W. E. B. Du Bois and Ambedkar: Revisiting the Intellectual Historical Analysis of their Views on Race and Caste

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Received:	16-12-2022
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Revised: 09-01-2023

Accepted: 21-01-2023

ABSTRACT

Du Bois and Ambedkar, both intellectually sound personalities, challenged the established institutions of oppression of race and caste. Their intellectual and social legacies continue to have an impact on academia and society today. Their new interpretations of history changed the course of generations. This paper, using an intellectual historical method, attempts to revisit and analyse the issues of "race" and "caste" and the relevance of interpretations by both intellectuals. This paper is majorly divided into four parts, with the first one trying to explain the intellectual historical method, its problems in implementation, and its relevance to such an issue; the second one trying to excavate their conceptual perceptions of race" and "caste." The third part discusses the perception of both scholars on the driving forces behind these issues, and last part discusses the concise history of their struggle towards establishing an egalitarian society.

Keywords: du bois, ambedkar, intellectual history, race, caste, education

I. INTRODUCTION

B. R. Ambedkar is also considered the "Father of the Constitution of India" (Biswas, 1997), and W. E. B. Du Bois is often called the "Father of Pan-Africanism" by black intellectuals and scholars (Marable, 2014). Both were contemporary figures, having a similar but distinct history of marginalisation and discrimination in different geographical contexts. They stood against the phenomenon of discrimination, marginalisation, and oppression based on social constructions such as race, caste, and gender. It is undeniable from their autobiographies that Du Bois was a victim of the negro problem and Ambedkar was a victim of the caste system. Both have written correspondence to each other on the issues of liberty from oppression by racial and caste-based institutions.

Du Bois and Ambedkar were prominent interdisciplinary social science scholars who provided a vast body of scholarship on race and caste. Any intellectual history of issues such as race, caste, and women's rights has been written and talked about by both scholars in a broader approach, not specifically by the method of intellectual history but motivated by the initial underpinnings of intellectual history and interdisciplinarity. The relationship between contemporaneous issues such as race and caste would need to emphasise the complicated, overlapping, and often confrontational connections between the two conceptions. Several of these interconnections are more easily apparent than others, while others are not as apparent. Such an attempt has been made in this paper, which also raises methodological and political issues as well as the question of "scale" and "degree" (Majumder, 2017). Intellectual history is generally considered to be "writing and study of history is no longer about the past; it is more about the present" (Desai, 2021). It is described as the history of consciousness, thoughts, and expressions rather than traditional politics, religion, society, economic activities, philosophy, and literature.

The study of intellectual history establishes a space for thought between the progression of events and the interpretations that are embedded in those occurrences; in summary, how did one thing evolve into the next? It is usually important when received thought traditions and historical attributes exist to have abandoned their applicability to contemporary social issues or their believed coherency and cannot answer social concerns (White, 1969). Mannheim (1929), also considered a sociologist of knowledge, expressed that to understand "what actually occurred" in the past, one must initially begin to examine very critically what "men in the past thought" was taking place and the patterns in which the men's interpretations of events affected whether they responded to the challenges that were before them.

Intellectual history is also described as interpretations of the creative ideas of past thinkers, therefore providing insights into contemporary historical problems as well as new perspectives on the history of thoughts and the cultural and social contexts in which earlier intellectuals have worked and lived (Kramer, 2009). Interdisciplinarity is nothing new for historians of intellectual history. Ontological and epistemological debates on interdisciplinarity are more than several decades old and not limited to historical studies. The origins of interdisciplinary methods in African history can be found in the earlier interdisciplinary and pan-Africanist tradition initiated by a major figure like Du Bois, who is known not only for his foundational role in American sociology but also for his prominent work in history, literature, and journalism (Semley,

Barnes, Holsey et al., 2022). Turner et al. (1980) acknowledged that black studies are integral to American African intellectual history traditions.

Despite the fact that Du Bois and C. G. Woodson are often regarded as the founders who placed the greatest emphasis on the foundations of Black Studies, Du Bois was the most influential in launching the larger movement. Du Bois recognised as early as 1913 CE that the establishment of what is now known as "Black Studies" was not attainable under the circumstances at the time and that only trained black scholars could properly interpret black people. It is only very recently that the concepts of Ambedkar have started to get recognition in our contemporary culture, in addition to among academics who study political theory and intellectual history.

Rao (2022) argues that Ambedkar refused to adhere to the colonial and anti-colonial paradigms that drive most of the scholarship on South Asia. It was drawn to his knowledge that he had criticised the Indian National Congress, and he was characterised as a colonial character because he was willing to negotiate with the British regime on oppressed rights and recognition. Ambedkar, one of the most influential scholars of the twentieth century, has been ignored for a considerable time by scholars who study political theory and intellectual history. Du Bois, who lived from 1868 to 1963, thought that his involvement in what he first called "the Negro problem" and later called the "race problem" was the only thing that gave his life any sense of great significance.

Du Bois examined the "race" issue in all of its manifestations with greater depth, scope, and complexity. He was the first Black Harvard Doctorate from New England. Du Bois was a novelist, columnist, theorist, activist, historian, and sociologist. Du Bois is widely acknowledged for establishing the academic discipline of the philosophy of race. He investigated the "Negro Problem" using a methodology that is simultaneously based on objectivity and subjectivity, which seems to be understood from the perspective of science and empiricism as well as from the perspective of lived experience. Du Bois (1935) radically critiqued the existing history of slavery with moral "impartiality," which depicted America as helpless regarding the negro problem and Africa as blameless.

Du Bois also emphasised the significance of an interpretative understanding of history because he strongly supported the idea that moral exploration and reasoning are essential elements of the study of history and historiography. Du Bois seemed to be a moral realist who considered that we usually acquire knowledge regarding moral facts by examining the past. This indicates that one might learn how moral responsibility should indeed be understood and to what extent actions, behaviours, and intentions are right or wrong. But in addition to determining this, historians must understand how people's opinions, actions, and behaviours have subjective meaning and understanding. This is necessary because historians have to comprehend how individuals act and behave to use the terminology of moral assessment in a way that is logical, reasonable, understandable, and makes sense. The political philosophy of Du Bois is a component of the Afro-modern school of political thought. This represents an impressively rich realm of non-idealist political philosophy that is held together by certain conceptual concerns. Some observations of these concerns include the socio-political establishment of white supremacy, the nature and effects of racial ideology, and the possibilities of black emancipation.

Ambedkar (1891–1956), born in the Mahar caste, was further awarded a scholarship for higher education by the Gaekwar of Baroda. After returning to India, he joined the Baroda public service but later resigned due to mistreatment by his high-caste colleagues. He published his paper on "Caste in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis, and Development" on May 9, 1916. Very soon, Ambedkar established the scholarship of "caste," and his leadership among Dalits founded various journals and newspapers (Mooknayak) on their behalf and was successful in getting special representation for them in the government's legislative councils. Ambedkar was the first Dalit in modern India to define the role of history in shaping societies, power relations, identities, and the economy. He asserted that history plays a significant role in controlling knowledge.

The approach in which Ambedkar demonstrates historical writing generates ongoing problems regarding methodology, specifically regarding whether or not it is possible to delink it from ideological motivations and whether or not it should be delinked. As a historian, Ambedkar was concerned to establish his objectivity throughout the procedure. Ambedkar's rewriting of history with the clear objective of caste annihilation was developed to overthrow the existing and established social and political order in an arrogant manner. His method of scholarship was, how it produces the contemporary. His conceptions and perceptions of historical scholarship were to critically deny the Brahmanical claims regarding the established hierarchy of society by fostering "new ways of looking at old things" (Desai, 2021).

II. RACE AND CASTE

Race and caste could not be certainly defined by analysing only Du Bois and Ambedkar, but most of their influential and conceptual work would help in the understanding of these social and institutional phenomena. Race and caste are different phenomena that emerged and evolved with the societal, economic, and political processes in different civilisations and distinct geographical spaces. Some scholars consider that Ambedkar's study and experience of the negro problem in America helped him to analyse the social, economic, and political contexts of the castes in India, while others believe that he was not influenced by the blacks' struggle against racism in America. Social scientists argue that racism in modern history is usually derived from migration and the historicity of slavery based on "naked force or violence; (2) natal alienation; and (3) permanent dishonouring" (Patterson, 1982), while the caste problem in India is derived from intra,

interethnic, and tribal factors such as "(1) occupation; (2) survival of the tribal organisations; (3) the rise of new beliefs; (4) cross-breeding; and (5) migration" (Ambedkar, 1916). While defining the term "race," Du Bois asked,

"What, then, is a 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" (Du Bois, 1897/2001, p. 80).

To demonstrate the differences between races and to conceptualise "race," Du Bois shifted his focus from the Naturwissenschaften (natural sciences) to the Geisteswissenschaften (humanities). Du Bois also implemented German philosophy and methodology, which derived from the variety of questions as to the human sciences' cognitive aims and dependence on psychology and further presented a methodological approach to distinguish the human from the natural sciences. He responded to the notions of Comte and Mill while he was presenting arguments in favour of the distinction between humans and the natural sciences. Comte and Mill's beliefs had been quietly supported by Darwin's explanation of racial identity being dependent on natural science. He argued that if the definition of race might emerge from the humans were differentiated based on biological distinction, it might be possible that every individual might have a different race because there is so much possibility that every human latest from a different family could have a different biological phenomenon. He criticised the natural science notion of race and emphasised the social, economic, and political aspects of social differentiation.

Du Bois asserted that social, economic, and political conditions produce spiritually distinct races because each spiritually distinct race is causally built by historical and social causes, as it claims that each spiritually distinct race causally owes its spiritual heterogeneity to such factors specifically, shared histories, laws, religions, habits of thought, and conscious striving. Du Bois also argued that the spiritual distinctions of a sociohistorical race cannot be understood and explained by physical or biological facts. Thus, Du Bois discarded the physiological-biological dichotomies characteristic of nineteenth-century racial studies, which maintained that physiological racial differences explain cultural and spiritual differences between racial groupings. Du Bois argued that spiritual distinctions have historical and social causes that are casually separated from biological racial characteristics. He implemented the social, political, and economic factors and described these factors as "subtle forces" in redefining "race." Further, he divided the world into eight distinct races based on the spiritual distinction of race.

Du Bois, while defining "Negro," replied, "What, then, is a Negro?" "To be a Negro is to be a member of one of three biologically distinct races and one of eight constitutively and causally constructed spiritually distinct races," according to Du Bois (1897). Defining "negro" is often criticised by various scholars because Du Bois seems to deny biological notions of race, and while he argues that race is a cultural and often historical fact, his reference to the "Jim Crow legislation" (1940) indicates that he no longer considers the Negroes or any other race as a community with such a coherent spiritual message. But if the cultural and often historical fact of race is neither biological nor spiritual, it is questionable in itself.

Ambedkar's writings do not establish a clear distinction between "untouchables" in India and "negroes" in America. This indicates that Ambedkar neither emphasised nor implied that untouchability was based on race (Zelliot, 1996), but Kapoor (2003) finds similarities and commonalities between Du Bois and Ambedkar in their processes of the liberation struggle. According to him, the "Negro" aspect of Ambedkar's experiences in America has been either skimmed over or given insufficient attention by academia. Since the struggle of "negroes" is an essential part of the American experience, it is problematic to ignore this component of Ambedkar's experiences in America. Ambedkar attended Columbia University between the years 1913 and 1916 CE, which occurred amid the most critical decade of the Harlem movement in the black experience and history of America.

Ambedkar (1916) rejected the use of racial theories to the explanation of the caste and denied the significance of race in Indian society. He observed that the individuals who inhabited the subcontinent were descended from a wide range of ethnic groups, including Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians, and Scythians. As a consequence, variations in race become meaningless because "ethnically, all persons are diverse." Ambedkar was also very cautious to emphasise that the racial explanations of the institution of caste were inaccurate and based on foreign conceptions of societal structures. He acknowledged that these explanations had been transplanted to India from other societies. According to Ambedkar, "European researchers of caste have disproportionately emphasised the significance of colour in the caste system." They were themselves contaminated with racial preconceptions, and they very effortlessly concluded that colour was the most significant component of the caste question. He continued to claim that Herbert Risley, who was the most prominent proponent of racial hypotheses of caste, could not be considered reliable since he "makes no significant argument deserving of special attention." According to Ambedkar again, then what is caste?

"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. 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, 1916/2022, p. 14).

Ambedkar emphasised the significance of cultural as well as psychological characteristics in the origin and maintenance of the class structure. He demonstrated through this that caste was not unchangeable and that it was possible for it to shift over time. Chairez-Garza (2018) has said that Ambedkar's arguments might be subdivided into four major outcomes. First, he explained in detail the notion that, despite the heterogeneity of India's Hindu population, the country has a tremendous sense of cultural togetherness. Second, he asserted that caste was the segmentation into smaller cultural subunits of a wider cultural system. This was made successful by the Hindu society's sanctification of the practice of endogamy.

According to Ambedkar, endogamy was essential because it allowed a method for preventing "surplus women" and "surplus men" from abandoning their homes and adopting another group that would be detrimental to their original community. In his third point, Ambedkar backed up the idea that there was only one caste, especially the Brahmins'. He explained that the population of the subcontinent had been segregated into classes long before the caste system became widespread throughout the continent. Last but not least, Ambedkar argued that the construction of the legal regulations of Manu could not reasonably provide a theological justification for the widespread practice of caste in India. To put it differently, the legal regulations of Manu were more of a representation of the conventions that were already in existence in Indian culture than they were an enforcement of new regulatory demands to be maintained and fulfilled.

According to Ambedkar's hypothesis, the Brahmin social community was responsible for propagating the tradition of endogamy in India. The tradition of endogamy was then incorporated by other sub-divisions of Indian society, which eventually resulted in castes forming. As such, caste was neither pre-social nor time-bound nor was it tied to any particular race or class. So according to Ambedkar, caste was a by-product of the social convention of endogamy. It involved aspects of both culture and environment, as well as psychology. It was a tradition that was only found in Indian culture, and it spread throughout the world through imitation. Throughout his career, Ambedkar consistently rejected racial conceptual frameworks of untouchability in both his political life and his writings.

III. SLAVERY BEHIND RACE AND UNTOUCHABILITY BEHIND CASTE

There are many academic demonstrations which depict that the "institutionalisation of slavery" was the fundamental motivating force behind "race" in the modern world, whereas the notion of "caste" was the motivating factor behind "untouchability." According to Ambedkar, the practice of untouchability is a pattern of indirect slavery; it wasn't ever like foreign conceptions of subjugation based on slavery. Foreign conceptions of slavery are generally related to the history of migration and religion, while slavery in India is an ahistorical relational conception of the institution of race. Indian slavery is more heterogenous and not homogeneous like America (mostly based on biological distinction). Ambedkar described that slavery existed, was legally sanctioned, and was recognised by power structures in India for a very long historical period. Ambedkar, in his essay "Slaves and Untouchables," recognises the historicity of the Indian version of indirect slavery, which was different from the rest of the oldest and most modern (from Roman to American) institutions of slavery. The way in which Ambedkar views slavery as the driving force behind race is similar to the way Du Bois views it.

"Slavery among the Hindus was never merely an ancient institution which functioned only in some hoary past. It was an institution which continued throughout 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" (Ambedkar, 2014, p. 9).

Furthermore, he compared slavery and untouchability, the two most inhuman bondage systems of segregation, as well as the extent of social, economic, and psychological damage caused by both.

"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 always a slave was not the fate of the slave. In untouchability, there is no escape. Once an Untouchable always an Untouchable...... untouchability is beyond doubt the worse" (Ambedkar, 2014, p. 15).

Slavery is considered a social death (Patterson, 1985), which refers to individuals regarded as lacking fundamental human qualities by different larger societies. Untouchability was defined as the social, economic, political, and psychological death of individuals and communities because untouchables were not recognised as human beings by their societies, "without any chances of caste or class mobilization, no livelihood security, and the death of the untouchable is regarded as good riddance," Du Bois's explanation of caste was very different from Ambedkar's perspective.

Ambedkar describes "caste in an enclosed class," while du Bois saw caste, which is the basis for societal divides in India, as an example of intermarriage and the mixing of races. When Du Bois includes race in caste, he is not making a conceptual error, and he is not projecting from the American case; rather, he is inviting us to unravel the significant historical entanglement that has existed between race and caste for a long time, which has been submerged under the premise of exceptionalism (Goyal, 2019).

He described the caste in India as similar to Ambedkar's explanation, but in America, he looked at it in reference to "economy," just as Vivekanand argued that social stratification along class lines was prevalent in Western countries, much like the caste system that is prevalent in India: "Your rich people are Brahmans, and your poor people are Sudras" (Mishra, 2012). Du Bois also said, "The logical end of racial segregation is caste, hate, and war." The tendency of Du Bois to interpret Indian history through the perspective of the two-race theory and to map race onto caste helps to disentangle a complex transnational past by demonstrating neither isolation nor substitution but rather indirect cross-influence (Goyal, 2019).

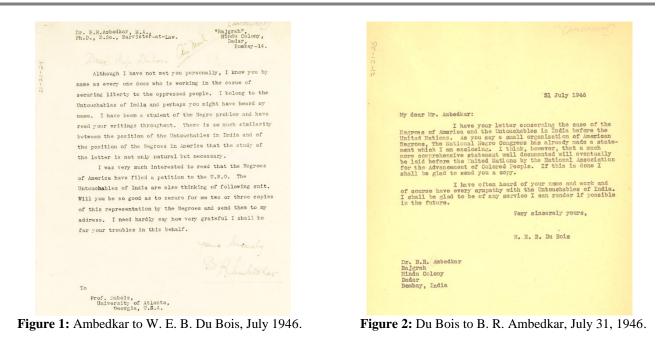
IV. DIFFERENT BUT COMMON STRUGGLES

Du Bois has said that the "20th century's problem was race." Ambedkar introduced caste into the mainstream discourse in India and fought to abolish the caste system. Du Bois, in a column in The New York Amsterdam, wrote that "the greatest colour problem in the world is that of India" and "Remember that we American Negroes are the bound colony of the United States just as India is of England."

The transformation of Dalits and Blacks from a non-human to a human existence, as well as from an invisible to a visible existence, has not been a straightforward and simple journey. It has been characterised as an evolving, difficult, excruciating, and prolonged experience. Since the abolition of slavery in 1866 and untouchability in 1948, blacks and Dalits have taken a challenging journey to equality. In both instances, the psychological separation is really not addressed, and new ways are developed to maintain the status quo. Now, the conflict is against an unknown.

In order to fight against the issues of "race" and "caste," DuBois and Ambedkar were such scholars who emerged in America and India. A scholar's effort is crucial because they derive strength from the people. They must analyse their entire experience, identify the forces responsible for their situation, problems, and strategies to deal with them, and then envision an ideal order in which the former victims can achieve their full potential (Kapoor, 2003).

Ambedkar wrote that he had studied Du Bois' writings and identified similarities between the oppression of blacks in America and the depression in India. Ambedkar desired copies of the UN representation Du Bois had recently filed. Ambedkar's essays associated the oppression of enslaved blacks with Dalits in India. Du Bois provided Ambedkar with the document he requested and offered support in the future. Ambedkar's UN follow-up is unknown in history. In 1946, the Cabinet Mission in India decided to delegate power to Indian leaders and provide legal sanctions to draft a constitution. It might be possible that Ambedkar's time in 1946 was preoccupied with the drafting of the constitution of India. Du Bois was also dissatisfied because he couldn't challenge racist American policies as violations of human rights at the United Nations. Ambedkar may have evaded the Dalit issue at the UN for this reason. "The Souls of Black Folk" and the "Annihilation of Caste" are different in the time period, experiences, and geographic spaces, providing the masses as manifestos for change. Both writings are oriented toward opposing anti-Semitism and uplifting the oppressed.



Du Bois and Ambedkar both converted oppressed and marginalised people towards "group consciousness" because they really had to unite together just to overcome oppression since they had a shared history, a common memory, and the same tragedies. When a collective self-consciousness develops, the struggle for liberty may actually start. As per DuBois's autobiography, "Dusk of Dawn," a human's existence is only significant in relation to other individuals. Ambedkar wrote notes for "Mook Nayak" in which he emphasised the importance of unity among all the countless untouchable castes. Examining, analysing, and evaluating the past was a necessary requirement for the establishment of group consciousness among victims of oppression and marginalisation. DuBois and Ambedkar both became intellectually proficient and researched the vast history of slavery and oppression.

Both Du Bois and Ambedkar believed that those who were universally oppressed, such as blacks and Dalits, might definitely benefit from receiving an education in the liberal arts and humanities. Du Bois's debate with B. T. Washington on the significance of liberal arts education for the advancement of black people led to his strong criticism of Washington's "Atlanta Compromise." The "Atlanta Compromise" was a treaty in which Washington negotiated for minimum facilities for blacks in exchange for their own acceptance of second-class citizen status. Du Bois very harshly criticised B.T. Washington for his speech, which is also called the "Atlanta Compromise." Du Bois strongly opposed and condemned such a deal and insisted on full and equal rights for blacks.

"In his failure to realize and impress this last point, Mr. Washington is especially to be criticised. His doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders and stand aside as critical and rather pessimistic spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we bend not our energies to righting these great wrongs" (Du Bois, 1903/2007, p. 44).

This fight and the attitude of Du Bois remind us of Ambedkar's aggressive opposition to Gandhi's accommodationist approach to the issue of caste. Some historical events, like Du Bois's rejection of the Atlanta Compromise and Ambedkar's early, critical opposition to the "Poona Pact," affected the patterns Dalit and black liberation movements took. Ambedkar, like DuBois, was impatient to achieve not only civil rights but also human rights for the oppressed people through the institution of caste in India. Ambedkar was suspicious of the role that caste Hindus had in Indian politics, despite the efforts that Nehru made to secularise Indian politics. Ambedkar made some adjustments to it, but he maintained his confidence in liberal democracy, which he considered to define man and society in terms that were humanitarian.

Both of these leaders persistently advocated for improvements to the social, political, and economic circumstances of their respective communities, but neither of them specifically addressed the need for institutional transformation. Unintentionally, DuBois became a part of the elitist society that aimed to improve things through excellence, the criteria for which were determined by the opinions of others. Ambedkar could not be accused of being an elitist since he maintained a constant connection with his people, who went to him in huge numbers seeking his advice and guidance. Kapoor (2003) argued that the strategies that both DuBois and Ambedkar ultimately decided to implement were not derived from an overarching ideological framework that embraced all facets of human effort. After residing in America till the old age of ninety-one, DuBois migrated to Africa. In a letter, he stated the following: "I cannot take any more of the country's treatment. We leave for Ghana October 5 and I set no date for return...Chin up and fight on but realise that

American Negroes can't win." Du Bois died in Ghana. Du Bois advocated for the equal treatment of all people in terms of both racial integration and human rights.

In a similar pattern, Ambedkar was disappointed after being forced to withdraw the Hindu Code Bill. After resigning as minister of law, he planned to deliver a statement, but the deputy speaker said he hadn't provided a draft. Some House members pointed out that it amounted to pre-censorship. The deputy speaker stated that, as the custodian of Parliament's rights and privileges, he had to make sure the comment wasn't irrelevant or defamatory. Ambedkar then decided to exit the House and addressed the press. The main reasons for his resignation from the cabinet seemed, according to Ambedkar, to be that scheduled castes weren't getting fair treatment from the Nehruvian government side; also, no commissioner of scheduled castes was appointed at that time, while the constitution had been passed a long time ago, and almost nil scheduled caste's individuals had been recruited at that time.

Ambedkar further converted himself to Buddhism rather than going towards Christianity or Islam, in Nagpur, India, where he attracted almost 3.8 lakh followers, consisting of men, women, and children, hence providing Indian solutions to Indian issues. Ambedkar's objective was to liberate those who had been oppressed by the caste system. Buddhism was more compelling to Ambedkar than any other foreign religion. Ambedkar was a learned man who received his education in the west, although he wanted to address the issue of caste in India through ancient Indian faiths. Both Du Bois, and Ambedkar adopted a worldwide perspective in order to incorporate all people who were being oppressed. Their accomplishments, thoughts, and legacies remain significant factors that continue to influence us now.

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