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The Fight for Freedom of Two Oppressed Groups:
Indian Nationalism and African American Liberation

Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Master of History Degree in the Graduate School

of Texas Southern University

By

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2021

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The Fight for Freedom Two Oppressed Groups: Indian Nationalism and African American Liberation

By

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Texas Southern University, 2021

Dr. Nupur Chaudhuri, Advisor

This study examines two revolutionaries, Lala Har Dayal (1884-1939), who established in the U.S. the Ghadar Party as an Indian revolutionary party against the British rule in India, and Huey P. Newton (1942-1989), founder of the Black Panther Party which violently agitated against the longstanding chokehold of the “White” rule over the African American people. Juxtaposing the two different periods and two different continents, which are incompatible phenomena, give further understanding of what caused both such movements, regarded as fierce resistance by their peoples to their oppressive rulers, to be effectively incapable of bringing even a modicum of freedom for their peoples from chokeholds of their respective tyrannical rulers. Hardayal came to San Francisco in 1911 to work in Berkley as a lecturer in Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit. He became a co-founder of the Ghadar Party, which became an Indian nationalist party. The party instructed on bomb-making and explosives to the Indian nationalists in India through publications in a newspaper edited by Hardayal. In April 1914, the American Government arrested him for radical publications upon pressure from the British government. But Hardayal was freed on bail, and he escaped to Europe. Later on, Har Dayal returned to Oxford and received his Ph.D. degree in 1930. Huey P. Newton (1942-1989) was born in 1942 in Monroe, Louisiana. As a child, he moved to Oakland, California, with his family. In the mid1960s, he met Bobby Seal. Both of them created

the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in 1966. They made the Ten-Point Program, which demanded better housing, employment, and education. They also wanted to stop police brutality against the public. They were combative in their actions. In 1967 Newton was arrested for supposedly killing a Police officer in Oakland. In the 1970s Black Panther Party began to disintegrate because of the disputes among the members. In 1974, Newton faced more criminal charges, and he fled to Cuba. He returned to the States in 1977 and went back to UC Santa Cruz, and received his Ph.D. in Social Philosophy in 1980. In August 1989, he was shot on the street of Oakland and died. The two revolutionaries were highly educated individuals and traveled worldwide to nurture their views about finding a means to find relief for their people against oppressions from the ruling power. They both advocated the adoption of aggressive paths to achieve freedom for their people from the hold of the oppressive ruler. Recapturing together the ultimate fates of failures met by the two aggressive revolutionary movements, led by Har Dayal and Huey P. Newton, uncover an essential fact that both the rulers have European cultural origin. This European cultural origin helped these two white groups assume a culturally superior position. Both movements for freedom, lasting only briefly without bringing any significant success to their ultimate mission, developed from a longstanding popular passive civil rights campaign. Although differing from each other in many ways, the aims of the Ghadar Party and Black Panther Party had one very significant common link that they were fighting against the oppressors of European cultural origin. The general public from both groups rejected the violent movements and adopted a passive campaign against their oppressors to overcome their own conceived cultural inferiority status.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Nupur Chaudhuri and my committee members Dr. Jesus Esparza, Dr. Gregory Maddox, and Dr. Michael Zeitler, for their comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Dr. Mahesh Vanjani of graduate school for his help with the graduate school's rules and regulations and Dr. Taylor, also of graduate school, for her suggestions to improve the thesis.

INTRODUCTION

This study, “The Fight for Freedom of Two Oppressed Groups: Indian Nationalism and African American Liberation,” analyzes the political beliefs and activities of both Lala Har Dayal, who devoted his life to promoting Indian Nationalism, and Huey P. Newton, a founder, and leader of the Black Panther Party.¹ Har Dayal, born in 1884 and a scholar receiving an MA degree at age 21, continued fighting since the very early period of the twentieth century to remove British control over India and achieve Indian independence that will guarantee the upholding of the cultural identity of its people. Newton was promoting African American liberation movement during the second half of the twentieth century. These two activities, belonging to two separate movements, were set apart by time and by countries. Yet, there remain some similarities in their pursuits to achieve freedom from indignity and oppression their people regularly experienced from their respective authoritarian rulers.

¹ I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Nupur Chaudhuri and my committee members Dr. Jesus Esparza, Dr. Gregory Maddox and Dr. Michael Zeitler for their comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Dr. Mahesh Vanjani of graduate school, for his help with the graduate school’s rules and regulations and Dr. Taylor, also of graduate school, for her suggestions to improve the thesis.

The bottom line is that both were young and highly educated, enabling them to educate their own people to recognize deep cultural, educational, and economic subjugations happening to them and plan on taking an aggressive approach to gain permanent freedom from the tyranny of their respective rulers. Analyzing the socio-political-economic beliefs of Har Dayal and Newton, this work explores finding degrees of similarities in approaches that were taken by Lala Har Dayal and Huey P. Newton to achieve freedom for their kind of people as they continued seeking a cultural identity with dignity. Finally, by comparing and contrasting the paths of struggles that the two groups of people with distinct cultures followed against their oppressors, this study has tried to understand how these oppressive rulers dominated these two groups for so long.

A comprehensive summary of British colonial rule in India is relevant to the understandings of the activities of Har Dayal and his followers to craft active resistance against the British government in India. In 1857 India experienced a significant shift in the country's ruling when the British East India Company, with its army, defeated the Nawab or ruler of Bengal. British East India Company received its charter from the British crown to do business in India. Following the conquest of Bengal, the British East India Company continued to expand its control over various parts of India through the mid-nineteenth century. The increased territorial expansion with more ruling oppression ushered in a climate for rebellion. The British historians described this as “sepoxy mutiny,” while the Indian historians described it as the “first national rebellion.”² After

² Nupur Chaudhuri, “Clash of Cultures: Gender and Colonialism in South and Southeast Asia, Australia, and New Zealand,” in *A Companion to Global Gender History* Second Edition, Edited by Teresa A. Meade and Mary E. Wiesner-Hanks (London: John Wiley & Sons. Ltd., 2021) pp.431-444. This reference is on p.431.

this rebellion, the British king took over the power of ruling India from the hands of the British East India Company.

As the “crown jewel” of the British Empire, India became the main contributor to the British political and economic importance until India finally became independent in 1947. Not until the 1880s was there much opposition to the British administration. Indians, till then, followed non-violent means to show their opposition to British rules. Nevertheless, many educated men, and some women, remained on emphasizing that since the ancient period, Indians (Hindus) maintained their well-respected positions regarding their civilization, education, and religion, contrary to low esteemed views held by many among British rulers about the cultural identity of Indians. Many Indians voiced this view to create among the masses of Indians a national pride and nationalism spirit.³ Around the early 1900s, socio-political situations changed both in Bengal, in eastern India, and Punjab, in the north-northwestern section of India, where some took violent means to gain freedom from the British rule.⁴

After briefly describing India's political, social, and economic conditions, the first chapter describes Har Dayal's background and activities during this period. While in India, Har Dayal, as a young man, published articles criticizing the British administration and promoting nationalism. Sensing imminent imposition of punitive measures against him by the British authorities, Har Dayal left India in about 1909 to come to France, where he stayed for a short while, less than a year until he found a way to go to the

³ Nupur Chaudhuri, “Finding an Archive in Krishnobhabini Das's *Englande Bangamohila [A Bengali Lady in England]* in *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources*, eds. Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), p. 145.

⁴ Peter Heehs, *The Bomb in Bengal, the Rise of Revolutionary Terrorism in India, 1900-1910* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.49-50.

United States in about 1911 to establish a foothold to pursue his goal of active resistance against the British rule in India.

Har Dayal could no longer subscribe to passive resistance with calls of boycotts or walkouts as the means of a battle against the subjugation of Indians at the hands of the British authoritarians. He promulgated active resistance against the British rule in India to establish the Indian identity with its rich cultural, economic, and religious heritages. Chapter 1 describes his creation of the Ghadar Party amongst the Indians within the United States to launch an active (armed resistance) movement to remove growing British stranglehold on socio-economic progress for Indians along lines with Indian cultural identity.

During the span of the entire twentieth century before the 1960s, African Americans were passively asking for legal confirmation and acceptance of their having political, social, and economic equities on par with the dominant White population of the American society. These appeals had a minimal visible impact on the policy makers who largely ignored them. Seeing no action of the chief body to repeated shows of boycott, walk out, pacific resistance and other forms of peaceful activity organized by the African Americans, a group of young and highly educated African Americans moved away from the dominant policy of peaceful demonstrations to plan a course of action by adopting an approach of enthusiastic armed resistance against the ruling power that denied them the equal rights and equal justice within the society.

Huey P. Newton was one of the founders of the Black Panther Party, which supported a violent resistance against the White authorities. The second chapter describes his life and activities as a Black Panther leader. The final chapter draws a synthesis of

attempts by Har Dayal and Newton to liberate their people from the respective British and Euro American population and makes some observations on the causes for British and Euro American administrations to oppress the Indians and African Americans for such a long period.

CHAPTER ONE: WHO IS HAR DAYAL?

On October 14, 1884, Har Dayal Mathur was born in Delhi. His father's name was Gauri Dayal Mathur, and his mother's name was Bholi rani. There were seven children in the Mathur family. His father worked at the area court system. Har Dayal received the title Lala, an honorary title usually used in his community to honor authors. To understand Har Dayal's life and activities, one needs to understand contemporary Indian history and culture.

Although in the late 19th century, most Indians were Hindus, however, Moslems were more effective in making a change to the structure of India than the Hindus, and the British were ruling India. The next couple of paragraphs will explain why the Moslems were more formidable than the Hindus. Around the 8th century, India was divided into small Hindu states. In 712, for the first time, Arabs invaded northwest India. By 1175, Moslems occupied Gujrat in central India, and a Muslim king inhabited Delhi between 1192 and 1193. However, several Indian states were occupied by the mid-fourteenth century by different Muslim rulers. In 1493, Mughal king Babur first occupied a small corner of India and established the Mughal dynasty. Babur's grandson Akbar became the ruler in 1556. Akbar died in 1665, and at that time, the Mughals occupied most of north, west, east, and central India. While the Mughals were ruling India, the British ruler gave a Charter to the London East India Company to do business in India. In 1613, Akbar's

son Jahangir granted permission to the East India Company for doing business in silk and spices. In 1707, Aurangzeb, great-grandson of Akbar, died. At that time, Mughals occupied Kabul to Bengal and from Kashmir in the north to Karnataka in the south. Mughals appointed Muslim rulers to rule these areas, and most senior administrative officers were Moslems. In Many places, the zizia tax was established, which meant all Hindus had to pay tax to maintain their religion

In 1739, Persian Nadir Shah attacked Delhi and looted all the treasures. Delhi was” pillaged and burned over eight long weeks; gold, silver, jewels, and finery, worth over 500 million rupees, were seized, along with the entire contents of the imperial treasury and the emperor’s fabled Peacock Throne; elephants and horses were confiscated, and 50,000 corpses littered the streets.⁵ As the Mughal Emperor became weak, regional leaders became powerful and began to rule as independent rulers. In 1757, Robert Clive, later Lord Clive, won over a ruling nawab (ruler) of Bengal in Plassey. The British won because of superior artillery and the betrayal of Nawab’s Prime Minister, Mir Jafar. Clive made Mir Jafar ruler of Bengal, while in reality, the east India Company ruled Bengal. Clive soon transferred the sum of £ 2.5 million, the total amount of the Nawab’s treasury, to the Company’s treasury in England.⁶

In 1765, the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam was forced by the British into issuing an imperial edict in replacing his revenue officials in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa in eastern India by Company’s officials. “An international corporation with its private army and

⁵ Sashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire*, p. 3: 1. Harriet Murav, *Music from a Speeding Train: Jewish Literature in Post-revolution Russia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 219–20.)

⁶ Sashi Tharoor, p. 4.

princes paying deference to it had now officially become a revenue collecting enterprise."⁷ By 1857, the East India Company, with an army of 260,000 men at the beginning of the 19th century and the British government and Parliament (many of whose members were shareholders of the Company), extended its control over most of India.⁸ The First Indian Rebellion in 1857-1858, The British Crown ruled British India, and Queen Victoria became the ruler of India. In 1947 India became independent, and India was partitioned between Hindus and Muslims, and Pakistan was partitioned British wanted to rule India because, as J.T. Sunderland, an American Unitarian minister, wrote:

"The resource that India was known for was spices. India was a far greater industrial nation than any in Europe or any other in Asia. Her textile goods- the fine products of the looms, in cotton, wool, linen, and silk were famous over the civilized world, so were her exquisite jewelers and her precious stones cut in every lonely form, so were her pottery porcelain, ceramic of every kind, quality color and beautiful shape; so were her fine works in metal iron, steel, silver, and gold."⁹

Another Indian historian, Sashi Tharoor, wrote,

"At the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the British economic historian Angus Maddison has demonstrated, India's share of the world economy was 23 percent as all of Europe put together. (It had been 27 percent in 1700 when the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's treasury raked in E100 million in tax revenues

⁷ Sashi Tharoor, p. 4.

⁸ Sashi Tharoor, p. 4.

⁹ J.T. Sunderland.

alone.) By the time the British departed India, it had dropped to just over 3 percent cent. The reason was simple: India was governed for the benefit of Britain. Britain's rise for 200 years was financed by its depredations in India."¹⁰

In the 1880s, the Indian Hindus found that Moslems ruled Hindus since 715, and from that time on, Moslems tried to convert the Hindus to the Islamic religion, and in many cases, they were successful. Besides, most of the time, Hindus had to pay zizia tax because of their faith. All of these issues caused Hindus to become more devout and defensive against the Moslems. Moreover, the British always showed more respect towards the Moslems as they felt that the Moslems were the warriors and ruling class while Hindus were defeated groups. Since the seventeenth century, Christian missionaries also tried to convert the Hindus. These attacks on Hinduism made the Hindus extremely self-protective against the Moslems and Christians. As time progressed, some reformers tried to modernize Hinduism so that the younger generations do not convert to Christianity or the Islamic religion. Among these reformers, Raja Ram Mohon Ray is the founder of Bhramo Samaj, while Swami Dayanand Saraswati is the founder of the Arya Samaj (1824-1883). Brahmo Samaj became more popular in Bengal, while Arya Samaj became more popular in Punjab. Swami Dayanand was a Sanskrit scholar without any English education. H aimed to shape society by Vedic education by removing all later developments. He believed in one God, criticized polytheism, and used images unless she means that this was said elsewhere. He promoted female education and the remarriage of widows. He also began the *Suddhi* movement, i.e., conversions of non-Hindus, especially those forced to be Muslim or Christians, to Hinduism. This

¹⁰ Sashi Tharoor, p. 3.

movement aimed to unify India nationally, socially, and religiously. After his death, his work was carried on by Lala Hansraj, Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Rajput Rai, and Swami Sraddhananda.

Har Dayal joined the Arya Samaj and promoted its cause. In one of his books entitled *Our Educational Problem* wrote stated, "The Aryans: - the Hindus were great warriors and conquerors in the days of their youth. They colonized and civilized the whole of India, establishing their rule over countries that are described as the abode of Vanaras and Rakshasas in the Ramayan. The spread of Hindu dominion over the continent was the work of our great ancestors"¹¹.

Har Dayal was a student at the Cambridge Mission School in Delhi. He received his B.A. degree in Sanskrit from St. Stephen's College, Delhi, India, and he received his M.A. degree from Punjab University in Sanskrit. In 1905, he received two scholarships from Oxford University to study Sanskrit: Boden Scholarship, 1907, and Casberd Exhibitioner, an award from St John's College, where he studied. He received scholarships because of his academic achievements in India. As one of the letters Sir Charles Lyall, one of the famous geologists who served in India, received a letter which claimed,

“The British Empire was very interested in Har Dayal, and they give him glory in pretty much all he does for his personal goals in society. However, certain people did not like him because of jealousy, like Saint Stephen’s college principal. The principal did not want him so much that he decided to tell Har Dayal that he would betray the British

¹¹ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p. 66).

government because he is not a trustworthy person in life. Once lies were spread about him being a disloyal person. The Indian Home Department of Education comes to Har Dayal's defense about the lies trying to spread across the region.¹²

Emily Clark Brown, the biographer of Har Dayal, wrote that the British government believed that if they would bring the Indian young students to Britain, then they would be “charmed slaves of British ways and manners of life.”¹³ But that idea did not work in Har Dayal’s case. While he was in England, he met Shyamji Krishna Varma. Shyamji was a nationalist lawyer who founded the Indian Home Rule Society in England and created India House, a hostel for Indian students in London. India House was also a meeting place for Indian nationalists. Shyamji served as a mentor to Har Dayal.

In the early 1900s, Shyamji established a journal entitled *The Indian Sociologist*. Emily Brown, Har Dayal’s biographer, wrote, “His object in publishing the monthly was to enlighten the British public concerning the grievances, demands, and aspirations of the people of India and to plead the cause of India and its unrepresented millions before the Bar of public opinion of in Great Britain and Ireland.”¹⁴

From Pandit Shyamaji Krishna Varma, Har Dayal learned the British Empire’s attitude towards India and the Indians. In his book *Our Educational Problem*, Har Dayal discussed how Great Britain had used its educational system to conquer Indians. He quoted from Sir George Birdwood, an English officer who was in India to collect Indian

¹² The Indian Sociologist, I (January 1905) I ourselves by Krishavarma but came from the book of Hardayal.

¹³ Emily Clark Brown, p. 21.

¹⁴ Brown. P. 40.

Art, commented on the impact of British rule on India: “We are destroying their faith and their literature and their arts, and the continuity of the spontaneous development of their civilization and their great historical personality; in a world, we are destroying the very soul of the nation.”¹⁵

Har Dayal’s publications in *The Indian Sociologist* placed him under police surveillance. Later that year, because of his wife’s sickness in India and his political beliefs, he gave up the prestigious Oxford scholarships and returned to India in 1908 to live a life of austerity. In India, he came into contact with Lala Lajpat Rai, another nationalist revolutionary leader. Lala Lajpat Rai wrote,

“If therefore, I am so bitterly opposed to the education enforced and encouraged by the Official Universities of India and by Government-aided or affiliated schools, it is not because I am opposed to Western culture and Western sciences, but because of its inherent tendencies to develop a slave mentality and a slavish character in our boys.”¹⁶

According to Lala Lajpat Rai and Har Dayal, the country must stay true to its identity to flourish. They believed Great Britain’s mission was to create the Indian society in England’s image. Being colonized, India lost her history and identity because the young Indian males were trying to become like the young English men. To this, Har Dayal commented, Education must begin with the history of the race to which the boy belongs. The individuality of a nation consists in the mass of tradition and historical memories

¹⁵ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p. 18).

¹⁶ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p. 20).

which should form the intellectual equipment of even the meanest and the most uncultured member of the social group”¹⁷. English men’s clothing was quite different from those of Indian men. When Har Dayal started to protest at Oxford University about the rights of Indian students, he had switched to Indian-styled clothing. His biographer wrote that during the period between the resignation of his government scholarship and his return to India, Har Dayal established his lifestyle along traditional Indian lines. He wore a dhoti (loin-cloth) and kurta (collarless shirt), which were not suited to the English climate during the fall and winter months. He caught a severe cold and suffered from bronchial disorders periodically for the rest of his life.¹⁸ Yet, Har Dayal had used his protest to bring awareness of how a culture could lose its identity when foreign cultural rules do not fit the former culture.

In 1813, East India Company’s charter was renewed and provided necessities for missionary work in India.¹⁹ Mr. Charles Grant, a member of the parliament from 1802 to 1818, stated:

“In success [of spreading of Christianity] would lie our safety, not our danger. We shall take the most rational means to remove inherent great disorders, to attach the Hindu people to ourselves to ensure the safety of our possessions, to enhance continually their value to us.”²⁰

¹⁷ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p. 18).

¹⁸ Emily Clark Brown, *Har Dayal Hindu Revolutionary, and Rationalist* (Tucson, AZ: Univ. of Arizona Pr., 1975), p. 41).

¹⁹ “Grant, Charles (1746-1823),” Grant, Charles (1746-1823) | History of Missiology, accessed February 18, 2020, <http://www.bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/g-h/grant-charles-1746-1823/>.

²⁰ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p. 31).

Over the years, numerous missionary schools were established, and the medium of education became English. To this, Har Dayal commented that: “We have shown that the British rulers of India established schools and colleges to consolidate their empire and weaken our Hindu institutions and polity.”²¹ English medium school also weakened the learning of Indian languages, which led Har Dayal to write:

“The effect of the British educational system on the National Languages is disastrous. The Hindu nation has two languages which it should teach to every member of the race. One is an imperial language: the other is the provincial tongue. Corresponding to the double consciousness of tribal and national unity, we have two languages for every cultivated Hindu who wishes to discharge his duty towards his country.”²²

Har Dayal wanted Indians to ensure the Indian languages to stay alive within India. He believed that Indians should fight against the British education system because, culturally, it does not fit in India. For instance, Great Britain’s control of Indian languages made it is easy for England to control the history of the Indian people. Har Dayal had a big problem with Great Britain's control of how India's young men think of themselves. Har Dayal wrote:

“The British rulers of India teach our boys what is a caricature of Hindu history. The texts books written by the Lethbridge and Hunters of the Anglo-Indian community give us no idea of our ancient greatness. They impress on the minds of our boys the nation that we have been an incapable race since the dawn of

²¹ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p.71): 15. Har Dayal, 71.)

²² Har Dayal, p. 74.

history and that our only function has been to lose battles one after another in centuries. There I no mention of all that should be the pride of every Hindu.”²³

According to Har Dayal, by rewriting the history of India, Britain was destroying the culture of India as he wrote, “Woe to the nation that allows its children to read history as it is written by its foreign conquerors! No people with a particle of self-respect would tolerate it even for a moment.”²⁴ He continues, “History has such tremendous power to make or mar personality and character, that it may be a blessing or a curse, according to the method of presentation. Beware of purblind or mercenary history monger! Upon them rests the blame for much of the world’s misery.”²⁵ He continued, “You should never follow the dangerous guides, who suppose that history means only the history of Europe and nothing more. It is a strange and saddening experience to discover how some well-educated scholars even now confine themselves to the history of Europe monger and publish instructive treatises on the heroes of the west, etc.”²⁶ British politicians encouraged this type of teaching, and Har Dayal wrote about them, “The enlightened politician who teaches us that the government established schools and colleges for our benefit, have perhaps not read the history of India in the nineteenth century. It is a pity that they should spread such erroneous ideas without studying the records which tell the motives that animated the British conquerors to undertake the difficult task of imparting education to their subjects.”²⁷

²³ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p.76).

²⁴ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Place of publication not identified: Nabu Press, 2010), p.76).

²⁵ Lala Har Dayal, *Hints for Self-Culture* (New Delhi: Jaico Publishing House, 1934), p. 43.

²⁶ Lala Har Dayal, *Hints for Self Culture* (New Delhi: Jaico Publishing House, 1934) p. 44.

²⁷ Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem* (Nabu Press, 2010), p. 29.

Because his writings critical to the British administration, the British Government decided to ban his writings. During this time, he also developed his friendship with Guy Alfred Aldred, a British anarchist-communist and founder of Bakunin Press in Britain. For about three months, Aldred edited *The Indian Sociologist*. Because of his criticism of the British rule of India, Aldred was jailed for twelve months. Through the *Indian Sociologist*, Har Dayal became friendly with Aldred and merged his concept of nationalism with anarchism. As Har Dayal's writings were banned in India, Lala Lajpat Rai advised him to leave and go abroad. He returned to London, and from there, he went to Paris in 1909, where he edited an Indian nationalist journal *Vande Matram*. Aldred opposed the socialist philosophies of the Indian leaders in Paris. Moreover, the cost of living encouraged him to leave Paris and went to Algeria, a French colony, and from there, he went to Martinique, and finally, he came to the U.S. in 1911. During his stay in the U.S. A, he read the works of Karl Marx. He first arrived on the East Coast of the United States. According to his biography, he went to Harvard to study Buddhism. Soon he was invited by Teja Singh, one of the Sikh leaders in California, to organize the Sikh agriculture labor. He came to the Bay area in April 1911.

He found a part-time job lecturing at Stanford on Indian philosophy, for which he did not receive any money.²⁸ An Article from *The New York Times* entitled "Faculty Elects a Hindu" stated, "Sandford University, March 9- Perhaps the first Hindu professor to hold a position in an American college has been elected to the Stanford Faculty by the

²⁸ Joan Jensen, p. 175.

Board of Trustees in the person of Har Dayal, who is to give a course in Sanskrit and to deliver descriptive and historical lectures on the Philosophies of India.”²⁹

What were the conditions of the Indians in the United States at that time? Americans called all Indians Hindus without making any distinctions among Hindus, Muslims Sikhs. The 1900 census shows that there were 2050 people from India, including Anglo-Indians and any race born in India.³⁰ In 1903, 20 Indians came to the U.S. In 1904, 258 entered the United States. The following year, 145 Indians arrived. The year after that, some 600 Indians came from Vancouver. Most of them got jobs in lumber mills and logging camps of Oregon, Washington, and Chico, California.³¹ In 1906, as American Consul in Vancouver received complaints from someone in Chico that he wrote to the state department: “Decided steps are being taken by the local labor unions, to stop this immigration, but of course the matter is much more complicated as most of these men are British subjects, and many of them served in the British Army.”³² About the same time, the political refugees from India also entered the United States through the Pacific Ocean.³³ Quite a few of these men began to buy land in Oregon, Washington, and California areas.

Consequently, they became an economic threat to white Americans. However, racism is the reason for the less opportunity provided in the state of Oregon towards the Indian people. In January 1913, an Indian man in a turban came to Port Angeles, Oregon,

²⁹ “Faculty Elects A Hindu. Har Dayal to Teach Sanskrit at Stanford,” The New York Times, March 5, 2020).

³⁰ Joan M. Jensen, *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 15.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 16.

³² *Ibid*, p. 16.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 16.

to buy some land. On January 29th, 1913, several real estate agents published the following petition in a local newspaper:

“To Whom It May Concern: Whereas we wish to obtain for Port Angeles and Clallam County only that Class of citizens and property owners who are desirable and who will be a benefit to the community both as citizens and property owners; and whereas Hindoos and Negroes, where they have settled or own property, have materially depreciated the value of adjacent property and injured the reputation of the neighborhood and are generally considered as undesirable; now, therefore, we, the undersigned real estate broker of Port Angeles and Clallam County Washington, do hereby agree severally and with each other, not to sell or offer for sale, under any consideration whatsoever, any real estate or other property to Hindoos or Negroes. And we hereby request all property owners in the city and county, having real estate for sale to cooperate with us by refusing to sell to this class of people and to refuse to list their property with any real estate broker or agent who has refused or failed to sign this agreement or who has or is selling to these classes of people.”³⁴

These hostile attitudes of the Oregonians immediately made the Indians defensive and ultimately organized as the Ghadar party and Har Dayal began to work with them for Indian independence.

Since 1909, India was the first colony where the British began to spy on Indians who were politically involved. The British maintained this system of shadowing the

³⁴ Cited by Jon Jensen from *Clipping from the Public Archives of Canada (Governor General Correspondence, Vol. 209* in “Apartheid: Pacific Coast Style,” *Pacific Historical Review*, August, 1969, 38:3 (August, 1969), p. 340.

Indian immigrants in Canada or the United States through their agents, Canadian agents, or United States officials.³⁵ In 1909, the Canadian government hired W.C. Hopkinson to spy on the Indian community in Canada and the United States. Hopkinson secretly watched Har Dayal's activities and reported this to the U.S. government. According to Hopkins, young Indian leaders like Har Dayal were creating unrest among the peaceful Sikhs.

“In January 1912, Har Dayal developed the Guru Govind Singh Sahib Education scholarship at the University of California at Berkeley, funded by a local wealthy Sikh rancher. Students had to pay their own travel money from India to Berkley, but their return money and all other expenses were paid scholarships. By May, six students were selected to receive this scholarship.”³⁶

At the beginning of his stay in California, he remained happy with teaching. Stanford allowed him to teach for the second semester without any salary since many wealthy white students attended his lecture. Soon, he became friendly with the radical intellectuals, joined the Socialist Radical Club, and became the organization's secretary.³⁷ He defined its members “as dissenters from the establishment in any social, political, or intellectual area.”³⁸

In this club, Har Dayal met John D. Barry, a member of the Anti-Imperialist League and a famous journalist. Barry decided to publish a series of articles in *the San Francisco Bulletin*. For these articles, Barry interviewed Har Dayal and published very supportive arguments defending India's independence. Har Dayal believed that if the

³⁵ Joan Jensen, p. 163.

³⁶ Joan Jensen, p. 174.

³⁷ Joan Jensen, 176; Emily Clark Brown, p. 112.

³⁸ Joan Jensen, p. 162

outsiders knew about the condition of the Indians, then they would be sympathetic to the cause of Indian independence. He reprinted the articles and appealed to the Indians by writing, “his heart goes out to you, my beloved countrymen, because you are weak and poor today. Be of good cheer, dear comrades. Our cause is furthered by the wise and good men of all nations. Our voice is stifled at home, but it is heard in other lands. The sympathy of all who have freedom is with you.”³⁹

In 1912, George V became the emperor of India with a display of power. His secretary of State for India announced Indian independence that “I see no future for India on these lines.” After this announcement, the British government refused to permit Indian students to come to the United States. However, the U.S. state department allowed Indian students to go to the United States.⁴⁰

In 1912, Har Dayal gave a talk at the Industrial Workers of the World, a labor organization, about creating a solidarity movement among the workers of the world.

⁴¹According to Emily Clark Brown, his biographer,

“Har Dayal seems never to have felt any deep emotional involvement with the oppressed masses of India. His major concern is to educate them to recognize oppression. He dealt only in generalities, seeing everything British as being an attack on Indian culture and a deliberate attempt to denationalize Indians, particularly those of the educated and quasi-educated class of which he himself was a member.”⁴²

³⁹ Emily Clark Brown, *Har Dayal Hindu Revolutionary, and Rationalist*, p.107; Joan Jensen, p. 176.

⁴⁰ Jensen, p. 176.

⁴¹ Jensen, p. 176.

⁴² Brown, 83.

Obviously, in the United States, he changed his way and tried to be involved in the workers' movement.

At this time, he was also planning to create a "fraternity of the red flag," fashioned after a Jesuit mission. According to Joan Jensen, "this was to be the first monastery of anarchism of the Order of the Red Flag and was to be called the Bakunin Institute."⁴³ This institute was named after Mikhail Bakunin, a Russian revolutionary anarchist, political agitator, and writer. Because of his political activities, Stanford University authorities decided to fire Har Dayal, and when he heard about it, he resigned. So far, Hopkinson did not know anything about Har Dayal's activities. He found out about Har Dayal's activities when Har Dayal started associating with the students from Berkeley.

On October 12, 1912, Indian students from Berkley asked for his support to celebrate "Nation Day." Har Dayal gave a welcoming address. Hopkinson believed that Berkeley was the center for Indian political activists. From the "Nation Day" festivities, Hopkinson learned about Har Dayal's activities and informed the Canadian government.⁴⁴ The British Consul also found out about Har Dayal and asked Hopkinson to keep an eye on Har Dayal as by now he had become the leader of the nationalist Indian students. After reading Hopkinson's report, [British], Secretary of State for India wrote to Canadian Governor-General that he "attaches great importance to Hopkinson's investigation and I hope your Ministers may be able to keep him on the work. "So, spying on Har Dayal continued

⁴³ Jensen, p.177.

⁴⁴ T.N. Das, "Our Nation Say Celebration in California," *Modern Review* 13 (February, 1913):210-212.

Between 1912 and 1914, two Indian groups existed on the west coast: The Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan and the Hindustan Association. Both groups supported the Indians seeking compensation for the injustices they received in the United States and provided a place where the Indians could express their opposition to the British rule over India. Khalsa Diwan was the most important Sikh group on the Pacific Coast. Teja Singh, previously mentioned, was elected as the first president of Khalsa Diwan.⁴⁵ They built a Gurdwara, or Sikh temple in Stockton, California. The goals of Khalsa Diwan were to help Indian students and Indian laborers.

In May 1913, the Hindustan Association was established in Washington and Oregon. The cities of Portland and Astoria became the centers of this organization. But soon, it spread to California. Khamkhoje, one of the founders of this organization, came to the States in 1908. He established the Indian Independence League in California. But it was not successful, and he went to Portland. Khamkhoje and another founder planned to create a local political organization that would encourage the Sikhs to return to India and fight against the British.

Har Dayal met with both of these organizations to open a center in San Francisco that would publish a newspaper for the Indians. In June 1913, he went to various lumber towns of Oregon and met the Indian workers. He told them about his publishing plan, which would publish about Indians' struggle to achieve independence and their struggle for equality in the United States. These people promised to give money for the publication of a newspaper.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Joan Jensen, 176-179.

⁴⁶ Joan Jensen, pp. 180-181.

He published articles in Indian periodicals asking Indian students to study different European languages and sociology instead of theology. In these articles, he indirectly criticized British rule in India.⁴⁷

At this time, Hopkinson, a Canadian spy, found out that Har Dayal was no longer in Stanford. Hopkinson's confidential report convinced the immigration officials to attend Har Dayal's lectures in Oregon and Washington. Hopkinson hired another spy named A. Tilton Steele to watch over Har Dayal. Steel met Har Dayal at the Bakunin club. Steel wanted to attend the group's meeting, and Har Dayal refused to let him participate in the meetings.

According to Joan Jensen, on November 22, 1913, Steele wrote to Hopkinson:

“Dayal thinks he is safe, that this is a free country where free Speech prevails, and political agitators, and criminals, can find a safe retreat—and rendezvous, for their various schemes, he should be taught lesson that there are limitations to ‘free speech,’ that only ‘law abiding’ persons are wanted here in the United States and that people with ‘lawless aims and objects’ can, under the law be sent out of the country.⁴⁸ Suggesting that the activities of Dayal should be reported to the United States Justice Department, Hopkinson sent Steel's report to the Canadian government. After spying on Har Dayal, Hopkinson found out that Indian students saw him as one of the leaders fighting for India's independence, and the Indian laborers saw him as a fighter against the racial prejudice and violence against the Indians in the United States. Most of these Indian workers were Sikhs, and they called their group the Ghadar party. Indian workers donated \$2,000 to

⁴⁷ Har Dayal, “India and the World Movement,” *Modern Review* 13 (February: 1913): 185-188.

⁴⁸ Joan Jensen.

Har Dayal for buying a house in San Francisco. From that building, Har Dayal published a paper called *Ghadar*, which meant revolt in the Urdu language, the main language of Northern India. The publishing staff members also lived in that office building, and he named that house Yugantar Ashram. Later on, besides Urdu, he started to publish *Ghadar* in Gurmukhi, a language spoken in northwest India. He published 2500 newspapers in Gurmukhi and 22000 in Urdu each week. Copies of these papers were sent to India, various parts of Asia, and Europe.”⁴⁹

“Har Dayal believed that this newspaper would establish a communication link among the Indians in North America and encouraged them to fight for Indian independence. The first issue of the newspaper was published on November 1, 1913. It had an advertisement:

Wanted --- Brave soldiers to stir up Ghadar in India;

Pay---- Death;

Prize--- Martyrdom;

Pension--- Liberty;

Field of Battle---- India”⁵⁰

Besides publishing a newspaper, Har Dayal was delivering speeches in various meetings. On December 31st, 1913, Har Dayal gave a speech at Hindu Association’s gathering. He urged his listeners to go back to India and fight against the British. On January 7th, 1914, Hopkinson reported to the London office that Berkeley students are arming, and they bought 12 revolvers and 16 Winchester rifles at the Berkeley gun store.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Joan Jensen, p. 182.

⁵⁰ Joan Jensen, p. 183.

⁵¹ Joan Jensen p. 184.

All of these activities of Har Dayal attracted the attention of San Francisco Immigration officer Samuel Backus. Backus reported that some of the members of the Hindustani Student Association were “notorious agitators” who used their studies to hide their primary goal, which was to revolt against British rule in India. Har Dayal was a member of this organization. He influenced these students. Besides publishing the newspaper, Har Dayal was in a lecture circuit on the Pacific Coast. He gained support for his causes: freedom of India from British rule and end racial discrimination and racial violence. According to Backus, even many white citizens were listening to his speeches. Backus claimed that Har Dayal was an anarchist and should be deported, and for that purpose, he asked for a warrant to arrest Har Dayal.⁵² On March 25, 1914, while Har Dayal was attending a Socialist meeting at Bohemian Hall in San Francisco, he was arrested “on suspicion of being an anarchist or advocating the overthrow of the United States United States government by force.”⁵³ About Har Dayal’s arrest, San Francisco Chronicle published the following article

"Har Dayal, Former professor of Hindu philosophy at Stanford University, is held by the United States immigration authorities at Angel Island pending an investigation of a complaint charging that he should be deported as an undesirable alien. Har Dayal's arrest is said to have been inspired by agents of the British government. He was taken into custody last evening after a socialist meeting in Bohemian Hall, 1530 Ellis Street, during which several speeches criticizing the policy of Great Britain in India were made."⁵⁴

⁵² Joan Jensen, p. 184.

⁵³ Joan Jensen, p. 187.

⁵⁴ “Noted Hindu Is Arrested,” Har Dayal, Former Stanford Professor, March 28, 1914, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/>.

In the meantime, the British administration in India was building a case against Har Dayal.

In 1914, the criminal intelligence office in India thought that the “Bay Area was the Head Quarters of a “gang of highly dangerous conspirators headed by Har Dayal. The officials felt that the situation was complicated and Har Dayal should be stopped. British administration in India banned *Ghadar*. In another trial in Delhi, the prosecuting attorney declared that Har Dayal was writing subversive literature against the British administration in India, promoting the killing of officials in *Ghadar* and teaching revolutionaries in California.⁵⁵ In the meantime, on the 27th March, Har Dayal was free on bail.⁵⁶ Soon after receiving his bail, Har Dayal escaped to Switzerland. From Switzerland, he went to Berlin and tried to create an anti-British protest movement in India. After Germany’s defeating World War I, Har Dayal went to Stockholm and settled down as a professor of Indian philosophy. He stayed there for ten years and came to England. In 1930, he received his Ph.D. from London University. In 1932, he started a lecture tour covering India, Europe, and the United States.

Consequently, he came to the U.S. in 1939. On March 4th, 1939, he died in Philadelphia. *The New Times* wrote, Philadelphia-March 6—Dr. Har Dayal, Indian lecturer, and author died of a heart attack in his apartment here. He was 54 years old. Dr. Dayal came to this country four months ago on a lecture tour and lived in Philadelphia while speaking at Bryn Mawr College before the Ethical Culture society here and other

⁵⁵ Joan Jensen, p. 188.

⁵⁶ Joan Jensen, p. 187.

groups.⁵⁷ Har Dayal never had the opportunity to see if his methods of achieving freedom were successful or not. But several years later, Huey P. Newton, a young African American man in America, tried to bring freedom to African Americans from white oppression. His methods of achieving his goals were somewhat similar to those of Har Dayal's. The next chapter will discuss Newton's background and political activities.

⁵⁷ "HAR DAYAL of INDIA, AUTHOR, LECTURER, 54; Dies on Tour Here--He PLANNED Indian Revolt during War," March 7, 1939, <https://www.nytimes.com/1939/03/07/archives/har-dayal-of-india-author-lecturer-54-dies-on-tour-herehe-planned.html>.

CHAPTER TWO: WHO IS HUEY P. NEWTON?

This chapter focuses on Huey P. Newton's life and writings. Huey Percy Newton was born on February 17, 1942, in Monroe, Louisiana. His parents were Walter and Armelia Newton. Huey was the youngest of their seven children. Walter Newton was a sharecropper and a Baptist minister. His father named him after Louisiana's governor Huey Long. After World War II, the economic condition of Louisiana deteriorated. One of the contemporary Louisiana newspapers described it in the following words:

“Despite the economic prosperity it engendered, World War II also curtailed and limited the lives of many Louisianans. Shortages and rationing removed some consumer goods from store shelves and made others difficult to obtain. Residents who wanted sugar, for example, had to sign up to receive sugar-rationing books. Finally, having money to spend after years of doing without during the Depression, Louisianans with wartime jobs found the shortages galling. Rationing

of gasoline and tire supplies, for example, severely hindered Americans' traditional freedom of movement."⁵⁸

The same newspaper continued:

“Louisiana’s system of segregation, often referred to as Jim Crow, persisted, and many black workers encountered racism, but inroads were made. That caused African Americans and women, two groups historically denied full access to many social and economic opportunities, also added to the wartime labor pool. Ironically, many found it easier to enjoy the rights of equality during the war than before or after.”⁵⁹

The mistreatment of Black people in the South, deplorable economic conditions, caused African Americans to move away from the South to different parts of America, and the Newton family was no exception to this.

However, The Newton family moved to California for better economic opportunities. Being a slow learner, he faced some challenges in his early years. With his family, Walter Newton moved to Oakland, California, in 1945 for better economic opportunities. In due course, he was admitted to the school. Huey wrote about his childhood and teenage years in his autobiography *Revolutionary Suicide*. He wrote, “they [my brothers and sisters] often teased me when I was young, telling me I was too pretty to be a boy, that I should have been a girl.” He continued, this baby-faced appearance dogged me for a long time, and it was one of the reasons I fought so often in school. I looked younger than I actually was and soft, which schoolmates to test me. I had to show

⁵⁸ Jerry P. Sanson, “World War II,” 64 Parishes, accessed March 17, 2020, <https://64parishes.org/entry/world-war-ii>).

⁵⁹ Jerry P. Sanson, *Ibid.*

them.”⁶⁰ ” He faced disciplinary problems throughout elementary and middle schools. Newton wrote about his life during this period “on the surface; my record was dismal. Yet those years were not significantly different from the adolescence of many Blacks. We went to school and got kicked out. We drifted into patterns of petty delinquency; he continued,” we were getting back at the people who made us feel small and insignificant at a time when we needed to feel important and hopeful. We struck out at those who trampled our dreams.”⁶¹

In high school, Newton got into plenty of trouble, especially with the police. Because of fighting with a gun, he got arrested by the police. He was fourteen years old at that time. In 1959 he graduated from high school and subsequently thought of his diploma as a reward in life. He wrote, “When my friends and I graduated, we were ill-equipped to function in society, except at the bottom, even though the system said we were educated.” He continued by writing, “maybe they knew what they were doing, preparing us for the trash heap of society, where we would have to work long hours for low wages.”⁶² He further claimed that at the end of his high school year, he was “functionally illiterate.”⁶³ But his brother older brother, Melvin Newton, motivated him to become educated that help him to be a leader in his community. In his senior year in high school, Newton began to take his education seriously as his older brother Melvin earned an M.A. degree in social work. His brother’s success encouraged Huey to attend

⁶⁰ Huey P. Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide*, (originally published: New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973; reprinted by Penguin Books: New York, 2009), p. 11. Herein after cited as *Revolutionary Suicide*.

⁶¹ *Revolutionary Suicide*, p.26.

⁶² *Ibid*, p.50.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.53.

college. As he could barely read, he had to teach himself to read. He began with poetry, and one of the books he chose to read was Plato's *Republic*.⁶⁴

In 1959, he started at Oakland City College (which later became Merritt College). It was a junior college located in a Black community. Soon he joined Afro-American Association. The organization aimed to develop a sense of pride among African Americans for their heritage, history, and contributions to culture and society. Most of the meetings focused on reading books like W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk*, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, and James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time*.⁶⁵ In Oakland City College, he met Bobby Seale, with whom he established Black Panther Party in 1966.

Both Newton and Seale read the works of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, the four volumes of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and Che Guevara's *Guerilla Warfare*. They named this group Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Their readings of these works and Marx taught how these authors used successful strategies for liberating their people from oppression.⁶⁶ This organization was militant because the founders believed,

“Black people had been taught non-violence; it was deep in us. What good, however, was nonviolence when the police were determined to rule by force? We had seen the Oakland police and the California Highway Patrol begin to carry their shotguns in full

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 53-55.

⁶⁵ *Revolutionary Suicide*, pp. 60-63.

⁶⁶ *Revolutionary Suicide* 116.

view as another way of striking fear into the community. We had seen all this, and we recognized that the rising consciousness of Black people was almost at the point of explosion. One must relate to the history of one's community and to its future. Everything we had seen convinced us that our time had come."⁶⁷

This organization's political goals appeared in a document called the *Ten-Point Program* and contained the following demands:

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black communities.
2. We want full employment for our people
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black and oppressed communities
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter for human beings
5. We want education of our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service. (This is the height of the Vietnam War hence this demand).
7. We want an immediate end of POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.

⁶⁷ *Revolutionary Suicide*, 115.

8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, country, and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all Black people, when brought to trial, to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities as defined by the constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, breed, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace.

Since its beginning in 1966 and until the middle of the next decade, the Black Panther Party was the most critical Revolutionary Nationalist organization.⁶⁸ Newton described the party's policy in an interview with *Ebony Magazine*:

“The Black Panther Party felt that the present government and its subsidiary institutions were illegitimate because they failed to meet the needs of the people; therefore, they had no right to exist. The Party felt that the interest of the people, new institutions, both political and economic, should be established and that the old institutions should disappear.”⁶⁹

Newton continued that in capitalist America, the people are not involved in deciding what should be produced, what services would be offered, and how these two would be distributed in American society. Newton wanted a new method where “the production of

⁶⁸ Jessica Christina Harris, “Revolutionary Black Nationalism: The Black Panther Party,” *The Journal of Negro History*; Summer 2000; 85:3, p.164.

⁶⁹ Huey P. Newton, “Panthers,” *Ebony Magazine*, August 1969, p.107.

goods and the provision of services is based upon the needs of the people and does not function for profit-making purposes.”⁷⁰

Newton and other members of the Black Panther Party always tried to get public attention. For example, in 1967, some armed members of the Panther Party walked into the California legislature to demonstrate against a gun bill. However, Newton was not with this group. This action made national news, and Newton gained national recognition in America as one of the leaders of the Black radical movement. Influenced by his readings and what he saw in the surroundings, and he wanted social justice. Which meant he wanted to stop discrimination against African American people. Newton believed, “The democratic government in the United States of America needs to face the challenging to overcome certain obstacles inherent in both its organization and general structure before many of its basic assumptions could be actualized.”⁷¹

The American government's political, social, and economic oppressions created mistrust among the African Americans towards the American Government. Because the government had never recognized the harm done to the African Americans, Newton believed that true democracy did not exist in the United States. "The original problems of American democracy endured with increasing ominous consequences for the full realization of democratic government in the United States.”⁷² However, Newton believed that Americans could have a true democracy.

⁷⁰ Huey P. Newton, *Ebony*, p.108.

⁷¹ Huey P. Newton, *War against the Panthers: a Study of Repression in America* (New York: Harlem River Press, 1996), p.5).

⁷² Huey P. Newton, *War against the Panthers: a Study of Repression in America* (New York: Harlem River Press, 1996), p.5).

In his book *War Against the Panthers*, Newton stated, “in particular, two of the most crucial problems which have hindered the development of truly democratic government in America are treated here, which is class and racial cleavages, which have historically been the source of division and bitter antagonism between sectors of American society.” Also, the inherent and longstanding distrust held by the American ruling class of any institutionalized democracy involving the mass population.”⁷³ Newton believed that the government was repressing the African American citizens to control them.

Newton was well aware that the government knew what the people of America needed to become a great country. However, if the American Government gave into the people's needs, it would lose its sense of controlling the public. Newton believed that the American government would do anything to keep control over the people. For instance, he felt

“The rulers of an order, consistent with their own interests and solely of their own design, have employed what to them seemed to be the most optimal and efficient means of maintaining unquestioned social and economic advantage. Clear-cut superiority in things social and economic- by whatever means has been a scruple- free premise of American ruling class authority from the society’s inception to the present. The initial socioeconomic advantage, be gotten by chattel slavery, was enforced by undaunted violence. In other times, there has been political repression, peonage (debt slavery, wage

⁷³ Huey P. Newton, *War against the Panthers: a Study of Repression in America* (New York: Harlem River Press, 1996), p.5).

slavery, chicanery, and the like, but always accompanied by an actual or threatened force of violence in America.”⁷⁴

Since Newton understood how the American Government kept its power over the African Americans, he encouraged African Americans to start a revolution against the white society in America. In *Revolutionary Suicide*, Huey P. Newton described the feelings of the Black people to work for a country and not receive their rewards as citizens of America. Mr. Newton wrote

“Generations after Generations of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty, and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in American have seen the fruits of their labors in the Life, Liberty, and happiness of their children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own descendants wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation, holding only to the hope of change in the future. This hope has sustained us for many years and has led us to suffer the administrations of a corrupt government.”⁷⁵

He further wrote,

“The enslavement of the Black people at the very founding of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confinement of the American Indians and the confinement of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women...testify to the fact that

⁷⁴ Huey P Newton and OLIVER C Cox, “Monthly Review Press,” *Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics* (New York, (1959), 7.

⁷⁵ Huey P. Newton, J. Herman Blake, and Fredrika Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide* (New York: Penguin Books, 1973), 320.

toward people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror, and the big stick....Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, and demonstrated, among other things, to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy.”⁷⁶

Based on this observation, Newton explained the goals of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense:

“[It] believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.”⁷⁷

This made Newton a threat to American society from the perspective of the Richard M. Nixon Administration. The philosophy of Mr. Newton caused him to become America’s most wanted. The actions of Newton

“Had led inexorably to a vast and pernicious campaign of no-holds-barred conspiracies and extralegal acts designed by law enforcement agencies to neutralize, contain, and /or destroy an organization and individuals thought to be enemies of the American government (or the status quo) merely because they dared to disagree openly with the existing order and its policies.”⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *Revolutionary Suicide*, p. 156.

⁷⁷ *Revolutionary Suicide*, p. 117.

⁷⁸ Newton, Huey P. *War against the Panthers: a Study of Repression in America*. New York, NY: Harlem River Press/Writers and Readers Publishing, 1996. Page 5.

The government did anything to build a case against persons; the American Government created “The Huston Plan” to collect information against Newton, Black Panther Party, and similar organizations. In 1970, the director of the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and the National Security Agency (NSA) created The Huston Plan, which gave them the authority to wiretap and enter into people’s homes without consent.⁷⁹ Since Newton was fighting against the federal government, the local authorities, especially the Oakland Police department, the American government used Huston Plan against him.

The federal government's strategy against Newton was teaming up with the local government to eliminate their perceived threat to American society. Newton stated, “to serve the needs of the oppressed people in our communities and defend them against their oppressors, the Panthers patrolled black areas of Oakland with visible, loaded firearms—at the time in accordance with the law—to monitor police actions involving blacks”⁸⁰ Majority of these police officers were whites. Black Panther Party members often fought with the police and in one of those clashes in 1968. Bobby Hutton, the treasurer of the party, was killed. He was a teenager.

His beliefs and actions made him a target of the Oakland Police Department. On October 28, 1967, while driving his car in West Oakland, Newton was stopped by the police. His friend Gene McKinney was also in the vehicle. An Oakland Police officer stopped him. The officer already knew that he would stop Newton’s car. This information

⁷⁹ National Security, Civil Liberties, and the collection of Intelligence: A report on Huston Plan,” reported in U.S. Congress, Senate, Book III, Final Report of the Select Committee to study Governmental Operations with Respect to intelligence Activities, 94th Cong., 2d sess., 1976 pp. 936-960.

⁸⁰ “To Determine the Destiny of Our Black Community’: The Black Panther Party's 10-Point Platform and Program,” HISTORY MATTERS - The U.S. Survey Course on the Web, accessed July 5, 2020, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6445/>.

came out during Newton's trial in 1968, stated, "Just before dawn on October 28, 1967, Oakland police Officer John Frey radioed that he was about to stop a known Black Panther vehicle, a van occupied by two men."⁸¹ Newton described his arrest at great length.

On October 28, 1967, the police came up to his window, and Newton wrote, "When he got a good look at me, he stuck his head in the window and said very sarcastically, "Well, well, well what do we have here? The great, *great* Huey P. Newton." He acted like a fisherman who had just landed a prize catch he had never dreamed of landing."⁸² He saw Newton's driver's license. The first officer took his registration and went back to his car. Soon a second police car came and joined the first police car. After a while, the first officer came back to Newton's car, opened the door, and ordered him out, while the second officer went to the passenger side and asked Gene McKinney to get out of the vehicle. Newton asked if he was under arrest and the officer responded that he was not under arrest and then ordered him to lean on the car. Then, the officer searched him. Newton described, "he did it in a manner intended to be degrading . . . he was both disgusting and thorough."⁸³ Then by taking his left arm in his hand, the officer took him to the second car. Then he punched Newton. Newton further described, "This momentarily dazed me, and I stumbled back four or five feet and went down on one knee . . . As I started to rise, I saw the officer draw his service revolver, point it at me, and fire.

⁸¹ "Huey P. Newton Trial: 1968 - Grand Jury Becomes Issue, Surprise Witness Surfaces, Jury Disappoints All, Two More Trials, Then A Dismissal," Grand Jury Becomes Issue, Surprise Witness Surfaces, Jury Disappoints All, Two More Trials, Then A Dismissal - JRank Articles, accessed July 5, 2020, <https://law.jrank.org/pages/3178/Huey-P-Newton-Trial-1968.html>.

⁸² *Revolutionary Suicide*, p.185.

⁸³ *Revolutionary Suicide*, pp. 186.

My stomach seemed to explode as if someone had poured a pot of boiling soup all over me, and the world went hazy.”⁸⁴

Newton was taken to Kaiser Hospital by his member of the Black Panther Party. He described in detail the ways the police tortured him when he was getting treated. Since he was not a member of Kaiser health plan, after his surgery, he was taken into the Highland-Alameda County Hospital, where he remained shackled, and the police were there guarding him. After fifteen days in Highland-Alameda Hospital, his condition improved, and he was transferred to the medical unit on Death Row in San Quentin. After two weeks in San Quentin, his jailors removed him from his cell to Alameda County jail in downtown Oakland.⁸⁵ The local government charged Newton with murdering Fray, assaulting Heanes, and kidnapping a man whose car was hijacked for the dash to the hospital. His family hired Charles Gary to defend him. While Newton recovered from his wound, his attorney, Charles Garry, began his defense with a systematic assault on the grand jury system.”⁸⁶

Members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, Newton’s followers, established a “Free Huey” movement. An article entitled “Free Huey or the Sky’s the limit: The Black Panther Party and The Campaign to Free Huey. P Newton” described how powerful the free Huey movement was to free Newton from jail. Joe Street, the author of this article, wrote:

⁸⁴ *Revolutionary Suicide*, pp. 186-187

⁸⁵ *Revolutionary Suicide*, pp. 188-199.

⁸⁶ “Huey P. Newton Trial: 1968 - Grand Jury Becomes Issue, Surprise Witness Surfaces, Jury Disappoints All, Two More Trials, Then A Dismissal,” Grand Jury Becomes Issue, Surprise Witness Surfaces, Jury Disappoints All, Two More Trials, Then A Dismissal - JRank Articles, accessed July 5, 2020, <https://law.jrank.org/pages/3178/Huey-P-Newton-Trial-1968.html>.

“As important, the ‘Free Huey’ campaign enabled the BPP to surf 1968’s radical tide, forging links with other radical groups as it grew to international prominence. Yet this newfound fame was not unproblematic since it revealed the ambiguities of the BPP’s philosophy and elevated Newton to mythic proportions that no living human could match. The ‘Free Huey’ campaign thus reveals both the ability of radical groups to generate and exploit the revolutionary fervor of the year and the problems inherent in such an approach.”⁸⁷

The “Free Huey” movement was so powerful that he was released on bail granted by the court. But soon, he was put back into prison charged with manslaughter for killing an officer of the law. On May 29, 1970, after 21 months of appeals by lawyer Charles Garry, the California Appellate Court overturned Newton's manslaughter conviction based on Judge Friedman's incomplete instructions given to the jury.⁸⁸ Newton wrote about the trial,

“The dismissal was granted, bringing to an end the insane and unjust series of legal assaults that had started more than four years earlier. I had spent thirty-three months in prison; my family had suffered untold personal agony; the Party had spent many thousands of dollars in my defense, money that could have been used to help the community.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Joe Street, “Free Huey or the Sky's the Limit!: The Black Panther Party and the...,” *European journal of American studies* (European Association for American Studies, March 29, 2019), <https://journals.openedition.org/ejas/14273>.

⁸⁸ “A Huey P. Newton Story - Actions - Free Huey,” PBS (Public Broadcasting Service), accessed July 5, 2020, https://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_freehuey.html.

⁸⁹ *Revolutionary Suicide*, p. 347.

Once Newton was released from jail, he still believed that the American government wanted to harm his leadership of the African Americans because he influenced the Americans, especially African Americans when he stated,

"Yeah, they freed Huey. Then Huey came out, and they wanted Huey to free them, and I keep trying to tell the people, I say, people, that's the true power of the people, you freed me; you freed Huey, now why don't you all go ahead and free yourself? But see, they can't do that, can they? They can't do that cause the people always have to create what they call a leader and a leader is everything that the people want to be, but the leader is everything that the people can never be, so then when the leader fails, he's going to fail, he's just flesh and blood, he's going to fail, when the leader fails then the whole construction of the concept of leadership fails, and then it just becomes a matter of contempt. And that's when they assassinate you and then put your image on a postage stamp so they can keep licking' you in the grave."⁹⁰

After being released from prison in the 1970s, Newton aimed to take the Panthers in a new direction that emphasized democratic socialism, community interconnectedness, and services for the poor, including free lunch programs and urban clinics. But the Panthers began to fall apart because of infights, and later on, it was alleged that the FBI became illegally involved in the dismantling organization as significant members left. At the same time, Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, the party's minister of information, split ways. In 1974, the FBI accused Newton of murdering a 17-year-old sex worker. On March 25, 1979, *The Washington Post* wrote, "The murder trial of Black Panther Party leader Huey

⁹⁰ "A Huey P. Newton Story - Actions - Free Huey," PBS (Public Broadcasting Service), accessed July 7, 2020, https://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_freehuey.html.

P. Newton ended today in a mistrial, with the jurors deadlocked 10 to 2 for acquittal. Alameda County prosecutor Tom Orloff said he did not know whether the district attorney's office would order a new trial for Newton, who was accused of killing a 17-year-old prostitute in August 1974.”⁹¹ To avoid prosecution, he fled to Cuba in 1974 but returned to the U.S. three years later. The local government eventually dismissed the murder case after two trials ended with deadlocked juries. At the same time, the tailor refused to testify in court concerning assault charges. In 1978, *the New York Times* published an article entitled “Huey Newton Seized on Intent to Murder,” which had stated:

“Mr. Newton, who had kept some control of the Black Panthers even when he fled to Cuba in 1974 to avoid prosecution of these charges, has maintained that he is not guilty of all charges and is a victim of Government plots to assassinate and discredit him and other Black Panthers. He voluntarily returned from Cuba last year, saying that the political climate in the United States had changed sufficiently that he believed he could be acquitted of all charges against him.”⁹²

Even with his legal troubles, Newton returned to school, earning a Ph.D. in social philosophy from the University of California, Santa Cruz, in June 1980. Newton has had a long association with the Santa Cruz area and is currently a doctoral candidate in the

⁹¹ Cynthia Gorney, “Mistrial Declared in Newton Murder Case,” *The Washington Post* (WP Company, March 25, 1979), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1979/03/25/mistrial-declared-in-newton-murder-case/b6408217-1cf0-4c67-a425-9d25b6ac600f/>.

⁹² Les Ledbetter Special, “HUEY NEWTON SEIZED ON INTENT TO MURDER,” *The New York Times* (*The New York Times*, May 12, 1978), <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/05/12/archives/huey-newton-seized-on-intent-to-murder-black-panther-chairman-and.html>.

history of social consciousness at the University of California campus there.”⁹³ Newton strove for the best for the oppressed communities in America to receive political, social, and economic equity.

Newton believed the American Government would assassinate him. He was assassinated not by the American Government but by a drug dealer. *Los Angeles Times* described his death as “Huey Newton found shot to Death on Oakland street: Black Panthers founder killed in High Drug Area,” The newspaper continued, ”Oakland police declined to speculate on a motive for the killing, although Newton, 47, had a history of cocaine abuse and had been sentenced to 90 days in San Quentin Prison earlier this year for possessing drug paraphernalia, a violation of parole in an earlier case”⁹⁴ Newton went against the American government and even fled to another country to escape from an unfair criminal justice system. Newton was a well-educated person. He fought for the betterment of his community tirelessly. He did not deserve that kind of violent death. An article entitled, “Black Panther Party co-founder Huey P. Newton was murdered 30 years Ago Today” stated:

“Huey Newton, 47 at the time, was found on an Oakland street lying in blood. He was shot in the same neighborhood where Black Panther members would work with area churches to serve free breakfast to young people. It took Oakland authorities three days to garner a confession from 24-year-old Tyrone Robinson, a

⁹³ Les Ledbetter Special, “HUEY NEWTON SEIZED ON INTENT TO MURDER,” The New York Times (The New York Times, May 12, 1978), <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/05/12/archives/huey-newton-seized-on-intent-to-murder-black-panther-chairman-and.html>.

⁹⁴ “Huey Newton Found Shot to Death on Oakland Street: Black Panthers Founder Killed in High Drug Area,” August 22, 1989. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-08-22-mn-1089-story.html>.

drug dealer and member of the Black Guerilla Family (BGF) group that warred with Newton and the Panthers for two decades. Originally, Oakland police said that drugs were not a part of the reason for Newton's shooting. After Robinson confessed that the shooting was a result of a cocaine deal gone wrong, though, there was some speculation from investigators that Newton stole drugs from the BGF. The same detectives also determined that Newton was unarmed at the time of his shooting. Newton's death was especially jarring because his death on a drug-ridden street corner in Oakland occurred just nine years after the vaunted Black leader would earn a Ph.D. from the University of California at Santa Cruz."⁹⁵

Dr. Newton was trying to bring a better lifestyle to Blacks America. He was a well-known leader. But unfortunately, he fell victim to the conditions of the urban community.

⁹⁵ Ionedchandler. "Black Panther Party Co-Founder Huey P. Newton Was Murdered 30 Years Ago Today." NewsOne. NewsOne, March 30, 2020. <https://newsone.com/2032040/huey-newton-death/>.

CONCLUSION: COMPARISONS AND OTHER FINDINGS

At first glance, one will perhaps readily accept that comparing the activities of Har Dayal and Huey P. Newton for a comparative study, as made in this essay, may not be defensible. It may appear that way because the historical events to which they were connected seem set apart by as much as half a century. The places where the events happened were on two different continents, and they came from different cultural backgrounds. On the surface, that may be so, but a perspective of incompatibility in the comparison seems out of place to further understand forces that drive such freedom movements. The fact that in-depth their activities relate to a long-continued socio-cultural phenomenon that once was prevalent on a global scale still exists today but on a regional scale. This essay, while recapturing aspects of similarity and difference in the cultural identities of Har Dayal and Newton, who remained focused on finding a path for liberation of their peoples from the stranglehold of the ruling power, ultimately reveals a common factor that has helped the ruling power keep its subjects under subjugation.

Lala Har Dayal and Huey P. Newton differed considerably in their familial and educational backgrounds. Har Dayal, son of a civil servant under the British Government of India, was born in an Indian family in India in 1884 and died in Philadelphia, PA, on March 4, 1939. Huey P. Newton, a son of a share cropper, was born in an African American family in Louisiana on February 17, 1942, about three years after the death of Har Dayal.

Har Dayal remained very active in writing books and publishing articles, almost from a very early young age, about the harms that the British rule has brought to the cultural identity of the Indians. He sought through his writings to organize Indians in the U.S and at home launch an aggressive drive to overthrow the British rule on India and remove the British stranglehold on Indian socio-political-economic and cultural life.

Reading materials on Marxism and Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton was inspired to produce literature advocating the creation of a self-defense force within the African American community to free its people from relentless oppressive subjugation and indignity that have come to them from the “White” people rule. Ten Points Program of Newton’s Black Panther Party was geared to promote the social and economic interests of the poor African Americans across the nation.

Har Dayal and Newton both were freedom fighters. The socio-economic, cultural attacks on their peoples by their rulers prompted the two freedom fighters to recommend aggressive liberation paths to remove the strongholds of the respective oppressive rulers. The two figures were similar in this respect, although their liberation end-goals could be seen differently.

Har Dayal wanted India to be free of British domination to restore the cultural identity of the Indians with pride of rich heritage from its past glorious civilization. He wrote:

“India is a land of mystery and romance of unequalled charm and historical interest. The Hindus were the pioneers of the Aryan civilization. Hindu Literature and philosophy have attracted the best minds of many countries during many centuries. More than half the population of the globe professes creeds that originated in India. India is the holy land of Japan and China. India's claim on the civilized world is immense. The discovery of America was only a fortunate mistake made by Columbus, who really wished to discover the route to India.”⁹⁶

Har Dayal may be viewed as a promoter of Indian nationalism with a distinct Indian identity which was increasingly becoming lost under the British domination of India. His goal was to make Britain quit India and Indians attain a status of a free nation to be ruled under a pattern of Indian culture.

Newton believed that the “present government and its subsidiary institutions were illegitimate because they failed to meet the needs of the people; therefore, they had no right to exist. The Party [the Black Panther Party] felt that new institutions, both political and economic, should be established in the interest of the people and that the old institutions should disappear.”⁹⁷ Like Har Dayal, Newton also wanted Black Americans to have a sense of pride in being Black in America which they could not develop because of the socio-political and economic system of the country.

⁹⁶ Emily Clark Brown, *Har Dayal Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist* (Tucson, AZ: Univ. of Arizona Pr., 1975), p.139).

⁹⁷ Huey P. Newton, “Panthers,” *Ebony Magazine*, August 1969: 107.

Newton's vision of a self-defense force had the goal of establishing new institutions that will essentially serve the socio-political-economic interests of the African American people. The central purpose of the Newton-led movement was thus not the same as that of the Har Dayal-led movement.

Har Dayal published articles and books to inspire people against the British rulers from a very early age. His writings naturally reached people of the reading-class Indians, belonging mainly to the upper and middle classes. Although toward the later part of his involvement in the Indian freedom movement, he favored an approach of aggressive action for removal of the British domination over India. He was never even a participant of passive activities with mass demonstrations causing disruptions of routines in daily life and official functions, which happened off and on periodically to show demand for permanent removal of British domination over India. Har Dayal wrote that literary propaganda was the proper course of action and essential at that stage of infancy and should devote all its energy to propaganda. He explained that the revolutionary movement in India was identified with a party called variously, the nationalist, the extremist, or the Swaraj or independence. This party is drawn from all classes of Indian society except the Indian Christians and Afghans. He referred to the Sikh in Punjab as a "small movement and said that the Muslims were now entering into nationalist activities as a protest against the British policy in the Balkan War."⁹⁸

Using his writing skill, Har Dayal was able to muster some force to organize a visible Gadhar Party movement. This did not escape the notice of various British administrative circles both at home and abroad. Har Dayal-led Gadhar Party activities

⁹⁸ Emily Clark Brown, *Har Dayal Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist* (Tucson, AZ: Univ. of Arizona Pr., 1975), p.157).

had to cause some worries for the British rulers in India. Still, they were not strong enough to make the British thinking of the imminent loss of British control over India. A very relevant question should be asked here as to what caused the British to leave India permanently if neither movement, non-violent or violent, successfully shook the foundation of the British grip over India?

Newton-led Black Panther Party movement had caused an enormous impact across the nation, as widespread loots and burning of stores in business centers of a few significant cities happened. The police quickly took control of the mob and the leaders who incited the riots. The Black Panther Party movement quickly died as a brief period of violent agitation within the generally long-standing passive movement with the outcry for freedom for the African American people. Here again, the same question may be raised as to what prevented the Newton-led Black Panther Party type movement make some inroads on the long-held non-violent movement that remained in existence to demand freedom for the African American people.

The value of this essay is not just the summary of the two short-lived active movements, each emerging from long-existing passive movements against their respective ruling administrations in their own country. Although at first glance appearing unconnected to each other, the juxtaposition of the two events makes evident through a thoughtful analysis that a connection exists between the two struggles because the power against which the two movements are directed shared a common ground.

The essay repeated that each movement had the same traits: the movement can be generally described as passive or non-violent, continuing over a long time with almost no end. The long extending passive campaign was interrupted periodically by phases of

active or violent protests, and the rulers were generally able to control the violent activities.

Here are two freedom-seeking groups, one the people of India and the other the people with African American identity. The rulers that control their freedom have a common heritage: in the case of the Indian movement, the British force, or a European force, and in the case of the African American movement, it is the “White” force that could be regarded as a European force. Now the history of the two movements may be examined in the light of the standard European connection for the oppressors. The respective oppressor remained successful in using a force against the oppressed to weaken their power of resistance. This force is the perceived cultural superiority of the rulers that helped them undermine the resistance from the oppressed people.

Drawing from historical accounts, one finds records of acknowledgment of the European cultural superiority for the past several centuries. This superiority complex led the British to consider Indians as inferior. The British government spread this myth so much that many Indians readily embraced British or European cultural norms to free themselves from cultural inferiority. The fighters for the Indian freedom movement could not become involved in violent action if they were considered people of “animalistic” culture. Only violence could be justified to quell the dissenting voices and not put forward the grievances and find cures for oppressions. This “superior race” approach taken by the British Indian administration worked well to shut down the brief uprisings of Hardayal-type and also other types that arose from time to time. These uprisings also faced opposition from within their kind of freedom-seeking people determined to proudly show their superior cultural side with a passive demonstration in leading their freedom

movement. Because of these reasons, the active movement part always lasted briefly as it lacked support from the larger population who wanted to show their cultural superiority to the oppressive rulers.

The “superior race” idea has also worked well for the “White” rulers of European descent over the African American people who have been subjected to being racially inferior incapable of making decisions for themselves and the others in the nation on nearly all occasions. At each time, the passive demonstration could bring an inevitably slow loosening of the grips of the oppressive rulers over the oppressed African American people. A Newton-led Black Panther Party violent movement of a brief period could bring only a slightly more accelerated loosening of the grips of the oppressive rulers against the continued demands of the oppressed African American people. The promotion of a “superior” race image of the ruling force had an effect of intimidation on the drives for freedom by the African American peoples, who generally resorted to taking their demands to the oppressive rulers by way of passive protests, being fearful that acting otherwise in a violent mode could be seen as a deplorable display of the African American identity culture. The image of a “White” cultural superiority and the rejection of violence by the majority, fearing the support of the violent movement, would cause them to lose their own cultural “superiority,” worked collectively to rapidly defeat the violent movement led by the Newton-led Black Panther party. However, the Gadhar Party and the Black Panther Party lost their battles for liberation. Yet, these movements contributed to the significant fights for freedom. These two short-lived violent or active movements brought more force and louder voice to the demands for freedom by the contemporary popular passive movements in a global context

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