

Please familiarize yourselves with who Norman Finkelstein is and his areas of research.

- Why is Finkelstein so interested in Gandhi? Another historical figure Finkelstein has studied in detail is **Nat Turner**. Why is that?
- Andreas Malm argues that “**selective memory**” distorts how we remember protest and resistance movements. Examples include the US civil rights movement, the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa, the early-20th-century women’s suffrage movement in the UK and the anti-colonial resistance to British rule in India. Please explain! What role does Gandhi play in this “selective memory”?
- Why is it significant — both from the perspective of the British Empire and from an Indian point of view — that "Indian independence [...] has not been desecrated with the label of **revolution**"?
- After reading Finkelstein’s booklet — which, in large part, consists of Gandhi’s own words — has your perception of Gandhi changed in any way?

HORRID MASSACRE IN VIRGINIA.



The Scenes which the above Plate is designed to represent, are--Figure 1. A Mother entreating for the lives of her children. --2. Mr. Travis, cruelly murdered by his own Slaves. --3. Mr. Barrow, who bravely defended himself until his wife escaped. --4. A company of mounted Dragoons in pursuit of the Blacks.

Just Published, an Authentic and Interesting

NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRAGICAL SCENE

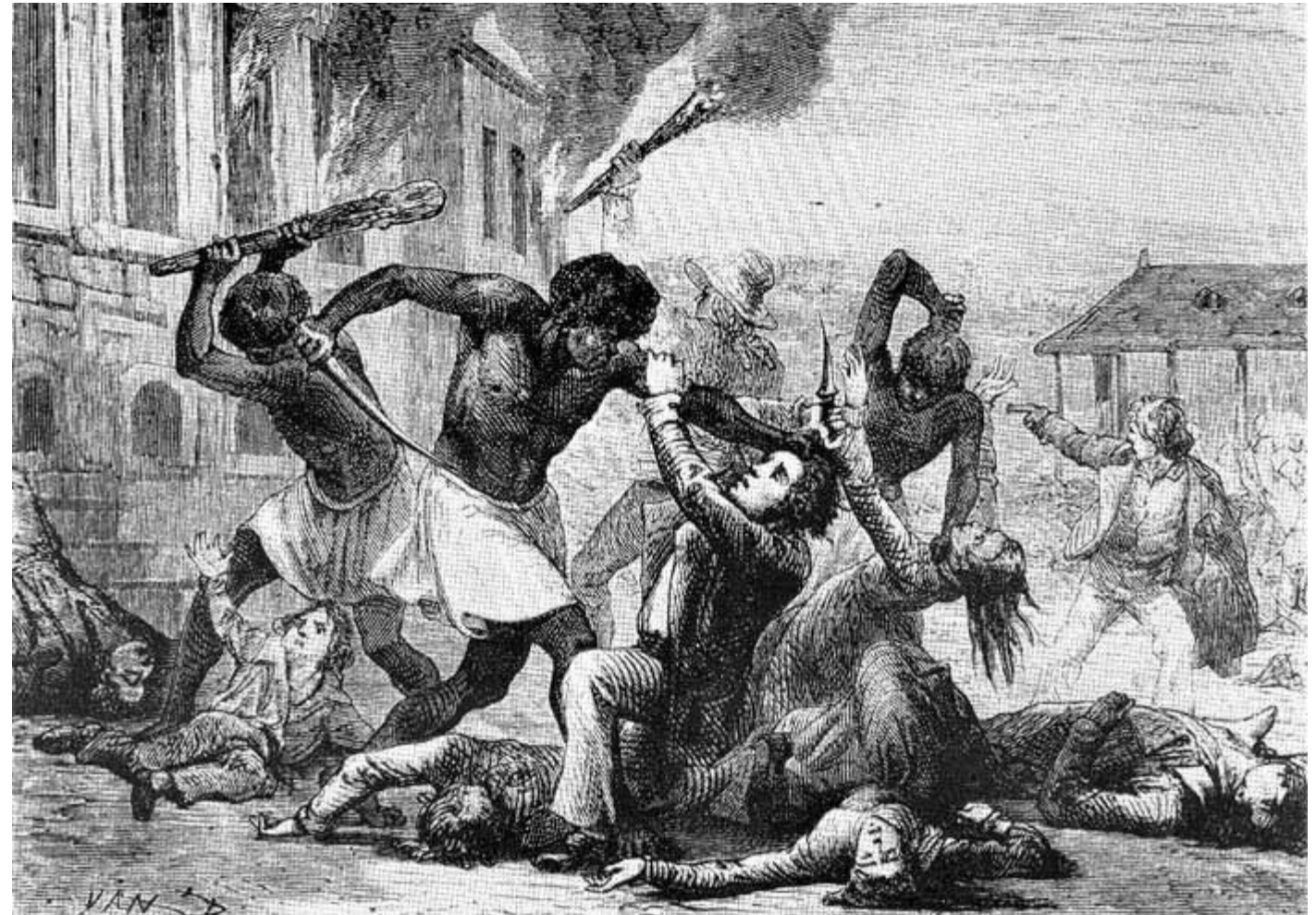
Which was witnessed in Southampton county (Virginia) on Monday the 22d of August last, when **FIFTY FIVE** of its inhabitants (mostly women and children) were inhumanly massacred by the Blacks!

Short and imperfect sketches of the horrid massacre above mentioned have appeared in the public Journals, but the public are now presented with every particular relative thereto, communicated by those who were eye witnesses of the bloody scene, and confirmed by the confessions of several of the Blacks while under sentence of death.

A more shocking instance of human butchery has seldom occurred in any country, and never before in this--the merciless wretches carried destruction to every white person they found in the houses, whether the hoary head, the lovely virgin, or the sleeping infant in the cradle! they spared none!--a widow (Mrs. Whitehead) and her 10 children were murdered in one house! among the slain on that fatal night, was an amiable young lady but 17 years of age, who the day following was to have been united in marriage to a young gentleman of North-Carolina, who had left home the evening preceding with the expectation of conveying there the succeeding day the object of his affections! but, alas! how sad was his disappointment! he was the third person who entered the house after the horrid massacre, to witness the mangled remains of her whom he was so shortly to espouse! The Blacks after having completed their work of death, attempted to evade the pursuit of those who had collected to oppose them, by secreting themselves in a neighboring swamp, to the borders of which they were pursued by a company of mounted dragoons. Of the fifty five slain nearly two thirds of the number were children, not exceeding twelve years of age! and it was truly a melancholly scene (as was observed to the writer by one who witnessed it) to behold on the day of their interment so great a number of coffins collected, surrounded by the weeping relatives!

While the friends of humanity however or wherever situated, cannot but sincerely and deeply lament the awful destruction of so many innocent lives, yet, the humane and philanthropic citizens of New-England, and of the middle States, cannot feel too thankful for the repose and peace of conscience which they enjoy, by wisely and humanely abolishing laws dooming a free born fellow being (without fault or crime) to perpetual bondage!--an example truly worthy of imitation by our brethren at the South.

The Narrative (which contains every important particular relating to the horrid massacre) is afforded for the trifling sum of 12 1-2 Cents. This paper left for perusal, and to be returned when called for.



- one of the largest rebellions by enslaved Africans in American history
- a Virginia newspaper report at the time described Nat Turner as a “**fanatic preacher**”

Nat Turner (1800-1831)

- **enslaved African-American preacher** in Southampton County, Virginia
- believed he had been chosen by **divine revelation** to lead his people out of bondage
- 1831, he organized and led a small band of fellow enslaved men in a night-time uprising that killed some 55–65 white men, women, and children
- interpreted solar and lunar eclipses, visions, and Biblical passages as signs that **God commanded him to overthrow slavery**
- violence as a morally justified response to the “sin” and brutal dehumanization of chattel slavery
- rebellion as an act of divine justice — “blood for blood” against a system built on the kidnapping, whipping, and rape of African people
- in his post-trial confession, he argued that passive endurance only reinforced evil; only force could break the moral and legal chains of slavery



1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
[condemned by the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X (“the Farce on Washington”) but he attended nonetheless]



Rosa Parks bus boycott



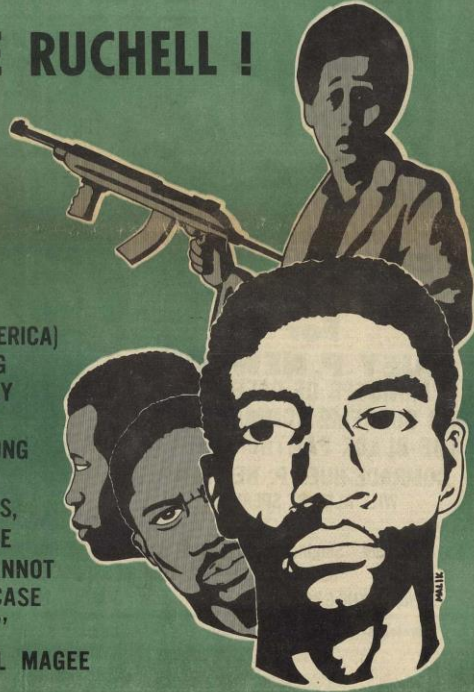
THE PIGS THINK THEY CAN INTIMIDATE ME WHEN I SAY FREE BOBBY AND ERICKA, BUT INTIMIDATION BREEDS RESISTANCE..."FREE BOBBY, FREE ERICKA!" DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!

THE BLACK PANTHER
Black Community News Service 25cents

VOL. VI NO. 2 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1971

PUBLISHED WEEKLY **THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY** MINISTRY OF INFORMATION 605 E. 12TH AVE. SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94102

FREE RUCHELL !



"... YOU (AMERICA) ARE PLAYING DANGEROUSLY SICK GAMES AT THE WRONG TIME WITH HUMAN LIVES, AND YOU ARE NOT AND CANNOT HIDE THIS CASE NO LONGER."

RUCHELL MAGEE

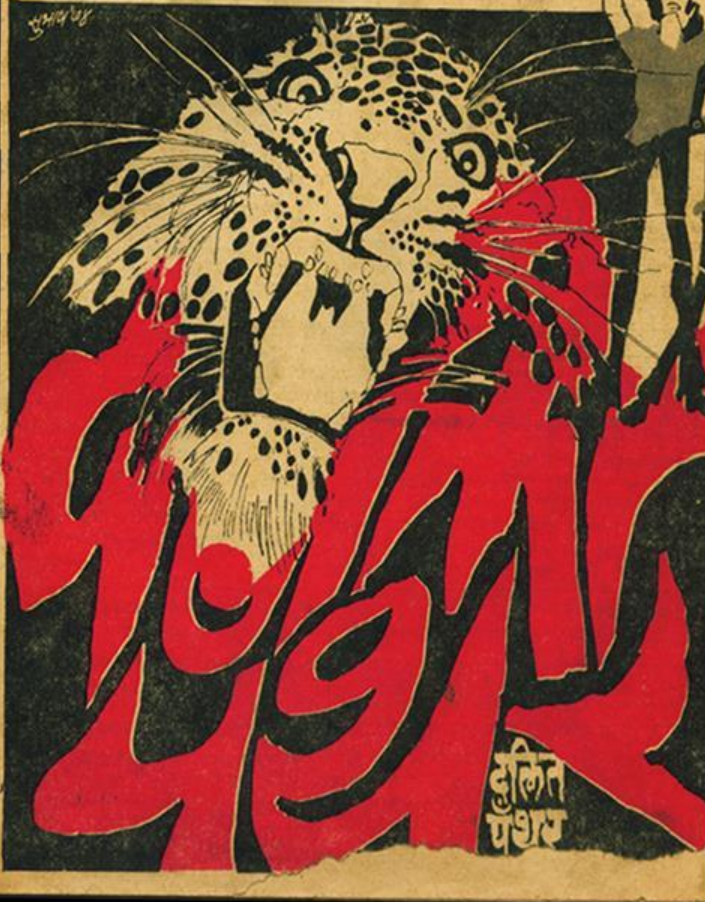


Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, co-founders of the BPP, 1967, in front of their headquarters in Oakland, CA

JOIN
#DALITHISTORY
MONTH!

WWW.DALITHISTORY.COM

नातेगोते विद्यापीठः क्रिकेट दौरा



DALIT PANTHERS

FOUNDED IN APRIL 1972

The Dalit Panthers was a social organization founded by Namdeo Dhasal, Raja Dhale, and Arun Kamble in April 1972 in Mumbai. Formed in the state of Maharashtra in the 1970s, they ideologically aligned themselves to the Black Panther movement in the United States.

During the same period, Dalit literature, painting, and theater challenged the very premise and nature of established art forms and their depiction of society and religion. Many of these new Dalit artists formed the first generation of the Dalit Panther movement that sought to wage an organized struggle against the varna system. Dalit Panthers visited "atrocities" sites, organized marches and rallies in villages, and raised slogans of direct militant action against their upper-caste aggressors.

The Dalit Panthers' Manifesto defines Dalits as "all those who are exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion." They classified "American imperialism" in the same category as "Hindu feudalism"; with both being examples of caste hierarchy. They also asserted that while Hindu feudalism may have spawned caste inequality, its extension by the modern Indian state had created an oppression "a hundred times more ruthless."

Their firm stance and rallying message across Maharashtra made their members frequent targets of state surveillance and brutality. Their legacy lives on in states across India, including in Tamil Nadu's VCK Dalit Panthers Political party.



Woman's Social and Political
Union in England (WSPU):
“Deeds, not Words”

Emmeline Pankhurst

In the years leading up to the First World War, suffragists (“suffragettes”) conducted a prolonged bombing campaign across the whole of the UK, planting improvised explosive devices (IEDs) in places as varied as Westminster Abbey, St Paul’s Cathedral, the Bank of England, the National Gallery, railway stations and many other locations.

British suffragettes: early UK ‘terrorists’?

In Depth: centenary of law that first gave women the right to vote reawakens debate



National Federation of Women Workers march in London

- Militant action included:
 - window-smashing, setting fire to pillar boxes, storming political meetings, putting acid bombs in mailboxes, setting fire to vacant buildings, and heckling the speeches of public officials
 - “damage property, not lives” (Nellie Hall, in prison for disrupting a dinner the Prime Minister attended and throwing a brick through the window of his empty car, went on a hunger-strike and was force-fed 137 times: “More militancy would take place and more houses would burn” the longer she remained in prison)

Emmeline Pankhurst:

- “I would rather be a rebel than a slave.”
- “If it is right for men to fight for their freedom then it is right for women to fight for their freedom.”
- her daughter Christabel: “If men use explosives and bombs for their own purpose they call it war, and the throwing of a bomb that destroys other people is then described as a glorious and heroic deed. Why should women not make use of the same weapons as men? It is not only war we have declared. We are fighting for a revolution.”









<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XB3Rwd4DVUY>

Dubul' ibhunu

*Ayasab' amagwala
dubula dubula
ayeah
dubula dubula
ayasab 'a magwala
dubula dubula
awu yoh
dubula dubula
aw dubul'ibhunu
dubula dubula
aw dubul'ibhunu
dubula dubula
aw dubul'ibhunu
dubula dubula
awe mama
ndiyekele
awe mama iyeah*

The cowards are scared
shoot shoot

shoot shoot
the cowards are scared
shoot shoot

shoot shoot
shoot the Boer
shoot shoot
shoot the Boer
shoot shoot
shoot the Boer
shoot shoot
shoot the Boer
shoot shoot
mother leave me be
oh mother



ATTENTAT CONTRE LORD HARDINGE, VICE-ROI DES INDES

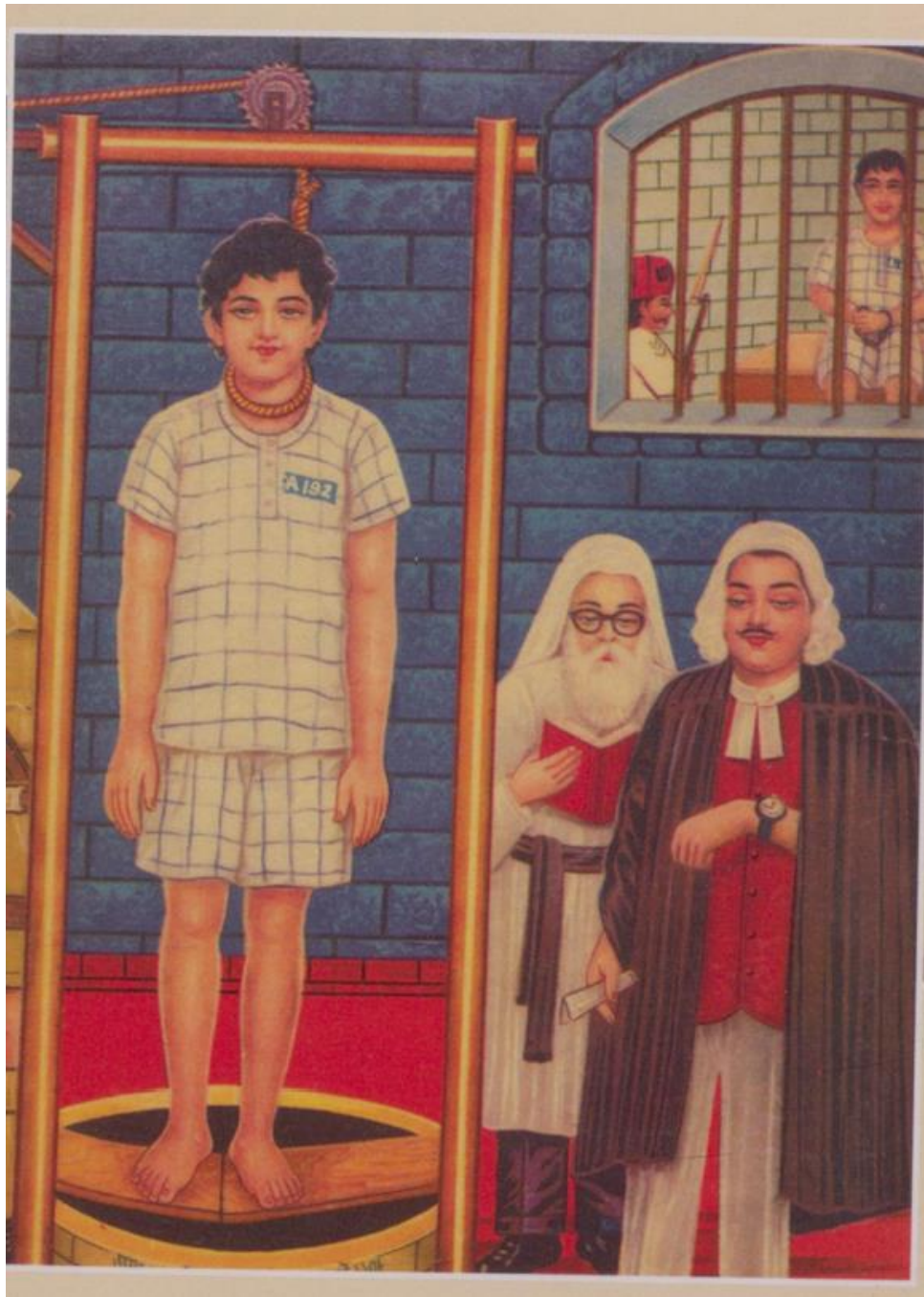
- 1855–56:
 - **Santhal Rebellion** (against the East India Company and zamindari system by the Santals; martial law proclaimed by the EIC; rebellion eventually suppressed by the presidency armies; ca. 15,000 killed; villages torched; survivors driven into forests)
- 1857:
 - **Indian Rebellion (Sepoy Mutiny)** in Meerut against EIC rapidly spread into a broad anti-colonial uprising across North/Central India; sieges of Delhi & Lucknow; mass summary executions; “blowing from guns”; collective fines)
- 1859–60:
 - **Indigo Revolt** (Bengal ryots refused oppressive indigo-planting contracts that trapped them in debt slavery; revolts against European planters and merchants; planters’ private militias beat, flogged and jailed agitators; mass evictions of villages)
- 1875:
 - **Deccan Riots** (Maratha peasantry in Bombay Presidency attacked moneylenders’ shops and destroyed debt-ledgers to protest crippling interest rates; police/troops opened fire on crowds; leaders imprisoned long-term; rural policing intensified)
- 1879–80:
 - **Phadke Rebellion** (**Vasudev Balwant Phadke** formed the “Ramoshi Peasant Force” in Maharashtra, using **guerrilla raids on British treasuries to fund relief for famine-stricken peasants**; the Raj launched a massive manhunt, captured him in 1879, sentenced him to life in Aden where he died 1883 following a hunger strike)

- 1905–11:
 - **Partition of Bengal Protests** (following Lord Curzon's division of Bengal, Swadeshi boycotts, cloth-burnings and student strikes; assemblies banned; lathi-charges on processions; mass arrests under the new Defence of India Act)
- 1915:
 - **Ghadar Mutiny** & Singapore Plot [Indian expatriates (**Ghadar Party**) plotted to incite Punjab / Bengal regiments into revolt, **coordinating from North America and SE Asia**; Criminal Investigation Department (CID) infiltration; sweeping mass arrests; fast-track trials handing 42+ death sentences]
- 1917:
 - **Champaran Satyagraha** (**Gandhi** mobilized Bihar sharecroppers forced into indigo cultivation, leading surveys and nonviolent protests against planters; police raids on village meetings; local leaders jailed; public inquiries forced limited concessions)
- March 1919:
 - **Rowlatt Act Protests** [**nationwide hartal** (general strike — shops, schools, offices and public transport shut down to paralyze colonial administration) against the extension of wartime special-powers allowing detention without trial; martial law in Punjab; press censorship; mass detentions and patrols without warrant)

Apr. 13, 1919:

- **Jallianwala Bagh Massacre** (peaceful Baisakhi gathering in **Amritsar** was fired upon by troops under Gen. Dyer, blocking exits and shooting for ten minutes; official death toll: 379 dead, 1,200 wounded; curfews, public floggings and collective fines imposed)

- 1920–22:
 - **Non-Cooperation Movement** (mass resignations from government posts, boycotts of courts / schools, and nationwide strikes led by **Gandhi and the Congress**; widespread baton-charges on processions; hundreds jailed without trial; municipal bodies dissolved)
- 1929–31:
 - Bhagat Singh's Assembly Bombing (April 1929, Singh & Batukeshwar Dutt deployed small bombs in the Central Legislative Assembly to **“make the deaf hear”**; swift special tribunals; Singh, Sukhdev & Rajguru executed; surveillance and bans on revolutionary literature)
- 1930–34:
 - **Salt March & Civil Disobedience** (Gandhi's 240-mile march to Dandi sparked millions to defy salt laws, making or buying illicit salt; over 60,000 arrested in year one; heavy fines; tear-gas and lathi use on unarmed protesters)
- 1940:
 - Udham Singh's Assassination (in London, Udham Singh killed former Lt. Gov. O'Dwyer in revenge for Jallianwala, then surrendered, tried at the Old Bailey; quickly convicted and hanged; global crackdown on Indian revolutionaries)
- 1942:
 - **Quit India Movement** (Gandhi's “Do or Die” call triggered underground **sabotage of railways / telegraphs**, large strikes, and mass marches; instant arrest of all Congress leaders; shootings of unarmed demonstrators; village collective fines)
- 1946–47:
 - **Tebhaga Uprising** [Bengal sharecroppers (mostly Muslim and Hindu) demanded two-thirds of their harvest, not half, from absentee landlords; police / military sweeps; summary executions; homes and crops burned; thousands jailed)
- 1946–51:
 - **Telangana Armed Struggle** (Communist-led peasants seized land from feudal landlords in the princely state, establishing guerrilla zones)



Muzaffarpur Bombing (1908):

- 18-year-old **Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki** planted a bomb intended for Magistrate Kingsford's carriage; killed two British women by mistake
- British response → nationwide manhunt; Bose arrested, tried as an adult, and executed at 18; Chaki committed suicide to avoid capture

Not a revolution, but many revolutionaries?

- no “classic revolution”
 - no single, coordinated nationwide uprising that toppled British authority by force
- key structures — civil administration, army, judiciary — were dismantled or handed over “peacefully” after negotiations
- elite negotiations
 - power ultimately passed through the **Indian Independence Act of 1947**, a legal statute **approved by the British Parliament**, following political talks (Cripps Mission, Simla Conference, Cabinet Mission) rather than battlefield victory
- convenient narrative:
 - emphasizing “nonviolent” and “constitutional” transfer helped both sides save face (Britain could claim magnanimity, and the Congress leadership could portray Gandhi’s noncooperation as decisive)
- marginalized contributions
 - revolutionary nationalists, peasant guerrillas, even naval mutineers (e.g., Royal Indian Navy Mutiny of 1946) are often written out of the mainstream narrative, despite demonstrating that **British rule was always contested right up to the very end**

Some important terms

- **Sepoy**

- an **Indian infantryman** serving under European colonial powers (most notably the British East India Company and later the British Crown) from the 18th through the 19th centuries
- recruited locally, trained in European-style military drills, uniforms, and tactics, organized into units led by British officers
- played a central role in events like the **Indian Rebellion of 1857**, when grievances over pay, conditions, and cultural insensitivity (e.g., use of greased cartridges) sparked widespread **mutiny** among sepoy regiments

- **Mutiny**

- collective insubordination by troops refusing orders, often seizing command from officers





JUSTICE.

Edward Said on the “Mutiny” of 1857

Culture & Imperialism, pp. 146-147

“To a contemporary reader ‘the Mutiny’ meant the single most important, well-known, and violent episode of the nineteenth-century Anglo-Indian relationship: the Great Mutiny of 1857, which began in Meerut on May 10 and led to the capture of Delhi. An enormous number of books (e.g., Christopher Hibbert’s *The Great Mutiny*), British and Indian, cover the ‘Mutiny’ (**referred to as a ‘Rebellion’ by Indian writers**). What caused the ‘Mutiny’ – here I shall use the ideologically British designation – was the suspicion of Hindu and Muslim soldiers in the Indian army that their bullets were greased with cow’s fat (unclean to Hindus) and pig’s fat (unclean to Muslims). In fact the causes of the Mutiny were constitutive to British imperialism itself, to an army largely staffed by natives and officered by Sahibs, to the anomalies of rule by the East India Company. In addition, there was a great deal of underlying resentment about white Christian rule in a country of many other races and cultures, all of whom most probably regarded their subservience to the British as degrading. It was lost on none of the mutineers that numerically they vastly outnumbered their superior officers.

In both Indian and British history, the Mutiny was a clear demarcation. Without going into the complex structure of actions, motives, events, and moralities debated endlessly during and since, we can say that to **the British, who brutally and severely put the Mutiny down, all their actions were retaliatory**; the mutineers murdered Europeans they said, and such actions proved, as if proof were necessary, that **Indians deserved subjugation by the higher civilization of European Britain; after 1857 the East India Company was replaced by the much more formal Government of India**. For the Indians, the Mutiny was a nationalist uprising against British rule, which uncompromisingly reasserted itself despite abuses, exploitation, and seemingly unheeded native complaint. When in 1925 Edward Thompson published his powerful little tract *The Other Side of the Medal* – an impassioned statement against British rule and for Indian independence – he singled out **the Mutiny as the great symbolic event by which the two sides, Indian and British, achieved their full and conscious opposition to each other**. He dramatically showed that Indian and British history diverged most emphatically on representations of it. The Mutiny, in short, reinforced the difference between colonizer and colonized.”

- **lathi-charges** (\approx baton charges)
 - a crowd-control tactic used by Indian police or paramilitary forces, wherein officers wield long bamboo or wooden sticks called lathis to disperse protesting crowds or control riots
- **Zamindar** (Zamindari = feudal estate)
 - a hereditary landholder, originally appointed under the Mughal Empire with the right to administer an estate (*jagir*) and collect taxes on behalf of the imperial court
 - under the British Raj, the term zamindari was adopted as a generic synonym for “estate” and loyal zamindars were confirmed as princely or noble dignitaries