent in the situation constituted by the mere propinquity of endogamous social or tribal groups. Caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy.(Ambedkar 1: 8) Ambedkar observes:

Thus the conclusion is inevitable that Endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste, and if we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained, we shall practically have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of Caste...Thus the superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste. (Ambedkar 1: 8, 9)

To compare race with caste, there is hierarchy as characterization of race and caste. It is important to understand that several questions concerning hierarchy are involved in the comparison done so far, here only simplest one, stemming from empirical observations. If the races and castes are the same kind of social organization, how to explain the existence of thousands of *Jati's* in India, as against only two basic groups in the United States? The system of United States was dual, because it was system of the dominant ‘white race’ and subdued colored race. It was one system which made it very clear which race was the ruling one and there was no way the inferior race could move up the hierarchy. This cannot be said about thousands of *Jatis* in India at all, a fact recognized by researcher several decades ago. A study of social relations, as personal relations, necessitates, at the outset, a clear understanding of what is meant by ethnic groups and the meaning of race and racial conflicts. A historical review of race relations points to antagonism as having its genesis in modern times: it developed, and racial segregation was reinforced, with the discovery that the natives, ‘the colored peoples’, could

easily be economically exploited by the European especially with the growth of capitalism in Europe and America. The practice of slavery was racial exploitation at its crudest, with the slaves, without disguise, treated like animals. It is necessary to observe different aspects of the social status and family life of the slaves and the relation between the master and the slave: for instance, inter racial sex relations and the emergence in terms of his servitude. Modern race relations are concerned with economic and social status of whites and the black, their inter-marriage, their classification –into one group for the other-owing mixed blood, as well as the basic ideological problem of whites in altering their relationship with the black as reflected in the white liberalism trend of the post-1960s. Gerald Duane Berreman observes:

Caste is defined in such a way as to be useful cross-culturally. Comparison of race relations in the southern United States and relations between the untouchables and other castes in India demonstrates that the two systems closely similar in operation despite differences of content. Low-caste status in India, as in America, is actively resented. Research emphasis upon the realities of structure and process as revealed by cross-cultural studies of caste interaction is more likely to lead to useful generalizations about this kind of social stratification and intergroup relations than is the more conventional emphasis upon differences of cultural content. (Berreman 120, 127)

According to Ambedkar the untouchables were the broken men. The primitive society was mainly tribal. At a later stage they became settled as soon as they switched to agriculture as means of their livelihood. However, all the tribes did not settle simultaneously. Some were still nomadic while others settled down. The Broken men who were segregated from the village people must have been inclined to embrace Buddhism which was based on liberty, equality and fraternity. The village people who remained in the Hindu fold accepted supremacy of the latter and continued to prefer Buddhism. This caused strife between the two communities which ended in suppression of the Broken men and downfall of Buddhism in the later period. In *Slaves and Untouchable* Ambedkar wrote:

Slavery, it must be admitted, is not a free social order. But can untouchability be described as a free social order? The Hindus who came forward to defend untouchability no doubt claim that it is. They, however, forget that there are differences between untouchability and slavery which makes untouchability a worse type of an unfree social order. Slavery was never obligatory. But untouchability is obligatory. A person is permitted to hold another as his

slave. There is no compulsion on him if he does not want to. But an Untouchable has no option. Once he is born an Untouchable, he is subject to all the disabilities of an Untouchable. The law of slavery permitted emancipation. Once a slave is always a slave was not the fate of the slave. In untouchability there is no escape. Once an Untouchable is always an Untouchable. The other difference is that untouchability is an indirect and therefore the worst form of slavery. A deprivation of a man's freedom by an open and direct way is a preferable form of enslavement. It makes the slave conscious of his enslavement and to become conscious of slavery is the first and most important step in the battle for freedom. But if a man is deprived of his liberty indirectly he has no consciousness of his enslavement. Untouchability is an indirect form of slavery. (Ambedkar 5: 15)

According to Ambedkar, to begin with there was the law of servitude which applied to all servants whether they were Negroes or whites. In course of time a distinction came to be made in the treatment of the Negroes and white servants due to the fear of an alien and pagan people which as they became traditional and gained the sanction of custom, gradually modified the status of the African and transformed Negro servitude into Negro slavery. The slavery of the Negro in the American Colonies grew by the gradual addition of incidents modifying the law and custom of servitude. In this transition from servitude to slavery there are two principal steps. The first step in the transition was taken when the custom of holding Negroes "servants for life" was recognized. As has been observed, the distinguishing mark of the state of slavery is not the loss of liberty, political and civil but the perpetuity and absolute character of that loss, whether voluntary or involuntary in origin

Ambedkar, further said that it differs then from other forms of servitude limited in place or time, such as medieval vassalage, villeinage, modern serfdom, and technical servitude, in degree rather than in kind. The efforts of the planters to lengthen the terms of the service of their servants which failed with the white servants succeeded with the black. Public opinion supported the change because the blacks were regarded as dangerous if left uncontrolled. The second step by which Negro servitude was converted into Negro slavery was taken when the condition and status of the mother was extended to and continued in her offspring. The transmission from mother to child of the conditions of slavery for life grew naturally out of the fact that the master necessarily controlled the child, controlling the mother. It was evident that parents, under an obligation of life service, could make no valid provision for the support of their offspring and

that a just title to the service of the child might rest on the master's maintenance. In *Parallel Cases* Ambedkar argued:

This change which had undoubtedly been effected in custom long before it was formally sanctioned by law was recognized by statute in the different states of America between 1662 and 1741. (Ambedkar 5: 83, 84)

Comparing Slavery with untouchable, he went roots of slavery. He explain that how servant became slave. In *Parallel Cases* he wrote:

This is how the Negro who was originally only a servant became a slave. It is to be noted that slavery in Africa the home of the Negro is a native institution and is very ancient. The most common ways of becoming a slave were: (1) By being born a slave, (2) by being sold into slavery for debt, (3) by becoming a slave through capture in war and (4) by kidnapping individuals and selling them into slavery due to revenge or greed and gain. The Negro was really familiar with the slave system and tasted the pleasures of a slave owner. One therefore may not feel the same sympathy with the Negro when he was made to give up the status of a master and made to occupy the position of a slave. But looked at even as a case of retribution well deserved his condition as a slave in the New World to which he was transplanted, cannot fail to excite a righteous indignation for the miseries to which he was subjected by his new and alien masters. (Ambedkar 5: 84)

Ambedkar has given two example of metaphorical slavery in which he says that a wife is also a property of husband and husband has the complete power over wife so he may ill-treat her he may kill her he can exchange all and his wife for work so in this away wife can be seen as a slip of husband. Another example is that which is also in the sense of Serf and Ambedkar explain it that if Serf worked on fixed days performed fixed service paid fixed some to the lord and was fixed to the land therefore he was taken as a slave. Ambedkar using two words for the understanding of slavery that a slave is property, this property can used by Master the master has the complete claim over the property, the master get benefit out of the property and master cancel it and transfer it, by meaning of ownership this is that the master can sell out mortgage is without the consent of the slave. According to Ambedkar, a deprivation of a man's freedom by an open and direct way is a preferable form of enslavement. It makes the slave conscious of his enslavement and to become conscious of slavery is the first and most important step in the battle for freedom. But if a man is deprived of his liberty indirectly he has no consciousness of his

enslavement. Untouchability is an indirect form of slavery. Furthermore, Ambedkar explain to tell an Untouchable ‘you are free, you are a citizen, you have all the rights of a citizen’, and to tighten the rope in such a way as to leave him no opportunity to realize the ideal is a cruel deception. It is enslavement without making the Untouchables conscious of their enslavement. It is slavery though it is untouchability. It is real though it is indirect. It is enduring because it is unconscious. Of the two orders, untouchability is beyond doubt the worse. In “Slaves and Untouchable” Ambedkar wrote:

Neither slavery nor untouchability is a free social order. But if a distinction is to be made—and there is no doubt that there is distinction between the two—the test is whether education, virtue, happiness, culture, and wealth is possible within slavery or within untouchability. (Ambedkar 5:16)

Ambedkar also compares slavery with untouchability in following ways:

Slavery / Untouchability

- 1) Slave has been identified as a human in the legal field Untouchable are not even given as the status of human.
- 2) Slave was entitled for basic fundamental rights such as food, clothing, shelter and medical care untouchables were denied even drinking water from public natural resources.
- 3) Separate colonies were established for slaves, untouchables were denied access to residents and social interaction, and they have to live outside of villages.
- 4) The master took care of slaves as it was considered to the potential labor, the master did not take care of slaves as it was considerable to be potential labor, selves even allowed to enter in the village and were not forced to tie a broom backside to an print the foot step while walking and hang a are then put in the neck in case of spitting, untouchable was not even allowed to enter in the village and were forced to tie a broom backside to an print the foot step while walking and to hang are then put in the case of spitting.
- 5) Slavery is not based on the notion of purity and pollution in which untouchability is based on the notion of purity and pollution in which certain communities are polluted and they are not considered to be pure human beings therefore day night basic fundamental human rights such as food, clothing, water, and right to life were denied.

Ambedkar observes as:

But that is not the case with the Untouchables. They too are in a different sense an eternal people who are separate from the rest. But this separateness, their segregation is not the result of their wish. They are punished not because they do not want to mix. They are punished because they want to be one with the Hindus.(Ambedkar 5:5)

According to Ambedkar among the claims made by the Hindus for asserting their superiority over other nations the following two are mentioned. One is that there was no slavery in India among the Hindus and the other is that untouchability is infinitely less harmful than slavery.

Ambedkar observes:

The first statement is of course untrue. Slavery is a very ancient institution of the Hindus. It is recognized by Manu, the law giver and has been elaborated and systematized by the other Smriti writers who followed Manu. Slavery among the Hindus was never merely an ancient institution which functioned only in some hoary past. It was an institution which continued throughout all Indian history down to the year 1843 and, if it had not been abolished by the British Government by law in that year, it might have continued even today. While slavery lasted it applied to both the touchables as well as the untouchables. (Ambedkar 12: 742)

The Untouchable by reason of their poverty became subject to slavery oftener than did the touchable. So that up to 1843 the untouchable in India had to undergo the misfortune of being held in double bondage. Ambedkar says “bondage of slavery and bondage of untouchability”. The lighter of the bonds has been cut and the untouchable is made free from it. But because of today are not seen wearing the chains of slavery on them, it is not to be supposed that they never did. To do so would be to tear off whole pages of history. Comparing slavery with untouchability, Ambedkar refers Miss Mayo’s Mother India and Lala Lajpat Raj, he observes as:

The first claim is not so widely made. But the second is. So great a social reformer and so great a friend of the untouchables as Lala Lajpat Rai in replying to the indictment of the Hindu Society by Miss Mayo insisted that untouchability as an evil was nothing as compared with slavery and he fortified his conclusion by a comparison of the Negro in America with the untouchables in India and showed that his conclusion was true. Coming as it does from Lala Lajpat Rai the matter needs to be more closely examined. (Ambedkar 12:742, 743)

Thus, Race has been seen as an unalterably given genetic condition, a natural border that is determined given genetic condition, a natural border that is determined, allowing no mobility or change. But caste is seen as socially determined categories. Caste, even though a socially ascribed status, is still inherited. After the advent of the philosophy of deconstruction, the so called-centers have been decentered, and this has triggered the acceleration of postmodernist, post-colonialist polemic that could be considered responsible for the shift in power structure from a rigid, hegemonic order into a more inclusive, relativist structure.

Alladi Uma observes as:

While it may have taken almost six decades for the world and the United nations to accede to this comparison between race and caste, and to view caste has not just internal problem but a larger problem, the Dalit movement in India, especially in Maharashtra, has looked to the Black Panther movement as a source of inspiration and named itself the Dalit Panther Party. But how does one look at the complexities of race and caste that are then compounded by class and gender? This question was what propelled me offer the course 'Reading Dalit Reading Black' at the University of Hyderabad. (Uma Alladi 293)

Moreover, Centre for Comparative Literature, University of Hyderabad offered to M.A students books of Du Bois and Ambedkar for understanding race and caste concepts and its problem. The kernel of such efforts was the comparison between 'African American' and 'Dalits' The comparison come to conclusion that race exemplified by situation of the former slaves in U.S, and caste exemplified by social groups in India called *Jati*. And finally conclude that caste is the worst form of discriminatory institution which still exists in India.

1.1 Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and Rastriya Sawayamsevak Sangh (RSS)

A series of secret originations with the general aim of suppression of African American political and civil right movement, the Ku Klux Klan has appeared in three distinct incarnations from Reconstruction on the present. Most broadly, the Klan can be view as manifestation of the U.S. nativist and antiblack sentiment as reflected in the nineteenth century, for instance, by the anti-Irish “Knowing Nothing” Party and by antiabolitionist and antiblack violence. The first Ku Klux Klan was founded in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866 by six Confederate veterans. Originally club similar or contemporary social fraternities, the Klan quickly expanded its membership and purpose to seek the overthrow of Reconstruction and the reassertion of white supremacy in the region. The Klan and other similar groups spread throughout the South, employing violence against people, both black and white Republicans, and property before federal intervention in 1871 and 1872 brought effective and to the organization.

In the twentieth century, the Ku Klux Klan was founded in 1915 at Stone Mountain, Georgia, by William J. Simmons, a onetime preacher, teacher, and insurance salesperson. Drawing his ideas about the organization less on his Reconstruction -era predecessor than on the florid depictions of the Invisible Empire in the novels Thomas W. Dixon, Jr. and D. W. Griffith’s film *The Birth of Nation* (1915), Simmons found that his organization had an appeal far beyond the South. (Horne 119) The Klan gained a broad following in the 1920s as many Americans feared that the New Era brought unwelcome changes to their lives: among the perceived threats that the Klan exploited were post-World War I economic and political uncertainties, immigration, the black migration to northern cities, and the widespread belief that American values and 100 percent Americanism were under assault by the forces of modernism. Far more centrally organized than the original Klan, the 1920s version was planned similar to such fraternal lodges as the Elks and the Masons. The Klan appealed not only era’s prejudices but to its love of fraternal ceremony, with its robs insignia, and dizzying array of high- sounding titles and orders. Displaying more inclusive bigotry than the first Klan, this new incarnation was not only antiblack but deeply suspicious of Jew, Catholic, Asians and the use of alcohol. By 1924 Klan claimed a membership of nearly 3 million-urban and rural, midwestern and southern-and began to flex its considerable political muscle, winning political office in such states as Indiana and Oregon. The second Klan

faded around the time of around World War II, beset by poor financial management and legal and political scandal among its national leadership.

With postwar anticommunism and the rise of the civil rights movement the Klan appeared yet again, this time mainly in the South. While this incarnation would gain much notoriety, especially through campaigns of violence in the 1960s, the third Klan never gained either the power or the membership claimed by the 1920s, Klan. Throughout his long public career, W. E. B. Du Bois challenged the assumptions of each of these groups, disputing the Reconstruction Klan's characterizations of the postbellum South in *Black Reconstruction* (1935) answering Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans in the pages of the *North American Review* in 1926, and exhorting Americans to forego the reflexive anticommunism that fueled twentieth-century Klans. While discrete organization, each of the Klans restored to violence, terror, and intimidation while claiming to defend traditional politics and moral values. With the benefit of hindsight, the KKK and the American Nazi Party's (ANP) fateful meeting might seem less revolutionary than it did in the 1970s. Several prominent North Carolina Klansmen, among them the locally infamous Carlos Joe Grady, Jr., would vehemently oppose any Klan-Nazi union. The backlash from groups willing to discard their initial hesitancy and distaste for Nazi symbolism and Hitlerian fascism culminated in a public "roasting" of ready during a national news conference. The winds of hate were changing with the new generation.

The hesitancy of Ku Klux Klansmen primarily came from the age of the older members of the organization: many of them vociferously supported the war against Adolf Hitler and fought in World War II. However, by the 1970s, the younger members of this "third wave" of the KKK did not share the same experiences, being much more familiar with the existential threat of communism through the Korean and Vietnam Wars than the first-hand knowledge of Nazi atrocities. This difference in generational experience, coupled with the Cold War's escalation, enabled the shift in Klan attitudes from anti-Nazi "patriotic Americanist" racism to a willingness to work with fascist groups. (Klansville 119)

Similarly RSS has Fascist connection. The fascist phenomenon has an Indian dimension and connection. There was an affinity between the Nazism and Hindu Nationalism, reflected in the adoration of Manu. In fact, Hindu Mahasabha and RSS (Founded in 1915 and 1925, respectively) had modeled their 'Hindu Nationalism' on Hitler's Nazism, extolling the Aryan

race, religion culture and language. Ambassador Afrasiab Mehdi Hashmi Qureshi in his article '*RSS: Hindu Nazis of India*' says that:

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) widely known by the acronym RSS, is a Hindu fundamentalist organization in India working for the promotion of Hindutva ideology. Under the garb of nationalism, Hindutva basically connotes, "expansionist and hegemonic Hinduism." According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics and International Relations, the term Hindutva "has fascist undertones." (Concise Oxford Dictionary)

It is significant that the RSS was born in the land of Phule and Ambedkar, the greatest leaders of dalit-bahujans in modern India. In Maharashtra there were radical movements against Brahmanism from the 1870s onwards, with the establishment of Satyashok Samaj. Its ideas and activities were becoming popular among the dalit- bhahujans. Pune the home ground of Lokmanya Tilak was also *the karm-boomi* of Phule who was challenging the Brahmans to bring out of their Veda-Purana in the open.

During the 1920s, the dalits had started organizing themselves under Ambedkar. It is very important that Nagpur, the birthplace of the RSS, was the Centre of social radicalism and also the venue of All Depressed classes Conference in 1920 where Ambedkar had decisively rejected the paternalistic model of social reform advocated by V.R. Shinde and other moderates. Later, Nagpur was also to become the *deekshabhoomi* (the land of conversion) where Ambedkar led lakhs of Dalit to accept Buddhism. The Phule- Ambedkar ideology is the strongest rejection of the brahmanical ideology of the RSS. There is no doubt the RSS targeted Phule-Ambedkarism and touted the theory that their ideology and movement emanated from a divisive 'caste mentality'.

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Chapter II

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois

The historians might have come to definitive conclusions regarding the origin of American slavery due to more evidence. There is also opposition for the less relevant documentary survived the seventeenth century. Basing their conclusion on the scraps and fragments which past provides scholar have resolved matter sooner. Indeed, the debate about the origin of American slavery has spanned a century and continues to intrigue. During early seventeenth century twenty Africans were brought to the English colony of Virginia. Among Historians there is a debate when the legal practice of slavery began. They agree that both Negro slaves and indentured servants existed in Seventeenth century. In the latter period colonist began purchasing slaves in large numbers. In U.S., there was very cruel treatment for slaves, execution, and sexual abuse of women, including rape were common. While trying to resist sexual attack some slaves were died. They were usually prevented from education to hinder aspiration for rebellion. They were punished by burning, mutilation, hanging, whipping and shackling. Consequently, in Britain and United States abolitionism movement has been taken place. It has developed large, complex propaganda campaigns against slavery. George Moses Horton, first black of South who composed and published collection of poem entitled *The Hope of Liberty* (1829). He remained slave close of Civil war. He also wrote about new nation of Liberia and a few papers of the abolitionist movement. As an anti-slavery activist and abolitionist, David Walker wrote *An Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829). This text deals with a call for black unity and self help in the fight against injustice and oppression. It also brought attention of the abuses and inequities of slavery, the role of individuals to act responsibly for racial equality, according to religious and political tenets.

Being abolitionist, a white lady, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote a novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) which is on slavery. It tells the story of the life of slave and the brutality which faced by slave.

Uncle Tom's Cabin exposes the malice of slavery in America. This novel brings to mind a sensational, highly sentimental polemic against the enormities of southern slavery, which in its day moved millions to tears of pity or outrage by a melodramatic tale of such crude intensity that it has become a part of folktale of western world. (qtd in Bheemaiah j. 62)

Moreover, Frederick Douglass became a leader of the abolitionist movement. He has written several autobiographies which described as slave. In his autobiography *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave (1845)*, described event of his life. This text encompasses eleven chapters that recount of life of Douglass as a slave and his ambition to become a free man. John Ernest in his article *African American literature and the abolitionist movement 1845 to the Civil War* noted as:

African American literature gained a major new writer in 1845 when Frederick Douglass published his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, and Written by Himself*. The book was published in Boston by the American Anti-Slavery Society and is perhaps the most significant example of the dynamic connection between the development of African American literature and the abolitionist movement. (Ernest 91)

However, Douglass was an active campaigner against slavery after Civil War and wrote his last autobiography, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (1881)*. It has covered events through and after the Civil War. He has firm believe in the equality of all people, whether black, female, Native American, and recent immigrant. He famously said that he would unite with anybody to do right and with nobody to do wrong. After Frederick Douglass There was Sojourner Truth, an African American women's right activist and abolitionist. She was anti-slavery speaker. Her delivered speech 'Ain't I a Woman' became widely famous. She helped recruit black troops for the Union Army during Civil War. In his article *Slave Rebels and Black Abolitionists* Stanely Harrold described as:

Historians have always recognized that slave rebels were part of this country's history. No one ever disputed that such black leaders as Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth contributed to the pre-Civil War antislavery movement. Yet not until the late 1930s was there systematic evaluation of the role of slave rebels and black abolitionists. (Harrold 199)

The group of free Blacks settled in northern states and created the core of Black Community. This black community established fraternal orders and established churches. They have taken initial steps in the evolution of black community. Only few thousand Blacks were remaining free from slavery. Slave Master freed their slave and a few state legislatures abolished slavery. Balks established homes and jobs in the cities. Though more free Blacks lived in poverty but some

established successful businesses which created the Black Community. However, existence of racial discrimination was not allowed to Blacks in White businesses. James Forten, a Black developed his own communities, Black doctor, lawyers and other businessmen were the foundation of the Black Community. Moreover, The Haitian Revolution started the revolt of Haitian slaves against their masters. It was began 1791 to 1801, a primary source for both slaves and abolitionist. After Supreme Court's decision regarding 'Dred Scott', who was slave, wanted freedom after his master's death due to this he sued in court. In March 1857, black community received an enormous shock. According to this decision slave were properties, not people, by this ruling they could not sue in court. Consequently, American Civil War has taken place. This American Civil War widely known as Civil war simply. In their article "*African Americans and the American Civil War*" Oscar R. Williams III and Hayward Woody Farrar noted as:

Fought from April 1861 to April 1865, the American Civil War is the bloodiest war in US history. Over 620,000 American lives were lost in this tragic event. Fought between the North and South, the war found its origins in fundamental debates over the continued existence of slavery throughout the United States. (Williams III 257)

It has fought from 1861 to 1865, for determine the survival of the Union or independence for the Confederacy. In January 1861, among the 34 states, seven Southern slave states individually declared their secession from the United States and formed the Confederate States of America. It also often called the South; include eleven states, although they claimed thirteen states and additional western territories, foreign country did not recognized it. The state did not declare secession was known as North. Moreover, after four years of fighting and destroying much of the infrastructure of South, over 600,000 dead soldiers of Union and Confederate, consequently Confederacy collapsed and slavery was abolished. Moreover, Abraham Lincoln President of U.S. issued an executive order of the Emancipation. The Blacks became full citizens in U.S. by the Civil Right Act of 1866, after two years 14th amendment granted full citizenship for Blacks and 15th amendment in 1870 gave the right to vote to Black male. Period of southern black progress called as reconstruction, it also known as era of emancipation. Hiram Revels became the first Black Senator in the U.S. Congress. This all favorable condition could have not admirable to Whites and they started racial terrorism founding Ku Klux Klan (KKK), a secret vigilante

organization dedicated to destroying the property of Blacks. Behind masks they used terrorism, especially murder and threats of murder to Black leader.

In African American history Booker T. Washington held the black movement during the latter part of the nineteenth century and he came in to existence as national prominence. He was speaking soft words to white people and careful words to colored people. He fought twenty years for Negro rights such as economic progress, especially through industrial education, and postponement of political, social and civil equality. Washington had been suggested a liberal position for the Black and white also, according to him Black should seek to please to the whites with their selfless toil. Its result is that the whites exhibit greater understanding towards Black. Pramod K. Nayar in his book entitled *Literary Theory Today* observed as:

Washington suggested to the whites that the Black could be of use to the nation, and that the white man should “cast down his bucket” (a favourite phrase of Washington) with the Black. (Nayar 272)

Booker T. Washington founded Tuskegee Institute, a Historical Black College in Alabama. He has given speech in 1895 at Atlanta that made him nationally famous. This speech called for black progress through education and entrepreneurship. He said that it was not the time to challenge Jim Crow Law, a racial segregation and the disfranchisement of black voters in the south. According to Jim Crow Law there should not be civil right and civil liberties of African American. He mobilized black, church leaders, and white philanthropist and politician. His goal was to build the community's economic strength and pride by a focus on self-help and schooling. It is said that he supported court challenge to segregation secretly. A part of his movement Booker T. Washington described most vividly his peoples struggle for education as:

Few people who were not right in the midst of the scenes can form any exact idea of the intense desire which the people of my race showed for education . . . It was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn. (Span M. 305)

In his autobiography *Up from Slaver (1901)* he dealt his personal experience of slavery and rise from the position of a slave child during Civil War. He stresses the importance of education for the black people. This position has been criticized severely by W.E.B. Du Bois. There was also

philosophical conflict between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. But it happens in all movements for dealing contemporary issue.

2.1 Experiences of Colored Discrimination

Du Bois recounted memorable episode in the development of race consciousness in his *The Souls of Black Folk*. When at the age of ten he jolted by the refusal of a white girl at school into a foreshadowing of his understanding of his difference and distance from the majority world around him. As he put it:

I remember well when the shadow swept across me. I was a little thing, away up in the hills of New England, where the dark Housatonic winds between Hoosac and Taghkanic to the sea. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card, —refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads. Alas, with the years all this fine contempt began to fade; for the words I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine. But they should not keep these prizes, I said; some, all, I would wrest from them. Just how I would do it I could never decide: by reading law, by healing the sick, by telling the wonderful tales that swam in my head, —some way. With other black boys the strife was not so fiercely sunny: their youth shrunk into tasteless sycophancy or into silent hatred of the pale world about them and mocking distrust of everything white; or wasted itself in a bitter cry, why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison- house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above. (Du Bois 1,2)

This event was reminder that Du Bois was often the only African American in his school class, and that generic racial prejudice were part of the fabric of Great Barrington town life. Du Bois discussed his feeling of otherness for the first time in *The Souls of Black Folk* as contempt for

those who would demean him. Du Bois determined to beat his white counterparts came at anything could, while protecting himself from the demoralization of “silent hatred” some of He was some of his black counterparts came to learn. Du Bois was made to feel white supremacy at most personal level. It was local prejudice rather than hardened racism as he perceived it, and it is clear that he began to draw up inside a reserve to allow to him to thrive. As Du Bois put it:

Very gradually-I cannot now distinguish the steps, though here and there I remember a jump or a jot –but very gradually I found myself assuming quite placidly that I was different from other children. At first I think I connected the difference with a manifest ability to get my lessons rather better than most and to recite with a certain happy, almost taunting, blindness, which brought frowns here and there. Then, slowly, I realized that some folks, a few even, even several, actually conspired my brown skin a misfortune; once or twice I became painfully aware that some human beings even thought it a crime. (Du Bois 118)

Du Bois’ early years were heavily shaped by the dominant mores of New England society. He thought of himself, in non-pejorative terms, as a native son of the United States, something of an aspiring intellectual rooted not yet been exposed, but of general culture learning characteristic of nineteenth- century literature society. He was in other words, for a black man of his time, extraordinary in his gifts, talents and aspirations, but in other regards of an American of the lower- middle classes, somewhat typical. Encouraged by his mother and his own ambitions, Du Bois aspired to go to Harvard, hoping to reach the pinnacle of academic success, but his high school was below the University’s entrance requirements. He completed all requirements and entered Harvard University. He observes:

When I arrived at Harvard, the question of board and lodging was of first importance. Naturally, I could not afford a room in the college yard in the old and venerable buildings which housed most of the well-to-do students under the magnificent elms. Neither did I think of looking for lodgings among white families, where numbers of the ordinary students lived. I tried to find a colored home, and finally at 20 Flagg Street, I came upon the neat home of colored women from Nova Scotia, a descendant of those black Jamaican Maroons whom Britain deported after solemnly promising them peace if they would surrender (Du Bois 133. 134)

This was the manner in which Du Bois described his experience at Harvard. What was true of Harvard in Du Bois' time is true today. By his account, Du Bois' experience at Harvard was positive, although it was one limited by race. Du Bois chose not to fraternize with his European American peers beyond what was absolutely necessary. This distancing was a deliberate choice on his part as it was a reflection of the social mores of the times, since he built a shell around himself rather than risk the disappointment of social exclusion. He observes as:

Following the attitude which I had adopted in the South, I sought no friendships among my white fellow students, or even acquaintanceships. Of course I wanted friends, but I could not seek them. My class was large, with some 300 students. I doubt if I knew dozen of them. I did not seek them; naturally they did not seek me. I made no attempt to contribute to the college periodicals, since the editors were not ingested in my major interest. Only one organization did I try to enter, and I ought to have known better than to make this attempt. But I did have a good singing voice and loved music, so I entered the competition for the Glee Club. I ought to have known that Harvard could not afford to have a Negro on its Glee Club traveling about the country. Quite naturally I was rejected. (Du Bois 134, 135)

The one exception was his competing for membership in the Glee Club. Despite his good singing voice and his love for music, he was rejected solely because of his race. He himself said that he chose to work within the boundaries of race, and yet he reaped the full rewards of the intellectual life at Harvard and all that a Harvard education meant. Du Bois had very good and occasionally very close relationships with several well-known faculty members; notably among them were William James and Albert Bushnell Hart. It appears that he was fully supported and sometimes defriended and mentored by many distinguished faculty at Harvard.

2. 2 Protests against Racism

As Civil Right activist, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois's role was going to be aggressive and forthright in building the black movement. He would loom large on the American scene for many years to come. W. E. Du Bois was born on 23rd February, 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Du Bois in summing up his varied racial background, said as:

So with some circumstance having finally gotten myself born, with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch but thank God! No "Anglo Saxon", I come to the days of my childhood. (Du Bois 9)

The civil war had been concluded just three years earlier, and the nation was undergoing a period of tremendous social and political stress. Highlighting the significance of the *year* he was born, Du Bois said as:

My birth place was less important than my birth time. The Civil war had closed but three years earlier and 1868 the year in which the freedmen of the south were enfranchised, and for the first time as a mass took part in government. (Du Bois 10)

While he was growing as a young man, he showed his keen interest in politics. He read of the contest of the Democratic and Republican parties in the newspaper columns. He said as:

I do not remember hearing anything said about the Fifteenth Amendment which became law in 1870; but there were a few new coloured people, 'contrabands; who came to town. (Forner 22)

Moreover, Du Bois realized that some people in town considered his brown skin a 'misfortune'. He became very sensitive to the reactions of others. As a high school student, Du Bois thought that hard study would grant him immunity to the racial disabilities. It seemed to him that earnest effort in all he attempted was the only way to equal whites. Almost immediately, Du Bois recognized his intellectual superiority. He became quite an egoist as he was able to out do his classmates in nearly all competitive areas, from athletics to academics. He did not set himself aside from his fellow students in any snobbish vein, but rather took advantage of his superiority by exercising leadership and assisting students in difficulty. His first real experience of 'feeling unwanted came,' he wrote in his *The Souls of Black Folk* as:

The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card,—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. (Du Bois 2)

He was a bright boy in school and took special delight in surpassing his white fellows. An exceptional high school student, Du Bois at the age of fifteen, contributed literary, political and social essays to the New York *Globe* and the New York Freeman. In these pieces, he urged Blacks to join the local temperance movement, to form a literary society and to take a greater interest in politics. He did have many white friends and white coworkers, his theory was a generalization based on his personal experience, historical events and current events of his time. Du Bois used strong language, political action, and propaganda to fight against oppression and the mentality of racism. Already Du Bois had begun his self-appointed stewardship of the fortune of the race. He was keenly concerned for the development of his race. He drew inspiration from anti-slavery heroes. He hoped to attend Harvard College, but he had to temporarily give up his dream since he had no funds.

A gifted student, Du Bois earned a scholarship from white neighbours and in 1885 entered Tennessee's Fisk University an institute for the education of freedmen. He was excited about the chance to go into the South and especially having an opportunity of meeting Negroes of his own age and educational background. Enrolling at Fisk University in the fall of 1885, Du Bois embraced the people of his own color, who seemed were bound to be his new and exciting external ties. He began to cultivate his identity as an African-American. He observed as:

I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own colour are rather of such extraordinary colours, which I had only glimpsed before, but who it seemed were bound to me by my new and exciting eternal ties ... Into this world I leapt with enthusiasm: hence forward I was a Negro. (Du Bois 45)

At Fisk, Du Bois also encountered rural Black poverty and ignorance at first hand, when for two summers he taught in Black schools in Tennessee. This experience confirmed Du Bois' growing belief in the power of education and reason to resolve racial conflict and secure black

advancement. At the same *time*, it also increased his awareness of the enormous intellectual gulf between himself and the generality of Black people, graduating from Fisk in 1888, Du Bois entered Harvard, where he was greatly influenced by the Philosophers, William James, Josiah Royce and George Santayana. He began to concentrate on a race centered programme which designed to improve Negro living conditions. Du Bois's racial pride swelled as his classmates recalled the institution of slavery when he witnessed firsthand the Reconstruction era's lingering racial oppression. How the existing racial conditions affected him is reflected in the following:

Lynching was a continuing and recurrent horror during my college days, from 1885 through 1894; seventeen hundred negroes were lynched in America. Each death was a scar upon my soul, and led me on to conceive the plight of other minority groups. (Du Bois 29)

The curriculum at Fisk was very limited but carefully selected and excellently taught. Du Bois became known for his writings and speaking. He eventually brought these skills to fruition by becoming the editor of the *Fisk Herald* and the university's most impassioned orator. He developed a belligerent attitude towards the color line. The only experience Du Bois had during his life time as a public school teacher was while at Fisk. The rural Southern Negro was of great curiosity to him and teaching seemed at the time, to be a way of both acquiring some funds and observing these people. He gathered some of the facts that he hoped would shatter the existing racist stereo type ideas. In an attempt to enlighten educated whites, Du Bois published several articles in magazines like *Dial*, *Collier's* and *Atlantic Monthly* which were being published in the United States and were popular, both in South as well as North. Until the end of the nineteenth century, Du Bois had been believed that scientific fact and education would bring about a new era of racial understanding and protest. However; he was little prepared for the heightened racism of the early twentieth century. Du Bois concluded that social change could be accomplished only through Black agitations and the direct actions of protests.

As a graduate student in history at Harvard, Du Bois left for Europe in 1872, on a scholarship to study abroad. He enrolled at the University of Berlin for courses in history, economics and sociology. On his return to America in 1894, Du Bois had arrived at his basic intellectual and ideological beliefs. At Harvard, Du Bois earned the first doctorate ever awarded to a Black. Du Bois's Ph. D. thesis, *The Suppression of African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*, was published in 1896. It appeared two years after Congress repealed the Civil

Rights Act of 1886, just one year after Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition address. This same year has focused on that it was moral cowardice in the face of economic opportunity that had seen the continuation of the trade after it was prohibited by law and how existing law was against slave trade. According to Du Bois the slave trade could have been curtailed by three methods, these are, I. By raising American morals standards II. By enforcing legal prohibition of the slave trade and III. By destroying the economic attraction of the traffic in men. Francis L. Broderick in his book entitled *W.E.B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* observed as:

All three failed, the first because the existence of slavery itself showed moral weakness at just the point at which moral strength was needed; the second because the laws were "poorly conceived, loosely drawn, wretchedly enforced", and third because no was willing to attempt it. (Brodrick 35)

Du Bois said in a preliminary report that Southern planters recognized slave labor as an economic good and slave trade as its strong right arm and Northern capital continued unfettered by a conscience. He attributed to moral appeal and political sagacity for the abolition of slavery. According to him economic collapse of the large farming system came as rather a surprise. Du Bois concluded in his report to the American Historical Association during his Harvard education days. He said as:

Abolition came from an enlightened public policy, the common moral sense of a great people enforcing its sovereign will by majorities for Lincoln and by the point of bayonet. (Brodrick 36)

Moreover; Du Bois' main target was racism. Therefore he strongly protested against discrimination in education and employment, lynching and Jim Crow Laws. His most important book *Souls of Black Folk* (1903) is most widely read and often quoted works in African American literary history. The *Souls of Black*, brought out by the Chigo firm of A.C. McClurg and Company on April 18, 1903, redefined the terms of three-hundred year interaction between black and white people and influenced the cultural and political psychology of peoples of African descent throughout the Western Hemisphere, as well as on the containment of Africa. It was one those events epochally dividing history into a before and after. Like fireworks going off in a cemetery, its fourteen essays were sound and light enlivening the inert and the despairing. It was an electrifying manifesto mobilizing a people for bitter, prolonged struggle to win a place in

history. Ironically even its author was among the tens of thousands whose conceptions of themselves were to be forever altered by the book. James Weldon Johnson, a judge of great perspicacity in such matter said book's impact was "greater upon and within the Negro race than any other single book published in this country since Uncle Tom's Cabin." With the comparable perspicacity but less satisfaction, Henry James wondered how things could have run to ground so badly that Du Bois "was the only 'Southern' book of any distinction published in many a year." (Lewis 191) Until *The Souls of Black Folk* had relied mostly on the sorrow songs-spirituals- to find expression, Du Bois would carry throughout the volume the device of pairing Negro Spirituals with European verse- by Browning, Swinburne, Symons, and Tennyson-as epigraph for each essay. Twinned them in this manner in order to advance the then-unprecedented notion of the creative parity and complimentary of white folk and black folk alike. But Du Bois meant the cultural symbolism of these double epigraph to be profoundly subversive of the cultural hierarchy of his time. These Years into yet another century of seemingly unassailable European supremacy, Souls countered with the voices of the dark submerged and unheard- those voices heard by him for the first time in Tennessee backcountry. Until his readers appreciated the message of the songs in bondage by the black people. Du Bois was saying, the words written in freedom by white people would remain hollow and counterfeit. The "Forethought" To *The Souls of Black Folk* has something of the function of tuning fork, keeping the Collection's marvelous prose vibration in low, perfect pitch. The tone is calmly portentous, as the author settles the reader into his tale of portentous, as the author settles the reader in to his tale of "the strange meaning of being black here at the dawning of the Twentieth Century." Elucidating that meaning, Du Bois pens again the incomparable phrase that leaps from the page into indelible memory: "This meaning is not without interest to you, Gentle Reader; for the problem of the twentieth Century is the problem of color-line". (Du Bois xiv, xv)

Du Bois possessed courage in abundance; He also possessed passion in equal measure –passion mediated by the written word. The shaping empire of intellect reigned over both. From the first page of *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois mind, courage and passion interact to create a splendid diapason. It is s though small hurts and large insults of his own life- the visiting –card incident, the Harvard Glee Club rejection, the demanding University of Pennsylvania title – have fused with those of the Sam Hoses and Ida B. Wells and ten million more merge Du Bois, for a noetic moment in history, uniquely with the Souls of all black people. *Souls of Black Folk* opens with

“Of Our Spiritual Strivings” It had been title “Strivings of the Negro people” in the August 1897 *Atlantic Monthly* version, but its reincarnation here came with more élan and pathos. Du Bois capped it with an epigraph of English poetry and bars from the spirituals “Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen.” The troubles he and his people had seen, almost from the day the first African were brought ashore from a Dutch ship in Jamestown harbor, Du Bois memorably posed as a question in the opening of page of the essay: “Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question; unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through difficulty of rightly farming it.”

Niagara Movement

W. E. B. Du Bois was a founder member of Niagara movement. Along with him there were William Monroe Trotter and group of Black people. The first meeting took place in July 1905 at Fort Erie, Ontario. This movement opposed racial segregation and disenfranchisement and also opposed Booker T. Washington’s policies of accommodation and conciliation. W.B. Du Bois and attendees of the inaugural meeting have made ‘Declaration of Principles’. This declaration was philosophy of W. E. Du Bois and group. Moreover, they demanded equality should for Black in economically, politically and socially. This movement has been focused on progress of Black, which should increase the intelligence of Black. They should advance in art and literature; construct executive ability in conduct of economic and educational institution and great religion. This movement called Blacks to be granted manhood suffrage and equal treatment for all American citizens. It also demanded an equal economic opportunity in rural district of south where Blacks were indebted to white and it result was virtual slavery. However, the declaration took account of education. According to them education should be free and compulsory, action to be taken to improve ‘high school facilities’. They also demanded that judges should be selected independently of Black race and criminals either Black or White should given equal punishments for their crime. They realized that their battle was not for themselves alone but for all true Americans. This movement claimed for right to vote, it goes everything such as the right to work, the honor of their wives, the chastity of their daughter. They want manhood to suffrage henceforth and forever. In *Niagara Movement (1906)* W. E. Du Bois observed as:

We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railways and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American,

undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination. (Du Bois 374)

Furthermore, The Niagara Movement was the first movement which demanded same civil rights for their people as like other American. Though it was strong movement but failed for many reasons. Its program of racial equality was too far of the historical period. It had financial problem therefore they could not attracted many wealthy white to their side. It is also said that most of members felt psychologically isolated from the Negro. The movement composed of men were quite conscious of the fact and were occupied a privileged position within Negro society. There was intellectual distance between educated and uneducated. Though, these educated men had an empyrean conception of human rights but they did not effectively convey to the rank and file, who were little interested in politics. This organization seemed frequently useless to the Negro workers. In his book entitled *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Black Protest Movement* Elliott Rudwick observes:

Du Bois had often said that political and economic problem were interrelated, but a major weakness of the Niagara Movement was that it spent comparatively little time on economic salvation. The ballot was regarded as the panacea. (Rudwick 118)

Though there was limitation but members of Niagara Movement had proud of their efforts on behalf of higher education their attempts to organize a political lobby composed of informed. What brought the Niagara men together were negative attitudes ranging from unease to enmity toward Washington; But Du Bois cannot have taken for granted that they would come to common agreement about a positive agenda, Lafayette Hershaw and Freeman Henry M. Murry were Du Bois loyalist, men who would place their professional lives at his service repeatedly and selflessly in the future. On the grounds of the hotel and over meals in Burnett's Restaurant, Hershaw and Murray pushed the Du Bois line. Hershaw, a sad eyed man with a fuzzy little mustache, was an 1886 Atlanta University graduate. He had been principle of a segregated Atlanta secondary school before moving to Washington in the early 1890s to take up a clerical position in the Department of the Interior.

Twenty-seven –year old Max Barber, the youngest Niagartite at Fort Eri, admired Du Bois with an acolyte's devotion, and Booker Washington would soon make him pay dearly for it. Well after the final roast beef dinner on

Thursday, the men in Niagara sat haggling and amending at the Eri Beach Hotel. The structure they imposed on the movement reflected the organizational schema Du Bois had proposed to Washington for the Committee of Twelve. Annual membership dues of five dollars assessed. Du Bois was elected general secretary and attorney George Jackson of Cincinnati general treasure. Working harmoniously with Trotter, Du Bois drafted the organization's "Declaration of Principles," defining and excoriating the wrongs inflicted upon men and women of color in the United States because of their race. (Lewis 217)

In its Final form, the "Declaration of Principle" crackled with indignation and brimmed with imperatives- the language beneath each uppercase heading uncompromising yet disciplined, defiant yet devoid of hyperbole. The declaration under "EMPLOYERS AND LABOR UNION" bore Du Bois's unmistakable imprint. It stuck an economic note then rarely heard among African-American leaders and only infrequently sounded by the thirty-nine-year old Du Bois himself:

We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro American laborers in emergencies, and the affording them neither protection nor permanent employment: and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both side. (Lewis 217)

Those words were drawn from his bombshell Des Moines address to the American Missionary Association. Labor relations were important, but "PROTEST" was at the heart of Niagara, and what protest would mean from then on, until the reign of Booker Washington ended, Du Bois and Trotter passionately expounded:

The Negro race in America stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism: needs help and given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed. (Lewis 218)

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People): Rise of the *Crisis*

The problem of twentieth century impelled him from mobilizing racial data to becoming the prime mobilizer of a race. It was the great sacrifice forced upon him by a world vastly more atavistic beneath its surface culture and modernity than he had dreamed possible as a young scholar. At age forty-two, a series of ugly incidents and unfair developments had pushed and pulled him, he explained reputedly, to forsake the tower for the platform, monograph for editorial columns: Sam Hose's severed knuckles on display in a Mitchell Street grocery; the Ogden Express figuratively rushing past Atlanta University on its way to Tuskegee; Carnegie Institution funds for a Mississippi planter while the Atlanta Studies went begging, Teddy Roosevelt dishonoring a battalion of decorated soldiers-and, no matter what the legerdemain or outrage, there was always the imperturbable Booker Washington ready with a disingenuous explanation. Du Bois rightly said "this fact of racial distinction based on color was the greatest thing in my life and absolutely determine it". The shift from science to propaganda-hewer disjunctive professionally-was also supremely suited to Du Bois' temperament and talent.

The NAACP grew out of the Niagara Movement and out of ten interracial conferences in 1909 to discuss the status of African Americans. Du Bois and other highly educated and upper-class African Americans initiated the Niagara Movement to create a forum for black intellectuals to debate routes toward racial equality. The movement quickly dissipated as the group became absorbed by other larger black organizations like the NAACP. Those involved in the interracial conference were black radicals dissatisfied with the agenda of Booker T Washington and white Socialist or Progressives also discouraged with the degenerating status of black American.

W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida Wells Barnett, and William Monroe Trotter were among the most vocal blacks at the conference. The Agenda at this interracial conference laid the foundation for the NAACP's strategy that involved the legal enforcement of African Americans' constitutional rights. The early agenda laid out by Du Bois was to secure the civil rights of African American by forcing the legal system to uphold the Fourteenth Amendment, equal education opportunities, and voting rights. (Du Bois 140)

Du Bois became progressively outraged with the disfranchisement of blacks between 1890 and 1910 by the former slave states. These Jim Crow laws functioned to segregate the railroads,

streetcars, and public facilities. The “legal caste system”, as Du Bois called it, based on race and color, and led him to abandon his teaching position at Atlanta University in 1900 and to accept a position with the NAACP as the director of Publication and Research in 1911. Du Bois, along with others, officially incorporated the NAACP.

He says that:

In August 1910, I reported at my new office and new work at 20 Vesey Street, New York. As I have said elsewhere, the NAACP “Proved between 1910 and the first World War, one of the most effective organizations of the liberal spirit and the fight for social progress which America has known.” It fought frankly to make Negroes “politically free from disfranchisement, legally free from caste and socially free from insult.” (Du Bois 256)

The NAACP provided Du Bois with the opportunity to reach a broader audience. He was appointed editor of *The Crisis*, The NAACP’S Magazine. The editorship of *The Crisis*, would prove his most important post. In *The Crisis*, Du Bois closely followed the development of the NAACP and provided important validation and support for its agenda. His agenda, however, far exceeded that of the NAACP’S constitutional emancipation of African Americans. Du Bois promoted a viewpoint that encouraged black ownership and control over their own organizations. Du Bois began to espouse socialism out of his concern for impoverished blacks. His long-term goals clearly went beyond that of the NAACP, and this tension, which lasted almost a quarter of century, would only be resolved through his resignation from the organization. In the end, Du Bois refused to be limited by the vision of the NAACP that he believed did not go far enough toward a radical revision of U.S. society to the benefit of African Americans.

Du Bois expressed his difficulties with negotiating his ideas within the confines of the NAACP’S agenda. He was always sensitive to the fact that *The Crisis* belonged to the NAACP and was supposed to function essentially as propaganda for the organization. This tension arose repeatedly and usually involved Du Bois’ attempt to expand the scope of the magazine to include concerns other than U.S. legal issues about African civil rights. For example, Du Bois interest in Pan-African around 1920 went beyond what the NAACP thought appropriate for its publication. Du Bois felt progressively confined by the limitation placed on the expression of his own broadening agenda.

By the early 1930s, the depression had created a desperate economic situation for African Americans. Du Bois became increasingly frustrated with the NAACP's unwillingness to reorganize its agenda to meet these new economic circumstances. By now he had abandoned his vision for the black business elite and instead advocated an economic separatist strategy for African Americans. Through Du Bois' extensive knowledge of socialism, he drew from the theories of nineteenth-century utopian socialists and adapted them to envision a twentieth-century black cooperative economy. The NAACP was opposed to his conception and particularly to his endorsement of segregation. Du Bois began to challenge and even reject the policies of the NAACP in its own publication, *The Crisis*. While Du Bois was criticized the NAACP for its elitism and lack of concern for the black masses, the NAACP wanted to debate the issue of segregation.

Du Bois' rebuttal was that the NAACP had in the past selectively endorsed segregation when it clearly benefited black Americans. For example, during World War I, the NAACP had fought for segregated officers' training camps so that blacks could receive their commissions. Du Bois' argument was that segregation did not necessarily mean discrimination and that it was the latter that historically the NAACP had opposed, not the former. (Horne 143)

The NAACP's response was a forceful reiteration of the old platform and specifically a denunciation of segregation and racial separatism of any kind. Du Bois published a few of these rebuttals in *The Crisis* in January 1934. Most notably, he published the statement by the new executive secretary, Walter White, who had been the assistant to the previous secretary, James Weldon Johnson. Du Bois disliked and distrusted Walter White as an egotistical and unpredictable man. Soon after publishing White's remark, Du Bois resigned from the NAACP. It had become clear that these arguments were not leading to any type of mutual resolution, and he returned to his teaching position at Atlanta University. Du Bois' legacy at the NAACP did eventually lead to a dramatic rethinking of its role in the black community. In 1935, the NAACP convened to discuss its plans and decided that it must set up an economic plan in addition to its alliance with labor unions and the Congress of Industrial Organization.

There was detailed news of the founding of the NAACP at the Second Annual Conference on the Negro, along with horror stories under 'The Burden'. To talk about the Crisis

The Crisis was like a rocket. It came “at the psychological moment”, a triumphant Du Bois exclaimed “and its success was phenomenal.” With the first issue of thousand selling out completely, he doubled the number of pages in the December Crisis and increased the printing to twenty-five hundred. (Lewis 270)

Under the leadership of Du Bois, The *Crisis* became the most popular black periodical in first half of the twentieth century. It is said that: “At one point its circulations reached 116,000 per month, a noteworthy achievement particularly in an era of rampant illiteracy.” (Horne 44)

Part of the newspaper’s success was due to Du Bois’ ability to communicate to a cross section of readers on a wide variety of topic including lynching, civil rights, women’s suffrage, institutional prejudice, and Pan Africanism. In reporting on each of these issues, he remained committed to exploring te precarious relationship between race and democracy. Throughout his twenty-four years as editor, Du Bois never compromised dream of black equality. He publicly denounced those who did not share his point of view as evidenced by his periodic criticisms of the NAACP’s leadership, white southern politicians, Booker T. Washington, Woodrow Wilson, and others who disagreed with his assault on racism. He was even willing to criticize groups that he believed were dedicated to fighting for democracy, including suffragists and labour leaders, when their policies were racist.

The truth according to Du Bois was radically different. “Our people were emancipated in a whirl of passion, and then left naked to mercies of their enraged and impoverished ex-masters.” The History lesson that followed in “An Appeal to England and Europe” was marvel of compression, outlining the ‘systematic attempt to curtail education’ the mob violence aroused when ‘property in better Quarters’ was bought’, the universality of “lower wages for equal work”, the cardinal disgrace to black women in the South “without protection in law and custom” and finally, “worse than all this”, the systematic “miscarriage of justice in the courts”- topics dealt like cards snapped from a deck. In this three-page leaflet, Du Bois crystallized the divisions between so called radical conservative African- Americans. Washington’s performance was “like a blow in the face” Du Bois charged.

It is one thing to be optimistic, self-forgetful and forgiving, but it is quite a different thing, consciously or unconsciously, to misrepresent the truth. (Aptheke 97)

In the 1920s, *The Crisis* became an important outlet for creative writers who would have had difficulty publishing their work elsewhere. Some scholars have argued that Du Bois' willingness to publish unknown black writers helped usher in the Harlem Renaissance, one of the most important literary and cultural movements in this country. Du Bois, though, should not be given sole credit for the superb journalism of this period. His literary editor, Jessie Fauset, was instrumental in helping to publish poems, essays, and short stories by Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, and Jean Toomer. In 1925, *The Crisis* began sponsoring a literary contest that became an important arena to showcase new talent. Even though the *The Crisis* was forced to reduce its size during the depression, it continued to address social, political, and educational matters during this period of political turmoil. It was Du Bois' stand on voluntary segregation that ultimately ended his career as the journal's editor. Concerned that he was becoming too radical, the NAACP's leadership used the article "Segregation" (January 1934) to justify their vote that employees of the NAACP could not criticize the work of the organization in *The Crisis*. Determined not to be under the control of any organization, Du Bois promptly submitted his resignation to the NAACP board and returned to Georgia to become the chair of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University. Although published periodically, *The Crisis* remains dedicated to reporting issues relevant to the African American community.

Pan-Africanism

Du Bois is often seen as the father of Pan-Africanism. This honor is bestowed upon him because of his central role in organizing five Pan-African Congresses and sustaining the movement for a quarter century, from 1919 to 1945. However, pan African thinking and initiatives began soon after the start of the Atlantic slave trade. Du Bois' efforts to institutionalize and broaden the reach of the movement were a further manifestation of the vision and action of men like Edward Blyden, Martin Delaney, Alexander Crummell, Henry Sylvester Williams, and Bishop Henry Turner. Through his involvement in the movement, Du Bois served many roles: committee Chair, secretary, coordinator, and international president. At the 1900 Pan-African Conference, organized by Williams, Du Bois was the chair for the "Address to the Nations of the World" Committee. He was also elected as the U.S. vice president to the Pan-African Association, which was founded at this meeting. However, he never used this position to further the cause of the organization within the United States, nor did he mention his position in the organization in his writings. For Du Bois: "This meeting had no deep roots in Africa" (Horne 57)

Du Bois saw himself as a scientist. In part, his involvement in Pan-Africanism developed out of his desire to study scientifically and document the experience of Africans in North America. In fact, Du Bois' attendance at the 1900 Pan-African Conference in London does not appear to be a result of his interest in Pan-Africanism as a movement at this time in his life. Rather, he was in Paris to present a sociological paper on the "American Negro" at the Paris Exposition, for which he won a gold medal. DeMarco argues that: "Du Bois' emphasis on Pan African was quite weak in 1900." (DeMarco 35)

DeMarco was correct; Du Bois was a young man. He was still developing his ideas as evidenced in *The Conservation of Races* (1897). Here Du Bois articulates his earliest thought on Pan-Africanism. He writes that: "Negro people ... must soon come to realize that if they are to take their just place in the world of Pan-Negroism, their destiny is not absorption by the white Americans." (Du Bois 2) He made this demand for self-determination among Africans for the years to come. Du Bois attended Sylvester Williams' Pan African Conference in London in 1900. The call for this conference was issued by the African Association and Williams, a lawyer from Trinidad. Du Bois was chosen to chair the "Address of the Nations of the World"

Committee. In this capacity, he drafted the “Address “in which he made his now- famous statement: “the problem of the Twentieth century is the problem of the color line.” (Du Bois 125)

Du Bois involvement in The Pan-Africanist movement was not seen again until 1918, when he began to plan for the 1919 Pan African Congress.

The purpose for calling this and subsequent Congress was to assess the collective grievances, desires, and aspiration of African people around the world. (274)

To initially help modernize Africa, to persuade European powers to treat their African “subject” humanely, and to speak about the way forward for Africans and their interactions with other population, especially Europeans.

From 1919 forward Du Bois’ name became synonymous with Pan-Africanism. Blaise Diagne, the Senegalese deputy to France, helped Du Bois gain permission to hold the Congress in Paris, No other country had been willing to grant Du Bois permission to conduct an international conference, and the United States tried to keep it from happening in France. Although granted Permission to hold the meeting in France, Du Bois was told not to advertise it, in part because France is still under martial law. Even with this restriction, fifty-seven delegates representing fifteen different countries attended the Congress.

2.3 Du Bois and Religion

Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk* explores the philosophical and spiritual dimension of black people's souls, as well as those "souls" feeling that intimately bind black people together here. Du Bois talks about two complementary Journeys: first an examination of the roots African American religious thought, and secondly assessment of community in African American culture. *The Souls of Black Folk* weaves the sacred and the secular, thus providing with a 'soulful' literary model in which to express and reconcile the warring ideals of the African American souls, he wrote:

The Music of Negro religion is that plaintive rhythmic melody, with its touching minor cadences, which, despite caricature and defilement, still remains the most original and beautiful expression of human life and longing yet born on American soil. Sprung from the African forests, where its counterpart can still be heard, it was adapted, changed, and intensified by the tragic soul-life of the slave, until, under the stress of law and whip; it became the one true expression of a people's sorrow, despair, and hope. (Du Bois 116)

Of course, his analysis of the black church tradition is much more nuanced than those brief expressions. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois highlight three hundred years of African and American religious heritage. First, he asserts that African descendants came from a clearly defined social and religious environment; underscoring the point that prior to any contact with American religion, black people had a religious 'soul'. So far concerning traditional African religion, Du Bois writes:

These were the characteristics of Negro religious life as developed up to the time of Emancipation. Since under the peculiar circumstances of the black man's environment they were the one expression of his higher life, they are of deep interest to the student of his development, both socially and psychologically. Numerous are the attractive lines of inquiry that here group themselves. What did slavery mean to the African savage? What was his attitude toward the World and Life? What seemed to him good and evil,—God and Devil? Whither went his longings and strivings, and wherefore were his heart-burnings and disappointments? Answers to such questions can come only from a study of Negro religion as a development, through its gradual

changes from the heathenism of the Gold Coast to the institutional Negro church of Chicago. (Du Bois 116)

Du Bois critique of African American religion begs the question and said that the Negro, losing the joy of this world, eagerly seized upon the offered conceptions of the next; the avenging Spirit of the Lord enjoining patience in this world, under sorrow and tribulation until the great day when he should lead his dark children home,- this became his comforting dream. His preacher repeated the prophecy, and his bards sang,-

“Children, we all shall be free

When the Lord shall appear” (Du Bois 121)

Du Bois asserts that the correlation between freedom and religion, soul and freedom. Every soul demands freedom. Perhaps the soul food and soul music of this rural place all combined to create in Du Bois is sense that this was also his community. He examined through fugitive slaves and irrepressible discussion this desire for freedom seized the black millions still in bondage, and become their one ideal of life. He further said that the black bards caught ew notes, and sometimes even dared to sing,-

O Freedom, O Freedom, O Freedom over me!

Before I’ll be buried in my grave,

And go home to my Lord

And be free. (Du Bois 121, 122)

Critical of religion as practiced by European American, Du Bois frequently pointed out that the church was the most racist and segregated institution in the United States that it is the Churches which are the most discriminatory of all institution, in 1913 (The Crisis, December) he devoted several paragraphs to the Episcopal Church, attacking it for its racism, concluding it is:

Why should it thrust forward Nelson and Gailor and leaven the background Dillard, Weatherby, Bishop and Peabody? Is not this but one of many signs which show that this great institution is the church of John Pierpont Morgan and not the church of Jesus Christ? (Du Bois in the Crisis)

Later in *The Crisis*, May 1917, Du Bois excoriated the European American church for its racism asking:

Is there not a spirit of moral leadership in this powerful aggregation of men that can touch with mighty hands our real problems of modern life and lead us? And if there is not does the editor of the Standard and do the white ministers of Harlem believe that their brand for religion can endure? Awake! put on thy strength O Zion ! (Du Bois in the Crisis)

As he had earlier reproached the Episcopal Church and Negroes: A Correspondence in *The Crisis* 1925, Du Bois writes: “ Because Catholicism has so much that is splendid in its episcopal robes should do to black Americans in exclusion, segregation and exclusion from opportunity all that the Ku Klux Klan ever asked”. (Horne 181) With the election of Pope Pius XI, Du Bois succinctly noted: “The question that concerns us is whether or not to he is going to continue to allow the American Hierarchy, despite some of its nobler souls, to refuse to train and ordain Negro priests? (Du Bois 247) By 1949 Du Bois was still attacking the European American church, insisting that the church had consistently stood on the side of wealth and power, and he expected it would remain so in future. However, he wryly noted, if equality were ever achieved, the church would take the credit. Neither did Du Bois spare the black ministers, calling them:

The trouble is, however, this: there are too few such men. The paths and the higher places are choked with pretentious ill-trained men and in far too many cases with men dishonest and otherwise immoral. Such men make the way of upright and businesslike candidates for power extremely difficult. They put an undue premium upon finesse and personal influence... There are among them hustling business men, eloquent talkers, suave companions and hale fellows. (Du Bois 24)

In 1928, in Washington, D.C. black minister closed their churches to proposed Lecture by Clarence because of his agnosticism. Du Bois wrote in “Post script” in *The Crisis* 1928, that the ministers had committed a disgraceful act: “Such witch hunting would have barred Lincoln and Garrison and Douglass ...and the greatest o religious rebels were Christ. (Horne 182) On the other hand, Du Bois believed that the religion of Black folk has served as a basic rock to which they clung-the triumph of Good in the end. Its method has influenced all religious practice in the United States and the Salvation Army copied wholesale from our style.

2.4 Fight for Women's Rights

Du Bois was a nineteenth-century feminist. As early as 1887, he proclaimed his advocacy for the political and economic equality of women. In the *Fisk Herald* (December 1887), Du Bois recognized “that The Age of Women” is surely drawing”. Du Bois Position of the women's issues was best demonstrated in his many *Crisis* editorials, particularly entries written as the nation and, more important, black men debated the proposed constitutional amendment to enfranchise women. Also *The Crisis* column “Man of the Month” featured the achievement of men and women in keeping with Du Bois' view that every reference to “man/men” was gender specific. As each state considered the Nineteenth Amendment for ratification, Du Bois kept his readers informed of upcoming election and the potential impact of black voting bloc. Moreover, he urged them to vote affirmatively in spite of racism within the suffrage movement and more generally among white women. In the poem, “The Burden of Black women” Du Bois wrote:

Dark daughter of the lotus leaves that watch the Southern sea,

Wan sprit of a prisoned soul a-panting to be free,

The muttered music of thy streams, the whispers of the deep

Have kissed each other in God's name and kissed a world to sleep. (Du Bois 1914)

Du Bois exposed the leadership of the national American Woman Suffrage Association by printing their own accounts of the Louisville Convention (*The Crisis*, June 1912). On the one hand, the president, Anna Shaw, denied discrimination in organization. Yet resolution to denounce the disenfranchisement of blacks in the South was conveniently and forever stalled by bureaucratic procedures and supposed time constraints. Furthermore, Shaw stated:

I am in favor of colored people voting but white women have no enemy in wh does more to defeat our amendment. When submitted, than colored men, until women are recognized and permitted to vote, I am opposed to introducing into our women suffrage convention a resolution on behalf of men who, if our resolution wre carried, would go straight tp the polls and defeat us every time. (Horne 220)

Initially, Du Bois refuted Shaw's accusation that the black male was the enemy of white suffragist, but later he admitted and in *The Crisis* (November 1917) He wrote: "it is an unpleasant but well-known fact that hitherto American Negro voters have, in the majority of cases, not been favorable to woman suffrage." (Du Bois 7)

He fully understood why this group of voters may use their experiences of victimization and the threat of united, intensified white front as justification for voting against a women's right to vote. It was preposterous to believe that the white women, He wrote in *The Crisis* (August 1914):

Let us answer frankly; there is not the slightest reason for opposing that White American women under ordinary circumstances are going to be any more intelligent, liberal or human towards the black, the poor unfortunate than white men are. On the contrary, considering what the subjection of a race, a class or sex must mean, there will undoubtedly manifest itself among women voters at first, more prejudice and petty meanness toward Negroes than we have now. (Du Bois 179)

Still, Du Bois believed that the white women could eventually grow empathic to black issues through education and drawing parallels between their plight and similar oppressive circumstances. Even if hopes of alliance white women were inconceivable, every woman still deserved the right to vote, to become full participants in the political system of the country. It follows that Du Bois found the moral arguments for black and female disfranchisement inseparable in *The Crisis* (May 1913) he wrote:

There was, to be sure, a struggle in both cases and the forces of caste are not demoralized; they are, however, beaten at present, and a great and good cause can go forward with un-bedraggled skirts. Let every black man and woman fight for the new democracy which knows no race or sex. (Du Bois 29)

According to Du Bois, the perception of women as the weaker sex was "sheer rot". Their capabilities, despite sex discrimination, as contributors to the economy and civilization were quite evident throughout the society and the world. In addition, it was erroneous to assume that women's interests were protected by male voters. As the unmarried, never married, deserted, and separated, millions of women were denied even a plausible secondary voice. Furthermore, marriage held no guarantees for women. In *The Crisis* (April 1915) He wrote:

It is conceivable, of course, for country to decide that its unit of representation should be the family and that one person in the family should express its will. But what possible process of rational thought can it be decided that the person to expresses that will should always be the male, whether he be genius or drunkard, imbecile or captain of indistruy? (Du Bois 220,221)

Finally, his writings on women's issue often recognized and revered the unique circumstances of black womanhood. The poem "The Burden of Black Women" and the essay "The Damnation of Women (1920) celebrated African American women while demonstrating the extent of their denigration and exploitation within a historical context. In "The Damnation of women" he wrote:

I remember women from my boyhood: mother, Cousin Ines, Emma and Fuller, They presented the problem of widow, the maiden, the outcaste. They existed not for themselves but for men; their relation, they were named because their bonds with men, living and dead. These bonds were real things. They were in color, brown and light brown, yellow with brown freckles and white. (Du Bois 1)

In the Fable "The Women" (*The Crisis*, may 1911), Du Bois elevated black women to near sainthood as a lone black woman humbly went to war for the king. In "The women" he wrote:

So the woman went forth on the hills of the God to do battle for the King on that drear day in the land of Heavy Laden, when the heathen raged and imagine a vain thing. (Du Bois Du Bois 19)

When the creation of a black mammy statue was under advisement, Du Bois penned his retort in "The Black Mother" (*The Crisis*, December 1912), Rather than an immortalized dedication to the "perversion of motherhood", he suggested a more fitting tribute he writes:

As their girls grow to womanhood, let them see to it that, if possible, they do not enter domestic service in those homes where they are unprotected, and where' their womanhood is not treated with respect. In the midst of immense difficulties, surrounded by caste, and hemmed in by restricted economic opportunity, let the colored mother of to-day build her own statue, and let it be the four walls of her own unsullied home. (Du Bois 78)

Even in the short-lived children's periodical *The Brownies Book*, he educated his youthful readers on the life and contributions of Sojourner Truth, a righteous defender of human and civil rights for blacks and women. Accordingly, Du Bois had steadfast faith in the integrity of the

approximately 3.3 million prospective black women voters. He insisted that they could not be physically deterred from voting or bribed like their male counterparts and therefore would bring strength to their black political voice. In *The Gift of Black Folk* Du Bois wrote:

The emancipation of women is, of course, but one phase of the growth of democracy. It deserves perhaps separate treatment because it is an interesting example of the way in which the Negro has helped American democracy. (Du Bois 259)

2. 5 Protests for Socio- Cultural and Political Rights

Du Bois is generally recognized as central figure in the history of African American politics, a major contributor to more than half-century's debate over the condition of an proper goals and strategies for black in the United States and, more broadly, peoples of African descent worldwide. He enjoyed an unusually long and prominent career as career as scholar, essayist, and activist. He was pioneer in the formation of sociology as an academic discipline in the United States, author of one of the first revisionist histories of Reconstruction, a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), shaper along with Booker T. Washington and the Marcus Garvey of two pivotal controversies over racial strategy, elder statesman, of the Harlem Renaissance, hero of Pan-Africanism. Moreover, prominent African Americans political actor in twentieth century. Du Bois was the most systematic thinker. No other black intellectual or activist has written so much or so widely, and few have been so insistent on grounding strategic thinking on clear normative and theoretical principles. It is, therefore, something of an anomaly that Du Bois, more than others, has been claimed by advocates of many different, often diametrically opposed, ideological positions. Sometimes he is linked simultaneously with apparently contradictory stances. Du Bois two major studies have attempted though not with equal success to develop interactions that account carefully for his theoretical positions. Arnold Rampersad's *The Art and Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois* is an exemplary work in that regard; Joseph P.DeMarco's *The Social Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois* is noteworthy more for its attempt than its execution. Rampersad's study may perhaps best be described as a critical intellectual biography; he wants to unravel the antinomies of Du Bois consciousness, the existential tensions that defined his individuality and expressed themselves throughout his intellectual activity, particularly in his creative work. Arnold Rampersad writes about Du Bois:

In attempting in 1921 to discredit Du Bois before the bar of black public opinion, Marcus Garvey a color-conscious West Indian, struck at what he considered his most vulnerable point. Du Bois, he insisted was trying to be everything else but a Negro. Sometimes we hear he is a Frenchman and another time he is Dutch and when it is convenient he is a Negro... Anyone you hear always talking about the kind of blood he has in him other than the blood you see, he is dissatisfied with something , and ... if there is a man who is most dissatisfied with himself, it is Dr. Du Bois. (Arnold 16)

The occupation of Haiti by the United States between 1915 and 1934 occasioned a continual stream of protests from blacks in the diaspora. Viewed as having underlying expansionist and racist implications, Haiti's occupation became emblematic of the excesses of Social Darwinism and the jingoistic Roosevelt corollary of 1904 that provided justification for intervention in any part of the Western Hemisphere by U.S. forces. Although black participation in the foreign affair and protest against U. S. foreign policies that were unjust was well established, the importance of Haiti as the first independent black republic in the Western Hemisphere made this issue particularly volatile. With the advent of the Progressive era, African Americans with the assistance of liberal European Americans formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Its organ, *The Crisis*, edited by Du Bois, became during the occupation years, an important forum of denouncing the U.S. policy toward Haiti.

Du Bois salient protest against lynching was remarkable. He had attempt to secure President Woodrow Wilson's attention, a man who before being elected had promised to treat African American fairly. After his education, Wilson repudiated his promise by further segregation the federal government. The march, response to the bloody East St. Louis, Illinois, riot, (1917), in which nine white and forty black were killed by rampaging mobs, occurred on July 18, 1917, in New York City. In the *Crisis* (September 19 17) Du Bois wrote:

ON the 2nd of July, 1917, the city of East St. Louis in Illinois added a foul and revolting page to the history of all the massacres of the world. On that day a mob of white men, women and children burned and destroyed at least \$400,000 worth of property belonging to both whites and Negroes; drove 6,000 Negroes out of their homes; and deliberately burdened, by shooting, burning and hanging, between one and two hundred human beings who were black. (Du Bois 219)

Du Bois works are constructive. His method and strategy were uplift for African Americans. The hagiographical sanitizing impulse is all too common in the study of African American thought and especially prevails in Du Bois scholarship in part because Du Bois' prominence overloads the ideological significance of characterizing him and defining his legacy. Examination of the historically conditioned foundation of his thinking, therefore, has taken a backseat to establishing or reaffirming his position in history. In Memorandum of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) of Constructive effort he wrote:

By political action we should organize the votes of the Negroes and train them in modern political method for the enfranchisement of disfranchised men and women, for enlightened labor legislation and for general social reform. Particularly must we divorce them from the bribery of money or office. (Aptheker 118)

Du Bois, not only talks about political right but also education of African American. He was known the value of education. Without education politic is not fulfilling. The pragmatic approach to African American education that Du Bois exhibited in his criticism of the behavior of black college students and his view on the objective of African American higher education was also found in the principled position he took the issue of “separate V. mixed schools” for black children. In Memorandum of (NAACP) he wrote:

By education we must seek to train colored children to become intelligent citizens and efficient workers. We must see that very American child has chance to learn to read, write and cipher: that beyond this he has a chance to gain some comprehension of the world in which he lives. We must then train him as an intelligent doer of that part of the world’s work for which, after intelligent and sympathetic experiment, he seems best fitted and which seems also best fitted to encourage his own manhood, ability and self-respect. By encouraging the Talent we should seek to select with great care every case of exceptional ability and encourage such ability by the very best and most exhaustive training in order to supply Negro leader, thinkers, technologist and artist to the world. Every method of public awards, medals, honorable mention, Scholarship, etc., should be used. (Aptheker 118)

In 1905, Du Bois and twenty-nine other American political activists met near Niagara Falls to form the Niagara movement, a predecessor to the NAACP. The Niagara movement was a civil rights organization that opposed the politics of black accommodation and compromise advocated by, among others, Booker T. Washington. In the “Address of Country” Du Bois explain the ends and means of the Niagara movement, briefly detailing the organization’s opposition to racial discrimination and disenfranchisement. This “Address to the Country” was part of the movement’s second annual conference, held in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the site of abolitionist John Brown’s ill-fated raid on federal armory. In “Address to the Country” Du Bois said:

Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or little less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freedom American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the Slave—a by-word and hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment...In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: Freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughter, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to those who deny this. (Aptheker 63)

The Niagara movement sought to fight for equality on the national front. It is also intended to improve the self-image of African Americans. After centuries of slavery and decades of the second class status, Du Bois and others believed that many African Americans had come to accept their position in American society. As time passed, Du Bois began to lose hope that African Americans would ever see full equality in the United States. In 1961, he moved to Ghana. He died at the age of 96 just before Martin Luther King Jr. led the historical civil rights march on Washington. In *W.E.B. Du Bois and the fight for American democracy*, Chad Williams wrote in Washington Post:

As a young thinker, Du Bois internalized an understanding of democracy as a model form of government based on the open exchange of ideas and consent by the governed. More broadly, Du Bois approached democracy as an ethos and way of life, an ongoing process of discovery, learning and self-realization. Key to this was the importance of developing an educated and self-conscious citizenry. (Chad Williams 27)

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Chapter III

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar

Buddha's Challenge against Brahmanism and Caste

Buddha, (Sanskrit: “Awakened One”) clan name (Sanskrit) Gautama or (Pali) Gotama, personal name (Sanskrit) Siddhartha or (Pali) Siddhattha, (born c. 6th–4th century Lumbini near Kapilavastu, Shakya republic, Kosala kingdom [now in Nepal]—died, Kusinara, Malla republic Magadh kingdom [now Kasia, India]), the founder of Buddhism, one of the major religions and philosophical systems of southern and eastern Asia and of the world. *Buddha* is one of the many epithets of a teacher who lived in northern India sometime between the 6th and the 4th century before the Common Era. (Britannica)

Theravada, it was classical formulation, embodied in the major Pali texts (Pali canon), this chapter therefore shall deal with Theravada Buddhism of the discourses (or *Suttas*)⁴ and this the krma/rebirth framework is a central aspect. However, a reading of these texts shows that the Buddha gave a radically different interpretation of this framework. In fact, we can take the specific Buddhist notion of ‘*kamma*’ as a central entry point to understanding something of the Dhamma. The simple meaning of ‘Kamma’ is action, which first millennium thinking linked with the notion of rebirth and the transmigration of which through the inevitable links of action and re-action, cause and effect. Both samanas and Brahmins accepted this linkage of karma and rebirth. The Brahmins extended kamma from the sacrifice to the necessary rituals and rites of daily life, defined the terms of one’s place in Varna system. Of the samanas, some, like the Ajivikas, denied the efficacy of human action in affecting this Kamma. The Buddha also began from this framework but so radically reinterpreted it, using Kamma in a way totally different from either the Brahmins or the samanas, that we can almost say that the framework itself was shattered. Ambedkar in his monumental work, “*The Buddha and his Dhamma*” explains that: Why did the Buddha take Parivraja? The traditional answer is that he took Parivraja because he saw a dead person, a sick person and old person. This answer is absurd on the face of it.

1. The Pali canon is traditionally divided into three sets (the-Tipitika), the discourse or Suttas.

The detailed study on Ambedkar's interpretation of Buddhist tradition will be discussed in a chapter that deals on Ambedkarian thoughts on Buddhism.

Gautama drew his disciple from all walks of life; from all castes and creeds; from all status, positions and professions. Gautama survived for around 44 years after getting the 'Bodhi', or enlightenment. Short while after his attaining "Bodhi" he preached his first sermon at Sarnath. According to Buddha, the two extremes, which man ought not to follow, the habitual indulgence on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions and especially of sensuality, on the other hand, of asceticism of self-mortification, which is painful, unworthy and unprofitable. There is middle Path 'Majjhim Patipada' that avoids both these extremes. This opens up the eyes of known edge, generates wisdom and peace. (Sanjuka Nikaya 55)

Except the three months of rainy seasons Gautama tirelessly travelled on foot and preached his doctrine of freedom, love and knowledge; rationally of practical life. During the rainy seasons, he stationed at a certain camp. This stay is called 'Varsavas'. Buddha stayed for the Maximum Period (24 rains stay) in the city of Sravasti. These were not his pleasure trips. He crosses the Boundaries of Kingdoms with missionary zeal for the liberty of humanity.

Gautama Buddha once saved the life a newborn baby who deserted by her unmarried mother. This orphan, in course of time, grew as the most celebrated doctor of the day and become the personal physician of the King Ajatsatru of Magadha. His name was 'Jivika'. He got such name from Buddha, because on seeing the abandoned baby Gautama asked his companion to see whether it was alive. The Bhikku reported "Jivika" that it is still alive. This picture what we are getting from the Pali literature regarding the conversion spree, started by Gautama reveals a unique picture: "Mahaprajapati Gotami, Lord, has taken upon herself the responsibility or the enforcement of Eight Chief Rules, she may therefore be regarded as having received the Upasampada initiation which is known as entry into the Sangha. Now Mahaprajapati received ordination, and 500 Shakya women, who had come with her, were ordained at the same time. Thus, ordained Mahaprajapati came before the master, and saluting him, stood on one side and the blessed one taught her the Dhamma, the doctrine and the discipline. The other five hundred Bhikkunis were introduced by Nandika, one of the disciples of the Blessed one.

The Buddha's leading disciples Sariputta and MoggaUana were Brahmins but a scavenger, a dog-eater, members of the lowest castes were also highly respected monks. The blacksmith Cunda served the aged Buddha a special dish of mushrooms, which led to the Teacher's final illness. But

He, too, received as much attention in a special discourse on morality as the richest merchant or most noble princeling. (Kosambi 111)

According to Kosambi, Buddhism propounded a strikingly modern view of political economy, an intellectual achievement of the highest order. 'The new philosophy gave man control over himself.'

Kabir: A Spiritual Leader

Most scholars agree with the Kabirpanthis that 'Niru', a poor weaver, and his wife 'Nima' found the infant Kabir on a lotus leaf in Lahar Tank in Benares. But it is said that the names of his parents seem to have emerged a century after Kabir's death, or perhaps even later. Niru and Nima were Julaha or Muslim weavers who lived on the outskirts of Kashi. Hindus believe that Kabir was the illegitimate son of a Brahmin widow. Muslims believe he was a child of Muslim parents. The theory of his immaculate birth has been rejected by most scholars. Kabir himself declared: 'I am neither a Hindu nor a Musalman'. (Sethi 74, 75)

Living on earth simply, touching the sky with enormous spiritual accomplishments and composing poetry and music, Kabir remained a legend and mystery in his lifetime and beyond. Many of the stories about his life and poetry have been repeated by various authors. A disciple of the great Hindu pundit-preacher and philosopher-reformer, Saint Ràmànanda, he was at the focal point of Bhakti cult and was steeped in Hindu philosophy and esoteric practices. 'I am the child of Allah and of Ràm', he said. Temple and mosque, idol and holy water, scriptures and priests were usually renounced by him. He cared little whether people knew him as a Brahmin or a Mohammedan, a Sufi or a Vedantin, a Vaishnavite or a Ràmànandi.

Evelyn Underhill wrote about him, A great religious reformer, the founder of a sect to which nearly a million northern Hindus still belong. His wonderful songs survive; the spontaneous expressions of his vision and his love; and it is by these, not by the didactic teachings associated

with his name, that he makes his immortal appeal to the heart. Though Mohammedan legends speak of the famous Sufi Pir, Takki of Jhansi, as Kabir's master in later life, the Hindu saint is the only human teacher to whom in his songs he acknowledges indebtedness. The disciple of Ràmànanda, joining in the theological and philosophical arguments which his master held with all the great Mullahs and Brahmans of his day; and to this source we may perhaps trace his acquaintance with the terms of Hindu and Sufi philosophy. Kabir was plainly a heretic; and his frank dislike of all institutional religion, all external observance—which was as thorough and as intense as that of the Quakers themselves—completed, so far as ecclesiastical opinion was concerned, his reputation as a dangerous man. There are four major categories of collection, all of which seem to suggest different Kabirs. The Adi Granth collection brings us primarily the *nirguni* Kabir; many of the Rajastan collections are more *saguni* and devotional. The tradition of fierce opposition to caste inequalities as unjustified is carried on in the popular songs:

(Jati na Pucho sadhu ki pucho usko gyan

Mol karo talwar ka padi rahane do myan)

Don't ask caste to priest ask him knowledge

One must value to sword forget the sheath. (Overview of World Religions)

Kabir's anti caste attitudes come from being a subaltern, a man of the people. His language is filled with themes of weaving and production, and he also prophesies justice for the elite. The Kabir of popular dohas is an individual and a rebel, but he is also moralist. He warns of death, of little time left to lead a religious life, and he defines a righteous life quite simply in terms of behavior, a love of god and other human, a rejection of wealth and status. Kabir had vision.

Jotirao Phule: A Social Revolutionary

Jotirao Phule was born in 1827. His father; Govindrao was a vegetable-vendor at Poona. Originally Jotirao's family, known as Gorhays, came from Katgun, a village in the Satara district of Maharashtra. Impressed by Jotirao's intelligence and his love of knowledge two of his neighbors, one a Muslim teacher and another a Christian gentleman persuaded his father Govindrao to allow him to study in secondary school. In 1841, Jotirao got admission in the Scottish Mission's High School at Poona. It was in this school that he met Sadashiv Ballal

Govande, a Brahmin, who remained a close friend throughout his life. Jotirao and Govande were greatly influenced by Thomas Paine's ideas and they read with great interest Paine's famous book '*The Rights of Man*.' Phule's educational efforts continued until about 1858-60, but by this time the pressure from the orthodox was growing.

1873 was the crucial year, both ideologically and organizationally. It saw the publication of Phule's first major book, *Gulamgiri* (Slavery) and the founding of Satyashodhak Samaj. The challenge to caste and Brahmanism was now in the open and increasingly bitter, and it was to his cause that Phule devoted his efforts until his death. From 1873 he worked to organize the Samaj, primarily at first in Pune and in Mumbai, where it received important support from a group of Telugu Mali contractor. In 1877 the first newspaper of the movement, *Din Bandhu*, was founded under the editorship of his young Mali colleague Krisnarao Bhalekar, himself an important organizer. This was transferred to Narayan Lokhande in 1880, and Phule supported the work of Lokhande in organizing the first labour welfare organization, the Bombay Millhand's Association. (Omvedt 107)

Education of women and the lower castes, he believed, deserved priority. Hence at home he began educating his wife Savitribai and opened a girls' school in August 1848. The orthodox opponents of Jotirao were furious and they started a vicious campaign against him. He refused to be unnerved by their malicious propaganda. As no teacher dared to work in a school in which untouchables were admitted as students, Jotirao asked his wife to teach the girls in schools. Stones and brickbats were thrown at her when she was on her way to the school. The reactionaries threatened Jotirao's father asked his son and the daughter-in-law to leave his house as both of them refused to give up their noble endeavor. He has firm belief on education. His famous quotation is:

विद्येविना मती गेली। मतिविना नीती गेली। नीतिविना गती गेली। गतिविना वित्त गेले। वित्ताविना शूद्र
खचले। इतके अनर्थ एका अविद्येने केले।। (Phule)

*Vidhyavina matti geli, mattivina gatti geli, gattivina Vitta gele, vittavina shuddra khachale,
yitake anarth yeka aavidhyane kele.*

It means (Understanding went without education. The policy went without Understanding. Speed went without policy. Finance went without speed. Shudras were exhausted without finance. So much disaster was done by ignorance of education)

He also fought for widow remarriages. Many widows were young and not all of them could live in manner in which the orthodox people expected them to live. Some of the delinquent widows resorted to abortions or left their illegitimate children to their fate by leaving them on streets. Out of pity for the orphans, Phule established an orphanage would take care of their children. It was in this orphanage run by Jotirao adopted him as his son.

Phule refused to regard the *Vedas* as sacrosanct. He opposed idolatry and denounced the *Chaturvarnya*. In his book *Sarvjanik satya Dhrma Pustak* published in 1891, his views on religious and social issues are given in the form of a dialogue. According to him, Both men and women were entitled to enjoy equal rights and it was a sin to discriminate between human beings on the basis of sex. He stressed the Unity of man and envisaged a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity. He was aware that religious bigotry and aggressive nationalism destroy the unity of man.

He has done revolt against British Government through his writing. His *Poems condemning Practie of colleting the local Fund (Cess) from Shudras (1 to11)*

In *Abhang* He pointed out that:

Oh Queen (Epress Vicoria)! Your writ does not rub in (our land of India. (Your Government has gone to sleep in India). Please open your eyes and see (the ravages wrought everywhere by) the Brahmin officers (bureaucracy). The traditional Brahmin village- accountant (Kulkarni) wields a powerful pen (controls the records). The junior revenue officer (the Mahalkari) is a veritable lord in his sub-division.

Rajashree Shahu Maharaj as Crusader against Untouchablity

The Depressed Classes of India in general and of Maharashtra in particular owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Shahu Maharaj for the work that he did for them. Not only did he fight fiercely on their behalf to free them from the yokes of slavery, ignorance and poverty to which they were subjected, for thousands of years, by the higher Hindu castes but he also laid the foundation on which their future leader B.R. Ambedkar could stand and carry on the unfinished task with undaunted courage. The pioneering reforms that he introduced and implemented for upliftment

of untouchables, fifty years before, have all now found a place in the constitutes of free India during his administration from 1894 to 1922, he introduced reforms for the welfare of his subjects but one task, to which he specially devoted his energies was the removal of the social inequalities and disabilities imposed upon the untouchables.

Right from the beginning his realization, appears to be, that there was a necessary of setting on the right track the whole social machine, which, for ages, had strayed along lines harmful to national growth. To do this, he had to embark on a strenuous campaign against the evils, the traditional hierarchy of castes. According to Prof. A. B. Latthe:

Among the varied and beneficent activities of His Highness the place of Honour must, unquestionably, be given to his stupendous ameliorative work for the Depressed or 'Untouchable' Classes in the Deccan and more particularly in his own territory, and that for two reasons. In the first place, it was one of the most effective and far-reaching of the social activities of his life. And secondly, the removal of the inhuman and disgraceful ban of untouchability, pronounced against millions of human being by the Hindu community, is the acid test of patriotism which very few people in India are still prepared to stand. The work which His Highness accomplished in this respect was, and even now is, one which required the highest moral courage on the part of the reformer and His Highness proved to the hilt that he possessed that courage to a very high degree indded. (Lathe 483, 484)

In order to do away with the practice of untouchability, at least, at public places like wells, river sides, temples etc., he passed an order on 6th September, 1919 to the effect that:

Untouchability is not to be observed in places such, at least, at public buildings sanatoriums, rest houses, Government boarding houses, public wells and riversides. Just as Dr. Vail and Dr. Wanless of American Mission treat everyone equally in their public building and at public wells, we should also discard differences in the treatment of the untouchable. In this way event of failure to do so village officers (Patil and Talathi) will be held responsible (K.R.O No. 353)

Shahu Maharaj and B.R. Ambedkar

Sometime in 1919 Shahu Maharaj had met B.R. Ambedkar. His young spirited and devoted associate Dattoba Powar, a Chamar had made friends with B.R. Ambedkar and introduced him to Shahu Mharaj. (Bagal 180, 182)

During this period, 1918-20, B.R. Ambedkar came in to contact with Shahu Maharaj and correspondence and meetings were held between both. At their first meeting, there was considerable discussion about the forthcoming Montague, Reforms. Khairmode has very brainily narrated the story of this meeting. He pointed out that:

Dr. Ambedkar expressed desire to start a newspaper to voice the grievances and demands of the untouchables publicly. But he was helpless for want of money. Shree Shahu went his help and gave him Rs 2,500 to start 'Mook Nayak' meaning leader of the dumb, the first newspaper of the untouchables. Shree Shahu had regard for Dr. Ambedkar, for he had shown to the world that learned men were not born among the Brahmins alone. (Khairmode 266)

The information gleaned from the above mention writings on the relation between Shahu Maharaj and B.R. Ambedkar, clearly asserts that Mharaja through his graciousness and liberty extended his monetary help not only to B.R. Ambedkar and his Mook Nayak but also Mrs. Ramabai Ambedkar (First wife of B.R. Ambedkar) in her hours of need during B.R. Ambedkar's absence from this country. After studing, the correspondence between Shahu Mharaj and Ambedkar and the problems for which Shahu and Ambedkar agitated in India during their periods, one would not be for wrong if he concludes that Shahu Maharaj was the precursor of Ambedkar.

In this way Shahu Mahraja throught his life, applied himself bodily and mentally to the great task of uplifting and upgrading the down- trodden and down-fallen castes by extending every kind of help to them. He set a noble example of tru leadership to the future generation. Thus, he prepared the way for the emergence of Ambedkar, who carved on the program of Shahu's fight against caste and untoucability in his whole life, and even incorporated many of Shahu's ideas' in the preamble and in the chapter on fundamental rights in the constitution of free India.

A Critical Study of Bhakti movement and Dalit Literature: Shifting Dalit Aesthetic

Bhakti movement is movement which focused on the achievement of *Moksha*. In this movement prominent saint were Saint. Kabir, Saint. Chokhamela, Saint.Ravidas, Saint.Tukaram Saint. Dnyaneshwer, etc. In the book '*Bhakti and Bhakti Movement; A New Perspective*' K. Sharma observed as: "The word 'Bhakti' is derived from the word 'Bhaj' meaning to love and adore (Sharma 40) The Bhakti movement started from first time in Tamil Nadu and gradually spread out the whole of north India. The role of the Dalit consciousness mainly begins from the medieval Bhakti time which is the reason of Dalit awareness in India. Dalit literature should consider that the touching aspect of literature will always help the consciousness feature. Dissimilar historical events, situation and turns have brought about important changes in the growth of Dalit awareness. Dalit literature is exactly that literature which creatively portrays the sorrows, tribulation, pains, slavery, squalor, ridicule and poverty suffered by Dalits from higher caste. Dalit literature is but a haughty image of grief and plight.

In Maharashtra Marathi literature produced by the saints is said to be "timeless literature." To compare Bhakti movement with Dalit Literature, one can find that though the saints are revered by the Marathi people, the role of Dalit writers is different. The saints did not struggle against caste discrimination and for the deliverance of untouchables. *Moksha* seemed more important to them, compared to social problems. They assuaged the women and the *Shudras* with mere sympathy. Though, in theory, the Dalit Saints were equal at the doors of the gods, in practice, they were confined to the age-old lowest rung of the ladder. The helplessness of Dalit saints writers signified by this situation infuriates today's Dalit writers. Because of the caste system, Dalit writers have broken away from *Hindu* culture. It is therefore natural that they should feel a distance from the saints.

'Dalit aesthetics', from an unabashedly brahminical position, might appear an oxymoron in itself for the simple reason that 'aesthetics' as such is believed to be the sole preserve of the twice born. The presumption is that Dalits being low-caste are uncivilized enough to have any sense of aesthetics. In this process, the myth that Dalit ideology and aesthetics, with whatever be its type and level of maturity, is frozen in time would also stand thoroughly examined, contested and eventually overturned. Different historical events, situations and turns have brought about significant changes in the growth of dalit aesthetics. Dalit aesthetics has undergone strategic

shifts since the *bhakti*-period when for the first time some simmering of discontent against the Brahmanical orthodoxy was articulated by ‘the low-caste *bhakti* poets’. Dalit aesthetic is not ideal but real.

Ambedkar, the father of Dalit literature and the Dalit movement rejected the notion that caste made system is God made. He, along with Mahatama Phule, started a political movement for the freedom and equality of Dalits. This movement played a very significant role a shaping sprit of Dalit literature. After the conversion of Mahar to Buddhism in 1956, Gautama Buddha becomes cultural symbol as well as hero figure in Dalit Literature. In ways in seen in this poem ‘*Buddha*’ by Daya Powar

Siddhartha!

Never do I see you in Jetvana

sitting in the lotus position

with your eyes closed...

I see you

speaking and walking amongst

the humble and the weak. (Powar 127)

Dalit literature reject the establish standards of evaluating literature, though traditional literature talks about the basic principle of literature, *Satyam* (truth), *Shivam*(goodness) and *Sundaram* (beauty), it is never realistic. On the contrary, Dalit literature has based on reality. Sharnkumar Limbale, Dalit writer and critic point out in his book *Towards an Aesthetic of Dalit Literature*:

Satyam, Shivam, Sundarm is a foolish aesthetic concept. there is no truth and beauty in the world comparable to that which is found in human beings. Therefore it is essential to discuss the equality, liberty, justice and fraternity of human beings. In my opinion, that discussion will be the discussion of Dalit literature. (Limbale 22)

Bhakti movement was quite paradoxical in nature in the sense that presumably it was a credo of surrender and devotion, yet it also combined a high-degree of activism. It was an enigmatic mix

of surrender and complains both. A whole range of poets spanning across entire India descended upon the literary firmament unsettling the given standards of aesthetics as well as social practices. The beginnings of Dalit literature are often located in medieval *bhakti* literature for two compelling complementary reasons. One, most of the *bhakti* saint-poets were low-caste and local preachers; two, they launched a blistering attack on canonical Hindu practices. *Bhakti* poets from Namdev to Kabir were low-caste authors who wrote with utter disdain against the brahmanical orthodoxy. Going strictly by the definition of dalit literature, in *Towards an Asthetic of Dalit Literature* Sharankumar Limbale defines as: “Dalit Literature means writing about Dalit by Dalit writers with Dalit consciousness” (Limbale 44)

Bhakti poets were indeed dalit poets for not only they were dalit themselves, they wrote against the excesses of upper caste Hindus. Yet they fall short of being true dalit poets. Dalit literature has to have a consciousness of radical change that too through aggressive, quasi-militant ways of protest. Since *bhakti* poets remained very much within the domain of the sacred, they failed to carve out literature outside the literature of Hinduism. Since *bhakti* saints combined apparently contradictory virtues of complain and surrender, they did not posed a real threat to the hegemony of the sacred order. These *bhakti* saints nevertheless remain a source of inspiration for anti-caste agitations and movement all over the India. Among the *bhakti* poets who inspired Dalits were Ravidas, Namdev, Tukaram, Eknath, Chokhamela, Kabir and others. Their writings collectively may be described as proto-dalit. The significant feature of *bhakti* movement was that its frontline leaders were poets, and in this sense poetical activism combined with political in a very unprecedented yet organic way. Some of the common features of *bhakti* movement are :The *bhakti* poets always questions the orthodox and repressive brahminical understanding of Hinduism and as such made it possible for the lower castes and women to give a form to their religious aspirations, emphasizing devotion and love, not knowledge as a means of salvation.

A quick survey of some of *bhakti* poets – both Brahmins and non-Brahmins is warranted here to understand the nuances of their protest-poetics. Since these poets wrote very much within the frame of *bhakti* and devotion, their protest falls short of radical protest of utter secular nature. Understand the nature of protest of *bhakti*, Chokhamela, a famous Mahar poet of the *bhakti* movement in Maharashtra around 13th century evinces a profound awareness of his being an

untouchable. He was disturbed by the fact that he was ill treated as an untouchable. For instance in the *abhanga*, he resents his birth in the lower-caste:

If you had to give me this birth,

Why give me birth at all?

You cast me away to be born; you were cruel,

Where were you at the time of my birth?

Who did you help then?

Chokha says: O Lord, o Keshava, don't let me go.¹

(Abhanga 6)

In another *abhanga*, Chokha expresses his inability to serve the divine for he does not have access to Thee:

O God, my caste is low;

How can I serve you?

Everyone tells me to go away;

How can I see you?

When I touch anyone, they take offence.

Chokhamela wants your mercy. (qtd. in Zelliott 44)

There is an unmistakable element of fatalism in Chokha as well. He seems to accept his outward ugliness thus conceding in the process a sense of superiority to the aesthetics of the upper-order: Chokhamela sang one angry *abhanga* which ridicules the very idea of pollution: in Abhanga(86) he says that:

The Vedas are polluted; the Shastras are polluted;
the Puranas are full of pollution.

The soul is polluted; the oversoul is polluted
the body is full of pollution.

Brahma is polluted, Vishnu is polluted

Birth is polluted; death is polluted

Chokha says: there is pollution at the beginning and the end. (qtd. in Zelliott 5)

The spirit of most of the *abhangas*, as Zelliott puts it: It is delight in the Lord, delivery from life's sufferings through devotion. Even though agony is there, the central message is that Chokha, even though a Mahar could experience the grace of God.

In the *abhangas* quoted, for instance, he is less critical of the excesses of Hindu orthodoxy. He is more apologetic about his own karma and birth, in *Abhangas* (4)

He says that:

Pure Chokhamela, always chanting the name,

I am a Mahar without a caste. Nila in a previous birth,

He showed disrespect to Krishna; so my birth as a mahar,

Chokha says: this impurity is the fruit of our past.² (qtd. in Zelliott 24)

The appeal for mercy tones down, if not totally undoes, the muted voice of protest. Instead of exhorting his fellow brethren for a radical social change, he seeks divine intervention to correct the social imbalance. The hegemony of the sacred is not threatened; rather it stands enhanced with slightly more room for the low-caste. Chokha combines piety with protest, with the latter being more pronounced. Though Chokhamela's voice is perhaps the first dalit voice in terms of interrogating the caste structure, his protest is contained in bhakti. Among the Dalits of Maharashtra, Chokhamela is now only of minimal interest. There is some attention given to him

by scholars and there is no *dindi* to Pandharpur and only the traditional pujaris pay attention to the shrine of Chokhamela at the foot of the Great door. A Dalit critic and writer Dr. Gangadhar Pantavne said:

I have regard of Chokhamela who was a pioneer among untouchable writer, but I must clarify humbly that the sorrow and agonies expressed by Chokhamela do not protest the barriers of the social system or try to destroy the wretched casteism...why did he not blame god for the concept of pollution, If the god is the creator of the earth and human beings? (Pantavne 80)

We see the blame on god for exploited condition of poet in Keshav Meshram's poem entitled *One Day I Cursed That Mother-Fucker God*.

One day I cursed that mother-fucker God

He just laughed shamelessly.

My neighbour- a born-to-be Barahaman was shocked

he looked at me with his castor-oil face and said,

How can you say such thing to the source of the Indescribable...

One day I cursed God, I cursed him again whipping him with words,

I said 'Bastard'!

Would you chop a whole cart full of wood?

For a single piece of bread?

Would you wear out your brothers and sisters for your father's pipe?

Oh father, Oh God the father! You could never do such a thing.

First you would need a mother...

One day I cursed that mother fucker God. (Meshram 44)

But Chokhamela does inspire some creativity. A very unusual example is a poem by Daya Pawar from the Marathi Journal *Sadhana* (November 1991), which caste blames God himself.

O Lord of Pandhari, why is Chokha outside your temple?

You are really the false one. You're the one who showed him his place.

Your devotees came to the door of temple.

But you created a wall, you hide the inner sanctum.

When Chokha comes forward, they throw stones at him,

...Your silver eyes have become blind white stone. (qtd in Zelliott 32, 33)

Ravidas, A poet of low-caste *bhakti* poet of north India, who is supposed to be more radical than Chokha, also succumbs to pressures of the sacred in moments of vehement protest:

Whether one's heart is Brahmin or Vaisya,

Shudra or Kshatriya,

Dom, chandal, or malech,

Through the worship of the lord, one becomes pure, and

Liberates the self and both family lines...

Just as the water plants leaf remains nectar the water

[But untouched by it],

In this way, says Ravidas,

Is the life [of the blessed] in this world? (qtd. in Zelliott 197)

The liberation is sought through worship, and through work, which goes against the grain of modern-day dalit radical rhetoric. Dalit emancipation is to be sought in the domain of the material, thorough the material only, the worship of the divine is the only an escapist way of emancipation. So Ravidas was one of the greatest figure of the saint movement in the medieval period. He along with Kabir, Namdev, and Chokhamela formed the backbone of the medieval

anti-caste movement. But unlike Kabir, who comes across as a radical and, revolutionary saint, Ravidas is more often than not projected as a devout Ram- Worshipping saint. In his poetry, Ravidas questioned caste hegemony and valued labour of all sorts, as well as a life of simplicity and morality. He imagined an egalitarian society where there would be no discrimination or exploitation. He called such a society Begumpura, “land without sorrow.” Through his poetry he questioned established norms and hierarchies. He also initiated conversations with upper caste Hindus on questions related to caste, social justice, love and forms of worship. Though he was vehemently opposed by many for doing so, his perseverance and arguments initiated a process of pluralisation that has come into our times. Ravidas absorbed positive influences of contemporary sects. He acknowledged Vishnu, Brahma, and Shiva in his poetry as manifestations of God, but rejected celibacy, rituals, pilgrimage, idol worship and the authority of texts considered sacred. If we compare with it Dalit Literature, Dalit literature is whole rebels against the assumption of Hindu ideologies and rejects the attitudes and behaviors of Hinduism. Which were obstacles in the path of self-respect and freedom for Dalits. It also rejects the concept of god. Neitzsch said that ‘God is dead’ but Dalit literature denies the existence of God completely. Dr. Mahesh Pandya, a Gujarati poet his poem “Uttar Gujarat Ni Jivali” is one of the best illustration of the language of Dalit Poetry as:

Let us go to villagage O Javali

I want to buy a gun

Gun? Why Jivali?

Are you mad?

Why do you need a gun?

Ali Jamni, you don't know

Poor Subhuka was meditating and practicing Vedas

And then?

Rama killed him mercilessly

Now I want to kill Rama and also

I want to kill Drona,

who demanded Eklayas thumb as Gurudakshina.¹²

The passionate rejection of traditional Hindu culture is reflected in Dalit poet

V. L. Kalekar entitled his poem 'Rejection'. He says

No! No! No!

A triple rejection

To your economic, social, political mental, religious,
moral and cultural pollution.

You ever-living, ever-luminous Suns!

Your very touch brings a contagious disease.

But I am a new Sun Independent-self –luminting.

Possessed of a new spirit, I reject your culture.

I reject your Parmeshwar centered tradition.

I reject your religion based literature. (Pandey 6)

Rejecting Hindu culture by Dalit of maharashtra they have good relation with Ravidas-panthis. Recently there have been efforts made by those in the Ambedkar movement, chiefly Buddhist, to cooperate with the followers of Ravidas. Even more telling, several Ravidasi occasions have been also occasions to celebrate Ambedkar's life. Another well-known *bhakti* poet, Kabir is famous for his iconoclastic outpourings. Kabir is the best-known voice for equality of caste and religious divisions in poetic, picturesque, fiercely strong terms. He questions the concept of purity so-obsessively peddled by the twice-born Brahmins. He asks:

Tell me, O pandit,

what place is pure

where I can sit

and eat my meal? (Dharwadkar 124)

Despite his formidable foregrounding social life, Kabir tends to gravitate more towards transcendence and metaphysics. The reformatory streak is overtaken by metaphysical propensities. Tukaram, the most beloved saint- poet of Maharashtra, wrote hundreds of *abhangas*, many of which were anti- orthodoxy and anti-caste. Tukaram in the seventeenth century has some strong comments to make caste, specifically about Chokhamela's own caste:

He's not a Brahmin who abhors

The touch of a Mahar.

What retribution can pay?

He won't throw his life away!

A Chandala drives him wild,

It's his heart that is defiled.

Tuka says, his caste is defined

By what fills his mind. (qtd. in Zelliott 26)

The legends of the saints were collected a century, even centuries, later after their lives, in all three traditions - Tamil, Marathi and Hindi showing how closely linked were the lives of the saints with their songs and a companionship or a fellowship is expressed often in the songs themselves. Saints of the Bhakti movement came from all castes and, the movement had a large mass support. Unfortunately it could not maintain its initial thrust and was domesticated by Hindu orthodoxy. The Maharashtra Bhakti movement, similar to movement throughout in India, was antiorthodox, including both women and shudras, was based on the experience of God rather than on traditional piety or rituals. Therefore, there is connection between the bhakti movement and dalit literature even if it had the participation of the untouchable, Dalit society and culture today, as seen in this concluding Marathi poem "Tumhi Bombala aata" by Bansode

We've lived our whole lives

On the steps of the temple

Roaring out our songs of bhakti singing and weeping

We've walked hundreds of miles of Pandharpur.

But those days are over.

We've began a new life.

We've founded our own temple

Regained our lost faith

our gods are where we are

All are equal here...

Now you can scream, Its fallen! Its fallen!

Brahman Dharma has been overthrown

You lit your own pyre

What can we do now? (Bansode 43, 35)

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar

B. R. Ambedkar left remarkable action on Indian society, politics and economy with a broad range of scholarly work and rigorous political activism. While much is known, heard and written about his political, social and economic writings, there has been relatively less of an attempt at understanding the philosophical underpinnings and theoretical origins of his worldview. His worldview was informed by not only a scholarly interest but a personal experience of discrimination and marginalization. The deep sense of injustice felt by him motivated Ambedkar to challenge all oppressive institutions of society. Throughout his life he was passionately criticized of the Hindu caste system which was the basis of social, cultural, economic and political subjugation of those considered as lower castes. H S. Dwivedi and Ratan Sinha in their article entitled *Dr. Ambedkar: The Pioneer of Social Democracy* pointed out that:

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was one of the very important political thinkers and social revolutionaries that modern India has produced. If we try to look into Dr. Ambedkar's sociological approach to abolish untouchability we find that he picked up the mahad water tank issue, temple entry, opening of educational institutions for Dalit and Backward castes as entry points to attack Brahmanical hegemonic theory for exploitation, control and manipulation of the Dalit masses in order to annihilate caste. (Dwivedi 1)

Thus, in his struggle against caste based discrimination, Dr. Ambedkar held that emancipation of Dalits in India was possible only through the three-pronged approach of education, agitation and organization. His works are deeply embedded in a secular and modern understanding of human society. Moreover, they are also impressed by a strong sense of humanism and a belief in human dignity and worth.

3. 1. Experiences of Caste Discrimination

‘I belong to the other caste’²: Ambedkar’s Voice of Revolt

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, was a leader in the struggle for Indian independence, social scientist, historian, anthropologist, economist, architect of Indian constitution, emancipator of women and the champion of civil rights for “untouchable” caste, to which he belonged.

2. See Hindu Code Bill, Essential Writings of B R Ambedkar by Rodrigues, p.504.

He did not get time to write his autobiography due to his busy schedule of fighting for safeguards of marginalized group of Indian society. However, He intended to write an autobiography in English and also a biography of Gandhi. Shankarao Kharat, collaborator of Ambedkar and well known Dalit writer, mentions that three notebooks marked for three parts of the proposed autobiography were found in Ambedkar's study after his death.². Shankrao Kharat collected most of Ambedkar's autobiographical writing and speeches and edited book in Marathi entitled *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Yanchi Atma Katha* (The Autobiography of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar).

Notion of Nationalism

Moreover, Ambedkar's autobiographical notes which were published by People's Education Society as a booklet under the title *Waiting for Visa* in 1990 later included in BAWS, and also published by Ravikumar and Anand for Navayana under the title *Ambedkar: Autobiographical note*. Ravikumar in his Introduction pointed out

If these are some reminiscences, were there more? What Visa was Ambedkar waiting for? We can, however, gather from the content that Ambedkar wrote at list a few of this available notes in 1935. In the second reminiscence, he refers to his return from London to work in Baroda in 1917. Towards the end of this section, he recalls that happened in March 1938, and must have been written well after that. It is clear that Ambedkar jotted down several such 'illustrations' over the years and perhaps many have been lost. (Kharat 3)

Even though Ambedkar's works are available in several volumes but still we learned very little about his personal life. There are references of his poor health in his letters and speeches but it has not been possible for us to know everything about the sorrows and joys that came his way. Valerian Rodrigues observed as:

The phrase 'Waiting for Visa' is aptly satirical, conveying the situation of exclusion of 'Untouchables' and their being at the mercy of others. Ambedkar felt that case-studies of 'Untouchability' were probably more suited to acquaint a foreigner on this social phenomenon than 'a general description. (Anand 1)

Ambekar experienced of humiliation of untouchability during his childhood in school days of Satara, being thrown out of the Parisian in Baroda, refused by touchable to sit in Tonga in the way of Goregoan, He also recounted his childhood memories of his father and family member.

Moreover, being student Ambedkar sat outside of the class most of time and has been insulted by his teacher because of his “untouchable” caste. While talking about his father he pointed out

My father was a teacher... his teaching style was vary admirable. Therefore he had been interested in education. In our family every one could have read properly. Even through inspiration of father my elder sister could have been criticized on Ramayana... He was Kabirpanthi³. Hence, He could have recited a numbers of Bhajana and Abhanga. Though our family belongs to poor but atmosphere of our family was as good as progressive family. My father was very careful about our study. He cared about our character and made moral respectively. He was vegetarian even he did not touched single drop of alcohol in his entire life. This same tradition followed by me. Everyone knows that as like my father I also never touched single drop of wine in my entire life. (Kharat 2 5, 6, 7.)

Ambedkars father was religious and strict to rules and regulation of *Puja* for morning and evening. The holy atmosphere at his home had been created by his father when he used to sing *Abhanga*. Due to this impression Ambedkar also could recite poetry of Saint. Mukteshwar, Tukaram etc. Even he was deep thinking about it. According to him there are very few people who studied saint poetry as like him. He was scholar in English as like had interested in Marathi language. He started weekly newspaper such as *MookNayaka*, *Janata*, *Bahishakrut Bharata*, *Prabuddha Bharata* and *Navauga*, all are in Marathi respectively. He was student of Jermaine and Persian language. He knew French also. He also was quite interested in Sanskrit but due to his untouchable caste he could not studied it in class room. He observed as:

It was strong desire of my father that I should have learned Sanskrit. This was not fulfilled because of our Sanskrit teacher. His obstinacy was ‘I will not teach Sanskrit to untouchable’. He used to humiliate us in the class room. Therefore we felt negative impact on the mind... I have proud of Sanskrit. Still my desire is I should have expert in Sanskrit. (Kharat 13)

Ambedkar’s relevance is very important in contemporary politics of language particular in Maharashtra and in general in India. In Maharashtra political parties such as Shiv Sena and Maharashtra Navnirman Sena are engages with the issue of Marathi Language and Marathi *Manus*. To giving opinion of related issues of united Maharashtra discussing with Naware and Madkholkar Ambedkar pointed out that

To saying instead of 'I am Maharashtraian' one should have to say I am Hindi. I am Asian. I am cultured citizen of the World... Marathi is good language. I know it very well. I can write properly. But how it is appropriate to me with only Marathi? I want unity of entire India. Therefore I should have learned Hindi language which is able to understand entire Indian. It is not appropriate for me of language- devotee such as My Marathi, My Gujrathi, My Bengali, and My Kandy. There should one language for entire Indian. Therefore we should learn initiatively Hindi as a necessary language... let teach Hindi to entire people of India. Consequently, huge question of nation will be resolved... I understand Bengali well. And also I understand Gujrathi... One language, one life, one religion these are the pillar of one nationhood. Hence, I am feeling more warmth towards Hindi unity rather than unity of Maharashtra... with Hindi one should have learned English also for development of your relationship with entire world...don't try to involve me like a nationalist in narrow movement such as unity of Maharashtra. (Kharat, 278, 279, 280)

There is no need to prove nationalism of Ambedkar. He spent his entire life for Unity of India. But historian deliberately neglected him from national movement. In fact, his fighting against untouchability was nationalist issues. Fundamental rights such as right of education, right of acquiring wealth, right of considering human being of Dalits was denied by upper caste Hindu. Even Dalits had/have not been able to filling water from public well. Though water is natural resource but it was denied. According to Rodrigues it would have been different India to Ambedkar and, in all probability, a much more inequitable and unjust one. He [Aambedkar] attempted to forge India's moral and social foundation a new and strove for a political order of constitutional democracy that is sensitive to disadvantage, inherited from the past or engendered by prevailing social relation. He became deeply aware of the resource that history and culture offered for an emancipator project but argued that they can become effectively only through the matrix of the present.⁸

The question of water

Ambedkar was recording his experience about untouchability which he was faced on the way of Goregaon he pointed out that

The father had not turned up nor had he sent his servant, and now the station-master had also left us. We were quite bewildered and-the joy and happiness

which we felt at the beginning of the journey gave way to the feeling of extreme sadness...There were many bullock-carts plying for hire. But my reply to the station-master that we were Mahars had gone round among the cartmen and not one of them was prepared to suffer being polluted and to demean himself carrying passengers of the untouchable classes. We were prepared to pay double the fare but we found that money did not work... we were to pay the cart man double the fare and drive the cart and that he should walk on foot along with the cart on our journey. One cart man agreed as it gave him an opportunity to earn his fare and also saved him from being polluted...We were very hungry and were glad to have had an opportunity to have a bite. My aunty had pressed our neighbours' women folk into service and had got some nice preparation for us to take on our way. We opened tiffin basket and started eating. We needed water to wash things down. One of us went to the pool of water in the river basin nearby. But the water really was no water. It was thick with mud and urine and excreta of the cows and buffaloes and other cattle that went to the pool for drinking. In fact that water was not intended for human use. At any rate the stink of the water was so strong we could not drink it. We had therefore to close our meal before we were satisfied and wait for the arrival of the cartman. (qtd in Rodrigues 1)

Ambedkars cart reached toll-collector's hut. It was situated at the foot of a hill but on the other side of the hill. When they arrived they saw a large number of bullock-carts there all resting for the night. They were extremely hungry and wanted very much to eat. But again there was the question of water. So they asked there driver whether it was possible to get water. He warned them that the toll-collector was a Hindu and that there was no possibility of their getting water if they spoke the truth and said that they were Mahars. He said, "Say you are Mohammedans and try your luck ". On his advice Ambedkar went to toll- collector's hut for asking water. He pointed out:

I went to the toll-collector's hut and asked him if he would give us some water. "Who are you?" he inquired. I replied that we were Musalmans. I conversed with him in Urdu which I knew very well so as to leave no doubt that I was a real Musalman. But the trick did not work and his reply was very curt. "Who has kept water for you? There is water on the hill, if you want to go and get it, I have none. "With this he dismissed me. I returned to the cart and conveyed to my brother his reply I don't know what my brother felt. All that he did was to tell us to lie down... There was plenty of food with us. There was hunger burning within us; with all this we were to sleep without

food; that was because we could get no water and we could get no water because we were untouchables. (Rodrigues 49, 50)

At early morning their cart man came and suggested that they should start for Goregaon and they reached Goregaon. Ambedkar's father was surprised to see them and said that he had received no intimation of their coming. They protested that they had given intimation. His father denied the fact. Subsequently it was discovered that the fault was of his father's servant. He had received their letter but failed to give it to his father. According to Ambedkar this incident has a very important place in his life. He was a boy of nine when it happened. But it has left an indelible impression on his mind. Before this incident occurred, he knew that he was an untouchable and that untouchables were subjected to certain indignities and discriminations. For instance, Ambedkar argued

I knew that in the school I could not sit in the midst of my class students according to my rank but that I was to sit in a corner by myself. I knew that in the school I was to have a separate piece of gunny cloth for me to squat on in the class room and the servant employed to clean the school would not touch the gunny cloth used by me. I was required to carry the gunny cloth home in the evening and bring it back the next day. While in the school I knew that children of the touchable classes, when they felt thirsty, could go out to the water tap, open it and quench their thirst. All that was necessary was the permission of the teacher. But my position was separate. I could not touch the tap and unless it was opened for it by a touchable person, it was not possible for me to quench my thirst. In my case the permission of the teacher was not enough. The presence of the school peon was necessary, for, he was the only person whom the class teacher could use for such a purpose. If the peon was not available I had to go without water. The situation can be summed up in the statement—no peon, no water. (qtd. in Rodrigues 51, 52)

Thus the question of water was is very important issue in the life of Dalits. Consequently in 1927, Ambedkar had launched active movements against this called *Mahad tank Satyagraha*. Significantly, this is first Satagrahaya in the World for water. He began with public movements and marches to open up public drinking water resources. In fact, today also Dalits are denied by upper caste Hindus to take water from public resources in several villages of India. Therefore, water becomes myth in Dalit popular culture of Western India. Waman Dada Kardak, one of the

great Dalit singers and composer of *Bheem Geete* from Maharashtra sang a song of water. Here one Dalit woman with baby in her arm is asking water to Upper Caste Hindu woman he sang as:

Mother! give me water give me!

I am not asking more

Fill my small earthen pot.

I touched feet of all

Nobody felt kindness.

My skin is hot due to overheat

Although give me your shadow.

Give me one bucket of water

May be it of karama or dharma.

Mother! Give me water give me! (Kardk Youtube).

Where to go?

Ambedkar returned to India 1916. He had been sent to America by Maharaja of Baroda for higher education. He studied at Columbia University in New York from 1913 to 1917. In 1917 he came to London and joined the post-graduate department of the School of Economics of the University of London, In 1918 he was obliged to return to India without completing his studies. As he was educated by the Baroda he was bound to serve the State. Hence Ambedkar lived at Baroda in Parsi hotel for few days assume a Parsi name for the purpose of entering it in the register. In fact Ambedkar considered that The Parsis were followers of the Zoroastrian religion. There was no fear of his being treated by them as an untouchable because their religion does not recognise untouchability. But it was wrong to Parsi. They humiliated Ambedkar as he pointed out:

Instantly I saw a dozen angry looking, tall, sturdy Parsis, each armed with a stick, coming towards my room. I realised that they were not fellow tourists

and they gave proof of it immediately. They lined up in front of my room and fired a volley of questions. "Who are you? Why did you come here? How dare you take a Parsi name? You scoundrel! You have polluted the Parsi inn ! "I stood silent. I could give no answer. I could not persist in impersonation. It was in fact a fraud and the fraud was discovered, and I am sure if I had persisted in the game I was playing I would have been assaulted by the mob of angry and fanatic Parsis and probably doomed to death...I can even now vividly recall it and never recall it without tears in my eyes. It was then for the first time that I learnt that a person who is an untouchable to a Hindu is also an untouchable to a Parsi. (Ambedkar 66, 67, 68)

In the year 1934, Ambedkar and some of his co-workers in the movement of the depressed class decided to visit the Buddhist caves at Verul and also decided to visit Daultatabad fort near Aurangabad which was under Nizam regime.

The month was Ramjan, the month of fast for the Mohammedans. Just outside the gate of the fort there is a small tank of water full to brim. There is all around a wide stone pavement. Our faces, bodies and clothes were full of dust gathered in the course of our journey and we all wished to have a wash. Without much thought some members of the party washed their faces and their legs on the pavement with the water from the tank... In the meantime an old Mohammedan with white flowing beard was coming from behind shouting "the Dheds (meaning untouchables) have polluted the tank ". Soon all the young and old Mohammedans who were near about joined him and all started abusing us." The Dheds have become arrogant. The Dheds have forgotten their religion (i.e. to remain low and degraded). The Dheds must be taught a lesson "...One young muslim in the crowd kept on saying that everyone must conform to his religion, meaning thereby that the untouchables must not take water from a public tank. (Ambedkar 84)

He further said that "I gave one instance to show that a person who is an untouchable to a Hindu is also an untouchable to a Parsi. This will show that person who is an untouchable to a Hindu is also an untouchable to a Mohammedan, (85) though the Muslims were humiliated to Ambedkar and his follower but he argued that Muslims and untouchables should maintain brotherhood and should help each other. Moreover, in 1953 an honorary degree D. Lit. (Doctorate of Literature), awarded to Ambedkar, was by the Osmania University. The Nizam was so impressed by Ambedkar that he offered him the post of Chief Justice of the Hyderabad State. The Nizam was very influenced by the teachings and ideas of Ambedkar in

his period. Consequently, Sivsena chief, Anti- Muslims and Anti-Dalits, Balasaheb Thackeray apparently called Ambedkar a stooge of the Nizam of Hyderabad at public meeting in Sangli, Maharashtra. Then, of course, he denied it strenuously. But what he can't deny is that he'd accused Ambedkar of being the Nizam's adviser and involved in liberating the Marathwada region from the erstwhile Hyderabad state. Thackeray's smear campaign against the Ambedkar was aimed at countering the Dalits fight to name Marathwada University after Ambedkar which was known as Namantar Movement. In contemporary cowpolitics³ at Dadri's Bishara village on September 28, a 50-year-old Mohammad Akhlaq was lynched and his son Danish was brutally beaten up as punishment for allegedly having beef of animal called cow. Moreover, RSS mouthpiece 'Panchjanya' defends Dadri lynching saying that 'Vedas order killing of sinners who kill cows. Hindi writer Tufail Chaturvedi who edits the journal *Lafz* states the article 'is Utpat ke Us paar' (The other side of this disturbance)' as:

Veda ka adesh hai ki gau hatya karne wale pataki ke pran le lo. Hum mein se bahuton ke liye to yah jivan-maran ka prashn hai (Vedas order killing of the sinner who kills a cow. It is a matter of life and death for many of us).

(Indianexpress)

Therefore, through this politics of violence one can realized that why Ambedkar rejected Manusmriti, Shastras and Puranas. Which teaches violence, inequality, and discrimination etc?

3. Cow is sacred animal for Hindu. They are making violence against Muslims and Dalits for allegedly killing cow and suspicion of eating beef.

Ambedkar's mission in life was to challenge the ideological foundations of graded system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to Dalits. He believed that society should be based on reason and not on atrocious tradition of caste system. Therefore, in order to reconstruct ideal society along modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. He argued in *The Annihilation of Caste* as:

It is no use telling people that the Shastras do not say what they are believed to say, grammatically read or logically interpreted. What matters is how the Shastras have been understood by the people. You must take the stand that Buddha took. You must take the stand that Which Guru Nanak took. You must not only discard the Shastras, you must deny their authority, as did Buddha and Nanak. You must have courage to tell the Hindus, that what is wrong with them is their religion- the religion which has produced in them this notion of the sacredness of caste. Will you show that courage? (qtd. in Rodriogues 290)

3.2 Protests against Casteism

In India, caste is still the most powerful factor in determining the person's dignity. The caste system is the result of the Hindu belief in reincarnation and karma. In Indian context, generally theory is that the social organization was based on *Chaturvarnya*. It meant the division of society in four classes- *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* and *Shudras* based on division of labour and heredity. Ambedkar has founded origin of Shudras and Untouchable in the Hindu society.

Dr. Badal Sarkar in his article entitled *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: Origin of Untouchable and Who Were Shudras* quoted Ambedkar as:

He has tried to find out the origin of the Shudras and Untouchables in the Hindu society. Dr. Ambedkar has analysed the concept of the caste system which are revealed by the writing of Senart, Nesfield, Sir H. Ristley and Ketkar. In the Hindu social order Dr. Ambedkar found fault with Senart's conception of caste as 'ideal of pollution'. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the idea of pollution is not necessarily connected with caste. It is priestly ceremonialism. To him, "idea of pollution" is a characteristic of caste only in so far as Caste has a religious flavor. (Sarkar 160, 161)

Thus, these four castes eventually developed into a social mosaic vary sub castes, with the Untouchables at the bottom of the list or more precisely outside the list. Such a rigid caste system is not found anywhere in the world outside India. A person is born into a caste. Once born in that case, his status is determined and immutable. The birth decides one's status and this cannot be altered irrespective of any talent that a person may develop or wealth a person may accumulate. Similarly, the caste in which a person is born predetermines what vocation the person will pursue. One has no choice. Birth decides the occupation of the person in question. Ambedkar quotes *Vaisistha Dharma Sutra* and *Veda* in his book entitled *Who Were the Shudras?*

He observes:

There are four castes (Varnas), Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Three castes Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas (are called) twice-born. Their first birth is from their mother; the second from the investiture with the sacred girdle. In that (second birth) the Savitri is the mother, but the teacher is said to be, the father. They call the teacher father, because he gives instruction in the Veda... The Brahmana was his mouth, the Kshatriya

formed his arms, the Vaishya his thighs; the Shudra was born from his feet.
(Ambedkar 23)

Thus, Ambedkar has criticized principle of *Chaturvarnya*. According to him it presupposes classification of people in to four definite categories. He strongly objects to this saying that the ideal of *Chaturvarnaya* has close affinity to the Platonic ideal of division of society in to three classes- Philosopher-King, Soldiers and Artisans. In this way, he subjects both to the same criticism. According to Ambedkar, modern science has shown that lumping together of individuals in to a few sharply marked off classes is a superficial view of man not worthy of serious consideration. He opined that both Plato and the profounder of *Chaturvarnaya* fail to recognize the infinite diversities of the active tendencies and the uniqueness of which an individual is capable. Ambedkar says that it is impossible accurately to classify people in to four definite classes. That it is way he point out that the original four classes have now become four thousand castes. Ambedkar has raised two questions in *Who Were the Shudras?* (1)Who were the Shudras? (2) How they came to be the fourth Varna of the Indo-Aryan society? He has reached as a result of his investigations and research about following conclusion as:

- (1) The Shudras were one of the Aryan communities of the Solar race.
- (2) There was a time when the Aryan society recognised only three Varnas,
namely. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas.
- (3) The Shudras did not form a separate Varna. They ranked as part of the
Kshatriya Varna in the Indo-Aryan society.
- (4) There was a continuous feud between the Shudra kings and the Brahmins
in which the Brahmins were subjected to many tyrannies and indignities.
- (5)As a result of the hatred towards the Shudras generated by their tyrannies
and oppressions, the Brahmins refused to perform the Upanayana of the
Shudras.
- (6) Owing to the denial of Upanayana, the Shudras who were Kshatriyas
became socially degraded, fell below the rank of the Vaishyas and thus came
to form the fourth Varna”. (Ambedkar 11)

For support of above statement Ambedkar has given to argument. His first argument is that the RegVeda excluding to Purusha Sukta (a Hindu Hymn, which is known by the famous name of Purusha Sukta) mentions Brahmins, Kshatrias and Vaishyas many times but does not mention Shudra as a separate Varna. Hence Ambedkar said that there were only three Varnas. His second argument is that the *Satpath* and the *Taittiriya Brahmins* speak of the creation of three Varnas only and not of the fourth Varna as separate and the the Brahmins are equal in point of authority. Ambedkar argues, since both are *Shrutis*. Giving these two evidences, Ambedkar writes that originally there were only three Varnas and that the Shudras were part of the second, Kshatriya Varana. According to Ambedkar the theory of *Chaturvaranya* in *Purusa sukta* is a latter production interpolated in to the Rg Veda. He quotes various scholars on the subject in support of this theory in his *Who Were the Shudras?* He has given the opinion of Professor Colbrooke, who says:

That remarkable hymn (the Purusha Sukta) is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanskrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanskrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Veda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane (puranas and kavyas), have been written. (Ambedkar 148)

Thus, Ambedkar's final conclusion is that there were originally three Varnas. However, Ambedkar focuses on degradation of the Shudras. There is question, what is a technique of degradation employed by the Brahmins? Ambedkar gives answer of this question in his *Who Were the Shudras?* He says that:

My answer to the question is that the technique employed by the Brahmins for this purpose was to refuse to perform the Upanayana of the Shudras. I have no doubt that it is by this technique that the Brahmins accomplished their end and thereby wreaked their vengeance upon the Shudras. (Ambedkar 175)

According to Ambedkar the Shudra were degraded by Brahmins which was the consequence of a violent conflict between the Shudras and the Brahmins. Ambedkar then emphasizes the importance of this Upanayan ceremony. A boy was initiated into the class of the Twice- Born and was made eligible for the study of the Vedas after his Upanayan ceremony was performed. Moreover, Ambedkar said that when Upanayan was open to everyone, Aryan or non-Aryan, it was not a matter of social significance. Once it was denied to the Shudras, its possession became a matter states, a new factor in Indo-Aryan Society. It made the Shudras look up to the higher class as their superiors and enabled the three higher classes to look down upon the Shudras as their inferiors. The further question that Ambedkar tries to answer is “what power did the Brahmins have to deny Upanayana to Shudras?” Ambedkar urges that the Brahmins did have powers to deprive the Shudra of his right of Upanayana. He advanced two facts to prove what he had to say. First, the Brahmins exclusive right to officiate at an Upanayana and secondly penalties to which he is made liable for performing an unauthorized Upanayana. According to Ambedkar the combined effect of these was to vest in the Brahmins the power of performing as well as denying of Upanayana, though not expressly given, as yet had an indirect effect. Moreover, Ambedkar said that the whole Shudra community was involved and not merely a few Shudra kings. He pointed out that this conflict had taken place in the hoary past when life was tribal in thought and action. He observed that:

When the rule was that what was done by one individual belonging to the tribe was deemed to be done by the whole tribe. In all ancient societies the unit was the tribe or the community and not the individual, with the result that the guilt of the individual was the guilt of the community and the guilt of the community was the guilt of every individual belonging to it. If this fact is borne in mind, then it would be quite natural to say that the Brahmins did not confine their hatred to the offending kings, but extended it to the whole of the Shudra community and applied the ban against Upanayana to all the Shudras. (Ambedkar 210)

There is a next question that Ambedkar has to answer is, why a section of the Kshatriyas became degraded to Shudras and not all those belonging to the Kshatriyas Varna. According to Ambedkar most of Kshatriyas who came in conflict with the Brahmins belonged to solar line. They were higher than the Kshatriyas of the lunar line in martial spirit, learning and pride. It was they who challenged the Brahmins while the latter succumbed to the Brahmins and became their

slaves. Moreover, Ambedkar argued that there was no reconciliation between the Brahmins and Shudras. He says that the Brahmins not only did not forgive the Shudras, they pursued even the progeny of the Shudras with same spirit of relentless revenge. This would be clear from the back laws that the Brahmins enacted against the Shudras. Therefore, Ambedkar's conclusion is that Manu invested the social ideal of Chaturvarnya contained in the Purusasukta with the degree of divinity and infinity which it did not have before. In this way Ambedkar accounts for the degradation of Shudras. The degradation of Shudras was a result of religious text of Hinduism. The practice of the caste system and untouchability was the corner stone of the Hindu society. Brahmins considered themselves superior to other sections of the people. Hence, they enjoyed all privilege in society. *Manu* declared, Michael pointed out in his book entitled *Dalits in Modern India* as: "The Brahmin is the Lord of all Varnas because of his superiority of birth and observation of rituals and sacraments". (Michael 64)

Brahmin behaved as if they were god on earth. They prohibited the Sudras from pursuing knowledge, engaging in economic enterprises and marrying from the upper castes. In short, caste system paralyzed and crippled the people. Keer in his book on *Dr. Ambedkar's Life and Mission* says:

The Caste Hindus, who fondly threw sugar to ants and reared dogs and other domestic pets and welcomed persons of other religions to their houses, refused to give a drop of water to the Untouchables or to show them and iota of sympathy. These Untouchable Hindus as sub-humans, less than men, worse than beasts. This picture is still true of villages and small towns. Cities have now mostly overcome this prejudice. (Keer 2)

Ambedkar experienced the same humiliation and tribulation, which every Untouchable had to face in those days. In schools, colleges, or institutions, wherever he went, he was humiliated. He continuously underwent the experience of untouchability. Undoubtedly, he traced the cause of all these misery to the existing social order or the caste system. Ambedkar not only saw their misery, but also experienced it personally from his school days onwards. Bakshi observed in his book entitled *B. R. Ambedkar Statesman and Constitutionalist* Ambedkar said that: "Though I had a desire to learn Sanskrit, I was compelled to leave it on account of the narrow attitude of our teachers. (qtd in Bakshi) The intellectual influences on Dr. Ambedkar are well-known, however, the philosophical roots of his works remain an area to be explored and understood. The engagement with Ambedkar's philosophy is not merely a scholarly exercise but also has great

relevance in the present Indian context where the Brahminical forces, bolstered by the neo-liberal regime, are reasserting themselves. Socially marginalized groups are at the receiving end of this resurgence of Hindu fundamentalism. His ideas, ideals and philosophy revolved around the welfare of humans to be achieved through social and political means. He fought against social and political injustice. His struggle was to consolidate Dalits and to make them aware that they too were human beings and have the right to lead a happy life in society. Nevertheless, the practice of caste system jeopardized their free association with the rest of the society. They bore tyranny and insults without a complaint. Ambedkar has drawn the condition of Untouchable of Maharashtra in his undelivered speech later becomes book entitled *Annihilation of Caste* he observed as:

Under the rule of the Peshwas in the Maratha country, the untouchable was not allowed to use the public streets if a Hindu was coming along, lest he should pollute the Hindu by his shadow. The untouchable was required to have a black thread either on his wrist or around his neck, as a sign or a mark to prevent the Hindus from getting themselves polluted by his touch by mistake. In Poona, the capital of the Peshwa, the untouchable was required to carry, strung from his waist, a broom to sweep away from behind himself the dust he trod on, lest a Hindu walking on the same dust should be polluted. In Poona, the untouchable was required to carry an earthen pot hung around his neck wherever he went—for holding his spit, lest his spit falling on the earth should pollute a Hindu who might unknowingly happen to tread on it. (Ambedkar 5, 6)

Therefore, to restore their human dignity and give them a respectable place in society, Ambedkar struggled for about forty years and sought a religion that could deliver the depressed classes from the bondage of social evil. He looked for a religion, which could really recognize, understand their sufferings and misery and give respect to their humanity. He wanted respect for Dalits not as philanthropy but as a right and wanted to create the spirit of independence and self-reliance among the Untouchables. He wanted to see the birth of a new society-the birth of free human beings. Ambedkar was the first person in India to tell the world that untouchability is a part of the caste system and caste is the foundation on which the Hindu religion stands. Moreover, Ambedkar argued that social reform is more important than political reform. In his *Annihilation of Caste* Ambedkar pointed out that:

It was at one time recognized that without social efficiency, no permanent progress in the other fields of activity was possible; that owing to mischief

wrought by evil customs, Hindu Society was not in a state of efficiency; and that ceaseless efforts must be made to eradicate these evils. (Ambedkar 4)

Thus, Ambedkar has focused on social reform as well as political reform. He was also the first in India to challenge the Marxist's theory that a person's status is determined by his property relation. To them, property is the only source of power. But this is contrary to the facts in India. Here the rulers and the rich landlord are governed by the dictates of the priestly class. Even gods are governed by the priest. The priest may be poorer than the rulers or the landlords but he ranks above everybody else. This rule prevails even to this day. It is caste that decides the social status and not the person's property. It is true to a large extent that the upper castes of India belong to the upper class. Today caste is the other name for class. Still there are people in India who harp on the point that there are many poor people among the upper castes. But in India economic status does not deprive a person's social status, which comes with his birth. In *Annihilation of Caste* Ambedkar observed as:

The Socialists of India, following their fellows in Europe, are seeking to apply the economic interpretation of history to the facts of India. They propound that man is an economic creature, that his activities and aspirations are bound by economic facts, that property is the only source of power. They therefore preach that political and social reforms are but gigantic illusions, and that economic reform by equalization of property must have precedence over every other kind of reform. One may take issue with every one of these premises on which the Socialists' case for economic reform as having priority over issue with every one of these premises—on which rests the Socialists' case for economic reform as having priority over every other kind of reform. One may contend that the economic motive is not the only motive by which man is actuated. That economic power is the only kind of power, no student of human society can accept. (Ambedkar 11)

Moreover, Ambedkar is one of the few Indian leaders whose work attracts the scholars of today. The problem, which he struggled to solve, still defies solution. Ambedkar's goal was to raise the Untouchables to their rightful status. He criticized the social neglect of the depressed classes, blamed the British for the Dalit's political and economic backwardness and stood as the unrivalled champion of the depressed classes, dedicating his life to the cause of the Untouchables. Further, Ambedkar was also India's first thinker to make the point clear that India is not yet a nation, but a nation in the making. Whether the upper castes like it or not the

question of nationality is comes to the fore once again. In India Dalits are seeking for an identity of their own. Ambedkar had rightly realized the urgent need to fulfill the social aspiration of these people in the interest of maintaining the unity of India which can be preserved only if its diversity is recognized. Ambedkar was India's first to recognize this and incorporated it in the Constitution of India. It was an attempt to make the Hindu society aware of its defects and shortcomings. According to Ambedkar, it is pity that caste even today has its defenders. The defenses are many. It is defended on the ground that the caste system is nothing but another name for the division of labour and if division of labour is a necessary feature of every civilized society then it is argued that there is nothing wrong in the caste system. Now the first thing against this view is that caste system is not merely a division of labour but it is also a division of labourers. Civilized society undoubtedly needs division of labour. But in no civilized society is division of labour accompanied by this unnatural division of labourers into watertight compartments. In *Annihilation of Caste* Ambedkar observed as:

Caste system is not, merely a division of labourers, which is quite different from division of labour—it is a hierarchy in which the divisions of labourers are graded one above the other. In no other country is the division of labour accompanied by this gradation of labourers. (Ambedkar 14)

According to Ambedkar the caste system cannot be said to have grown as a means of preventing the admixture of the races or as a means of maintaining purity of blood. As a matter of fact caste system came into being long after different races of India had commingled in blood and culture. He says that to hold that distinctions of castes are really distinctions of race and to treat different castes as though they were so many different races is a gross perversion of facts. He asks question what racial affinity is there between the Brahmin of the Punjab and the Brahmins of Madras? What racial affinity is there between the Untouchable of Bengal and the Untouchable of Madras? What racial difference is there between the Brahmin of Punjab and Chamar of Punjab? What racial difference is there between Brahmin of Madras and Dalit of Madras? In *Annihilation of Caste* Ambedkar answered as:

The Brahmin of Punjab is racially of the same stock as the Chamar of Punjab and the Brahmin of Madras is the same race as the Dalit of Madras. Caste system does not demarcate racial division. Caste system is a social division of people of the same race. (Ambedkar 16)

Ambedkar tries to find the reasons of the disability of the Shudras deprivation. According to him they could not bear arms and without arms they could not rebel. Therefore, in India there is not social revolution. Ambedkar in his *Annihilation of Caste* observed as:

On account of the chaturvarna, they could receive no education. They could not think out or know the way to their salvation. They were condemned to be lowly; and not knowing the way of escape, and not having the means of escape, they became reconciled to eternal servitude, which they accepted as their inescapable fate. It is true that even in Europe the strong has not shrunk from the exploitation nay, the spoliation of the weak. But in Europe, the strong have never contrived to make the weak helpless against exploitation so shamelessly as was the case in India among the Hindus. Social war has been raging between the strong and the weak far more violently in Europe than it has ever been in India. Yet the weak in Europe has had in his freedom of military service, his physical weapon; in suffering, his political weapon; and in education, his moral weapon. These three weapons for emancipation were never withheld by the strong from the weak in Europe. All these weapons were, however, denied to the masses in India by the chaturvarna. (Ambedkar 31, 32)

Thus, he has examined the case of *Chaturvarnya* finding out it is harmful for Shudras. Because of *Chaturvarna* upper caste people has still stigma of untouchablity in their consciousness. According to Ambedkar all men have value capacities, which can be measured easily by their coreligionists. Everyone has some value contribution in the civic order, in which he lives. Therefore, everyone must have an equal voice or share in the determination of the law of his land. He demands that the protection of law, equally and ethically, status be accorded to every member, without any regard to group morally status. State should allow participating in all democratic institution and be given their legal rights. Gopal Guru quote in his article entitled *Ambedkar's Idea of Social Justice* Ambedkar's view of Hindu religion is that:

Hindu law is that law of the established order and was made by the touchables. The untouchables had nothing to do except to obey it and respect it. The untouchables have not rights against the touchables. For them there is no equal right, not justice which is due to them and nothing is allowed to them. Nothing is due to them except what the touchable are prepared to grant. The untouchables must not insist on rights. They should pray from mercy and favour and rest content with what is offered. (Guru 41)

3. 3 Ambedkar and Religion

B.R. Ambedkar is architect of Indian constitution, philosopher, historian, politician, orator, economist and social reformer. However, he considered religion to be necessary for social wellbeing. Ambedkar, who was born in a *Mahar* family (former untouchable) part of Hindu religion, carried on a relentless battle against untouchability throughout his life. In the last part of his life, he embraced Buddhism. Why did he embrace Buddhism? A detailed answer to this question can be obtained by studying his *The Buddha and His Dhamma* (1957), *Annihilation of Caste* (1936), *Philosophy of Hinduism* (1987). However, his views on religion are rational. He did not allow his rationality to be overpowered by faith. He was religious in a wide sense as person of noble principles and sublime values. He was same time practical minded. He was not interested in idealizing or mythologizing these noble principles, but in testing their practicability *Riddles in Hinduism* (1987) etc. Nonetheless, some of his articles, speeches and interviews before and after his conversion to Buddhism throw some light on this question. Dr. Ambedkar has discussed philosophy of religion in his *Philosophy of Hinduism*. He observed as:

Proceeding on this basis Philosophy of religion is to me not a merely descriptive science. I regard it as being both descriptive as well as normative. In so far as it deals with the critical with the teachings of Religion, Philosophy of Religion becomes descriptive science. In so far as it involves the use of critical reason for passing judgment on those teachings, the Philosophy of Religion becomes normative science. (Ambedkar 5)

According to Ambedkar, the view that religion is of no importance is a mistaken and untenable view. Religion as a social force cannot be ignored. Similarly, the view encouraged by the study of comparative religion that ‘all religions are good’ is also mistaken and untenable. Again, to hold that all religions are true and good is to cherish a belief, which is positively and evidently wrong. It has broken down the claim and arrogance of revealed religions as being the only true and good religion. However, it has also brought in its wake some false notions about religion. The most harmful one is that all religions are equally good and that there is no necessity of discriminating between them. Nothing can be a farther from truth than this. Ambedkar said that Religion is an institution or an influence; and like all social influences and all institutions it may help or it may harm the society. In his *Philosophy of Hinduism*, Ambedkar has applied both the test of justice and the test of utility to judge Hinduism. ‘The principle of justice’ according to Dr.

Ambedkar, includes most of the other principles which have become the foundation of a moral order. In short, according to him, justice is another name for liberty, equality and fraternity.

According to Ambedkar Hinduism does not recognize equality. Ambedkar says that the question of equality instantaneously brings to mind the caste-system. *Varna*, according to Ambedkar, is the parent of caste and Manu, the progenitor of caste, was responsible for upholding the principle of gradation and rank. The system of rank and gradation is *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya*, *Shudra* and *Ati-Shudra* (the Untouchables). It is simply another way of enunciating the principle of inequality. Dr. Ambedkar has given several examples from Manu to illustrate his point. Manu, for example, recognizes slavery. Nevertheless, he confined it to *Shudras* alone. The *Shudras* could be made slaves of three higher classes, but the higher classes could not be made the slaves of *Shudras*.

The rule of law is generally understood to mean equality before law. According to Ambedkar, Hindu criminal jurisprudence, on the other hand, is based on social inequality. The most striking feature of Manu's penal code which stands out in all its nakedness is the inequality of punishment for the same offence. Ambedkar, again, has given several illustrations from the *Manusmriti* to substantiate his point. The *ashram* theory, which divides life into four stages, namely, *brahmacharya*, *garhastya*, *vanprastha* and *sanyas*, is a peculiar feature of Hinduism. The *Shudras*, points out Ambedkar, are excluded from this scheme. These *ashrams* are confined only to the twice born castes. Thus, inequality is in-built into this scheme as well. The denial of *sanyas ashram* to the *Shudras*, says Ambedkar, shows that there is social as well religious inequality in Hinduism.

Ambedkar has raised the question whether Hinduism recognizes liberty. He says that liberty to be real must be accompanied by certain social conditions: (i) social equality, (ii) economic security and (iii) availability of knowledge. According to Ambedkar, Hinduism denies equality and upholds inequality. Thus, the very first condition for liberty is conspicuous by its absence in Hinduism. As far as economic security is concerned, three things, says Ambedkar, shine out in Hinduism. In the first place, Hinduism denies freedom of occupation. In the scheme of Manu, each man has his occupation preordained for him even before he is born. The occupation, being preordained, is not related to his capacity or inclination. In the second place, Hinduism compels

people to serve ends chosen by others. Manu tells *Shudras* that they are born only to serve the higher classes, and he exhorts them to make this their highest ideal in life. In the third place, Hinduism leaves no scope for the *Shudras* to accumulate wealth. Thus in Hinduism, there is no choice of avocation. There is no economic independence and there is no economic security.

In the sphere of knowledge, says Ambedkar, there were strict rules regarding the study of the *Vedas*. According to Manu, only *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* were allowed to study *Vedas*. Out of these, *Brahmins* alone have the right to teach the *Vedas*. The successors of Manu, points out Ambedkar, made the disability of the *Shudra* in the matter of the study of the *Veda* into an offence involving dire penalties. For instance, Gautam says:

If the Shudra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue should be cut off; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be cut to pieces. (Ambedkar 43)

According to Ambedkar, the prohibition against the study of *Vedas* led to mass illiteracy and ignorance in secular life. Reading and writing had an integral connection with the teaching and study of the *Veda*. They were not necessary for those who were not free to do so. The result was that the theory of Manu regarding the rights and prohibitions in the matter of teaching and the study of *Vedas* came to be extended to the arts of reading and writing. Manu, says Ambedkar, by prohibiting literacy was responsible for the general ignorance in which the masses came to be enveloped. Thus, concludes Ambedkar, Hinduism far from encouraging spread of knowledge is a gospel of darkness. Considering these facts, he says, one may say that Hinduism is opposed to the conditions in which liberty can thrive. It is, therefore, denial of liberty. Does Hinduism recognize fraternity? Ambedkar's reply again is in the negative. According to him, Hinduism and its philosophy is responsible for the absence of fraternity among Hindus. Sharing the vital processes of life is, according to Dr. Ambedkar, the condition for the growth of fraternity. There is no sharing among Hindus of joys and sorrows involved in the vital facts of life like birth, death, marriage and food. Everything is separate and exclusive, depending on caste. Hinduism teaches not to inter-dine, not to inter-marry, and not to associate. These don'ts constitute the essence of its teachings. The philosophy of Hinduism is a direct denial of fraternity. In *Philosophy of Hinduism* Ambedkar observed as: "The Philosophy of Hinduism therefore neither

satisfies the test of social utility nor does it satisfy the test of individual justice.” (71) Thus, based on his analysis of Hinduism from the point of view of justice, Ambedkar concludes that Hinduism is inimical to equality, antagonistic to liberty and opposed to fraternity. In his *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, Ambedkar has tried to make a distinction between religion and *dhamma*. According to him, the word ‘religion’ is an ambiguous word with more than one meaning. This is so because religion has passed through many ages and the conception of religion, too, has changed accordingly. At early stage, religion was identified with magic. In the second stage, religion came to be identified with beliefs, rituals, ceremonies, prayers and sacrifices. In the third stage, God and soul entered religion. At present, says Ambedkar, religion means that belief in God, belief in soul, worship of God, curing of the erring soul, propitiating God by prayers, ceremonies, sacrifices, etc.

According to Ambedkar, what the Buddha calls *dhamma* differs fundamentally from what is called religion. Religion, it is said, is personal and one must keep it to oneself. One must not let it play its part in public life. Contrary to this *dhamma* is social. *Dhamma* is righteousness, which means right relations between human beings in all spheres of life. If a person is living alone, he or she does not need *dhamma*. However, when there are two persons living in relation to each other, they must find a place for *dhamma*, whether they like it or not. In other words, society, maintains Ambedkar, cannot sustain itself without *dhamma*. Society has to choose one of the three alternatives. Society may choose not to have any *dhamma*, as an instrument of government. This means society chooses the road to anarchy. Secondly, society may choose the police, that is, dictatorship as an instrument of government. Thirdly, society may choose *dhamma* plus the magistrate wherever people fail to observe the *dhamma*, as an instrument of government. In anarchy and dictatorship, liberty is lost. Liberty can survive only if we accept the third alternative. Ambedkar has pointed out that Buddha rejected the doctrine of infallibility of the *Vedas*. He denied that the *Vedas* were sacred, final and infallible. He did not regard anything, including *Vedas*, as infallible. Everything, he said, must be subject to examination and re-examination.

On the other hand, Buddha accepted the law of cause and effect with its corollaries. According to Ambedkar Buddha maintained that every event has a cause, and the cause is the result of some human action or natural law. Ambedkar rejected supernaturalism. It may be that a man is not

able to discover the real cause of the occurrence of an event. Nevertheless, if he has intelligence he is bound to discover it one day. In Ambedkar's view, Buddha had three objects in repudiating supernaturalism. His first object was to lead man to the path of rationalism. His second object was to give liberty to human beings in search of truth. His third object was to remove the most potent source of superstition, the result of which is to kill the spirit of inquiry. According to Ambedkar, the law of *Kamma* or causation is the most central doctrine in Buddhism. It preaches rationalism and Buddhism is nothing if not rationalism. While discussing the place of Buddha in his *Dhamma*, Ambedkar compares and contrasts Buddha with Christ and Mohammed. He points out as:

1. Christ claimed to be the Prophet of Christianity. 2. He further claimed that he was the Son of God. 3. Christ also laid down the condition that there was no salvation for a person unless he accepted that Christ was the Son of God. 4. Thus Christ secured a place for Himself by making the salvation of the Christian depend upon his acceptance of Christ as the Prophet and Son of God. 5. Mohammad, the Prophet of Islam, claimed that he was a Prophet sent by God. 6. He further claimed that no one could get salvation unless he accepted two other conditions. 7. A seeker of salvation in Islam must accept that Mohammad is the Prophet of God. 8. A seeker after salvation in Islam must further accept that he is the last prophet. 9. Salvation in Islam is thus ensured only to those who accept these two conditions. 10. Mohammad thus secured a place for Himself by making the salvation of the Muslim depend upon his acknowledgement of Mohammed as the Prophet of God. 11. No such condition was ever made by the Buddha. 12. He claimed that he was no more than the natural son of Suddhodana and Mahamaya. 13. He carved for himself no place in his religion by laying down any such conditions regarding him for salvation as Jesus and Mahommad did. (Ambedkar 188, 189)

According to Ambedkar every founder of religion, has either claimed divinity for himself or for his teachings. Moses, although he did not claim for himself any divine origin, did claim divine origin for his teachings. Jesus claimed divinity for himself and his teachings. Krishna said that he was God himself and that *Gita* was his own word. Ambedkar in his *Krisna and his Geeta* observed as:

The Bhagvat Gita is not a gospel and it can therefore have no message and it is futile to search for one. The question will no doubt be asked: What is Bhagvat Gita if it is not a gospel? My answer is that the Bhagvat Gita is neither a book of religion nor

tratise on philosophy. What the Bhagvat does is to defend certain dogmas of religion on philosophic grounds. If on that account anybody wants to call it a book of philosophy he may please himself. (Ambedkar 361)

In Christianity Christ claimed that he was the ‘son of god’ and he further maintained that no one could attain salvation unless he accepted him as such. Similarly, in Islam Mohammed claimed that he was the prophet ‘sent by god’. He further declared that the seeker of salvation in Islam must accept that the Mohammed is the prophet of God and the last prophet. In contrast, Buddha made no such claim. He only claimed being the natural son of Suddhodana and Mahamaya. He did not lay down any conditions regarding him for salvation as Jesus and Mohammed did. Ambedkar did not believe in the existence of God and soul. This is obvious from the reasons he has given for embracing Buddhism as well as from his interpretation of Buddhism in *The Buddha and His Dhamma*.

According to Ambedkar, Buddha rejected the doctrine that God created human beings, or that they came out of the body of some *Brahma*. He repudiated the fatalistic view of life, and the view that a God has predestined events in the life of humans and the world. Ambedkar has enumerated different arguments rejecting the existence of God, which, according to him, were given by Buddha. According to one of the arguments, no one including the Brahmins has seen God. God is unknown and unseen. In other words, there is no perceptual knowledge of God. People only talk about God. Nobody can prove that God has created the world. Ambedkar says that Buddha was against religious rites, ceremonies and observances. According to Buddha, belief in God was the most dangerous thing. For belief in God gave rise to belief in efficacy of worship and prayers. Worship and prayer gave rise to the office of the priest. Moreover, the priest was the evil genius who created all superstitions and destroyed the growth of *Samma Ditthi* (right outlook), the most important element in *Ashtang Marg* (the eight-fold path). A religion based on God, therefore, is not worth having. It only ends in creating superstition. According to Ambedkar, Buddha replaced the doctrine of transmigration (*Sansara*) by the doctrine of rebirth. This however, according to him raises two questions. One, rebirth of what and two, rebirth of whom? He first considers the question of rebirth of what? According to Buddha, there are four elements of existence which compose the body, namely *Prithvi* (earth), *Apa* (water), *Tej* (fire) and *Vayu* (water). When the human body dies these four elements do not die. They join the mass of similar elements floating in space. When the four elements of this

floating mass join together a new birth takes place. According to Ambedkar, this is what the Buddha meant by rebirth. The elements need not be and are not necessarily from the same body, which is dead. They may be drawn from different dead bodies. It must be noted that body dies but the elements are ever living. According to Ambedkar, Buddha believed in the regeneration of matter and not in the rebirth of the soul. So interpreted, says Ambedkar, the Buddha's view is in consonance with science.

The most difficult question, according to Ambedkar, is rebirth of whom? Does the same dead person take a new birth? Did the Buddha believe in this thesis? The answer, according to Ambedkar, is most improbable. Ambedkar says that it will depend on whether elements of same dead person come together or not. If the elements of the dead body of the same person come together and form a new body then there is a possibility of rebirth of the same person. If, however, a new body is formed after mixing of the different elements of different dead persons then there is rebirth but not rebirth of the same sentient being. Buddha was so emphatic about the law of *Karma* that he maintained that there could be no moral order unless there was a stern observance of the law. Buddha's law of *Karma* applied only to *Karma* and its effect on the present life. There is also, however, an extended doctrine of *Karma*, which includes actions done in past life or lives. If a man is born in a poor family, it was because of its past bad *Karma*. If a man is born in a rich family, it is because of his past good *Karma*. If a man is born with a congenital defect, it is because of his past bad *Karma*. This is, according to Ambedkar, a very pernicious doctrine. For in this interpretation of *Karma* there is no room left for human effort. Everything is predetermined for him by his past *Karma*. This extended doctrine is often found to be attributed to the Buddha. However, according to Ambedkar, Buddha did not believe in such a doctrine. According to Ambedkar, by speaking of the law of *Kamma* what the Buddha wanted to convey was that effect of the deed was bound to follow the deed, as surely as night follows the day. No one could fail to benefit by the good effects of the good *Kamma* and no one could escape the evil effect of bad *Kamma*.

Ambedkar says that Buddha replaced the doctrine of *Moksha* or salvation of the soul by the doctrine of *Nibbana*. According to Dr. Ambedkar, *Nibbana* means release from passions. The middle path of Buddha leads us from greed and resentment to peace, insight, enlightenment and *Nibbana*. The eight-fold path consists of right outlook, right aims, right

speech, right action, and right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. Therefore, concludes. Ambedkar, those who want liberty must accept *dhamma*. According to Buddha, *dhamma* consists of *prajna* (understanding) and *karuna* (love). Thus, Ambedkar says that the definition of *dhamma*, according to the Buddha, is different from the definition of religion.

3. 4 Fight for Women's Rights

Irrespective of the ages, somehow women in our land were not given proper treatment. Her societal positioning was never at par with men. She was not given even the basic rights. They were even equated to animals and put to the lowest rung of humanity. The caste system of India has its deepest effect on the lives of women, whether of the upper castes or of the dalits. The upper caste women of India occupy an intricate position in the caste system. Though they enjoy some kind of supremacy in the social hierarchy, they are subjected to strict rules of conduct because the control of female sexuality is seen as essential for maintenance of caste purity. Uma Chakravarty, the renowned feminist scholar, uses the term 'Brahmanical patriarchy' in her essay "*Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India*". It has been referred to the control of women and women's sexuality through the prevailing practices and beliefs among the upper castes of India. Caste system is a social stratification system unique to India, and like any other discriminatory system, caste system of India has its deepest affect on the lives of women, whether of the upper castes or of the dalits. Chakravarty observes that the maintenance of the caste system depends on the control of female sexuality, and it is controlled through the practice of endogamous marriages i.e. marriage within the same caste. She point out that:

Women are regarded as gate- ways-literally points of entrance into the caste system. The lower caste male whose sexuality is threat to-upper caste purity has to be institutionally prevented from having sexual access to women of the higher castes so women must be carefully guarded. (Chakravarti 14 28)

However, the position of the upper caste women in the Indian society is a complicated one. They are definitely subordinated to their males and are subjected to strict patriarchal rules of conduct, but they also enjoy superiority over the lower caste men and women. Discussing women's relation to the caste system in contemporary time, Chakravarti comments as:

If we look at women today their lives are located at the intersection of class, caste, and patriarchy/ies. These structures can all work to oppress them, as in the case of dalit women, but most other women are located in a way that they can be both subordinated and also wield a degree of power. This is so especially, if women belong to an upper caste and have access, through their men folk, to economic resources and social power. (Chakravarti 144)

In Indian context, the women of the upper castes give their consent to the system that dominates them, because they derive certain benefits from the system, both material and symbolic. Another important point noted by Chakravarty is that the compliance of women to structures that oppresses them is invisibilized under the notion of upholding tradition or the specific cultures of families or of communities. She further observed as:

A marked feature of Hindu society is its legal sanction for an extreme expression of social stratification in which women and the lower castes have been subjected to humiliating conditions of existence. Caste hierarchy and gender hierarchy are the organizing principles of the brahmanical social order and despite their close interconnections neither scholars of the caste system nor feminist scholars have attempted to analyse the relationship between the two. (Chakravarti 1)

Here point is that Uma Chakravarty did not take in account of Ambedkar, a Dalit scholar's contribution to analyzing caste hierarchy and gender hierarchy and its relationship. He expressed his views on the state of life of all women. He stated that women must be treated equally and given equal prestige. He insisted on Hindu Code bill suggesting the basic improvements and amendments in assembly. He also insisted and evoked all the parliamentary members to help to pass the bill in parliament. Eventually, he resigned for the same. The teachings and thoughts of Ambedkar are useful not only women but also all the Indian even today. His deep concern and feelings for all round development of women is expressed from his each sentence and word. Vijay More in his article "*Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Contribution for Women's Rights*", observed as:

The operation of caste both at the systemic level and at the functioning of patriarchy, the growing caste/class divide in feminist political discourses makes Ambedkar's views on women's oppression, social democracy, caste and Hindu social order and philosophy, significant to modern Indian feminist thinking. Although Ambedkar proved, himself to be a genius and was known as a great thinker, philosopher, revolutionary, jurist-par excellence, prolific writer, social activist and critic and strode like a colossus in the Indian sociopolitical scene unto his death, his thoughts never received adequate attention in the generality of Indian society just because he was born as an untouchable. (More 1)

Ambedkar not only championed the cause of social justice for the downtrodden and underprivileged sections of Indian society but also worked tirelessly throughout his life to

challenge the legitimacy of orthodox Hindu social order that upheld iniquitous gender relations in an institutionalized manner. His mission in life was to reconstruct Hindu society along the modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. His contribution is great as thinker and social reformer in the emancipation of social status of women in the Hindu society and also the relevance of his ideas in the contemporary feminist discourse on gender equality under Indian social conditions is not simple. His main argument is that gender relations are artificially constructed under Hindu social order which not only moulds attitude of Hindus towards their women but also conditions women to confirm to a stereotype feminine behavior.

Ambedkar, the chief architect of Indian Constitution may be regarded as one of greatest intellectual and social reformer of modern India for his pioneering contribution in reforming Hindu social order. He not only struggled throughout his life for the emancipation of social status of the underprivileged and women in the Indian society, he is one amongst the few Indian social and political thinker, who has done original thinking on the Hindu social order and the status of women within the Hindu society. Exposed to the Western ideas of humanism and rational thinking, Ambedkar was appalled at the low status of women in the Hindu society. He not only worked hard at the grassroots level to raise awareness about the degraded status of women in India but also wrote extensively to counter the views on gender relations sanctioned by *Shastras* and upheld by tradition. Through his writings, Ambedkar unravels the inequality and injustice inherent in Hindu social order that perpetuates inequality and subordination of women in a systemic manner. In his writings, *“The Rise and Fall of Hindu Women”*, *“The Women and Counter Revolution”*, *“The Riddle of Women”*, and *“Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development”*, Ambedkar has analyzed the manner in which gender relations are artificially constructed under Brahmanical Patriarchy which not only moulds attitude of Hindus towards their women but also conditions women to confirm to a stereotype feminine behavior. He worked hard to challenge the iniquitous gender relations under the Hindu social order so that Hindu society could be reconstructed along the modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar studied extensively the Hindu *Shastras* and *Smritis* to find out the root cause of degraded status of women in India. In his article, *“The Rise and Fall of Hindu Woman”*, He made a historical study of the women’s status in ancient India and the factors that led to a decline in their status in later years. He points out that during the pre-Manu days women occupied a very high position in the intellectual and social life of the country. That a woman was

entitled to *upanayana* ⁴ is clear from the Atharva Veda where a girl is spoken of as being eligible for marriage having finished her Brahmacharya. From the *Shrauta Shrutis*,⁵ it is clear that women could repeat the Mantras of the Vedas. Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* bears testimony to the fact that women attended *Gurukul* (College) and studied the various *Shakhas* (sections) of the Vedas. Similarly, Patanjali's⁶ *MahaBhasya* shows that women were teachers and taught Vedas to girl students. Women also entered into public discussion with men on various subjects like religion, philosophy and metaphysics. The stories of public disputation between Janak and Sulabha, Yajnavalkya and Gargi, Yajnavalkya and Maitreyi, and Sankracharya and Vidyadhari shows that Indian women in pre-Manu days could attain the highest pinnacle of learning and education.

In the articles, "*The Woman and Counter Revolution*" and "*The Riddle of Women*", Ambedkar asserts that women in pre-Manu days were highly respected cannot be disputed. In the days of Kautilya, marriages were post puberty is clear from *Baudhayanas Grihya Sutra* ⁷ where an expiatory ceremony is specially prescribed in the case of a bride passing her menses on the occasion of her marriage. Unlike Manu, Kautilya's idea of marriage is monogamy and women could also claim divorce on the ground of mutual enmity and hatred. Further, there was no ban on woman or a widow remarrying. Economic independence was guaranteed to married women during days of Kautilya is clear from the various provisions in *Arthashastra* relating to wife's endowment and maintenance.

Ambedkar holds that there was a down fall in the status of women in India due to severe restrictions imposed on them by Manu. In his paper presented for the anthropology seminar of Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser at Columbia University, USA in May 1916 on, "*Caste in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*".

4. The *upnayan* is regarded as one among twelve *samskaras* prescribed in The Dharmashastras.

It is regarded as a second or spiritual birth and a person thus initiated is known as *dvija* or twice-Born

5. *Shrauta Shrutis* refers to Brahmanic Vedic ritual manuals. *Shrauta* derives from *shruti* which means revealed texts, passed on orally. It belongs to the early late – Vedic period and pre-date the *Smritis*.

6. Patanjali was a Sanskrit grammarian (of second century CE).

7. *Grihya Sutras* deals with domestic ceremonies.

Ambedkar unravels the genesis, mechanism and spread of caste system in India and its consequences for gender relations on the Hindu society. His main argument is that caste in India means an artificial chopping off the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy. Thus, the conclusion is inevitable that endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste. The superimposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste. A caste is an enclosed class. In other words, caste system was created by preventing intermarriage between different classes. The resulting disparity between marriageable units of the two sexes within a caste group (as a consequence of artificial parceling of the Hindu society) was resolved by observance of certain highly obnoxious/ inhuman customs, namely, *Sati* or burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband, enforced widowhood and child marriage. This consequently led to decline in the social status of women in the Hindu society. Moreover, Ambedkar viewed caste system and the customary practices associated with it as largely responsible for the degradation of women in contemporary Indian society. The women in Pre-Manu days enjoyed respectable status in the Hindu society. Women were free and enjoyed equal status along with men in matters of education, divorce, remarriage and economic independence. The deterioration in status of women in the society began with the imposition of severe restrictions on them under the influence of Manusmriti. Manus held a very low opinion about women. Ambedkar in his article, *“The Rise and Fall of the Hindu Women. Who was Responsible for it?”* quoted Manusmriti as:

II. 213. It is the nature of women to seduce man in this (world). For that reason the wise are never unguarded in (the company of) females.

II. 214. For women are able to lead astray in (this) world not only a fool, but even a learned man, and (to make) him a slave of desire and anger.

II. 215. One should not sit in a lonely place with one's mother, sister or daughter; for the senses are powerful, and master even a learned man.

IX. 14. Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention foxed on age; (thinking), '(It is enough that) he is a man', they give themselves to the handsome and to the ugly.

IX. 15. Through their passion for men, through their mutable temper, through their natural heartlessness, they become disloyal towards their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded in this (world). (Ambedkar 127)

Thus, According to Manusmriti, women are not to be trusted for it is in their nature to seduce men. Men are forbidden to sit in a lonely place even with one's mother, sister or daughter. Women are not to be free under any circumstances, day and night women must be kept in dependence by the males of their families; her father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth and her sons protect her in old age; a woman is never fit for independence. Though devoid of virtues, yet a husband must be worshipped as a god by a faithful wife. Manu did not give right to divorce to women under any circumstance while allowing man to give up his wife at the same time. Indeed man was allowed to abandon and even sell his wife. Even after repudiation by her husband, she was not released from her husband and could not become legitimate wife of another. A wife could be subjected to corporal punishment by her husband reducing her status to that of a slave. Like *Shudras*, a woman was forbidden by Manu to study Vedas. Offering sacrifices, the very soul of religion, was forbidden to be performed by women. In matters of property, a wife was reduced to the level of a slave as she was not allowed to have any dominion over property. Regarding Manu's views on women, Kanch Ilaiah in his book entitled *God as Political Philosopher: Buddha's Challenge to Brahmanism* elaborates as:

Manu deprived women of their basic political rights even at home. Forbidden to decide anything for herself, she was to be completely deprived of her initiative...If a woman flouted this law, according to him, society should condemn her, and the sovereign should punish her. (Ilaiah 182)

Thus, under the influence of Dharmashastras (*Manusmriti*), women was held in bondage lifelong and were deprived of basic human rights like right to education, right to property and right to study religious scripture. Ambedkar points out that *Shastras*, Caste and Endogamy – the three important pillars of patriarchy in Hindu society –were responsible for discriminatory practice against women and their degradation in social status. Ambedkar was a great champion of gender equality is clear from his various writings on Hindu social order. In order to find out the root cause of degraded status of women in Hindu society, he studied *Shastras*, *Smritis*, Buddhist literature, Kautilya's *Arthshastra* and so on. Through his critical appraisal of these historical and religious texts, Ambedkar clearly establishes the fact that while women in Pre- Manu days enjoyed equal social status vis-à-vis men and even were economically independent, their status declined in the post-Manu period under the influence of *Manusmriti*. That is to say, the social institutions of caste and endogamy upheld by *Manusmriti* were largely responsible for decline in

the social status of women in the Hindu society. In contrast, the philosophy of Lord Buddha strengthened women to encounter the limitations and personal ambivalences. Illaiah enlists five significant points of Buddhism about women: With all his limitations and personal ambivalences about women, Buddha can be credited with five significant achievements as:

(i) Buddha recognized the political right of women to join the sangha; (ii) he forced the sangha to recognize women's right to be leaders; (iii) against the dominant Hindu view, Buddha held that a woman can develop her own personality and individuality independent of any male support; (iv) he broke the myth of family and the importance of producing male children to attain salvation; and (v) he was the first to recognize the need for women's education and political initiative. (Illaiiah 184)

Ambedkar sought that Buddhism awards women, status equal to men and considered women capable of attaining spirituality. By adopting Buddhism, Ambedkar expelled in just for underprivileged segments including women and accepting the dignified equal status. Ambedkar denied worshipping Hindu deities, ultimately freed women from inhumane customs, rituals and superstitions and made the way for her liberation. The inseparability of Brahmanical Patriarchy in the conceptualization of Hindu social order by Ambedkar is an important theoretical input in understanding the hurdles to empowerment of women in the Indian social milieu and needs to be taken note of by the Indian feminists. In other words, any feminist discourse/agenda for the empowerment of Indian women must take into account the realities of Shastras (*Manusmriti*), Caste and Endogamy –the three important pillars of Hindu social order –that moulds Hindu minds and deny equal social status to women in matters of entitlement of rights, property, and inheritance. Consequently, Ambedkar burned Manusmriti at Mahad in Maharashtra in 1938. Speaking on the burning of it he observed as:

The bonfire of Manusmriti was quite intentional. It was a very cautious and drastic step but was taken with a view to forcing the attention of Caste Hindus... We made a bonfire of it because we view it as a symbol of injustice under which we have been crushed across centuries...(Keer 106)

Ambedkar not only wrote extensively to counter the orthodox Hindu opinion against women but worked as an activist and social reformer at the grass roots level to organize and empower women of depressed classes so that they could fight to reclaim their social rights such as right to drink water from their source and right to enter temple that were traditionally denied to them by

the caste Hindus. It was due to the encouragement by Ambedkar that a large number of women came out openly on the public streets to reclaim their social rights and self-respect. Ambedkar started involving women in the struggle, for eradication of caste systems and upliftment of the underprivileged sections. He realized that this could not be achieved without liberating the women themselves. He motivated women and addressed them to participate in struggle against caste prejudices. During the *Mahad* Tank Struggle, women marched in the procession along with men. He encouraged women to organize themselves. Impressed by the large gathering of women at women's conference held at Nagpur on 20th July, 1942, he told women to be progressive and abolish traditionalism, ritualism and customary habits, which were detrimental to their progress.

Ambedkar's approach to women's empowerment is entirely different from other social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mahatma Gandhi who tried to reform the Hindu society of certain outdated customs and practices without questioning the hierarchical social order. His approach also differed from Bhakti movement which preached brotherhood without attacking the iniquitous Hindu social order that was based on graded system of caste hierarchy. Ambedkar's mission in life was to challenge the ideological foundations of graded system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to women in Hindu society. He believed that society should be based on reason and not on atrocious tradition of caste system. Therefore, in order to reconstruct Hindu society along modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. He argued in *The Annihilation of Caste* as:

Hindu minds should be purged from the thralldom of the Shastras. Make every man and woman free from the thralldom of the Shastras, cleanse their minds of the pernicious notions founded on the Shastras and he or she will inter-dine and inter-marry without your telling him or her to do so.
(Ambedkar 13)

Furthermore, He found education, inter-caste marriage and inter-dinning as methods by which caste and patriarchy maintained through endogamy can be eliminated. Ambedkar began to voice his concern about the low status of women's in Indian society while he was still studying in Columbia University. He perceived education as a catalyst for accelerated change. He began to raise his voice for the liberation of women through his newspapers *Mook Nayak* launched in 1920 and *Bahishkrit Bharat* in 1927. Through his writings in these newspapers, he raised the issue of gender inequality prevalent in Hindu society and the need of women's education to raise their social status. He put due stress on the gender equality and the need for education and exposed the problems of the depressed as well as women. Ambedkar's perception of women

question, emphasizing their right to education, equal treatment with men, right to property and involvement in the political process resembled the global feminists demand. To comparing Dr. Ambedkar with J.S. Mill, Vijay More observed as:

As J. S. Mill expressed in the Subjection of Women, the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong in itself and one of the chief hindrance to human development; and ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no privilege or power on the one side, nor disability on the other, Ambedkar also holds the same views on work for women. (More 4)

He involved women in his social reform movements against social evils and demanded socio-economic and political rights for the depressed classes and women. Challapalli Swaroopa Rani writes that the contribution of Ambedkar in educating Dalit women is unforgettable. She also states Ambedkar dealt with the human relations on one hand and highlighted the need for co-ordination between male and female. In her article entitled *Dalit Feminist Literature and the influence of Ambedkar* She observes: “In India, both women and Dalits are equally exploited and strategically excluded because of caste. Ambedkar did a war against these two social evils. (Swaroopa Rani 16) In March 1927, Ambedkar launched Mahad Satyagraha to assert the right of untouchables to take water from Chawdar Tank at Mahad. Accompanied by thousands of men and women in this historic march, Ambedkar remarked that the movement is to liberate society from out worn traditions and evil customs imposed ruthlessly and upheld religiously by a vast society upon its weaker and helpless constituent and to restore human rights and dignity to them. On December 25, 1927 at a Conference of Depressed Classes held at Mahad, Ambedkar made a bonfire of Manusmriti in presence of more than fifty women to protest against the discrimination of women and untouchables upheld by it. Eleanor Zelliot examined the involvement of women in Ambedkar movement and other women organizations. She writes as:

Vimal Throat reports that the National Federation of Dalit Women, as a code to the Mahad Conference of 1927, which are seen as the real beginning of the Ambedkar movement, has called for Dalits to gather at Mahad again on December 25, 1998. Just as the Mahad Conference of December 25, 1927, burned those portions of the Manusmriti which limited the rights of Untouchables and legalized extreme punishments for any supposed transgression, the Mahad Conference of December 25, 1998 will find women in the thousands burning the Manusmriti for its denial of human rights to women. (Zelliot 205)

At the end of the Conference, Ambedkar also addressed a meeting of about three thousand women of the Depressed Classes, the first meeting of its kind in modern India and urged them to dress well and live a clean life. Do not feed your spouse and sons if they are drunk. Send your children to schools. Education is necessary for females as it is for males. Ambedkar championed the cause of women within the Legislative Council as well. As a member of Bombay Legislative Council, he raised the problems of Indian women in the discussion within the Council and sought their solutions. His arguments on the Maternity Benefit Bill and on Birth Control were quite relevant to recognize the dignity of women. In January 1928, a women's association was founded in Bombay with Ramabai, Ambedkar's wife as its president. Along with the Depressed Classes Conference in Nagpur in August 1930, women also had their separate conference. In the famous Kalaram temple entry movement at Nasik launched in March 1930, about five hundred women participated in the non-violent Satyagraha and many of them were arrested along with men and ill-treated in jails. To face tortures along with their men, women also organized their *Samata Sainik Dal*. When Ambedkar returned to India after attending the Round Table Conference in 1932, hundreds of women were present for the committee meetings. At various places, depressed classes women's conferences were held and they began to present their demands assertively. The encouragement by Ambedkar empowered women to speak out boldly their feelings. In a press conference held in 1931, Radhabai Varale said as:

We should get the right to enter the Hindu temples, to fill water at their water sources. We call these social rights. We should also get the political right to rule, sitting near the seat of the Viceroy. We do not care even if we are given a severe sentence. We will fill all the jails in the country. Why should we be scared of lathi-charge or firing? On the battlefield does a warrior care for his life? It is better to die a hundred times than live a life full of humiliation. We will sacrifice our lives but we will win our rights. (qtd.in More 6)

The credit for this self-respect and firm determination of women goes to Ambedkar. Gaining inspiration from Ambedkar, many women wrote on various topics. And Tulsibai Bansode started a newspaper *Chokhamela*. This shows how Ambedkar created awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devdasi system. In his address at the Depressed Classes Women's Conference held at Nagpur on July 20, 1942 under the presidentship of Mrs. Sulochanabai Dongre in which 25000 women attended. He strongly advocated for family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative

Assembly. In 1942, being a Labour Minister of Executive Council of Governor General, he introduced a Maternity Benefit Bill. He provided several provisions in the constitution for protecting the welfare and civil rights of women. He introduced the Hindu Code Bill in the Parliament and highlighted the issues about women's property right. He argued as:

I know a great deal of the argument that is always urged against women getting absolute property... in certain matters or certain kinds of property which is called stridhan property the smiritis are prepared to invest women with absolute right. There can be no question at all that a woman has an absolute right over her stridhan property. She can dispose of it in any way she likes. (qtd. in Rege 224)

He also underlined that women should learn to be clean and keep themselves away from vices. They should educate their children and instill high ambition in them. Speaking on marriage and parental responsibilities, he advised women to get married only when they are financially able. They should stand by their husband as a friend and equal and refuse to be his slave. He reminded them that having too many children is a crime. The paternal duty lies in giving each child a better start than its parents had. The extent of awakening achieved among the women of down-trodden classes was visible from the fact that the Women's Conference demanded abolition of polygamy and urged institutions of pensions and leave with pay for women workers. As the first Law Minister of independent India, Ambedkar introduced Hindu Code Bill in 1948 which was revolutionary in confinement of proprietary rights to women but when not accepted by the parliament, he resigned from the ministerial post from the cabinet in 1951. Vijay More in his article "*Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Contribution for Women's Rights*", observed as:

In 1948 when the Hindu Code Bill was introduced in parliament and debated on the floor of the house, the opposition was strong against the Bill. Ambedkar tried his level best to defend the Bill by pointing out the drawbacks of Indian society and arguing that the ideals in the Bill are based on the Constitutional principles of equality, liberty and fraternity and that in the Indian society characterized by the caste system and the oppression of women since women are deprived of equality, a legal frame work is necessary for a social change in which women have equal rights with men. (More 6)

However, the bill was strongly opposed by orthodox Hindu opinion on the ground that it would lead to break-up of Brahmanical Patriarchy if the bill was passed in that form. The Hindu Code Bill, the most formidable legislative measure of modern India, sought among other reforms, to put an end to a variety of marriage systems prevailing in India and legalize only monogamous marriages. The Code also sought to confer on women the right of property and adoption which had been denied by Manu. It put men and women on an equal level in all legal matters.

Ambedkar said as:

All I say is that I am a progressive conservative and I should like to tell the House one important fact...The great political philosopher Edmund Burke who wrote his great book against the French Revolution. He said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair. And all I am asking this House is this: that if you want to maintain the Hindu system, Hindu culture and Hindu society, do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than to repair those parts of the Hindu system which have become dilapidated. (Rege 231)

Ambedkar's emphasis was on reconstruction of the Hindu society on the basis of equality rather than the social reforms initiated by Brahma Samaj or Arya Samaj because their attempts were limited only to the upper strata of the society. His in depth study of Smritis and Shashtras and his experience from the response of upper castes during the temple entry movement crystallized his conclusions on Hindu philosophy and society. In his letter of resignation dated the 27 September, 1951 to the Prime Minister, he wrote as:

The Hindu code was the greatest social reform measure ever undertaken by the legislature in this country. Now law passed by the Indian legislature in the past or likely to be passed in the future can be compared to it in point of its significance. To leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex, which is the soul of Hindu society? (Rege 241)

The Hindu Code Bill was later split in to four Bills, and the same were put on the Statute Book by Parliament. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 and The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 are the four enactments which incorporate the ideas and principles of Hindu Code Bill formulated by Ambedkar. He gave independent status to women and endows them with the right of adoption, succession and property, so completely denied by Manu. Therefore, it is truism to say that it is

due to Ambedkar that a large part of the Hindu social law is now on par with the legal system prevailing in advanced western countries. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women's right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. i.e.

Article 14 - Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.

Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex.

Article 15(3) enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.

Article 39 – Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.

Article 42 – Human conditions of work and maternity relief.

Article 51 (A) (C) – Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women.

Article 46 – The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 47 – The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.

Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System.

He also added that if the women from all walks of life are taken in to confidence, they may play a significant role in the social reforms. They have played very massive and active role to eradicate the social abuses. Gunjal V.R. Gunjal in his book entitled *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Women Empowerment* observed as:

He insisted that every married woman must participate in her husband's activities as a friend. But she must show the courage to deny the life of slaves. She should insist on the principle of equality. If all the women follow it, they will get the real respect and their own identity. (Gunjal 84, 85)

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. He laid down the foundation of social justice and there can be no social justice without gender equality. The social evils regarding women in Hindu religion as well as in Muslim society were highlighted by him. In his famous book '*Pakistan and partition of India*' he expressed his views about Muslim women and their religious traditions, about wearing veil, their marriages and so on. Muslim women were suppressed under various religious traditions towards all the women, irrespective of their

religion, caste and class. As a researcher, Ambedkar extensively studied the position of women in both the religion (and also in the other religions) and thrown light on denial of rights to her and ultimately the status of individual. He stated that the consequences of *pardah* system on Muslim women were that it deprives her of mental and moral nourishment. The bill received strong opposition from many political leaders. In turn, Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet expressing his discontent over non acceptance of woman's right by the parliament.

However, the bill was strongly opposed by orthodox Hindu opinion on the ground that it would lead to break-up of Brahmanical Patriarchy if the bill was passed in that form. The government lacked political will to pilot the bill through Parliament and decided to withdraw it. To register his protest against government inaction, Ambedkar resigned from the Union Cabinet. As a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, Ambedkar was in the forefront in championing the cause of women's empowerment by forcefully arguing for the passage of Maternity Benefit Bill.. This shows the great importance he attached to the cause of gender equality in India. While Ambedkar has made a notable contribution towards the emancipation of Indian women through his rich and illuminating interpretations of Hindu social order (based on graded system of Caste hierarchy and gender inequality), the contemporary feminist discourse in India has largely ignored this rich classic literature. However, it needs to be realized that any feminist discourse on gender equality in India in isolation of social institution of caste would be a futile exercise as women as a category undifferentiated by caste does not exist for feminists to mobilize. Unless this social reality dawns on Indian feminists, they would be devoid of any concrete agenda that truly empowers common women. There is, therefore, a need for Indian feminists to turn to Ambedkar to understand the complete matrix of caste.

3. 5 Protest for Socio-Cultural and Political Rights

Amedkar's evidence before the Southborough Committee was his first essay in political writing the evidence comprise of a written stament submitted to the Franchise Committee under the Chairmanship of Rt. Hon'ble Lord Southborough and also of the oral evidence before the same committee on January 27, 1919. Amedkar observes as:

In my opinion their contention cannot be granted for the social divisions of India do matter in politics. How they matter can be best shown by understanding when they don't matter. Men live in a community by virtue of the things they have in common. What they must have in common in order to form a community are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge, a common understanding; or to use the language of the Sociologists, they must be like-minded. But how do they come to have these things in common or how do they become like-minded? Certainly, not by sharing with another as one would do in the case of a piece of cake. To cultivate an attitude similar to others or to be like-minded with others is to be in communication with them or to participate in their activity. Persons do not become like-minded by merely living in physical proximity, any more than they cease to be like-minded by being distant from each other. Participation in a group is the only way of being like-minded with the group. (Ambedkar 249)

After arguing theoretically Ambedkar focused on that any scheme of franchise and constituency that to bring about representation of opinions as well as representation of persons falls sort of creating a popular Government. Ambedkar shows how very relevant the two factors are in the context of the Indian society which is ridden into castes and religious community. Therefore, each caste group tends to create its own distinctive type of like-mindedness which defenses the extent of communication, participation or endosmosis. Moreover, Ambedkar said absence of this endosmosis is most pronounced between touchable and untouchable Hindus, more than between the religious communities such as Hindus, Muslims, and Parsees etc. These communities have on secular plane common material interest. There will be in such groups' landlords, laboures and capitalists. The untouchable are, however, isolated by the Hindus from any kind of social landlords, laboures and capitals. The untouchables are, however, isolated by the Hindus from any kind of social participation. They have been dehumanized by socio-religious disabilities almost to the status of slaves. They are denied the inversely accepted rights of citizenship. Their intrrests of distinctively their own interests and none else can truly voice them. Abedkar observes as:

The untouchables are usually regarded as objects of pity but they are ignored in any political scheme on the score that they have no interests to protect. And yet their interests are the greatest. Not that they have large property to protect from confiscation. But they have their very persona confiscated. The socio religious disabilities have dehumanized the untouchables and their interests at stake are therefore the interests of humanity. The interests of property are nothing before such primary interests. (Ambedkar 255)

Ambedkar demands for the untouchable of the Presidency of Bombay, eight to nine representatives in the Bombay Legislative Council with franchise pitched as low for them as to muster a sizable electorate on the basis of population. While reviewing the various schemes proposed by different organizations he criticizes the Congress scheme which offers communal representation only to the Muslims and leaves untouchables to seek representation in general electorate as typical of the ideology of its leaders who are political radicals and social reformers. Ambedkar does not agree with proposals of moderates to reserve only one or two seats for the untouchables in plural constituency as this does not give the effective representation. Moreover, He brushes aside the proposal of the Depressed Class Mission for nomination by co-optation by the elected members of the Council as an attempt to dictate to the untouchable what their good shall be, instead of an endeavor to agree with them so that they may seek to find the good of their own choice. The communal reorientation with reserved seats for the most depressed community; Ambedkar holds out, will not perpetuate social divisions, but will act as potent solvent for dissolving them by providing opportunities for contact, co-operation and re-socialization of fossilized attitudes. Moreover, it was the demand of the untouchable for self-determination which the major communities too were claiming from the British bureaucracy.

In *States and Minorities* Ambedkar observes as:

The Union Government shall guarantee protection against persecution of a community as well as against internal disorder or violence arising in any part of India...The right of a citizen to vote shall not be denied or abridged on any account other than immaturity, imprisonment and insanity. (Ambedkar 393)

Ambedkar wanted untouchables to organize themselves politically. With power, untouchables would be able to protect, safeguard and introduce new emancipatory policies. He claimed that by attaining political power, untouchable would be able to protect safeguards and sizeable share in power, so that they can force certain policies on the legislature. This was so because during the last phase of British rule, negotiations had already begun for the settlement of the question of transfer of power. Ambedkar wanted the untouchables to assert their political rights and get an adequate share in power. Ambedkar's unique feature is the provision of remedies against invasion

of the fundamental rights of citizens of freedom from economic exploitation and from want and fear. This is sought to be accomplished by constitutional provision enforceable within ten years of the passing of the constitution for alteration of economic structure of the country. In short, by adopting state socialism, it envisages state ownership and management of all key and basic industries is to be organized on collectivized method. Owners of the nationalized industries and land are to be compensated in the form of debentures. The debenture holders are entitled to receive interest at such rates as defined by law. After discussions with his colleagues, Ambedkar founded a new political party called the Independent Labour Party in August 1936. A biographer of Ambedkar, Dhananjay Keer observes:

The Party believed that the fragmentation of holdings and the pressure of population over them were the causes of the poverty of the agriculturists and the way out was rehabilitation of old industries and starting new ones. In order to raise the efficiency and productive capacity of the people, the Party declared itself in favor of an extensive programme of technical education and the principle of State-management and Stateownership of industries where necessary. The manifesto promised to undertake legislation to protect agricultural tenants from the exactions and evictions by the landlords and to industrial workers, with suitable changes. (Keer 285)

Furthermore, Ambedkar founded All India Scheduled Castes Federation (AISC), was a first all India political party exclusively for Scheduled Castes. Ambedkar's propaganda was going on unabated. Early in September 1937, he presided over a District Conference of Depressed Classes at Masur. In the course of his address he told his audience that it was his confirmed opinion that Gandhi was not the man to look to the interests of the revolutionary body, he would have joined it. But he was convinced that it was not a revolutionary body. Congress was not courageous enough to proclaim the ideal of social and economic equality, enabling the common to go to leisure and liberty to develop himself according to his liking.

Gandhi and Ambedkar

Gandhi and Ambedkar were invited to Round Table conference in July 1936. Regarding this Gandhi wanted to meet with Ambedkar. He wrote letter to Ambedkar for meeting. Subsequently, Ambedkar went to meet Gandhi on August 14, 1931 at Manibhuvan, at two in the afternoon. A

batch of his lieutenant, Devrao Naik, Shivtarkar, Pradhan, Bhauro Gaikwad and Kedrekar accompanied him. The discussion was going on in the following ways:

AMBEDKAR: Gandhiji I have no homeland.

GANDHIJI (taken aback and cutting him short): you have got a homeland, and from the reports that have reached me of your work at the Round Table Conference, I know you are a patriot of sterling worth.

AMBEDKAR: you say I have got a homeland, but still I repeat that I am without it. How can I call this land my own homeland and this religion my own wherein we are treated worse than cats and dogs, wherein we cannot get water to drink? No self-respecting Untouchables worth the name will be proud of this land...Owing to the promptings my conscience I have been striving to win human rights for my people without meaning or doing any harm to this country...

GANDHIJI: I am against the political separation of the Untouchables from the Hindus. That would be absolutely suicidal.

AMBEDKAR: I thank you for your frank opinion. It is good that I know where we stand as regards this vital problem. I take leave of you. (Ambedkar 53, 54)

Ambedkar left the hall, his face beaming with a fiercely resolve to fight out the issue all his might and to human right for his down-trodden people. When British Government felt convince of the necessity of the Separate Electorates for the Scheduled Caste, and by their Communal Award of 1932, did grant to the Scheduled Caste Separate Electorates, Gandhi strongly opposed it. He declared that he would fast unto death if the Separate Electorates granted to the Scheduled castes were not withdrawn and did actually enter upon such a fast. Gandhi wrote letter Sir Samuel Hoarce from Yerawada Central Prison. He wrote:

But I know that seprate electorate is neither a penance nor any remedy for the crusing degradation they have groaned under. I therefore respectfully infoprm His Majesty's Govt. that in the event of their decision creating separate electorates for Depressed Classes, I must fast unto death. (Khairmode 6)

Ambdkar came around and agreed to negotiate. Gandhi and Ambedkar to an agreement it is called Poona Pact in 1932. This Pact discarded separate electorates. The Poona Pact in itself

accomplished no more than an acceptance of the Rajah-Moonje pact or a compromise worked out at the Round Table Conference would have. But the dramatic circumstances in which it was forged gave a great deal of publicity both to Gandhi's concern for the Untouchable and to Ambedkar's leadership.

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Chapter IV

W. E. B. Du Bois and B.R. Ambedkar: A Comparison

Comparisons between oppressed leaders as like Du Bois and Ambedkar are not only natural but also necessary. Natural because their struggle reclaims the human space denies them for centuries is almost similar; necessary because the leaders that have taken a lead in reclaiming that space influences the other leader in devising their strategies, far removed from, area of their operation. It is surprising how ideas travel from one country to another country. Indian have always ingest in the struggle of African American, and South Africans, including the people of Indian settled there, for equality and dignity. S.D. Kapoor, in Introduction” of *Dalits and African Americans: A study of Comparison* wrote:

Mahatma Gandhi began his long struggle against the imperils rule in South Africa where he resisted the dehumanizing system of apartheid...Jyoti Rao Phule was the first Shudra leader to recognize the great work done by the Americans in the liberation and elevation of ” Negroes.” So much so that he dedicated his book Gulamgiri (Slavery) to the good people of the U.S.A...It was just proper for another great Dalit leader, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, to hae inscribed his book, who Were the Shudras? Published a couple of decades to the memory of Mahatma Jyoti Rao Phule “who made the lower classes of Hindus conscious of their slavery to the higher classes and who preached the gospel that for India social democracy was more vital than independence from foreign rule. (Kapoor 13, 14)

Ambedkar would undertake a more careful study of Reconstruction in the American South, poring over Herbert Apthekar’s history *The Negro in the Civil War* (1938). According to Ambedkar, untouchable cannot forget the fate of the Negroes who joined the fight for freedom and democracy but who were betrayed by the North and left with no substantive protection from racism and violence at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan and the southern state governments. Ambedkar would repeatedly in his writing refer to the leadership of Lincoln and the position of black during the civil the Civil War as kind of allegory of betrayal for the perils faced by Dalits in Gandhian –led Indian nationalist movement. Moreover, Ambedkar would draw a different lesson from the Civil War with respect to understanding India’s caste divisions. It is quite likely,

Ambedkar claimed familiarity with Du Bois' work and one occasion during summer, Ambdekar wrote to Du Bois:

21-21-24

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, M.A.,
Ph.D., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law.

LAMBEDKAR
"Rajgrah",
Hindu Colony,
Dadar,
Bombay-14.

Air Mail
Dear Prof. Dubois,

Although I have not met you personally, I know you by name as every one does who is working in the case of securing liberty to the oppressed people. I belong to the Untouchables of India and perhaps you might have heard my name. I have been a student of the Negro problem and have read your writings throughout. There is so much similarity between the position of the Untouchables in India and of the position of the Negroes in America that the study of the latter is not only natural but necessary.

I was very much interested to read that the Negroes of America have filed a petition to the U.N.O. The Untouchables of India are also thinking of following suit. Will you be so good as to secure for me two or three copies of this representation by the Negroes and send them to my address. I need hardly say how very grateful I shall be for your troubles in this behalf.

Yours sincerely
B.R. Ambedkar

To

Prof. Dubois,
University of Atlanta,
Georgia, U.S.A.

21-21-25

AMBEDKAR

31 July 1946

My dear Mr. Ambedkar:

I have your letter concerning the case of the Negroes of America and the Untouchables in India before the United Nations. As you say a small organization of American Negroes, The National Negro Congress has already made a statement which I am enclosing. I think, however, that a much more comprehensive statement well documented will eventually be laid before the United Nations by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. If this is done I shall be glad to send you a copy.

I have often heard of your name and work and of course have every sympathy with the Untouchables of India. I shall be glad to be of any service I can render if possible in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
Rajgrah
Hindu Colony
Dadar
Bombay, India

This letter shows that Ambedkar's study of African Americans and their problem. He said that he has been a student of Negro problem and has read writing of Du. Bois' throughout. According to Ambedkar there is so much similarity between the position of Dalits in India and of the position of the African Americans in America. He emphasises "the study of the latter not only natural but necessary". Du Bois also wrote about Dalits of India. He said that "I have often heard your name and work and of course have every sympathy with Untouchable of India. It is possible that Ambedkar's letter was also inspired by a complaint India lodged against South Africa before the United Nations on 22 June 1946 detailing the maltreatment of Indian laborers in South Africa and the passage of racial and discriminatory laws against them."³

Du Bois relayed to Ambedkar that the National Negro Congress had made a statement before the United Nations, promising to send a more comprehensive statement by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) once it was drafted and submitted. This is the only record of correspondence between the two. It is possible that Du Bois sent the copy to Ambedkar. Moreover, In India, All-India Scheduled Castes Federation (AISC) adopted a resolution. Later it is published in *Writing and Speeches of Ambedkar* as:

"Scheduled Castes' case to be presented before U.N.U.

"Bombay, Jan. 17, 1947.

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation adopted a resolution today, seeking to submit to the United Nations Assembly the case of "the sufferings of the Scheduled Castes in India against the Hindus for their acts of social, economic and political tyranny." The Committee concluded its two-day session held under the Chairmanship of Mr. N. Shivraj, President of the Federation.

The Committee approved the memorandum prepared by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, for submission to the UNO and directed the President of the Federation to take early steps to submit the case formally to the Secretary of the UNO and to organize a delegation of the Federation for the purpose.

The memorandum among other complaints added that the "tyranny and the constant and shameless resort to violence by Hindus, makes the position of the Scheduled Castes far worse than the position of Indians in South Africa." The memorandum also complains of the "failure of the British Government

to give protection and do justice to the Scheduled Castes” and requests the intervention of the UNO for “necessary international action”.

With regard to the problems arising out of the framing of the future Constitution of India, the Working Committee declared in another resolution that the Federation stood for “a United India and a strong Central Government.” The Federation according to the resolution “would be prepared to accept the proposals of the Cabinet Mission regarding Grouping in order to secure the co-operation of all parties and to arrive at a peaceful solution of India’s constitutional problems. (Ambedkar 358)

Du Bois and Ambedkar both wanted to suit before U.N.O. A comparison of the ways in which Du Bois described the experience of racism and in which, Ambedkar described the experience of the caste system highlights notion of translation. Du Bois for example, used the idiom of caste to explain the psychological effects of segregation. Ambedkar was directly exposed to the situation of African American during his stay at Columbia University, New York from 1913 to 1916. This was period of ferment in African American community. It was characteristically called the Harlem Renaissance. Black writer were seriously examining their existence in the white society and devising ways to throw off the image of servility foisted on them by the white. Du Bois important book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, was published and had the impact of a revelation on all those who read it. Du Bois suggested ways of overcoming ‘double consciousness’ and ‘double bind’. Ambedkar was influenced by Du Bois. Du Bois did for his people was to systematically examine the entire race question, the damage that racism had caused to their psyche and what should be done to come out of it. According to Du Bois Negroes of training and intelligence, who had hitherto pretended to regard the race problem as of strictly personal concern and who sought individual salvation in a creed of detachment and silence found a bond in their common grievances and language through which to expresses them.

Suraj Yengde, WEB Du Bois non-resident fellow, Hutchins Center and associate, department of African and African American Studies, Harvard University wrote in *Hindustan Times* as:

American sociologist and civil rights activist, WEB Du Bois, declared that the problem of the 20th century was color. In India, BR Ambedkar brought the discussion of caste into mainstream discourse and dedicated his life to the annihilation of the structures of the caste system. West Indian philosopher, Frantz Fanon, articulated the paradigm of the oppressed in a world

dominated by the white race. In 1943 and 1944, Du Bois wrote in his column in The New York Amsterdam News that “the greatest color problem in the world is that of India”. “Remember that we American Negroes are the bound colony of the United States just as India is of England.” This creates a parallel between the African American experience within the US and the Indian experience within colonized India, thus raising the possibility of solidarity building between these two communities, both of which face similar types of oppression. What Du Bois misses in his generalized and romanticized categorization of the Indian experience as a colony of England, is the way in which the Dalit community is further reduced to the colonial subjectivity of a casteist society in which the Brahmins dominate. (Yengde 2023)

Ambedkar was impressed by two important things. These were, firstly, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S.A., which give freedom to the blacks, and secondly, the life of Booker T. Washington who died in 1915. Booker T. Washington was a great social reformer and educator of the black race in America. He was the founder and president of the Tuskegee Institution which was disseminated education among the blacks and broke the shackles of bondage which had crushed the blacks for centuries. Ambekar’s experience of Black America during the critical period of their struggle was turning point in his life. The issues of caste segregation back home were beginning to acquire a frame- work. His critical abilities were at work when he read a paper, *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*, before the Anthropology seminar at Columbia University, on 9 may 1916. Tis paper was to become a basis for his longish essay, *Annihilation of Caste*, it is written for the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal, Lahore as presidential address, in which Ambedkar systematically analyzed the philosophy of life and religious structure. . Sekhar Purakayastha argued as:

Caste is not a category, exclusively endemic to Indian society, rather, it typifies universal forms of social stratifications premised on racial, religious, ethnic and color based segregation. In fact W E B Dubois, the celebrated Black civil rights crusader used the word ‘caste’ while diagnosing the cause of racism in Jim Crow America. Du Bois and Ambedkar share a lot of commonalities, both were renowned observers of specific modes of social division prevalent in their individual societies; they spearheaded historic social mobilizations and evinced wonderful capacities to internationalize issues of caste and race as universal forms of social systems of discrimination to be abolished forever. Both knew each other, communicated to each other

and shared a collective vision for social justice. A conjunctive study of DuBois and Ambedkar will throw new light in Ambedkar studies by foregrounding unexplored histories of Afro-Dalit solidarities that had significant connection to postcolonial studies and international struggles for peace. (Purakayastha, 20,36)

Ambedkar realized that the West could influence Indian social and political life in a positive manner. He was of the view that this Western alone could break the shackles of the untouchables in India. He preached, by his own example, that ‘worth’ and not ‘birth’ shapes the life of an individual in any country. Before he entered Indian politics he was fully equipped with the western thought of democracy, equality, liberty and fraternity. His study in America and England fully revealed to him that the Hindu social and political oppression. It became clear to him that not the law of Manu but constitutional safeguards would ultimately lead Dalits to a free life. Kamala Visweswaran in *Un/Common Cultures* argued:

Our understanding of the possibilities of such politics is usually limited to a rehearsal of Martin Luther King Jr.’s reading of Gandhi. But I want to ask how the practice of reading across different histories of oppression can begin to account for the forms of affiliation and disjuncture engendered in Gandhi’s admiration for Booker T. Washington (an agonist of Du Bois), Du Bois’ friendship with Rai (an agonist of Ambedkar), and Ambedkar’s admiration for Du Bois? What do we make of the fact that Gandhi’ program for untouchables was limited to asking them to follow Booker T. Washington’s model of trade education, and that King himself came to identify as Dalit? (Visweswaran, 159)

More than highlighting King Jr.’s visit to a school of former untouchables in Kerala India, King recounted, in 1965 sermon, as said:

The principle introduced me and then as he came to the conclusion of his introduction, he says, “Young people, I would like to present to you a fellow untouchable from the United States of America.” And for a movement I was shocked and peeved that I would be referred to as an untouchable ... I started thinking about the fact: twenty millions of my brothers and sister were still something in an airtight cage of poverty in an affluent society. I started thinking about the fact: twenty millions of my brothers and sisters were still by and large housed in rat-infested, unendurable slums in the big cities of our nation, still attending inadequate schools faced with improper recreational

facilities. And I said to myself, “Yes I am an untouchable, an every Negro in the United States is an Untouchable. Visweswaran 159, 160)

Du Bois identified the problem, particularly the problem that arose in the aftermath of Emancipation. Time and again, the Blacks were made to realize that they were different in their life and longing because they were shut off from the white world by vast veil. Du Bois realized the world does not yield self-consciousness to them but allows it to be shaped by the others. Du Bois caught this conflict admirably and admitted that it is a peculiar sensation, the double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. Moreover, in *The Souls of Black Folk* Du Bois argued:

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face. (Du Bois 3, 4)

Above quotation forms the essence of the Negro problem. With Du Bois group consciousness gets firmly established. The ‘double consciousness’ caused the split in their psyche which led to ‘moral degeneracy’. In his essay ‘*The Talented Tenth*’ he outlined what he his people to do in this field. He wanted at least ten per cent of bright young to be trained in the best manner possible so that they in their turn bring others up, a kind of ‘ethical role’ for the talented people.

As like Du Bois, for process of liberation Ambedkar also followed almost the same pattern. Ambedkar appeared on the national scene when their existence was being defined for them and all they were expected to do was to fit into that pattern, and trust the goodness of their Upper-Caste leaders. Just as Du Bois had identified the problem for his people, Ambedkar did the same.

Ambedkar exposed the lie on which it was based. He wanted his untouchable people to see that it was fraud that was passed off as truth. Once the untouchables where they recognize the falsity of artificial class barriers, they can move on to a position of equality.

4. 1. Du Bois, Ambedkar and Marxism

During W. E. Du Bois' academic training, Du Bois had limited exposure to Karl Marx. At Fisk University, for example, he noted that Karl Marx was never mentioned. Even at Harvard and the University of Berlin, Du Bois never read the writings of Marx. Instead, Marx was formally dismissed for his unrealized predictions and questionable theories on economic/human relations. However while in Berlin, Du Bois marveled at the German students' ability to recite Marx "for hours." This introduction to Marxist thought through a Socialist club enlightened Du Bois to the Universal plight of the proletariat. To quote Du Bois: "I had left America thinking black people were the most downtrodden, exploited and oppressed people in the world. In that club I learned of millions of others." (Du Bois 168)

As the depression groaned on and the plight of Negro Americans went largely unaddressed by the New Deal, Du Bois resolved to work out a social and economic program to fill the void in to which the race's enervated political class had stumbled. Boasting that the personal library he assembled at Atlanta University contained the most comprehensive holdings on socialism and communism in the South, he himself took the formidable task of comprehensive assimilation of Marx's writing. It was to be Marx in months, not years, a mastery that would be uniquely Du Boisian. Moreover, his early travels through Europe, particularly Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, further confirmed the existence of an even larger pool of exploited workers. In essence, Du Bois' informal education and personal experiences in Europe became a key element in his radicalism and scholarship later in life. In his Autobiography Du Bois wrote:

Naturally I am attracted to the socialist movement, but the history of the development of Marxism and of the revisionist like Lassalle, Bernstein and Bakunin was too complicated for a student like myself to understand, who had received no real teaching along this line. I was overwhelmed with rebuttals of Marxism before I understood the original doctrine. Even such great occurrences as the French Commune were minimized by the main history teaching to which I had listened in America. Until the fall of Bismarck in 1890/ socialist organization or agitation were illegal in Germany, but the increase of industrial workers had led to a vast scheme of state insurance for accidents, old age relief and the like under Bismarck. (Du Bois 168)

It is not all clear at what point Du Bois began to read Marx in earnest, although the best estimate is shortly after World War I. Yet Aptheker (1978) suggested that as early as 1907 Du Bois' public addresses appeared influenced by a Marxist perspective. Furthermore, Marable identified Du Bois' analysis in "The African Roots of the War" (1915) as: "The first tentative step toward Marxism-Leninism" (Marable 94). Even as he had motored south from New York in January, *Crisis* subscribers were reading "Toward a New Racial Philosophy", the first of two editorials bearing this significant title in which Du Bois began to lower the curtain on nearly a quarter century of NAACP history of middle-class struggle and advancement for civil rights. Because the situation had changed enormously in its trend, object and details, everything about what was called the "Negro problem" must be examined from "the point of view of the middle of 20th Century". The Soviet Union was an example to be envied, Du Bois thought. *A Contribution to Critique of Political Economy*, the basic text of Marxism, he had already seen validated in stone, steel and flesh during 1926 trip to Russia, and that led him to embrace fully the dictum that "the economic foundation of a nation is widely decisive for its politics, its art and its culture." What he found to be powerfully appealing were not the political parties and trade union organizations deployed in dozens of nations to further the objectives of the Comintern, rather it was the extraordinary acuity attained by Marx in decoding the life cycles broadcast Marxism as a verifiable science of society, the Atlanta professor was mesmerized by dialectical materialism. Calling Marx the 'greatest figure in the science of modern industry' Du Bois seemed to rediscover with the avidity of a gifted graduate student the thinker who Frank Taussig, his Harvard economics professor, had smugly ignored. Marx made history make sense-or more sense, Du Bois came to believe, than all other analytical systems.

The seeming discrepancy is resolved when one considers Du Bois' reading of American socialist such as John Spargo and Jack London during his early years at Atlanta University (1897-1900). Without a doubt, Du Bois' six-week visit to the Soviet Union in 1926 inspired him to become a more serious student of Marxist thought and to incorporate his firsthand knowledge of social conflict theory and methods into his work. The issue of Du Bois' first reading of Marx is imperative because he was often attacked by his contemporaries for a superficial review of Marx's writings and erroneous applications of his philosophy.

Lewis pointed out in *A Biography. W. E. Du Bois*:

Marxism and the Negro Problem” the gospel of Marx according to Du Bois—ran in the May issue of the *Crisis*, a venturesome topic the author introduced with a trace of levity. Alluding to a dinner reception of Einstein at which the story was told of a professor having “no sense of humor” Because he attempted to explain the theory of relativity in few simple words, Professor Du Bois Undertook, “with all modesty”, to accomplish a similar task. “Marxism and the Negro Problem” followed by two months “Karl Marx and Negro.” Leading his readers on a brisk tour of scientific socialism, starting with the labor theory of value and cantering past the seductive dialectic at breakneck speed through the war of the classes to the triumph of the proletariat, Du Bois validated the min tenets of Marxism from Manchester economics had been refuted and that the proletarian revolution was widely dismissed as the materialist’s version of faith, He had always been a Socialist in his bones, a proponent, long before Lenin coined the phrase, of “controlling the commanding heights” of national economies, even though he had deserted debs entered into a flawed bargain to black Wilson in 1912. (Lewis 550)

In actuality, Du Bois’ work, especially from the 1930s on, shows a keen understanding of Marx to the extent that this critique resulted in modification consist with Du Bois’ morality and social reality. Although Du Bois praised Marx as one of the greatest intellectuals of his time, two issues were central to his departure from pure Marxism: the Inevitability of a violent revolution and the insufficient explanation of racial strife in the twentieth century. For example, Du Bois began “Marxism and the Negro Problem” (*The Crisis*, March 1993) equating Marx’s *Capital* with the Bible in a category of “great books of truth”. However, after Du Bois analyzed global and national class formations due to capitalist exploitation, he concluded that racial nepotism among whites irrespective of class hindered proletariat solidarity across racial lines. Even American Socialist and Communists deemed progressive and liberal had problems with race question. Therefore, Du Bois had difficulty envisioning the overthrow of capitalism in the United States any time in the immediate future. No doubt, these same concerns were raised when Du Bois taught his course on “Karl Marx and the Negro” at Atlanta University. Lewis in A Biography of W. E. Dubois observed as:

The framer of the Talented Tenth concept now wished it to be clearly understood in “Marxism and the Negro Problem” that the existence of a few hundred thousand educated and prosperous people out of a total Negro

population of twelve million was of negligible significance. More to the point, this black petite bourgeoisie was a false class, of 'peculiar position' and too recent in origin and too remote from the real exploiters of wages and labor for its existence to correspond to the authentic conquering bourgeoisie. Color prejudice would preclude these classes from making common cause with capital, with the new class of engineers and technocrats, or with the most advantaged white workers, he stipulated. Still, Du Bois warned readers, the emergence of these phantom classes in the United States, Africa, and the West Indies posed a threat to proletarian vigor by draining off "Skill and intelligence into the white group, and leave[ing] the black labor, poor, ignorant and leaderless save for an occasional demagogy." As a socioeconomic phenomenon, then, Du Bois preferred to see the evolving Talented Tenth tethered hard and fast to the mass of black folk, to the abused and powerless toilers whose misery derived from the "fundamental inequities of the whole capitalistic system. (Lewis 551)

How then did Marx's philosophy apply to the black proletariat in the twentieth century? Asked Du Bois to American Negro, specifically, only to a limited, modified extent, he ventured. Describing much of the American labor movement as a "post-Marxian phenomenon" evolving through rising wages and installment Plan consumerism in to a "working-class aristocracy", Du Bois proceeded to such a curious blurring of the distinction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as to cause heartburn among scrupulous Marxist student like the precocious African – American economist Abram Harris. Despite a vexing imprecision about the character and functions of the new classes wedging themselves between proletariat and the capitalists, Marxism and the Negro problem" made a persuasive case for the formation of a herrenvolk proletariat coexisting in such commingled collusion with capital as to force a revision of classical Marxism.

Though Karl Marx, Had a substantial influence on Du Bois, Du Bois refrain from identifying himself as Marxist. Beyond scholarly exercise, his revisionist intellectualism was a means to an end. Still Du Bois' life work was an affirmation of Marx's statement: "Until now philosophers have only explained the world, our task is to change it" (Marx 201)

As like Du Bois Ambedkar also focuses on Marxism. In his book *Buddha or Karl Marx* Ambedkar compared Buddha with Karl Marx. He also compared the creed of Buddha and the creed of Karl Marx. He observes as:

Karl Marx is no doubt the father of modern socialism or Communism but he was not interested merely in propounding the theory of Socialism. That had been done long before him by others. Marx was more interested in proving that this Socialism was scientific. His crusade was as much against the capitalists as it was against those whom he called the Utopian Socialists. He disliked them both, It is necessary to note this point because Marx attached the greatest importance to the scientific character of his Socialism. All the doctrines which Marx propounded had no other purpose than to establish his contention that his brand of Socialism was scientific and not Utopian. (Ambedkar 443)

According to Ambedkar, by scientific socialism what Karl Marx meant was that his brand of socialism was inevitable and inescapable and that society was moving towards it and that nothing could prevent its march. It is to prove this contention of his that Marx principally labored. Marx's contention rested on the following theses. As Ambedkar observes:

(i) That the purpose of philosophy is to reconstruct the world and not to explain the origin of the universe. (ii) That the forces which shape the course of history are primarily economic. (iii) That society is divided into two classes, owners and workers. (iv) That there is always a class conflict going on between the two classes (v) That the workers are exploited by the owners who misappropriate the surplus value which is the result of the workers' labour. (vi) That This exploitation can be put an end to by nationalization of the instruments of production i.e. abolition of private property. (vii) That this exploitation is leading to greater and greater impoverishment of the workers. (viii) That this growing impoverishment of the workers is resulting in a revolutionary spirit among the workers and the conversion of the class conflict into a class struggle. (ix) That as the workers outnumber the owners, the workers are bound to capture the State and establish their rule which he called the dictatorship of the proletariat. (x) These factors are irresistible and therefore socialism is inevitable. (Ambedkar 443, 444)

Ambedkar has reported correctly the propositions which formed the original basis of Marxian Socialism. Ambedkar argued that the Buddha's method was different, his method was to change the mind of man: to alter his disposition: so that whatever man does, he does it voluntarily without the use of force or compulsion. Buddha's main means to alter the disposition of men was his Dhamma and the constant preaching of his Dhamma. His way was not to force people to do what they did not like to do although it was good for them. Buddha's way to alter the disposition

of men so that they would do voluntarily what they would not otherwise to do. Ambedkar observes:

It has been claimed that the Communist Dictatorship in Russia has wonderful achievements to its credit. There can be no denial of it. That is why I say that a Russian Dictatorship would be good for all backward countries. But this is no argument for permanent Dictatorship. Humanity does not only want economic values, it also wants spiritual values to be retained. Permanent Dictatorship has paid no attention to spiritual values and does not seem to intend to. (Ambedkar 441, 462)

According to Ambedkar man must grow materially as well as spiritually. Society has been aiming to lay a new foundation was summarized by the French Revolution in three words, Fraternity, Liberty and Equality. The French Revolution was welcomed because of this slogan. It failed to produce equality. But it cannot be too much emphasized that producing equality society cannot afford to sacrifice fraternity or liberty. Ambedkar suggested that equality will be of no value without fraternity or liberty. It seems that the three can coexist only if one follows the way of the Buddha. Communism can give one but not all. Although, Ambedkar has some objection on Marxism but some time he praised strongly. He argued as:

Everyone from the laboring classes should be acquainted with Rousseau's Social Contract , Marx's Communist Manifesto, Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the Conditions of Labour and John Stuart Mill's Liberty, to mention only four of the basic programmatic documents on social and governmental organization of modern times. But the laboring classes will not give them the attention they deserve. Instead labour has taken delight reading false and fabulous stories of ancient kings and queens and has become addicted to it. (Ambedkar 110)

Ambedkar further said that there is another and bigger crime of laboring classes have committed against themselves. They develop no ambition to capture government, and are not even convinced of controlling government as a necessary means of safeguarding their interests. Indeed, they are not even interested in government. Of all the tragedies which have beset mankind, this is the biggest and the most lamentable one. Whatever organization there is, it has taken the form of Trade Unionism. Ambedkar pointed out that:

I am not against Trade Unions. They serve a very useful purpose. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that Trade Unions are a panacea for all the ills of labour. Trade Unions, even if they are powerful, are not strong enough to compel capitalists to run capitalism better. Trade Unions would be much more effective if they had behind them a Labour Government to rely on. Control of Government must be the target for Labour to aim at. Unless Trade Unionism aims at controlling government, trade unions will do very little good to the workers and will be source of perpetual squabbles among Trade Union Leaders. (Ambedkar 110)

According to Ambedkar the third besetting sin of the laboring classes is the easy way which they are lead away by an appeal to Nationalism. The working classes who are beggared in every way and who have very little to spare, often sacrifice their all to the so-called cause of Nationalism. They have never cared to enquire whether the nationalism for which they are to make their offering will, when established, give them social and economic equality. More often than not, the free independent nationl state which emergence from a successful nationalism and which reared on their sacrifice, truns to be the enemy of the working class under the hegemony of their masters. This is the worst kind of exploitation that labor has allowed itself to be subjected to. Kanwal Bharti in his article *Marx in Ambedkar's thinking* observes as:

Among the socialists, Madhu Limaye was probably the first person to appreciate Ambedkar's role in the socialist movement. He considered Dr Ambedkar's *Annihilation of Caste* on a par with the *Communist Manifesto*. He wrote that Dr Ambedkar insisted on annihilation of caste, without which, neither classes could come into existence nor caste struggle ensue. (Bharti 8)

According to Ambedkar, Labour in India, Unfortunately has not realized the importance of study. All that Labour leaders in India have done, is to learn how best abuse industrialists. Abuse and more abuse has becomes the be-all and end-all of his role as a labour leader. Amedkar asked that the Indian Federation of Labour has recognized this defect and has come forward to open these study circles for the Labouring Classes. Sobhana K. Nair observes as:

B.R. Ambedkar was born eight years after Karl Marx died. And it was 88 years after Marx's seminal work, The Communist Manifesto, that Ambedkar wrote Annihilation of Caste . Now if Marx could have time travelled to the 20th century and had a one-on-one dialogue with Ambedkar, it would make for a stirring debate. To create this very debate is the object of D. Raja and

Muthumohan's book *Marx and Ambedkar: Continuing the Dialogue*. At a time when slogans of Lal Salaam and Jai Bheem are resonating together, the book is looking for a common ground between Marxism and Dalit politics espoused by Ambedkar both of which aim to strike at the roots of exploitation of the oppressed. (The Hindu Newspaper)

4. 2 Du Bois, Ambedkar and Anti-Semitism

The term Anti- Semitism defined by Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia as:

Anti-Semitism is hostility to prejudice towards, or discrimination against Jews. This sentiment is a form of racism, and a person who harbors it is called an antisemite. Though anti-Semitism is overwhelmingly perpetrated by non-Jews, it may occasionally be perpetrated by Jews in a phenomenon known as auto-antisemitism. (i.e., self-hating Jews) Primarily, anti-Semitic tendencies may be motivated by negative sentiment towards Jews as people or by negative sentiment towards Jews with regard to Judaism. In the former case, usually presented as racial anti-Semitism, a person's hostility is driven by the belief that Jews constitute a distinct race with inherent or characteristics that are repulsive or inferior to the preferred traits or characteristics within that person's society. (Wikipedia)

Du Bois and Ambedkar spoke about Jews people. Both had empathy of Jews. There is no black intellectual had spoken more pointedly on the subject of black's relationship with Jews than Du Bois spoke. Du Bois service to the national Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) placed him in a unique position; he was juxtaposed between the black community and white liberals –many of them Jews- who supported the organization in its early years. Indeed, many of his closest friends were Jewish, including Joe Elias Spingarn, who was considered the most powerful and influential white in the history of the NAACP and a pivotal figure in the early black civil rights movement. In 1940, one year after Spingarn's death, Du Bois dedicated his autobiography, *Dusk of Dawn*, “To keep the memory of Joel Elias Spingarn- A Scholar and Knight.” Following Spingarn's lead, Jews would continue to actively participate in the civil rights movement, facilitated by the endorsement of Du Bois and his perception of their common interest in the civil rights struggle and the abolition of racism and anti-Semitism.

Toward the end of his New Negro Essay Du Bois ragingly endorsed analogies between races and ethnicities in his paralleling of ‘Two international groups The Jews and the modern Negroes’, both of whom he regarded in and of themselves as diverse categories. Seeing in Jews “spiritual unity born of suffering, prejudice, and industrial power which can be used and is being used to spread an international consciousness”, Du Bois intoned that “ Where this spirit encounters a rampant new nationalism as in Poland or bitter memories of national loss as in Germany, or racial bigotry as in

America, it stir an Anti-Semitism as cruel as it indefinite and armed in fact not [only] against an abused race but [also] against any spirit that works or seems to work for the union of human kind. (Bornstein 64, 74)

Not only did Du Bois respect Jews on personal level, but he also recognized the ability many of them possessed to identify with and aid the black cause. In a 1923 interview with the *Jewish Daily Forward*, Du Bois stated:

The Negro race looks to the Jews for sympathy and understanding.” Clearly, this “sympathy and understanding” arose from the American Jews’ constant battle with anti-Semitism, a sentiment that Du Bois at first hesitated to equate with racism but nonetheless despised, Initially Du Bois viewed Jews as fellow pariahs, a people subjected to undue discrimination but insulted from racism per se by their skin color, and principally of slavery in the United States and near-slavery in Africa. (Rowden 199)

His opinion, however, was greatly altered by a firsthand experience with anti- Semitism in 1893. A student at the University of Berlin, Du Bois journeyed throughout Eastern Europe: as he traveled, his awareness of the Jewish problem gradually heightened. His consciousness crested when, while dining with a German student in a small German town, he noticed a distinct uneasiness in the room. His friend reassured him:

Thy think I may be a Jew. It’s not you they object to, it’s me’. I was astonished. It had never occurred to me until then that any exhibition of race prejudice could be anything but color prejudice. (Rowden 470)

The experience was truly life altering; never again would Du Bois see color as the only factor inherent in racist behavior and attitudes. Indeed, after this and similar incidents, he began to understand the interconnectedness of race, class, and gender in the maintenance of racism, anti-Semitism and capitalist exploitation.

After returning from Europe, Du Bois repeatedly denounced the “poison” of anti-Semitism and confessed its presence among some blacks as well; He now classified Jews as “one of many groups.... who from fellowship with the aristocracy. (Lewis 199, 200)

Because Du Bois believed that a parallel history of suffering predisposed Jews with whom he worked at the NAACP. Yiddish newspaper of the expressed empathy for the black plight and

recorded the appreciation blacks felt for the Jews contribution on fight. In turn, Du Bois helped the Jews- whom he referred to as “our best friend”- in their own struggle. Always ready to step of in front controversial issues, Du Bois, as editor of *The Crisis*, quickly endorsed the appointment of Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court, presuming it would realign the Court’s policy on race because: “As a Jew [he] knows what it is to be ‘despised and rejected of men’”. (Diner 77) The black leader also condemned the rising anti-Semitism in the country and called for “great alliance ...between the darker people the world over , between disadvantaged groups like the Irish and the Jew and between working classes everywhere” to shatter the privileged world of the “ oppressive” white elite. In seeking to facilitate this alliance, Jives groups frequently requested NAACP officials to shatter to speak on black issues in Naturally, Du Bois , one of the most gifted intellectual in American history and an excellent orator, was a highly popular and regularly requested lecture. After he spent a day among Jewish groups in Oakland , California, one rabbi lamented: “It is pity that so able a man, with so genuine a message, spends but one day in our community. May he return to us”. (Diner 139) Having been so enlightened by his first trip to Europe, Dubois returned to Germany and Poland twice more in his life time. While in Germany in 1936, he witnessed with astonishment the shameless policy toward Jews under Hitler’s Third Reich and the support it had among the people. Unable to write of the atrocities while still within the country, he had to wait until he was outside the border to castigate Germany’s treatment of the Jews and warn its terrible possibilities. Three years before the attack on Poland and many years before the world would learn of the horrific death camps, Dubois wrote:

There is a campaign of race prejudice carried on, openly continuously and determinedly against all non-Nordic races, But specifically against the Jews, which surpasses in vindictive cruelty and public insult anything I have ever seen; and I have seen much. (Lewis 735)

Such an assertion reveals the dramatic change that took place in Du Bois’ mind from an color-oriented classification of racism to a much broader generalization of race of rec prejudice. This evolution was due in no small part to Du Bois’ several trips to Eastern Europe. In the “The Negro and the Warsaw Ghetto,” an address delivered at the *Jewish Life*:

Tribute to the Warsaw Fighters,” the black leader related the profound impact his travels had on his own life and ideology: The result of these three visits

... was real and more complete understanding of the Negro problems. (Forner 253)

Hence, Du Bois' encounter with anti-Semitism and colored-based bigotry, he discovered two problems of race, each as intolerant and narrow minded as the other. He came to understand the true nature of racism. Du Bois called on blacks and Jews- indeed: "all peoples despised and rejected of men- to draw upon their mutual experiences to fight for democracy, not only for white folk but for yellow, brown, and black. (Lewis 741) Unfortunately, the groundwork Du Bois laid in black-Jewish relation is today often ignored or misunderstood by some blacks, who are resentful of Jews' rapid socioeconomic rise, and romanticized by some upper-class Jews anxiously clinging to their historic self-image as progressive with a compassion for the oppressed.

As like W E B Dubois Ambedkar also spoke about Jews. He had empathy about Jews. On natural is such an attitude is illustrated by the attitude of the Gentile towards the Jews. Like the Hindus the Gentiles also do not admit that the Jewish problem is in essence a Gentile problem. The observations of Louis Goulding on the subject are therefore very illuminating. In order to show how the Jewish problem is in its essence a Gentile problem, Ambedkar observes as:

I beg leave to give a very homely instance of the sense in which I consider the Jewish Problem in essence a Gentile Problem. A close acquaintance of mine is a certain Irish terrier of mixed pedigree, the dog Paddy, who is to my friend John Smith as the apple of both his eyes. Paddy dislikes Scotch terriers; it is enough for one to pass within twenty yards of Paddy to deafen the neighbourhood with challenges and insults. It is a practice which John Smith deploras, which, therefore, he does his best to check—all the more as the objects of Paddy's detestation are often inoffensive creatures, who seldom speak first. Despite all his affection for Paddy, he considers, as I do, that Paddy's unmannerly behaviour is due to some measure of original sin in Paddy. It has not yet been suggested to us that what is here involved is a Scotch Terrier Problem and that when Paddy attacks a neighbour who is peacefully engaged in inspecting the evening smells it is the neighbour who should be arraigned for inciting to attack by the fact of his existence. (Ambedkar 3)

According to Ambedkar here is a complete analogy between the Jewish Problem and the problem of the Untouchables. What Paddy is to the Scotch Terrier, the Gentile is to the Jews, and the Hindu is to the Untouchables. But there is one aspect in which the Jewish Problem stands in contrast to the Gentile Problem. The Jews and the Gentiles are separated by an antagonism of the creeds. The Jewish creed is opposed to that of the Gentile creed. The Hindus and the Untouchables are not separated by any such antagonism. They have a common creed and observe the same cults. (Ambedkar 4)

Ambedkar's second explanation is that the Jews wish to remain separate from the Gentiles. While the first explanation is chauvinistic the second seems to be founded on historical truth. Many attempts have been made in the past by the Gentiles to assimilate the Jews. But the Jews have always resisted them. Ambedkar referred two instances; the first instance relates to the Napoleonic regime. After the National Assembly of France had agreed to the declaration of the 'Rights of man' to the Jews, the Jewish question was again reopened by the guild merchants and religious reactionaries of Alsace. Napoleon resolved to submit the question to the consideration of the Jews themselves. He convened an Assembly of Jewish Notables of France, Germany and Italy in order to ascertain whether the principles of Judaism were compatible with the requirements of citizenship as he wished to fuse the Jewish element with the dominant population. According to Ambedkar, assembly consisting of 111 deputies, met in the Town Hall of Paris on the 25th of July 1806, and was required to frame replies to twelve questions relating mainly to the possibility of Jewish patriotism, the permissibility of inter-marriage between Jew and Non-Jew, and the legality of usury. So pleased was Napoleon with the pronouncements of the Assembly that he summoned a Sanhedrin after the model of the ancient council of Jerusalem to convert them into the decree of a Legislative body. The Sanhedrin, comprising of 71 deputies from France, Germany, Holland and Italy met under the presidency of Rabbi Sinzheim, of Strassburg on 9th February 1807, and adopted a sort of Charter which exhorted the Jews to look upon France as their fatherland, to regard its citizens as their brethren, and to speak its language, and which also pressed toleration of marriages between Jews and Christians while declaring that they could not be sanctioned by the synagogue. It will be noted that the Jews refused to sanction inter marriages between Jews and non-Jews. They only agreed to tolerate them.

The second instance relates to what happened when the Batavian Republic was established in 1795. The more energetic members of the Jewish community pressed for a removal of the many

disabilities under which they laboured. But the demand for the fuller rights of citizenship made by the progressive Jews was at first, strangely enough, opposed by the leaders of the Amsterdam community, who feared that civil equality would militate against the conservation of Judaism and declared that their co-religionists renounced their rights of citizenship in obedience to the dictates of their faith. This shows that the Jews preferred to live as strangers rather than as members of the community. Whatever the value of their explanations the Gentiles have at least realized that there rests upon them a responsibility to show cause for their unnatural attitude towards the Jews.

Studying the problems of Jews, Ambedkar is comparing Gentiles with Hindus and Jews with untouchables. Ambdekar observes as:

The Hindu has never realized this responsibility of justifying his treatment of the Untouchables. 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 a mortal wretch who must 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. But that is not the case with the Untouchables. They too are in a different sense an eternal people who are separate from the rest. But this separateness, their segregation is not the result of their wish. They are punished not because they do not want to mix. They are punished because they want to be one with the Hindus. But that is not the case with the Untouchables. In other words, though the problem of the Jews and of the Untouchables is similar in nature—inasmuch as the problem is created by others—it is essentially different. The Jew's case is one of the voluntary isolation. The case of the Untouchables is that of compulsory segregation. Untouchability is an infliction and not a choice. (Ambekar 5))

Ambedkar, whose centenary is being celebrated all over the world, was among the few. Who was aware of and consequently sympathized with, the Jewish National Movement in Israel (then Palestine under British rule). Ambedkar had specialties with the Jewish people. His article "*Moses and His Significance*" published in the Bombay Sentinel probably the same year, 1941. In this masterpiece of a short essay about the Biblical Leader Moses, Ambedkar exposes to the roots of his special attitude towards the Jewish people. He observes as:

The story of the Jews told in the Old Testament is a moving tale. It has few parallels. It is told in a simple but thrilling language. The pathos inherent in the subjugation and ultimate emancipation of the Jews cannot, but affect the emotions of those who are as depressed as the Jews were in Egypt in the days of Pharaoh. But the heart of every one who is working for emancipation of a depressed people is bound to go to Moses; the man who brought about the emancipation of the Jews. What did Moses not do for the Jews? He led them out of Egypt, out of bondage, he laid the foundation for their religion by bringing the Ten Commandments from Mount Sinai. He gave them laws for social, civil and religious purpose and instructions for building the tabernacle.” “What did Moses not suffer at the hands of the followers?” When the children of Israel left Egypt and were pursued and attacked by the army of Pharaohs they were sore and said unto Moses, ‘Because there were no graves in Egypt, has thou taken us away to die?’ It has been better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in wilderness. The marching Israel came to Elam and camped there. There was not sufficient water for them all. They all shouted, give us water wherefore is this that thou hast brought us out of Egypt to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst? They were ready to stone him because there was no water. (Ambedkar 342, 343)

Ambedkar further said that the Moses went up to Mount Sinai and delayed to come down. Immediately the Jews went to Aaron and said unto him. ‘Make for us Gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses the man that brought us out of the land of Egypt,’ we woe not what has become of him.” leadership was challenged. The Old Testament records that Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman he had married and they said, “Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? Hath he not spoken also by us? Yet Moses bore their calumny, their abuse, tolerated their impatience and served them with the fullness of his heart. Ambedkar observes as:

As the Old Testament truly says: ‘There arose not a Prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face’ Moses was not merely a great leader of the Jews. He is a leader whose birth, any downtrodden community may pray for. Whatever interest others may have felt in the story of the exodus and the leadership of Moses they have been to me a source of perennial inspiration and hope.” (Ambedkar 343)

Ambedkar believed that just as there was a land of promise for the Jews, so the Depressed Classes must be destined to have their land of promise. Ambedkar trusted that just as the Jews reached their land of promise, so will be the Depressed Classes in the end reach their land of promise. Ambedkar argued as:

I see in the present day condition of the Depressed Classes of India a parallel to the Jews in their captivity in Egypt. In Moses I see a leader whose infinite love for his people has given undaunted courage to face hardships and bear calumny. I confess that if anything sustains me in my efforts to emancipate the Depressed Classes, it is the story of Moses undertaking the thankless but noble task of leading Jews out of their captivity. (Ambedkar 344)

Therefore, it is only natural that the Jewish people have always looked at Ambedkar and his life's work with absolute admiration. His struggle for the weakest sector of society has found an echo in the hearts of those who for many hundreds of years since their expulsion from their "Promised land"—Israel—were suffering from discrimination and persecution just because of being different from the majority around.

Thus, the people of Israel are till today proud of Ambedkar's support in their struggle for rebuilding their national home in Israel.

4. 3 Du Bois and Ambedkar: The Evolution of Pragmatism

Pragmatism is the most famous movement in American philosophy in the early 1900s. It was the outgrowth of rich conversation between late nineteenth-century philosophers, biologist, anthropologist and social scientist. For pragmatist like Du Bois, Ambedkar, William James and Dewey, biological ideas such as evolution, adaptation, and environment were central to debates about scientific enquiry, social reform, and moral progress. William James, after opening the first American laboratory devoted to the teaching of psychology, published one the discipline's most influential early textbooks; John Dewey, a famous champion of progressive education, who was guide of Ambedkar in Colombia University, founded what is now known as the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago. Bu Bois, arguably the most important public intellectual of the twentieth century, founded the first American school of sociology and edited the NAACP magazine the *Crisis* for more than twenty years.

Du Bois stepped up to podium. The man who would become America's most celebrated black intellectual asked the twelve hundred people in his New York audience whether Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* undermined the view's "that all are created free and equal". Rejecting the Popular idea that the work of August Weismann and other evolutionist implied some "essential and inevitable inequality among men and races of men", Du Bois instated that freedom for "social self-realization" was "the central assertion of the evolutionary theory", since what matters from the broader perspective of evolution is "not equality of present attainment but equality of opportunity for unbounded future attainment." Earlier that day, John Dewey had spoken at the first section of the same conference. The man who become America's most famous philosopher declared that because "acquired characteristics" are not inherited and thus do not contribute directly to evolutionary progress, all individuals can "have a full, fair and free social opportunity. Each generation biologically commences over again" In other words he continued:

There is no inferior race, and the members of race so-called should each have the same opportunities as those of a more favored race. (Dewey 72)

That both Dewey and Du Bois were asked to speak at this 1909 conferences, the first stirring of an embryonic National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), is not surprising. Each of them had a reputation as an expert on the topic of education , and although

Dewey had written almost nothing about race , he was at least local , having moved to Columbia University in 1904. What is more surprising is that they both structured their remarks around recent developments in evolutionary biology. Why did Dewey and Du Bois turn to biology to frame their response to a sociopolitical problem? The simple answer is that social and evolutionary progresses were in the air, since 1909 was the centenary of both Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin. The New York conference was itself the result of a letter distributed to newspapers on Lincoln's birth day calling: "Upon all the believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protest, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty." (Eveningpost 1909)

On that very same day , which was also Darwin's birth day paleontologist Henry Fairfield Osborn had given a lecture on the English naturalist's life and work, the first in a Columbia University series devoted to Darwin and his influence on science . Osborn ended on an optimistic note: "The conflict of opinion aroused by Darwin will subside like the evil passions of our Civil War. Surely the reverent study of nature cannot lead men astray." (Osborn 343) But the Columbia series went beyond the study of nature, narrowly conceived: there were also lectures on Psychology, anthropology, sociology and even philosophy. This last topic was the responsibility of Dewey, whose lecture-"Darwinism and Modern Philosophy"- was presented two months prior to the New York conference and became the title essay of his book *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy*. But Darwin centenary is only a small part of larger story. Dewey and Du Bois' Interest in evolution had deeper roots, stemming from their shared philosophical background. These ideas are at the heart of the most influential works of pragmatism: delve in to James *Principles of Psychology* and you will discover humans and cuttlefish alike actively shaping their perception; browse through Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk*. In his autobiography Du Bois wrote:

Our mathematical courses were limited; above all I wanted to study philosophy. I wanted to get hold of the basis of knowledge, and explore foundations and beginnings. I chose, therefore, Palmer's course in ethics, but he being on Sabbatical for the year, William James replaced him, and I became a devoted follower of James at the time he was developing his pragmatic philosophy... I hoped to pursue philosophy as my life career, with teaching for support...

William James guided me out of the sterilities of scholastic philosophy to realist pragmatism; from Peabody's social reform with a religious tinge. (Du Bois 133)

Du Bois finally got a chance to do some field of his own in 1896-97, having been hired by the University of Pennsylvania to study "the social condition of the Colored People of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia." This research was designed, as the provost of the university wrote in a letter of introduction:

To ascertain every fact which will throw light upon this social problem; and then having this information and these accurate statistics before us, to see to what extent and in what way, proper remedies may be applied. (Du Bois 1997)

Du Bois' research, like that of Kelley, was connected to settlement house-in his case, the Philadelphia College Settlement. In an 1897 issue of their paper, the *College Settlement News* Du Bois published a brief "Program of social Reform." Echoing his earlier description of Schmoller's approach as well as the language of the provost's letter, Du Bois said: "That reform aimed to provide scientific "remedies" for social problems, declaring that "ignorance of the cause is the greatest cause" of such problems." (Deegan 19) As Du Bois noted several years later, social settlement could help provide such remedies. Mary Jo Deegan and others have shown that the social survey approach of Du Bois' Philadelphia research was modeled on that of *Labour and Life of the People* and *Hull- House Maps and Papers*. Isabel Eaton, latter book and resident of Hull House, even worked in parallel with Du Bois on the 1896-97 projects, ultimately contributing: "A Special Report on the Negro Domestic Service to Du Bois' The Philadelphia Negro that made up about a sixth of the book. (Deegan 19) After a brief stint in Farmville, Virginia-preparing a sociological analysis of the black population there for Wright at Department of Labor-and a few more months in Philadelphia, Du Bois was hired as professor of economics and history at Atlanta University, where he started in 1897-98. As a series of scholars have demonstrated, Du Bois was from 1897 to 1910 the driving force behind the first American school of sociology at Atlanta University, one that preceded but was then overshadowed by the Chicago school. During his first semester at Atlanta, Du Bois addressed the American Academy of Political and Social Science on the "The Study of the Negro Problems." He opened his address by arguing that the United States itself was a kind of sociological laboratory:

The sociologists of few nations have so good opportunity for observing the growth and evaluation of society as those of the United States. The rapid rise of young country, the vast social changes, the wonderful economic development, the bold political experiments, and the contact of varying moral standards-all these make for American students crucial tests of social action, microcosmic reproductions of long centuries of world history, and rapid-even violent- receptions of great social problems. (Wright 11)

Although targeting a Specific social problems, Du Bois kept some strategic distance between social research and social reform, arguing- as Liam Kofi Bright has discussed that the latter should only be “the mediate object of search for truth. He ended his address by declaring that we should not “sneer at heroism of the laboratory” but instead hold to the pure ideas of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it.

Thus by 1897, Du Bois had found his “ Sociological laboratory”- the official title of his sociology seminar room and library at Atlanta University beginning in 1902, but also Atlanta itself where “the race-hatrd of the whites” was “naked and unashamed. (Bulletin of Academy 1897)

Addams, Dewey, Mead, and Du Bois all developed sites of ethical fieldwork at the end of the nineteenth century: Addams and other residents experimented at Hull House in Chicago, developing projects in which Dewey and Mead also participated; Dewey and Mead, along with team of teachers, tested educational and psychological theories in the new laboratory school at University of Chicago; and Du Bois, partly inspired by Hull House but also drawing on his scientific training in Germany, constructed research programs in Philadelphia and Atlanta that ultimately produced a new school of sociology, All of these field sites connected social science with social reform, and all of the figures involved were aware of one another’s work – Du bois even gave a speech at Hull of House in 1907, with Addams returning the favor of the next year. These links were not only personal but also theoretical, Apart from its explicitly Christian perspective, it also echoed Du Bois’ teacher Schmoller, who argued that: “We have advanced more quickly in technology than in our ethical views and social institutions.” (Crumell 91) Du Bois, Dewey, Mead and Addams framed such differential progress as a kind of organism-environment mismatch, with a new social environment necessitating new institutions, new legislation, and a new moral framework. The organism-environment perspective was at the heart of Du Bois’ 1897 address “The Study of the Negro Problems.” His very definition of social problem was “the

failure of an organized social group to realize its group ideals, through the inability to adapt a certain desired line of action to given conditions of life.” That is, a social problem is an adaptive mismatch, which could presumably be corrected by altering either the social group or the relevant conditions. Social growth, continued Du Bois, leads inevitably to social problems, which “denote that laborious and often baffling adjustment of action and condition which is the essence of progress.” According to Du Bois the Negro is unusably handicapped in the United States, despite the boldness of experiments in organized social life because his social problems are complicated by a peculiar environment –namely , the widespread conviction among American that no persons of the Negro of descendent should become constituent members of the social body . Du Bois accused existing studies of the Negro of ignoring his evolution. His whole reaction against is environment. And acting as if he arose from dead in 1863, resurrected by the Emancipation Proclamation, finally, in describing hid program of future study Du Bois divided “the study of Negro” into “a study of group” and “study of environment” arguing that these categories should be distinguished by the investigator even though they were difficult to disentangle in practice. This division was probably inspired by Richmond Mayo-Smith, who- in book later assigned by Du Bois at Atlanta University had divided the material of sociology into: “(a) demographic, social, and ethnographic classes, (b) the physical environment, (c) the social environment, and (d) forces of social change. (Richmond 6, 7)

Du Bois realized in hi program in his 1899 book *The Philadelphia Negro*, based on his 1896-97 research. A complete study of “the Negro problems of Philadelphia,” he wrote opining pages, “must not confine itself to the group, must specially notice the environment; the physical environment of city, sections and houses; the far mightier social environment-the surrounding world of custom, wish, whim, and thought which envelops the group and powerfully influences its social development.” Echoing the views of Schmoller and other economists, Du Bois insisted that science must precede ethical reform: “A slum is not simple fact, it is a symptom”, and we need to uncover its “removable cause.” Later in the book, Du Bois portrayed crime as the result of organism-environment mismatch:

If men are suddenly transported from the one environment to another, the result is lack of harmony with the new physical surroundings leading to

disease and death or modification of physique; lack of harmony with social surrounding leading to crime. (Du Bois 5)

In other words, crime is a social disease that can be cured by attending to its cause, a lack of harmony between a social group and its environment. “A large number of young Negroes are in such environment that they find it easier to be rogues than honest men.” (13) Du Bois also provided a more detailed account of the peculiar environment partially created by color prejudice to which he had alluded in 1897:

The influence of homes badly situated and badly managed, with parents untrained for their responsibilities: the influence of social surrounding which by poor laws and inefficient administration leave the bad to be made worse: the influence of economic exclusion which admits Negroes only to those parts of the economic world where it is hardest to retain ambition and self-respect: and finally that indefinable, but real and mighty moral influences that cause men to have a real sense of manhood or leads them to lose aspiration and self-respect. (Du Bois 14)

For Du Bois, the social problems of the Philadelphia Negro resulted from a mismatch between the social environment and the group, and then primary means of correcting this mismatch was to change the environment-although such change could itself be the result of newly evolved group institutions.

As like Du Bois Ambedkar's key is the idea that means and ends are interconnected, a connection that he realizes is vulnerable to harmful misunderstanding. He makes a related point in describing the workings of the caste system in his paper “Caste in India”, prepared for Alexander Goldenwieser's Columbia University seminar. In that work, he makes pragmatist point that pernicious of caste were:

These customs are essentially of the nature of means, though they are represented as ideals. But this should not blind us from understanding the results that flow from them. One might safely say that idealization of means is necessary and in this particular case was perhaps motivated to endow them with greater efficacy. Calling a means an end does no harm, except that it disguises its real character; but it does not deprive it of its real nature, that of a means. You may pass a law that all cats are dogs, just as you can call a means an end. But you can no more change the nature of means thereby than

you can turn cats into dogs; consequently I am justified in holding that, whether regarded as ends or as means, Sati, enforced widowhood and girl marriage are customs that were primarily intended to solve the problem of the surplus man and surplus woman in a caste and to maintain its endogamy. Strict endogamy could not be preserved without these customs, while caste without endogamy is a fake. (Ambedkar 14)

Ambdekar's point is related to what he uses Dewey to say in this review. Ends are only a certain temporary stoppage of activity; they guide our activity, and might even be labeled as ideals, but we should not fool; ourselves that they are divinely entailed or that action end after they are achieved. They becomes means for the next endeavor, even when they function as ends-in-view that direct activity of an individual or group toward preferred states of affair. Thinking customs like *Sati* (widow burning) are divinely authorized is pernicious for Ambedkar, as hurts our ability to achieve a range of ends and goals and to refine our values and action strategies. It makes holy and unalterable something that may ne pernicious and that ought to be reconstructed. In other words, concretizing a strong dualism between means and ends makes it easy to confuse matters of force, leading to the paralyzing a non-activity of the extreme doctrine of nonresistance of Tolstoy and a likely misreading of Russell's thought.

Ambedkar, along with Dewey in 1916, is also concerned with another result of this confusion of ends and means, the promotion of violent and forceful means. The challenge lies in avoiding the violent use of force that implicates a rush toward an end that undoes other desired results or ends. In his lecture, Dewey is recorded as explicitly challenging the objection "the doctrine that the end justifies the means" As Ambedkar would echo in his review, Dewey states in his lecture that: "If one takes it literally, of course the end justifies the means, if did not, what would justifies the means? (Stroud 90) Ambedkar's conception of fanaticism as the use of force in the service of end-fixated attitudes toward the world intersects with Dew's investigation of individualism and collectivism in his philosophy courses. The 1930s serve as a crystallizing moment for Ambedkar as pragmatist thinker and anticaste activist. As he employed the reconstructive of "echoing" in his speeches and texts most frequently during this period, and his commitment as an individual reformer and rehetoric to being an educator of the masses achieved full instantiation and visibility. The decade brought together Ambedk's various performances as activist, democratic theorist, anticaste thinker, and political speaker in a series of high-profile text. It is in these

martial traces of Ambedkar's thought and philosophy that we find his engagement with Dewey's thought, as well as the aspects of pragmatism that Ambedkar was unsatisfied with or that he saw fit to change and adapt to his own anticaste purpose. Given the rhetorical angle that this project has foregrounded the aspects of Ambedkar adapting messages to specific audiences, as well as trying to persuasively change those audiences with specific appeals. His 1936 undelivered speech, *Annihilation of Caste*. This text was crafted to serve as a persuasive appeal to specific audience, and examining its rhetorical functioning can help workout the various ways that Ambedkar forged his own pragmatism through a reconstruction of parts of Dewey's philosophy. Ambedkar's engagement with Dewey mattered for both his method of arguing and persuading, as well as for the ideals that animated his push for caste justice and democracy in India. The concertized that changing and developing thought over his decades of activism and writing. Ambedkar's reading habit was very finely honed and selective. He rarely read an entire book to simply hear its author out. He engaged texts and ideas like pragmatist, with purpose and with forethought as to how they might be usable in his own endeavors or struggles. If a book did not look worth his time, or if reading it in its entirety offered diminishing intellectual returns compared to the time he would have to invest, Ambedkar was not afraid to cut his losses. And Ambedkar's time was extremely valuable. He once told U. R Rao, an India-based manager for one of Ambedkar's main publishers, Thacker & Company, that reading an entire book is:

Seldom are my styles of reading, there only a few books which call for deep study, from cover to cover. When I see a new title on a subject I am interested in, say socialism, I glance through the blurb, the introduction, the contents, decide which chapters would probably offer me some new thoughts and ideas on the subject. And when I have done that, you may say I have read the book. (qtd. in Stroud)

Ambedkar voiced the developed form of his unique form of pragmatism in 1930, using and appropriating some of Dewey's ideas, text, and methods in a synthetic fashion to attack the injustice perpetrated by the caste hierarchy. Pragmatism works such as the 1908 Dewey's *Ethics and Democracy and Education* form an important part of the background that supplied these later speeches, essays, books, and political campaigns with their moralistic meaning. To illustrate Ambedkar's pragmatist approach and lineage in both ideas and rhetorical methods, let us examine his most important and well-known work, the 1936 *Annihilation of Caste*. In the 190s and 1920s,

Ambedkar largely conceived of the Dalits as members of the Hindu fold who could regain rights that were lost ages before. By the 1930s, the landscape had changed considerably for Ambedkar and his project of reform. Ambedkar's rhetorical activity also extended to political negotiations in London and India with likes of Mahatma Gandhi. The relationship between these two great figures of Indian politics soured in 1930 and 1931 in the context of Round Table Conferences in London concerning the political franchise and the fates of various segments of the Indian population, after Ambedkar has secured concessions from the British for separate electorates for the Dalits in 1931, in 11 March 1932 from Yerawada Central Prison, Pune. Gandhi wrote letter to Sir Samuel Hoare he declared that:

I know that separate electorate is neither a penance nor any remedy for the crushing degradation they have groaned under. I therefore respectfully inform His Majesty's Govt. That in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the Depressed Classes, I must fast unto death...(qted.in Khairmode 6)

Ambedkar worried about the violent forces that the Mahatma was potentially releasing among his and Ambedkar's followers through a suicidal fast, nothing that Gandhi was fostering the spirit of hatred between the Hindu community and Depressed Classes and there by widening the gulf between two. Rather than be responsible for the death of the symbol of *swaraj* after the crisis of Gandhi and Ambedkar there was threatened to murder of Ambedkar. As Ambedkar's Marathi biographer Khairmode, observed that:

“Secret meeting of Puneri students threatened to murder of Ambedkar

Negotiations have been going on for two days now, various attempts are being made to suppress Dr. Ambedkar, the news of the secret conspiracy of some Puneri students of the Gogte sect, who are shooter of Governor, has been published. When he heard this news, he laughed for a moment; the meaning of his fearless smile was that “I am not afraid of death”. The untouchable society here is very concerned about the safety of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and they are keeping that vigilance. Everyone wanted Gandhiji's unfortunate promise not to have any dire consequences. Even a single stroke of Babasaheb Ambedkar's hair will not fail to unleash a terrible calamity. Thousands of untouchable youth will be ready to sacrifice for a drop of his blood.” (Khairmode 64)

Ambedkar ultimately relented and gave up most of his gains for the considerations now known as the “Poona Pact.” But He never forgives Gandhi for the forceful tactic of wagering his life gains the political gains of Dalits. Gandhi supported the Dalits, but he wanted such supported to be firmly entrenched within the Hindu social system. Gandhi thought that untouchability was a sin, whereas caste was a mere social distinction. Caste (as *Varna*) was fine and need not be eradicated; untouchability and the impurity it imputed to individuals and groups, however, was worthy of eliminating. Unlike Ambedkar, Gandhi did not see an intrinsic connection between the concept of caste and that of untouchability. Gandhi even went so far as to affirm the social separations common among casts as nonharmful, in 1920, he wrote in *Young India*:

Caste has saved Hinduism from disintegration. But like every other institution it has suffered from excrescences. I consider the four divisions alone to be fundamental, natural and essential. The innumerable sub-castes are sometimes a convenience, often a hindrance. The sooner there is fusion the better... Interdrinking, interdining, intermarrying, I hold, are not essential for the promotion of the spirit of democracy. (Jaffrelot 4)

All of this forms the background for the events that would happen in 1936. In that year, Ambedkar was invited to give the presidential address for the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal of Lahore, a group of upper-caste Hindus dedicated to erasing caste discrimination. This group of upper-caste Hindus was an offshoot of the Arya Samaj movement, a monotheistic group dedicated to reforming Hinduism and reasserting the primacy of the Vedas over later accretions to religious tradition of Hinduism. As Ambedkar’s biographer Keer documents:

The Mandal’s leaders eventually got wind of Ambedkar’s address and demurred at his mention of destroying the Vedas, along other Hindu holy texts, as the only way to eradicate caste. (Keer 266)

Annihilation Caste is straightforward in its critique of those in the South Asian context who, like elements of the Arya Samaj and the Indian national Congress, refuse to see full-throated social reform as vital for India’s political independence and advancement. Ambedkar comes off swinging against those in the Congress who insist on political reform before or insist on political reform before any sort of social reform and those influenced by Marxist socialism who demand economic reform before instead of social reform. All of these, Ambedkar maintains, miss the fundamental decay that lies inside of the Indian proto nation toward self-rule: the caste system

that divides and devalues vast groups within the millions of people that would make up a free India. After setting aside these putatively unhelpful rejections of pushes for social reform, Ambedkar begins his relentless assault on caste, the invidious system that divides group of individuals based on hereditary and religious concepts. Answering those who would defend caste based on its being a useful societal division of labor, Ambedkar counter:

It is also a division of labourer. Civilized society undoubtedly needs division of labour. But in no civilized society is division of labour accompanied by this unnatural division of labourers into water-tight compartments. Caste System is not merely a division of labourers which is quite different from division of labour—it is an hierarchy in which the divisions of labourers are graded one above the other. In no other country is the division of labour accompanied by this gradation of labourers. There is also a third point of criticism against this view of the Caste System. This division of labour is not spontaneous; it is not based on natural aptitudes. Social and individual efficiency requires us to develop the capacity of an individual to the point of competency to choose and to make his own career. This principle is violated in the Caste System in so far as it involves an attempt to appoint tasks to individuals in advance, selected not on the basis of trained original capacities, but on that of the social status of the parents. Looked at from another point of view this stratification of occupations which is the result of the Caste System is positively pernicious. Industry is never static. It undergoes rapid and abrupt changes. With such changes an individual must be free to change his occupation. (Ambedkar 47, 48)

This is pointed argument that caste divides workers based on metaphysics of karma, writing unjust social exclusion and servitude into the nature of the world. Emerging from this close analysis of the textual traces of Ambedkar's engagement with Dewey's pragmatism in his *Annihilation of Caste*, the commitments of Ambedkar own from of pragmatism as it was developing in the 1930s. A vital part of this pragmatism philosophy was its form of development: Ambedkar worked it out in books, essays, and speeches that anticipated specific and unique audiences. He surely saw no value in abstract tomes on his theory of pragmatism. The value of pragmatism was use for his causes. The *Annihilation Caste* was a perfect example of the rhetorical characteristic of Ambedkar's thought.

4. 4. Du Bois and Ambedkar: Fight for Humanism and Human Values

In “A Philosophy for 1913”, Du Bois declared:

I will a man and know myself to be one even among those who secretly and openly deny my manhood, and I shall persistently and unwaveringly seek by every possible method to compel all men to treat them. (Du Bois The Crisis, January 1913)

From being denied the vote, to lynching and terror, and through a range of more subtle and pernicious racism, the harsh reality of African American life required a political philosophy to inspire the challenge. A key aspect of Du Bois’ early political thought was the reconstructing of the meaning of race and manliness. Through the assertion of manhood, African American could be empowered. “Race” and “manliness” concept constructed by white Americans in ways that oppressed African American. In his early thinking, Du Bois believed these powerful concept could be infused be infused with new meanings and turned back on the dominant society. Through his speeches and writing, Du Bois constructed and articulated a workable politics to unite and motivate the African American community. Race would be embraced to positive ends. At the end of the nineteenth century Du Bois stated:

The fact still remains that the full, complete Negro message of the whole Negro race has not yet been given to the world (Du Bois 1897) The meanings white America invested in racial difference were recast by Du Bois: Yes, race existed, but the African American was a gift to the world. He sought to empower both sides of the unique dual identity of the African American. Equally, Du Bois did not –at this stage –reject the fundamental promise of America. African Americans, even more than white Americans, were “of” America, the product of its history. As Du Bois grappled with conceiving an effective race politics in the face of racial realities, manliness became essential. He wanted to reassert African American manhood even as whites tried to emasculate them. The “Jim Crow” system was a direct assault on his manhood. Du Bois railed against the public opinion was denying him less his right to sit in a particular train car, than his very manhood. To assert one’s manhood was to assert one’s power as an African American, and race pride was essential. Du Bois wrote: “It is race pride that fights for freedom. It is the man ashamed of his blood who weakly submits and smiles. (Du Bois 1912)

Manhood was not something innate but had to be earned and asserted he further says that more and more manly assertion was needed to win political rights, and this included protest. And nothing less than manhood could be given. Political power, manhood rights, and freedom were intimately linked. He declared: “We are men, we will be treated as men, we will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights.” (Apthekar 91) Manhood and manhood suffrage went hand in hand. In *The Souls of black Folk* he said that voting is necessary to modern manhood. Du Bois Niagara Movement, organized in 1905, recognized the crucial importance of the vote. With the:

Right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives,
the chastity of your daughter, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let
no man listen to those who deny this. (Du Bois 90)

African American must aspire to full citizenship. Not to struggle for such rights was wrong. He admonished the man that supinely sits down and gives up the rights of manhood or even goes so far as actually to protest that he doesn't want them. Such men do not deserve American citizenship. Education was one means to this manhood. Education and training could facilitate race pride and manhood. He said that the result should be neither a psychologist nor a brick mason, but a man. Du Bois views on African American power through manhood did not fail recognize the power of African American women. On the contrary, he idealized them. They were more powerful than their men and were closet to fulfilling the possibilities of the race He wrote: “I honor the women of my race” (Du Bois 115) They were also the protectors of the race. He said it was critical not to be further burdening the overburdened but by honoring motherhood, even when the sneaking father shirks his duty. Du Bois greatest desire was to see African American men fulfill their potential, for the legacy of slavery had been the destruction of African American manhood. Participation in World war seemed to offer African American the opportunity to show their courage and loyalty to the United States. Du Bois was to be cruelly disappointed. The war did not deliver the hoped-for benefits and recognition, and Du Bois' faith in progress, civilization and American ideals was fatally challenged. In fact, the African American community faced even greater race oppression- many lynching and race riots occurred throughout 1918 and 1919, and the post war period did not deliver expected progress for African Americans.

As the war shattered many of the tenants that underpinned people's beliefs in their world, Du Bois was to turn to new explanations and means to effect political empowerment for African Americans. Du Bois turned to socialism for solutions. He said that: "It stood for the rights of men in America without regard to race and color". (Foner 357) His faith in the working class reflected the changing economic realities of African American life, and socialism offered a unity beyond race. Disillusionment and the realities of the post-world War II world eventually led to Du Bois turning to Africa itself. He became a citizen of Ghana in 1963. Race and manliness, central tenets of W. E. B. Du Bois' early political thinking, were not the solution to African American oppression. The Ideals of the nineteenth century could not be a sufficient means to achieve power and combat the racism of U.S. society. These ideals had already been corrupted and used as weapons of oppression by a dominant society and could not be salvaged.

As like Du Bois Ambedkar also fought for humanism, he has believed on Humanism. His all *Satyagraha* and movements filled with full of human values. The first shots to herald the freedom of the Untouchables were fired by him in 1927 at Mahad, an ancient town in Maharashtra. In response to his call, more than ten thousand men and women assembled at Mahad on 19 March 1927. Next day the delegates began their march from the venue of the conference to The Chodwar Tank to assert their right of drinking water from the Municipal tank. Ambedkar was the head of the procession. Ten thousand volunteers followed their in a file of fours. Wading through the streets of Mahad in disciplined and peaceful manner, the procession reached Chowadar Tank. Ambedkar asserted the right of the righty of the suffering humanity by drinking water from the forbidden Tank. Most of the volunteers also followed suit and vindicated their right. In such tense atmosphere and amidst tumultuous scenes, the Conference began in the evening of December 25. Addressing the Mammoth gathering of more than fifteen thousand people, Ambedkar said:

At the outset let me tell those who oppose us that we did not perish because we could not drink from this Chowadar Tank. We now want to go to the tank only to prove that, like others, we are human beings...had been called to inaugurate an era of equality in this land. (Ahir 15)

Throughout his writing and speeches and *Satyagraha* he talks about manliness. He planned Kalaram temple entry Satyagraha at Nashik. The Satyagraha began on March 3, by way of small

groups going to the temple and courting arrest. The non-violent agitation continued for more than a month. April 9 was the day of the chariot procession of the image of Rama. After protracted negotiations it had been agreed to by the trustees of the temple that on that day the untouchables will be allowed to touch the Chariot. When, however, the satyagrahis attempted to reach the chariot, some caste Hindus lost their senses and ambushed the unarmed untouchables with stones and sticks. In this sudden attack a large number of satyagrahis, including Ambedkar, were injured. In spite of all this, the agitation continued, and the trustees of the Kalaram temple had to keep the temple closed for a whole year. Unmindful of such hardship, the volunteers kept pouring. Hence the Satyagraha was continued for more than five years but it failed to bend the orthodox Hindus. Hence, Ambedkar summoned a Conference at the nearby town of Yeola on 13 October 1935 to decide the future course of action. Addressing the mammoth gathering, at Yeola, He recounted the plight of the Untouchables in all spheres, and the sacrifices made by them, to secure the barest human rights as members of the same community under the aegis of Hinduism. He went on to say that the time had come to decide if it was not better for them to abjure Hinduism and embrace some other faith that would give them an equal status, a secure position and rightful treatment. Speaking about himself Ambedkar said: “Unfortunately, I was born a Hindu. It was beyond my power to prevent that, but I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu.” (Keer 253) After careful consideration, the Conference resolved to stop the Nasik Satagraha as the past five years had demonstrated the futility of such agitation against the caste Hindus, who had thwarted all their attempts to regain honorable status.

As like Du Bois Ambedkar also know the importance of education. He always said that education being the key to all success in life. He always exhorted his followers to give proper education to their children. In, fact he considered it the basis for a child’s destiny and opined that parents could change the destiny of their children by getting them educated. He attached so much importance to education that he made ‘education’ the very first step of his trio- slogan of action: “Educate, Agitate and Organize”. In Philosophy of Hinduism Ambedkar wrote:

Caste devitalizes a man. It is a process of sterilization. Education, wealth, labour are all necessary for every individual if he is to reach a free and full manhood. Mere education without wealth and labour is barren. Wealth without education and wealth is brutal. Each is necessary to everyone. They are necessary for the growth of a man. (Ambedkar 68, 69)

With a view to encouraging the untouchable student, Ambedkar, as first step opened hostels for them with the aid provided by public donations and grants from the municipalities and district boards. Such hostels at Panvel, Pune, Nashik, Solapur, Thane, Aurangabad (Maharashtra) and Dharwar (Karnataka) provided free boarding and lodging facilities as well as bare expenses incurred by the students on clothes, books and stationery. Ambedkar also occasionally visited these hostels and familiarized the inmates with his ideology. These hostels helped a lot in promoting primary, high schools and higher education among the untouchable communities. However, to secure the manhood, Ambedkar maintained that the relevant clause (now clause 4 of Article 16) in Indian Constitution. Draft Article 13 guaranteeing the seven freedoms was as follows:

That for article 13, the following be substituted:

’13. Subject to public order or morality the citizens are guaranteed–

- (a) freedom of speech and expression;
- (b) freedom of the press;
- (c) freedom to form association or unions;
- (d) freedom to assemble peaceably and without arms;
- (e) secrecy of postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications. ¹¹

When Simon Commission came to India at that time as a leader of Dalits and member of commission Ambedkar given the evidence before it; He raises the question of educating Low Castes: The practical conclusion to be drawn from these facts which years of experience have forced upon our notice is that a very wide door should be opened to the children of the poor high castes, who are willing to receive education at our hands. But here, again, another embarrassing question arises, which is right to notice. If the children of the poor are admitted freely to Government Institution what is there to prevent all the despised castes- the Dheds, Mahars, etc; from flocking in numbers to their walls? (Khairmode 302)

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Conclusion

The African Americans and Dalits are the oppressed social groups in America and India respectively. They were deprived from the social, economic, political and cultural rights. In other words, they were the slaves of the masters who were in power for ages together. In America, the whites were the masters while in India the Upper Caste-Hindus were the masters. However, the African Americans and the Dalits have launched their slavery. The African American leaders such as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois and Martin Luther King Jr. emancipated the African Americans while B. R. Ambedkar emancipated the Dalits in India.

The movements of the African Americans and the Dalits have given birth to the African American literature and Dalit literature respectively. In fact, the African American literature and Dalit literature. The slavery is not a new system. It existed in the ancient time and its existence could be observed in all parts of the world in direct or indirect form. This is a system created for the benefit of some groups of people who want to dominate and control over the other groups of humanity. Through the system of slavery some limited people want to rule over the other groups of humanity. In order to maintain their power, the dominant ideology and hegemony over the other groups of humanity. This particular system of slavery was sanctioned by the laws and also by some of the religious scriptures.

Similarly in America slavery emerged or was established after the arrival of the Africans on the shore of America. The cargo that brought the Negroes to America in Jamestown, Virginia were sold on the auction block by the whites. Since, they were sold on the auction block, they were commodified and their humanity was taken away from them. After their sale, the white man saw towards Blacks as commodity. Once any group of humanity which considers the other group of humanity as a commodity or things the process of the dehumanization of the sold group begins. In addition to this, slavery was an all pervasive, all-encompassing system which robbed people of their humanity, destroyed their family and personal relationships, denied the retention of any identity creating African culture, and turned African Americans into the victims of one of the most oppressive and degrading system in history. A brilliant ex-slave, Fredrick Douglass aptly called the slavery “the graveyard of the mind”. After the imposition of slavery on the Blacks, their status in the American society was at lower order. The Blacks were placed at the lowest position in the social order. Not only this, the white society in America had put some restrictions

on the Blacks, so that they would not escape from the bondage of slavery. One might think that at was the base of slavery, and of slavery, and of course the answer is simple: colour or race. The Blacks slaves were not allowed to learn, read or write. The white masters deliberately kept them away from the knowledge because knowledge is power. In other words, if any one gets the knowledge, he or she would become powerful. Therefore, they kept away from the enlightenment. It is important to underscore that the chattel slavery system of North America came into existence by evolution. There was nothing natural or inherent or even historical about it. The restrictions and prohibitions of the colonial period were multiplied and intensified in the era of national slavery.

In this way, segregation has come an end by the law of the land. The Black Muslim Movement was another movement of the blacks whose leader was Eliza Muhammad. This movement of the black Muslims has the legacy of Garveyism. The black Muslims were glorifying their race. The black nationalists feel the total give up of religion and culture of the whites. They did not consider themselves as Negroes. They threw away their surnames because they knew that they got them from their masters in the slavery era. They used 'X' in place of their family/surnames.

Another incident has had happened in the life of African Americans in 1955 in the month of December. A black lady Rosa Park who was tired sat on seat of the whites. As result she was asked to go to the other seat meant for the blacks. However, she refused to vacate the seat when asked by the whites. She was dragged down by the whites from the bus and Rosa Parks was arrested. The arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to vacate her seat resulted in Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. This bus boycott movement in Montgomery was transformed into the civil rights movement. The bus boycott in the capital of Alabama made Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. the key figure in the civil-rights movement. In this regard Charles H. Wesley in his *The Quest for Equality: From Civil War to Civil Rights* says that the Negro clergy hastily formed the Montgomery Improvement Association, with Dr. King its head. It called for a bus boycott which proved almost 100 percent effective in terms of Negro riders. The boycott introduced a new philosophy to counter the 'massive resistance' of the South. Dr. King, a disciple of Mohandas Gandhi, called it 'passive resistance', led the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and also the civil rights movement. Martin Luther King Jr. was a leader of the blacks who believed in the principle of non-violence. He led a march on Washington in 1963 for the civil rights of the Blacks. He

addressed to the masses which became famous speech called 'I have dream'. He has seen the dream of social, economic, political and cultural equality.

Like the African American, Dalits or ex-untouchables is a group of humanity in India who were oppressed by the social slavery of brahminism. They were oppressed just because they were born in the lower castes. The position of ex-untouchables or Dalits was at the lowest level in caste bound Hindu society. The Hindu social order is based on the theory of Chaturvarna. The Chaturvarna consists of four classes of people such as, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudras. However, the Dalits had no place in the Chaturvarna. They were placed outside of the Chaturvarna. The Brahmins refused to perform the upanaya of the Shudras. The refusal to perform the upanayana of the Shudras led to their social degradation in Hindu social order. For the persistence and support to the Chaturvarna system, the Brahmins created the religious texts and scriptures, smritis and holy books and have given base of law to it.

There are another group of people who were placed outside of the Chaturvarna, there; they are called as Avarna or Ati-Shudras. The Avarna consists of the Untouchables, Aborigines and the criminal tribes.

The Untouchables were a group of humanity in India who were not allowed to touch any human being. Their mere touch could pollute the other persons. They were prohibited from having access to knowledge and knowledge system. Their life was lower than the animals. They did not have any civil rights, as if they were the slaves. The Untouchables in India were deprived from the social, economic and political rights. The case of Untouchables was much similar or parallel to the African Americans of the U. S. A. The Untouchables were forced to live outside of the village till recent time. Ambedkar used the term 'Broken Men' for the Untouchables.

The totems between Hindus and Untouchables were different. It means the tribes of Broken Men were Buddhist and the Brahmins hated them as a result the Broken Men also hated the Brahmins. However, the Brahmin stopped and banned eating of dead cow; But Broken Men continued to eat it.

The Varna system and the caste system in India were created by the Arya-Brahmins in order to maintain their superiority and supremacy to rule over the Dalits (ex-untouchables). The Chaturvarna or the caste system is a powerful ideology of the Brahmins against the powerless masses. Although, the Varna system and the caste system is a powerful ideology of the Brahmins in ancient time there was an attempt of resistance against the Chaturvarna system and preached

the egalitarian ideology. The relationship between race and caste is firmly established in the opinions many scholars, thinker, philosopher and activists today. The 'racial caste' or 'color-caste' became frequent expressions in use. Both legislative bodies and courts in the US, UK and South Asia are facing pressure to acknowledge "caste discrimination" and "racial discrimination" as kin to base on caste and race. This line of thought linking race and caste has been developed especially by scholars from the United States and India over many decades.

By some Du Bois was viewed as a black leader who was justifying the white system of racism by placing the blame for black failures on the on the shoulders of those black who were in oppressive situations. However, this was not the case. Du Bois presented a powerful argument against institutional racism. Du Bois said that by discouraging blacks from entering certain trades and labor unions, and through segregations and political and social oppression, white unions, and through segregation and political and social oppression, white society condemned all African American behind a wall of social justice. Du Bois joined the faculty of Atlanta University in 1897 as a professor of history an economics. Du Bois asserts that blacks in the United States are unable to simply be Americans; they are daily bombarded with information that reminds them of their status in society. While European Americans are rarely reminded that they are white, black Americans were unable to function in society without having to address issues of racism and prejudice. Segregation, lynching, and general injustice were constant reminders that to be black was not be an American in the sense that blacks could not participate in the benefits of society at the same level as whites. Further, Du Bois suggested that racism grow from the exploitation of people and that exploitation affects all parties involved both the exploiter and the exploited. Because of his knowledge of history, Du Bois could point out the fact race as mean of categorizing people only gained wide acceptance after the onset of slavery in the New World. Races were then assigned certain psychological and physical characteristic that had little to do with the individual members of racial group. The need to make a distinction between people of different races grows from two sources; the first, when a group of people is increasingly identified slovenly through the marks of their oppression; when there was contrast between Du Bois and Booker Washington, appeared radical. As Washington gained popularity, he spoke of black taking up their finical system and working within the segregated society in which they lived to achieve their financial goals. Du Bois was willing, at first, to be an advocate for

Washington; however, as time progress, Du Bois became less satisfied with Washington's perspective, While Washington urged the creation of black society and not making demands on white society. Du Bois noted that the inner city functioned as social entity for economic and social subordination. He also noted that blacks were receiving lower wages than usual or less desirable work and, because of that work and wages, were forced to live. Du Bois often refer Race and caste in one category. Early in his fight against racism, Du Bois envisioned democracy within the system of American capitalism; Du Bois envisioned democracy within the system of American capitalism as a way to end oppression of blacks and racism. He said that the "the power of Ballot" was an important tool. And striving to preserve the democratic rights of African Americans was crucial. Later in life, Du Bois believed socialism would better tool for achieving equality, and ending racism, than democracy. At the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) stated that Every leading land on earth is moving toward some form of socialism , so as to restrict the power of wealth, introduce democratic methods on industry, and stop the persistence of poverty, ignorance, disease, and crime. His perspective on the value of socialism grew in part from distaste for class. He referred to these "most intelligent members" of black society as 'the Talented Tenth". As time passed, he became aware that the Talented Tenth were separating themselves from the working classes, and instead of providing leadership, they were taking part in capitalistic society, sometimes to the point of exploiting other blacks. Du Bois saw these class divisions in the black community as threat to unity, and as such, it would also be a threat to social reform, his belief in cultural pluralism.

The Untouchable by reason of their poverty became subject to slavery oftener than did the untouchable. So that up to 1843 the untouchable in India had to undergo the misfortune of being held in double bondage. Ambedkar says "bondage of slavery and bondage of untouchability". The lighter of the bonds has been cut and the untouchable is made free from it. But because of today are not seen wearing the chains of slavery on them, it is not to be supposed that they never did.

Du Bois recounted memorable episode in the development of race consciousness in his *The Souls of Black Folk*. When at the age of ten he jolted by the refusal of a white girl at school into a foreshadowing of his understanding of his difference and distance from the majority world around him.

Similarities

As Civil Right activist, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois's role was going to be aggressive and forthright in building the black movement. He would loom large on the American scene for many years to come. W. E. Du Bois was born on 23rd February, 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. W. E. B. Du Bois was a founder member of Niagara movement. Along with him there were William Monroe Trotter and group of Black people. The first meeting took place in July 1905 at Fort Erie, Ontario. This movement opposed racial segregation and disenfranchisement and also opposed Booker T. Washington's policies of accommodation and conciliation. W.B. Du Bois and attendees of the inaugural meeting have made 'Declaration of Principles'. This declaration was philosophy of W. E. Du Bois and group. Moreover, they demanded equality should for Black in economically, politically and socially. This movement has been focused on progress of Black, which should increase the intelligence of Black. They should advance in art and literature; construct executive ability in conduct of economic and educational institution and great religion. This movement called Blacks to be granted manhood suffrage and equal treatment for all American citizens. It also demanded an equal economic opportunity in rural district of south where Blacks were indebted to white and it result was virtual slavery. However, the declaration took account of education. According to them education should be free and compulsory, action to be taken to improve 'high school facilities'. They also demanded that judges should be selected independently of Black race and criminals either Black or White should given equal punishments for their crime. They realized that their battle was not for themselves alone but for all true Americans. This movement claimed for right to vote, it goes everything such as the right to work, the honor of their wives, the chastity of their daughter. They want manhood to suffrage henceforth and forever. Du Bois is often seen as the father of Pan-Africanism. This honor is bestowed upon him because of his central role in organizing five Pan-African Congresses and sustaining the movement for a quarter century, from 1919 to 1945. However, pan African thinking and initiatives began soon after the start of the Atlantic slave trade. Du Bois' efforts to institutionalize and broaden the reach of the movement were a further manifestation of the vision and action of men like Edward Blyden, Martin Delaney, Alexander Crummell, Henry Sylvester Williams, and Bishop Henry Turner.

Du Bois critique of African American religion begs the question and said that the Negro, losing the joy of this world, eagerly seized upon the offered conceptions of the next; the avenging Spirit of the Lord enjoining patience in this world, under sorrow and tribulation until the great day when he should lead his dark children home, - this became his comforting dream. According to Du Bois, the perception of women as the weaker sex was “sheer rot”. Their capabilities, despite sex discrimination, as contributors to the economy and civilization were quite evident throughout the society and the world. In addition, it was erroneous to assume that women’s interests were protected by male voters. As the unmarried, never married, deserted, and separated, millions of women were denied even a plausible secondary voice. He was pioneer in the formation of sociology as an academic discipline in the United States, author of one of the first revisionist histories of Reconstruction, a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), shaper along with Booker T. Washington and the Marcus Garvey of two pivotal controversies over racial strategy, elder statesman, of the Harlem Renaissance, hero of Pan-Africanism.

B. R. Ambedkar left remarkable action on Indian society, politics and economy with a broad range of scholarly work and rigorous political activism. While much is known, heard and written about his political, social and economic writings, there has been relatively less of an attempt at understanding the philosophical underpinnings and theoretical origins of his worldview. His worldview was informed by not only a scholarly interest but a personal experience of discrimination and marginalization. The deep sense of injustice felt by him motivated Dr. Ambedkar to challenge all oppressive institutions of society. Throughout his life he was passionately criticized of the Hindu caste system which was the basis of social, cultural, economic and political subjugation of those considered as lower castes.

There is no need to prove nationalism of Ambedkar. He spent his entire life for Unity of India. But historian deliberately neglected him from national movement. In fact, his fighting against untouchability was nationalist issues. Fundamental rights such as right of education, right of acquiring wealth, right of considering human being of Dalits was denied by upper caste Hindu. Even Dalits had/have not been able to filling water from public well. Though water is natural resource but it was denied. According to Rodrigues it would have been different India to Ambedkar and, in all probability, a much more inequitable and unjust one. He [Aambedkar]

attempted to forge India's moral and social foundation a new and strove for a political order of constitutional democracy that is sensitive to disadvantage, inherited from the past or engendered by prevailing social relation. He became deeply aware of the resource that history and culture offered for an emancipator project but argued that they can become effectively only through the matrix of the present. In India, caste is still the most powerful factor in determining the person's dignity. The caste system is the result of the Hindu belief in reincarnation and karma. In Indian context, generally theory is that the social organization was based on *Chaturvarnya*. It meant the division of society in four classes- *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* and *Shudras* based on division of labour and heredity.

According Ambedkar, the view that religion is of no importance is a mistaken and untenable view. Religion as a social force cannot be ignored. Similarly, the view encouraged by the study of comparative religion that 'all religions are good' is also mistaken and untenable. Again, to hold that all religions are true and good is to cherish a belief, which is positively and evidently wrong. It has broken down the claim and arrogance of revealed religions as being the only true and good religion. However, it has also brought in its wake some false notions about religion. The most harmful one is that all religions are equally good and that there is no necessity of discriminating between them. Nothing can be a farther from truth than this. Ambedkar said that Religion is an institution or an influence; and like all social influences and all institutions it may help or it may harm the society. In his *Philosophy of Hinduism*, Ambedkar has applied both the test of justice and the test of utility to judge Hinduism. 'The principle of justice' according to Dr. Ambedkar, includes most of the other principles which have become the foundation of a moral order. In short, according to him, justice is another name for liberty, equality and fraternity.

Ambedkar not only wrote extensively to counter the orthodox Hindu opinion against women but worked as an activist and social reformer at the grass roots level to organize and empower women of depressed classes so that they could fight to reclaim their social rights such as right to drink water from their source and right to enter temple that were traditionally denied to them by the caste Hindus. It was due to the encouragement by Ambedkar that a large number of women came out openly on the public streets to reclaim their social rights and self-respect. Dr. Ambedkar started involving women in the struggle, for eradication of caste systems and upliftment of the underprivileged sections. He realized that this could not be achieved without

liberating the women themselves. Comparisons between oppressed leaders as like Du Bois and Ambedkar are not only natural but also necessary. Natural because their struggle reclaims the human space denies them for centuries is almost similar; necessary because the leaders that have taken a lead in reclaiming that space influences the other leader in in devising their strategies, far removed from, area of their operation. It is surprising how ideas travel from one country to another country. Indian have always ingest in the struggle of African American, and South Africans, including the people of Indian settled there, for equality and dignity.

Du Bois and Ambedkar spoke about Jews people. Both had empathy of Jews. There is no black intellectual had spoken more pointedly on the subject of black's relationship with Jews than W E B Du Bois spoke.

Dissimilarities

The writing of W.E.B. Du Bois projects or reveals the racial discrimination and its roots, on the other hand the writing of Ambedkar reveal the caste discrimination and its roots. Du Bois' writing does not reject the concept of God while Ambedkar's writing rejects the concept of God. However, Ambedkar made himself three Gurus such as Lord Buddha, Saint Kabir and Mahtma Phule. He knew that Buddha has laid down certain principles and has told the truth of life. The style of Du Bois' writing and Ambedkar's writing is different. Similarly, the symbols, myths, legends, fables and folklore used in their writing are different. The writing of Du Bois does not projects the Dalit consciousness. On the other hand Ambedkar projected the Black consciousness through his writing. Frederic Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Martin Luther King. Jr. are the the source of African American Literature while Ambedkar is the source of inspiration of Dalit Literature. The 93- years-old Du Bois moved to Ghana to manage the project, acquiring citizenship of the African country in 1961. Du Bois died in Ghana on August 27, 1963, the day before the historic March on Washington. On the other hand Ambedkar does not acquired citizenship of any country and died December 6, 1956.

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