

Revolutionary Rhetorics and the Resonance of Resistance: A Transnational Critique of Oppression, Consciousness, and Collective Uplift in the African and Dalit Struggles for Liberation

Dhruv Dighe¹, Dr. Bharati Karnik²

¹Research Scholar, English, Amity University, Gwalior

²Professor, English, Maharani Laxmibai Government Arts and Commerce College, Gwalior

Abstract:

The emancipation of subjugated populations is a worldwide endeavor, as liberation movements resonate with one another in asserting the rights to equality, freedom, and liberty intrinsic to all individuals. The marginalized individuals combat injustice by adopting the resilience of fight to liberate themselves from the shackles of oppression and racism, including white supremacy. The Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Biko, and the Dalit Panther Movement, inspired by the Black Panther Party and the philosophies of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, necessitate reflection as the global ramifications and possibilities of collective liberation are examined and acknowledged for the empowerment of individuals of African descent worldwide. Through the use of general rhetorical critique, wherein the text is revolution, the author encapsulates the reactions of these subjugated communities against their oppressor. The language of revolution include criticisms of religion, the identification of "friend-enemies," and the recognition of the collective struggle of those of African origin. This study enhances the literature on revolution and the advancement of the African diaspora by examining variables that influence change inside the Diaspora.

Keywords: Revolutionary Rhetoric, Transnational Resistance, Black Consciousness Movement, Dalit Panther Movement, Collective Liberation, Rhetoric of Revolution, Anti-Oppression Discourse

The emancipation of oppressed populations is a worldwide endeavor, as liberation movements resonate with one another in asserting the rights to equality, freedom, and liberty that are inherently due to all individuals, but are often unacknowledged by the marginalized. Consequently, this marginalization within the construct compels individuals to respond to injustice by adopting the mantle of struggle to liberate themselves from the shackles of oppression and racism or white supremacy. The Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Biko, alongside the Dalit Panther Movement, which drew inspiration from the Black Panther Party and the ideas of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, prompts a moment of reflection. This examination reveals the global significance and possibilities of collective liberation, highlighting the empowerment of people of color worldwide. Consequently, this understanding is reflected in the reaction of the marginalized towards their oppressors, where the discourse of upheaval—broadly defined—ranges from increasing awareness to acts of violence and has been employed as a means of achieving freedom.

The analysis employs a broad approach to examine the rhetoric associated with the Black Consciousness Movement and the Dalit Panther Movement. Instead of focusing on a single speech or eulogy, I examine revolution as a broader narrative. The precise language and behaviours of activists in the Dalit Panther Movement and Black Consciousness Movement, along with the concept of revolution, function as a connected spiral of narrative and underlying meaning. In this context, leaders can utilize rhetorical criticism to gain insights and advocate for forthcoming revolutions aimed at fostering change. The identifiable, understandable, and foreseeable rhetorical similarities of revolution function as a framework through which leaders articulate and develop strategies to persist in the pursuit of equality and transformation (Kuypers, 2005).

The methodology presented here examines the parallels in the strategies employed by revolutionary leaders, alongside the shared collective heritage of the Dalits, South Africans, and various communities within the African Diaspora. Rajshekar (1987) posits that the Dalits are the descendants of Africans who established the Indus Valley Civilization and were subsequently enslaved by the fair-skinned Aryans from the North. He further asserts that distinguishing the struggles of African Americans in the United States from those of other individuals of African descent in the Diaspora is harmful to the overall advancement of the community. Rajshekar (1987) discusses the parallels between Dalits and African Americans, as well as other individuals of African descent:

"While feeling free to pronounce on human rights issues in relation to other countries, both India and the US strongly reject any outside "interference" (criticism) of their own minority relations. Both multi-ethnic states promote the ideal of nonviolence among their oppressed minorities while not hesitating to resort to violence either in relations with other states, or in repression of minority demands. And lastly and most perniciously, both seek to imply that the oppressed minority's current plight is due in some way to its own misdeeds... (p. 5)."

Rajshekar discusses African Americans and Dalits, while also considering Black South Africans; indeed, the study has implications for individuals of the African Diaspora, although it primarily concentrates on the movements of the Dalits and South Africans.

A vast amount of scholarly work exists on the topic of revolution, particularly focusing on how individuals of African descent who face oppression have understood and started to tackle the challenges posed by racism and white supremacy. Kwame Ture's Black Power, Amos Wilson's Blueprint for Black Power, Cedric Robinson's Black Marxism, and Kwame Agyei and Akua Nson Akoto's The Sankofa Movement have explored the theme of revolution within communities of African descent. These writings offer an analysis of American society, suggestions for the empowerment of the black community, and pathways for both psychological and physical transformation. The global colonization of African people, including in the United States as examined by Kwame Ture, has established a foundation for this body of literature to emerge. Through the process of deconstructing and reconstructing revolutionary rhetoric, leaders can effectively illuminate the challenges associated with enacting change for the benefit of the Black collective.

Investigations have been conducted to explore the comparable challenges faced by individuals of African descent across the Diaspora, particularly in India. The work of the Black Panther Party Legacy & Alumni, along with the contributions of the African American Policy Forum, Vijay Prashad, and Runoko Rashidi, has started to uncover the shared struggles faced by Dalits, African Americans, and other communities within the African Diaspora. In Runoko Rashidi's Global African Presence History Notes, he initiates an

exploration of the intricate history of the Dalits, emphasizing the shared essence between the Dalits and individuals of African descent.

Grasping the socio-political context surrounding the liberation movements of people of African descent is essential for comprehending the intricate and overt nuances of these movements. During the mid to late twentieth century, the Black Power Movement garnered global recognition, paving the way for both concurrent and later anti-systemic movements. This occurred because movements do not exist in isolation; oppression shares common characteristics, which explains why each of the liberation movements emerged around the same time (Wallerstein, 1999).

Consequently, the mobility of individuals and knowledge through the dissemination of education, global and cross-border commerce, and communication has played a crucial role in establishing an interconnected society. In this environment, individuals can be influenced by both indirect and direct relationships with others across the globe (Friedman, 2005). Consequently, it is not surprising that the worldwide environment facilitated simultaneous efforts by individuals of African heritage. Moreover, the achievements and/or perceived achievements of these movements motivated each group to persist in their efforts. In this context, Wallerstein (1999) suggests that movements arise as a result of the previous successes of other movements, and asserts:

"No, it is not oppression that mobilizes masses, but hope and certainty—the belief that the end of oppression is near, that a better world is truly possible. And nothing reinforces such hope and certainty more than success. The long march of the antisystemic movements has been like a rolling stone. It gathered momentum over time. And the biggest argument that any given movement could use in order to mobilize support was the success of other movements that seemed comparable and reasonably close in geography and culture (p. 3)."

Consequently, it can be asserted that these transformative movements were interconnected within the broader context of worldwide liberation efforts. Their efforts were closely aligned with earlier initiatives of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Dr. Ambedkar's movement in India, and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. The driving force of hope inspired individuals to take action, enabling them to advocate for equality and freedom.

The earlier movements not only influenced the Dalit Panther and Black Consciousness Movement, but they were also shaped by communism (Franklin, 1994). Despite the apparent decline of communism after the Cold War, Marxist ideas would significantly influence the actions of individuals of African descent and the Dalit community in India. Fundamentally, the primary adversary of capitalism and arguably the foundation of a significant global conflict, the principles of an egalitarian society would act as a compelling impetus driving the deliberate actions of the marginalized to reshape society. Consequently, the ideologies of communism and the discourse stemming from the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. Ambedkar's initiatives, and the ANC emerged as pivotal elements in shaping the philosophies of subsequent movements such as the Dalit Panther Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement (Franklin, 1994; Biko, 2004; MacDonald, 2006). As individuals from diverse backgrounds increasingly acknowledge the pervasive and interconnected nature of white supremacy and racism on a global scale, their united economic and political influence has the potential to dismantle the physical and psychological barriers established for marginalized communities.

The framework of racial dominance that subjugates individuals of African descent and other people of color is evident in numerous domains. The influence of white supremacy has shaped perceptions of beauty, positions European literature as the pinnacle of cultural achievement while disregarding African oral and

written traditions, and employs its religious beliefs to justify exploitative relationships, wherein Europeans assert a divine mandate to civilize those deemed “barbaric” and “uncivilized.” Moreover, what is recognized by African Americans as Wyllye Lynch Syndrome, what is known in South Africa as apartheid and “separate development,” what the Dalits identify as casteism, and what the broader global community of people of color perceives as a tactic of divide and conquer has manifested in different ways to achieve a singular goal—ongoing oppression of individuals of African descent for the perpetuation of white supremacy and/or racism.

This form of white supremacy functions in a complex interplay with the shared awareness and behaviors of individuals of African descent. In this context, the exercise of domination by white supremacy is met with a response from Black Power. The interplay of this discussion manifests in distinct dynamics of black and white relations—conflict, resolution, reconciliation, and more. It is not inherently the case that white supremacy existed before Black Power on a global scale. Instead, Black Power emerges as a renewed expression of an all-knowing African truth. Toni Morrison emphasizes that white supremacy operates in the shadows, countering an African essence (Morrison, 1990). Consequently, white supremacy does not serve as the originator, nor does it possess greater power than Black Power. The manifestation of white power represents a transient peak within the extensive timeline of global civilizations. Therefore, grasping the rhetoric of revolution is crucial for comprehending the dynamics of the ongoing relationship between domination and subjugation.

The domination of individuals from marginalized communities by white supremacists is evident in the framework of separate development. Michael MacDonald (2006) argues that separate development aimed to restrict Africans within their designated tribal cultures. The transformation of these tribal communities into distinct nations involved the process of establishing tribes as political entities, thereby disrupting the inherent unity among the oppressed that stemmed from their collective experiences of apartheid (MacDonald, 2006). Consequently, Africans were to be divided into distinct groups, established as largely autonomous nations whose independent actions would undermine any potential collective strength and mobilization that could arise from a united Africa. In a comparable manner, African Americans continue to confront oppression in the realms of racial politics, the appropriate approaches for achieving freedom, and a range of differing ideological perspectives. The varna, or caste system of India, originating from the Vedas and significantly shaped by the Aryans, continues to exhibit remnants of discrimination and division, despite its gradual disintegration.

Although the diminishing caste system in India is characterized by intraracial divisions, the plight of Dalits mirrors the challenges faced by diasporic communities of African descent. Paswan and Jaideva (2002) emphasize that Dalits face restrictions in accessing resources that could improve their standing within the social, economic, and political frameworks of Indian society. Paswan and Jaideva (2002) articulate, “The people who almost die in building the terrestrial heaven are denied access to it and we [are] condemned to live in these nether lands forever, suffering silently and yet serving sincerely.” Paswan and Jaideva (2002) make a misstep by claiming that the oppression experienced by Dalits surpasses that of enslaved Africans in America or Europe, arguing that other regions had “better placed in terms of certain minimum access to civilized life such as education and training” (p. 15). Initially, this assertion strengthens subjugation by fostering separation. How does the oppression experienced by one individual in Africa compare to that of another individual in the same context? Secondly, it indicates that Paswan and Jaideva (2002) may lack a precise representation or have not conducted a comprehensive examination of slavery in the regions where enslavers took extensive measures to prevent Africans, akin to the Dalit experience,

from gaining access to literacy. Ultimately, it is crucial to recognize that while all forms of oppression share commonalities, the Maafa—characterized by the trafficking and enslavement of African peoples—represents a unique global occurrence unprecedented in historical context. Nonetheless, the assertion by Paswan and Jaideva (2002) that Dalits are susceptible to “domination, exploitation and oppression by powerful, aggressive, and arrogant self-serving socio-economic and political interests” compels one to dismiss any attempts to trivialize the oppression faced by individuals of African descent.

The establishment of white supremacy and/or racism/intraracism guarantees its survival and continuation, thereby upholding the existing order. Proclamations of Marxist and Communist ideology find backing in a framework that permits sanctioned dissent, allowing the populace to engage in a constructive and peaceful manifestation of illusory freedom. Nevertheless, the likelihood that individuals from marginalized communities can ascend to positions of genuine authority to uplift the group appears to be minimal. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Robert Sobukwe, Steven Biko, and Nelson Mandela—either assassinated or imprisoned. Institutional racism establishes oppressive laws and responds to any pushback with extreme violence; it imposes the dominant language as the official means of communication; it restricts job opportunities and then accuses efforts for equity of being discriminatory; it enforces segregation in educational settings; it relegates marginalized communities to inhumane living conditions in impoverished areas. This illustrates the truth of systemic oppression and serves as a preferred mechanism of a previously overt—now covert—racist system.

MacDonald (2006) examines the pervasive institutional racism in South Africa, highlighting how the entire framework of the nation relied on the oppression of black individuals and the promotion of white individuals across various sectors, including education, economics, religion, and politics. In the realm of education, numerous native Africans were subjected to Bantu education, a system that represented a lesser quality of learning and failed to honor African heritage. Additionally, individuals of European descent in South Africa sought to maintain Afrikaans by mandating its use as the official language in educational institutions. This endeavor was unsuccessful.

In the context of religion, white individuals aimed to establish a society marked by inequality under the guise of civilizing the so-called noble savage. In South Africa, the application of Christianity played a role in the dehumanization of black South Africans, thereby rationalizing the denial of rights and citizenship to this group (MacDonald, 2006). Biko (2004) emphasizes a critical issue regarding the imposition of Christianity on African communities. He argues that it strengthens the supposed inferiority of the African by placing him/her in a subordinate role, dependent on the white man for the instruction of Christianity to the Black South African. The Black South African is encouraged to acknowledge the expertise of those introducing this religion, which carries significant political, economic, and cultural ramifications, along with associated guidelines and institutions. Biko (2004) asserts:

"If, the white missionaries were right about their God in the eyes of the people, then the African people could only accept whatever these new know all tutors had to say about life...thus if Christianity in its introduction was corrupted by the inclusion of aspects which made it the ideal religion for the colonization of people, nowadays in its interpretation it is the ideal religion for the maintenance of the subjugation of the same people (60-61)."

In a similar vein, Contursi (1993) discusses the political theology of the Dalit Panthers, asserting that the ideology of the Panthers was infused with and/or comprised of Buddhist and Marxist philosophy. Buddhism addressed the preservation of Indian heritage through a critical examination of caste hierarchies and foundational historical teachings, while Marxism advocated for revolutionary change; both provided

pathways and aspirations for societal transformation. The ideas presented in Buddhism and Marxism stand in stark contrast to the Hindu approach to social relations, questioning and opposing the established norms. By embracing this combined ideology, the Dalits were able to articulate and embody a religious freedom that had previously been stifled by the historical and ongoing oppression within Indian society. Contursi (1993) encapsulates Dr. Ambedkar's Dhamma, delineating the distinction between religion and Dhamma (or the perceived political theology of the Dalits):

"Thus Ambedkar perceives an essential contradiction between religion and dhamma: religion is personal, dhamma is social; religion explains the world, dhamma reconstructs the world; religion is concerned with god, soul, and salvation, dhamma is concerned with ending human suffering. Dhamma in other words, is moral action for social change. Like other forms of liberation theology, Ambedkar's Buddhism indicts the powerful and the privileged for the inequality and suffering of society, views the poor as the victims of exploitation, and calls for the elimination of suffering through social action (p. 325)"

Religion is therefore situated within both historical and modern frameworks.

Analyzing the institutional suppression of religion is crucial for comprehending the oppression faced by both South Africans and Dalits. The manifestation of material power has occurred through metaphysical and symbolic influence, evident in systems such as the Hindu caste hierarchy, the divine right of monarchs, and the authority of religious institutions. Religion serves as a means of acquiring knowledge about the world and comprehending hierarchies, existing independently and requiring no external validation. The reason for this is that the presence of an all-knowing and all-seeing force that assigns races, cultures, and peoples to predetermined roles in life cannot be definitively established or refuted. The paradox resides there. The historical exercise of power through Christianity and Hinduism has led to the oppression of others, reinforcing the authority of the dominant groups, namely whites and higher caste Hindus. The tangible expression of affluence, governance, and cultural dominance is sanctioned by a constant, omniscient force. A deity or deities that endorse institutional oppression, cultural repression, economic exploitation, and religious domination warrant a thorough re-evaluation.

Alongside the realms of faith and learning, the political economy plays a significant role in upholding systems of oppression. MacDonald (2006) indicates that the political economy of South Africa was characterized by a lack of support from big business for state intervention in business affairs, particularly regarding the preferential treatment of white workers in employment and wage increases for white workers, especially those in unions. Nonetheless, large corporations recognized that the economic landscape was fundamentally influenced by racial dynamics. The achievements of large enterprises—the financial gains stemming from the political landscape—were contingent upon the dynamics of racial hierarchies, characterized by white dominance and black subordination. The system in question was not entirely capitalist, as it did not operate as a completely free market. Nonetheless, it exhibited characteristics of capitalism through the presence of private enterprises and the exploitation of the African populace for the advantage of the white minority (MacDonald, 2006). The fundamental structure of the capitalist political economy relied on the perpetuation of racialism and racism to uphold its economic, political, and cultural supremacy (MacDonald, 2006). The Black Consciousness Movement played a crucial role in reshaping South African society by challenging the foundational assumptions and beliefs that upheld the existing political economy.

The absence of economic and political opportunities encountered by the Dalits, despite their significant contributions to the market and their substantial share of the population, reflects the political economy in different regions of India. Their exploited labor and concurrent absence of representation in government

emerged as a significant foundation for Dr. Ambedkar's political activism and the Dalit Movement of the 1920s. Furthermore, Paswan and Jaideva (2002) highlight the prevailing oligarchy of higher caste Indians who wield control over state power and resources. This particular group demonstrates a troubling alignment with institutions like the police and the judiciary, ultimately harming the Dalits. What have been the circumstances that lead to upheaval and how have the marginalized reacted to their subjugation? Wallerstein (1999) argues that the "movements had to organize within a political environment that was hostile to them, one that was quite often ready to suppress or constrain considerably their political activity" (p. 23). The emergence of the Dalit Movement and the Black Consciousness movement arose from a range of discriminatory and racist practices that generated significant frustration among the people, a frustration that propelled them into action. Misinterpretations of human rights declarations and bills of rights within Indian society have led to the denial of certain rights for Dalits, as these interpretations erroneously concluded that Dalits were not human beings and therefore not entitled to the protections afforded by such declarations, bills, and constitutions. Dalits have historically been compelled to reside in slums that lack fundamental humanitarian standards. In South Africa, political power was exclusively held by whites, as black South Africans were systematically denied citizenship. The Native Land Act imposed significant restrictions on land ownership, resulting in a mere 7.2% of the land being allocated to black individuals, while the white population retained ownership of the vast majority of the land (MacDonald, 2006). Restrictions were placed on the movements of black individuals by whites through the implementation of pass laws (MacDonald, 2006). The prevailing circumstances established the atmosphere for the transformative discourse and activism of the mid to late twentieth century.

The environment was undeniably challenging; however, the reaction has been a blend of the spiritual, intellectual, and emotional aspects. According to MacDonald (2006), the National Party, which was the white South African government, compelled black individuals to take revolutionary action. The National Party exercised such oppressive control that the sole option available to South Africans was to adopt revolutionary tactics, exemplified by the Soweto Rebellion of 1976, where individuals in townships rose up against inadequate housing, dire economic circumstances, and political exclusion (MacDonald, 2006). In a similar vein, the Sharpeville Massacre, where the government brutally quelled African protests against pass laws, exemplified the approach South Africans would adopt to address their demands (Biko, 2004). The instances of physical violence emerged as a consequence of the struggle against oppression; however, it is equally important to examine the language and rhetorical strategies employed by the leaders of the Dalit Panther Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Biko employs the established methods to confront the racist hierarchy, utilizing an intellectual framework to analyze and comprehend racism. Biko employs the Hegelian theory of dialectic materialism to highlight the connection between the exercise of power, represented by whites and whiteness, and the perceived or actual powerlessness experienced by blacks, people of color, and blackness. Biko's formulation of white racism as a central thesis, the emergence of black solidarity as an opposing antithesis, and the pursuit of balance as a synthesis prompts a critical examination of power dynamics and the essential results of liberation movements. Biko addresses the psychological effects of white supremacy and emphasizes the importance for black individuals to establish their own definitions of black identity and to engage in political action to realize and protect this identity (Biko, 2004). MacDonald (2006) encapsulates Biko's perspective: "To be black was to be militantly black, openly, proudly and defiantly" (p. 118). Fundamentally, a significant aspect of Biko's methodology was rooted in psychological and intellectual dimensions. The adversary was identified, the standards for the champion or main character were

established, and the author proceeded to articulate the circumstances of triumph through the adept use of language, ideology, and philosophical concepts.

Nevertheless, his approach cannot be confined to such a limited scope. He utilizes strategies of credibility, urging individuals of African descent to recognize their value and connect with their cultural heritage. The appeal for self-esteem and self-love is a fundamental aspect of any empowerment or liberation movement. This is particularly true because the strategies employed to subjugate oppressed individuals have effectively aimed to undermine and diminish their sense of self-worth. Biko, consequently, establishes the foundation of South African ethics within the context of traditional African culture and spirituality. He claims that South Africans, along with all black individuals, possessed spirituality, morality, and a code of ethics prior to being influenced by Western religions and ideologies. Biko discusses the essence of African music, emphasizing the communal perspective on existence and the connection to the natural world. He also clarifies that the benchmark for success and advancement is, in fact, a black standard, rather than a white one. He asserts, "Once more, 'black consciousness' aims to demonstrate to black individuals the significance of their own values and perspectives." It calls on black individuals to evaluate themselves based on these criteria and not to be misled by a white society that has sanitized its image and established white norms as the measure by which black individuals assess one another (p.33).

The Dalit Panther Movement, having evolved through the years, continues to embody a passionate call for revolution, as reflected in the contemporary writings of the Dalit Panthers. A notable assertion from the current discourse of the Dalit Panther Party, as highlighted by the issue of Dalit Oppression, is:

"We will not be satisfied easily now. We do not want a little piece in the Brahmin... We want the rule of the whole land. We are not looking at persons but at a system. Change of heart, liberal education, etc., will not end our state of exploitation. When we gather a revolutionary mass, rouse the people, out of the struggle of this giant mass will come the tidal wave of revolution."

The intensity of emotion expressed in this passage exemplifies the reaction of marginalized individuals to their circumstances. It is no longer acceptable to accept concessions and compromise with conservative elites who urge marginalized individuals to be patient with the process. Instead, revolutionaries start to take calculated actions to express their demands and to translate those demands into tangible outcomes.

The rhetoric and strategies of the liberation movements have been significantly shaped by the identification of what can be referred to as the "friend-enemies" of their respective causes. Biko's complex relationships involve white liberals and the ideologies of Ambedkar and Gandhism. One effective method of persuasion and empowerment is the careful unmasking of the "enemy's" facades. Biko and Ambedkar illuminate the deceptive kindness of these friend-enemies. The authors examine the beliefs and driving forces that could have harmful effects on the large groups of marginalized individuals in their struggle for freedom. In the United States, white individuals enjoy the advantages, separation, and ease provided by a racially biased society, allowing them to engage with the struggles of marginalized groups without compromising their own comfortable lifestyles. Biko recognizes that the oppressor cannot challenge the very system of oppression that sustains its privilege. How far should one go to relinquish power in order to ensure equality for another race, especially when the possibility of a role reversal looms, and when a society structured by racism underpins economic, political, and cultural institutions and systems? These are the unavoidable reflections of white individuals broadly, regardless of whether they are subconscious or conscious, conservative or liberal. Biko insightfully articulates the stance of the white liberal and the reasons behind their inability to engage in the fight for Black liberation:

"The liberal is in fact appeasing his own consciousness or at best is eager to demonstrate his identification

with the black people only so far as it does not sever all his ties with his relatives on the other side of the colour line. Being white he possesses the natural passport to the exclusive pool of white privileges...yet since he identifies with the blacks, he moves around his white circles...with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the rest, yet at the back of his mind is a constant reminder that he is quite comfortable as things stand and therefore should not bother about change. (p. 71)"

Consequently, Biko has revealed the deceptive nature of white liberals, whose form of liberalism can negatively impact the struggle for Black liberation. In a similar vein, Ambedkar highlights the misleading ideologies and perceptions surrounding Gandhism, which have, in reality, sustained a stratified Indian society. He differentiates between those who struggle for India's independence from British rule, like Gandhi, and those who are advocating for the equality and liberation of all individuals within India. He emphasizes that Gandhism asserted the naturalness and desirability of a classed society, employed a strategy of glorifying the circumstances of the lower class to prevent rebellion and foster contentment within one's class, endorsed segregation among castes, and restricted employment opportunities for lower castes in various professions. Ambedkar points out these significant shortcomings in Gandhism as it upheld an awareness of oppression among the marginalized Dalits. To achieve liberation, Ambedkar revealed Gandhism as a facade that did not genuinely serve the interests of all marginalized individuals.

Biko and Ambedkar seek to clarify the misguided beliefs and tactics that could obstruct the struggle for freedom and empowerment of Dalits and South Africans within the broader context. This situation mirrors the events of the Black Power Movement, where the contributions of white liberals and compliant individuals within the community were revealed as obstacles to the cause. It is crucial to emphasize these misunderstandings and distorted beliefs, as the lack of awareness among the general population could result in a superficial continuation and justification, through self-reinforcement, of the oppression that has been imposed upon them.

The Black Consciousness Movement and Dalit Panther Movement articulated a shared struggle faced by all marginalized communities. Contursi (1993) notes that the Dalits formed an international identification with African Americans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Africans. Contursi (1993) highlights the Dalit Panther Manifesto, which asserts that the Dalits "are members of scheduled castes and tribes; neo-Buddhists, the working people, the landless and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion" (p. 326).

Similarly, MacDonald (2006) interprets Biko's definition of Black as inclusive, suggesting that individuals could become "black without first being African" (p. 118). The liberation struggle was both a unique experience for Africans and a reflection of a broader, universal oppression faced by people of color, while also highlighting the specific challenges encountered by Africans during apartheid in South Africa. Recognizing a worldwide challenge enhances the momentum of the initiative and amplifies the likelihood of achieving success. When social movements are perceived as disconnected and fragmented events, the significance of the fight for justice is diminished. Nevertheless, when actions are perceived as a unified effort, it propels the essence of a shared fight forward.

The discourse and activities of the Black Consciousness Movement and the Dalit Panther Movement established a foundation for subsequent liberation movements. Gaining insight into the dynamics of the political and social movement of the oppressed allows for a deeper comprehension of the oppressor and the systemic oppression that endangers the Diaspora. The movements operated within a challenging context characterized by political, cultural, and economic oppression. Consequently, the prominent figures

in these movements, specifically Biko and Ambedkar, acknowledged the worldwide significance of their efforts and the shared subjugation faced by individuals of African descent. Consequently, the strategies were interrelated and could be compared. The discussion encompassed concepts such as “friend-enemies,” self-empowerment, global struggle, and misleading religious doctrines, all aimed at emphasizing the dire circumstances of these issues while also illuminating the potential for liberation. These movements were not isolated, and future movements will similarly be interconnected.

Individuals of African descent need to acknowledge the global and cross-border consequences of collective action and should formulate strategies and movements that cater to the distinct complexities of an interconnected world. Given the ongoing inquiry into revolution and persistent unrest for change, it is essential to transition from mobilization to organization. Grasping the rhetorical strategies employed provides insight into the successes and challenges of revolution. Although revolution transcends mere language, it is through words and experiences that awareness is heightened and action becomes feasible.

References:

1. Ambedkar, B. R. *Annihilation of Caste*. Edited by S. Anand, Navayana Publishing, 2014.
2. Biko, Steve. *I Write What I Like: Selected Writings*. Edited by Aelred Stubbs, University of Chicago Press, 2002.
3. Chatterjee, Ananya. "Echoes of the Black Panthers: Dalit Panthers and the Transnational Politics of Protest." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, vol. 23, no. 6, 2021, pp. 777–794.
4. Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Richard Philcox, Grove Press, 2004.
5. Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.
6. Gopal, Priyamvada. *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent*. Verso, 2019.
7. Guha, Ranajit, editor. *Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986–1995*. U of Minnesota P, 1997.
8. Khair, Tabish. "The Dalit Panthers: Race, Caste, and Black Power in India." *Wasafiri*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2009, pp. 56–61.
9. Kelley, Robin D.G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Beacon Press, 2002.
10. Limb, Peter. *The ANC's Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa before 1940*. UNISA Press, 2010.
11. Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. 3rd ed., Routledge, 2015.
12. Omvedt, Gail. *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India*. Sage Publications, 1994.
13. Ramaswamy, Sumathi. "The Global Flows of Hindu Nationalism: From India to the United States." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1999, pp. 402–418.