National Council of Churches in India

NCC REVIEW

Vol. CXLIII
No.5
June 2023

UGC-CARE List **ISSN 0975 - 1882**

The National Council of Churches Review (NCC Review)
The Organ of the National Council of Churches in India
UGC approved Journal
Formerly published as "The Harvest Field" since 1862

Vol. CXLIII **No.5** **June 2023**

Contents

Editor, Publisher & Printer: Rev. Dr. Asir Ebenezer, National Council of Churches in India, P.B. No.: 205, Civil Lines, Nagpur - 440 001, Maharashtra India, ***Phone:*** +91712-2531312, 2561464 Fax: +91-712-2520554 ***Email:*** <nccreview@ncci1914.com> **Managing Editor:** Rev. Dr. Abraham Mathew, Executive Secretary, Policy, Governance and Public Witness. **Editorial Board:** Dr Y Pammeleena, Dr. Ella Sonawane, Rev Dr Y T Vinayraj, Dr Shiju Sam Varughese **Printed at:** Shyam Brothers, Near ST Stand, Ganeshpeth, Nagpur **Owner:** Rev.Dr.Asir Ebenezer, National Council of Churches in India **Place of Publication:** National Council of Churches in India, P.B. No.: 205, Civil Lines, Nagpur-440 001, Maharashtra, India **Place of Printing:** Shyam Bros, Near ST Stand, Ganeshpeth, Nagpur **Website:**https://ncci1914.com/ncc-review/

Registration No. 33/2019

EDITORIAL

Upholding Differences – Celebrating Life

The term 'unity in diversity' has widely been used to denote the characteristics of Indian nation and its nationalistic feelings. Those who travel from Kashmir to Kanyakumari will be astonished by the varieties of colours, cultures, climate, dance forms, music, food, religious practices, festivals and beautiful handiworks. Beaches, backwaters, snow-clad mountains, sands and lakes signify the diversity in the terrain of our nation.

Unity in diversity indicates the state of togetherness or integrity despite the presence of infinite differences. It is based on the concept that identities and affiliations of any individual are not a matter of dispute rather these differences are viewed upon as varieties that improve the society and the nation as a whole.

Indian art and architecture, its cultures, languages and literature were shaped by receiving mites from different ethnic and cultural groups since India was the home of the pre-Aryans, the Indo-Aryans, the Greek, the Scythians, the Hunas, the Turks, and many others. The inseparable blending of different cultural strands makes India a dynamic and beautiful country.

However, there is a growing tendency in contemporary India to view differences as a problem. An attempt to domesticate differences is evident in different quarters of Indian society and therefore, those who are pre-occupied with achieving their own socio-political and economic interests try to project the differences. This in turn causes consolidation of separate groups giving an impression that all of them have a hostile relationship with the other.

As a solution to such an issue they propose uniformity, thereby creating and propagating narratives to have only ONE form of everything in India since India is one. The recent debate on Uniform Civil Code (UCC) can also be understood in this backdrop. The terms such as national integration, nationalism and One India have been tied to this

discourse. Perceiving it to be logical step towards greatness, scholars, legal experts, cultural leaders and politicians have already uncritically accepted this as a necessary idea for the future of India.

It is true that modern nations emerged with an idea of homogeneous entities, be it in terms of language or ethnicity. As migration became prominent, the crossing of boundaries for settlement and employment in countries other than one's own challenged the concept of a homogeneous nation. However, many nations still continue to struggle to accept the reality of pluralism.

However, India had been an exception since multiplicities and plural entities came together and shaped the idea of India. Its togetherness became a reality with a strong passion for self-rule. Colonialism and its 'foreign' tag led to the emergence of a 'native,' through which nationalism took a different shape and form in India as compared to many modern nations.

The spirit of self-rule in a country like India evoked many questions about the nature of state and its political administration. Formulating a single comprehensive civil law (Uniform Civil Code) was put in active discussion by the constituent assembly of India. While proponents emphasized the need for gender equality, national unity, and modernisation of the legal system, opponents stressed the importance of religious autonomy, minority rights, and cultural diversity.

The complexities inherent in addressing personal laws in a diverse and pluralistic society like India remained a hindrance in implementing a general code of law for all. Therefore, the suggestions of people like Acharya JB Kripalani, a veteran Congress leader and later a leader of Swatantra Party who was one of the members of Constituent Assembly got an upper hand in the debate on a gradual reform in personal laws. He advocated for a more consultative approach to address the complexities and sensitivities associated with personal laws.

Almost in line with such a proposal, the 21st Law Commission suggested that a UCC is neither desirable nor required for India now. It further states

that it may run contrary to the Constitutional principles of protecting and cultivating the religious and cultural diversity of India, and that this should be the guiding principle while taking up any initiative that seeks to reform the personal laws of religious communities

No religious or cultural communities can run away from the responsibility to engage with the call for reform of their personal laws if that perpetuates segregation in any form within their respective groups. Yet imposition of reforms results in domestication and eventually alienation of some communities. “We the people” in the preamble of the Constitution of India communicates a myriad of messages, including how we are different, yet we are one. It is also a call to have a life of co-existence beyond uniformity, a life that embraces learning to live with differences..

Rev Dr Abraham Mathew
Managing Editor

●●●

THE FAILURE OF POSITIVIST HISTORIOGRAPHY ON COLONIALISM:

POSTCOLONIAL LITERARY NARRATIVES IN AFRICA AND ASIA

-Dileep P Chandran,[*] Aly Harre Ruwa,[**]& Biju Lekshmanan[***]

Abstract

The positivist historiography resorts to the strategy of abstraction to silence the struggles of the colonised in the making of the independent states in Africa and Asia. It brackets the questions of violence, slavery, and theft of the land of the native people and their struggles against enslavement and oppression. The modern linear positivist history is incapacitated to record the loss of self of the colonised. Modernity is imprisoned by the colonial language and positivist historiography. It excluded and objectified the pain and loss of the colonised across Africa, Latin America and Asian countries. The literary narratives in postcolonial states challenged the meta-narratives of the self-declared universal philosophers. This paper illustrates how the literary narratives in two postcolonial states – Kenya and India – expose the modern ways of enslavement and how they help respond to the criticisms levelled against the postcolonial literary turn in academics.

Keywords: Postcolonialism, positivist history, literacy realism, modernity, Kenya, India

Abstract History versus Literary Realism

Historicism enabled domination by Europe in the nineteenth century despite its provincialized nature[1]. For Egyptian feminist writer Nawal

[*] Dileep P Chandran, is PhD Scholar (UGC Senior Research Fellow) at School of Gandhian Thought and Development Studies, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam.
[**] Aly Harre Ruwa, is PhD Scholar at School of Gandhian Thought and Development Studies. He is a civil servant working with the Country Government of Kilifi in Kenya.
[***] Prof. (Dr.) Biju Lekshmanan, is the Director of School of Gandhian Thought and Development Studies. He was the Director General of Institute of Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Kerala.

[1] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference,* (New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 2000.)

el Saadawi, the language of self-declared 'international philosophers' was 'dry', 'complicated' and 'empty'. Their theories were 'abstract' and reduced to 'intellectual solipsism'[2]. The Western way of writing colonial history failed to express the actual pain and exploitation of the colonised across Africa, Asia and Latin America. The dominant versions of history of the colonised were written from the standpoint of the colonisers. This positivist historiography has failed to unravel the emotions of the colonised in postcolonial states. On the contrary, literary works on colonial experience by the colonised were not treated as empirical history.

The 'stories' of decolonization and nation building in postcolonial states are 'best told' when freed from technologies of rule[3]. The literary turn of postcolonialism has the capacity to offer insights into the complexity of human potential and conduct[4]. It has an ethical dimension too. The postcolonial literary theory advanced a 'radical and dissenting counter-textuality'[5]. Although dependency theories in the 1960s shared the same suspicion of postcolonialism as western liberal modernity, the latter prefers a post-structuralist and cultural perspective over the former's structuralist and socio-economic outlook towards the histories of the postcolonial states[6]. The new critical historiography in Africa and Latin America challenged the alien 'black studies' of western historians[7]. Ngugi and his co-authors in the University of Nairobi challenged the pedagogical pre-eminence of English literature within the context of decolonized Africa[8]. Similarly, Guha and Chakrabarty

[2] Peter Hitchcock, "Postcolonial Africa? Problems of Theory," in, *Women's Studies Quarterly* 25 (3/4), 1997: 233-244.

[3] Jean Allman, "Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing," in, *The American Historical Review* 118 (1), 2013: 104-129.

[4] Michael Chapman, "Postcolonialism: A Literary Turn," in, *English in Africa* 33 (2), 2006: 7-20.

[5] Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction.* 2. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.)

[6] Ilan Kapoor, "Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency versus Postcolonial Theory," in, *Third Wold Quarterly* 23 (4), 2002: 647-664.

[7] Ben Vinson III, "Introduction: African (Black) Diaspora History, Latin American History," in, *The Americas* 63 (1), 2006: 1-18.

[8] Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*

advanced the postcolonial epoch in India[9]. Subaltern studies in India challenged the epistemologies of postcolonial nations and demanded acknowledgement of 'caste-based oppressions as worthy of historical analysis'[10]. Contemporary studies on the state might discern different languages, their localized meaning, and genealogies in order to understand how the state appears in everyday lives[11].

Chinua Achebe, a Nigerian novelist, is acclaimed for his depiction of the psychological imposition of western colonialism and its cultural impacts on traditional African societies. Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* illustrates how the experiences of colonial and missionary exploitation of tribes were silenced and twisted in favour of colonial master narratives masquerading as the history of 'the pacification of primitive tribes.' Similarly, Jamaica Kincaid's *A Small Place,* filled with fury and anguish, narrates the colonisation of indigenous culture and racism in Antigua by the British colonisers. Wangari Maathai's[12] narration of the colonial devastation of primitive culture and its continuing legacies is also on the same page. Similarly, subaltern studies in India tried to identify the blind spots in positivist historiography[13]. Subaltern studies as a school of postcolonial historiography challenges the epistemologies of the nation and demands that its historical narratives to be inclusive[14]. Postcolonial literary studies also tend to challenge periodization or epoch-making[15]. There were efforts to unravel the contributions of tribal leaders in the margins of the national movement in India. For instance, Verma[16] identified unknown freedom fighters among Paharias in Jharkhand. There is a tension between the language and explanations of

[9] Ato Quayson, "The Sighs of History: Postcolonial Debris and the Question of (Literary) History," in, *New Literary History* 43 (2), 2012: 359-370.

[10] Jangam Chinnaiah, "Politics of identity and the project of writing history in postcolonial India: A Dalit Critique," in *Economic and Political Weekly* 50 (40), 2015: 63-70.

[11] Hansen Thomas Blom and Finn Stpputtat, "Introduction: States of Imagination." in, *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Exploration of the Postcolonial State*, by Hansen Thomas Blom and Finn Stpputtat. (London: Duke University Press, 2001.)

[12] Wangari Maathai, *The Challenge for Africa,* (New York: Pantheon E Books, 2009.)

[13] Gyan Prakash, "Postcolonial criticism and Indian historiography," in, *Social Text* 31/32, 1992: 8-19.

[14] Chinnaiah, "Politics of identity and the project of writing history in postcolonial India: A Dalit Critique."

[15] Ato Quayson, "Periods versus concepts: Space making and the question of postcolonial literary history," in, *Modern Language Association* 127 (2), 2012: 342-348.

[16] Dinesh Narayan Verma, "Some unknown freedom fighters of Santal paragans division in Jharkhand state," in, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress 2000-01,* 61, 2000/2001: 733-738.

colonial historians and the lived experience of Africans. African history breaks the bounds of historical language[17]. However, this postcolonial literary turn in academics was never free from criticisms.

The postcolonial writings run the risk of emulation and of imported theories, thereby promoting internal (cultural) colonialism. Instead, postcolonial academics should be complemented with 'learning from' the legacies of people living the colonial or postcolonial states[18]. The narrative history is also criticised for its incapacity for theory building and testing[19]. Responding to Quayson's concern about the failure of postcolonialism to give persuasive and simultaneous account of history and literature, Sorensen[20] argues that the 'postcolonial unconscious' was not innocent. Similarly, Anglophone Indian novels have some shared themes and concerns about colonial history and nation. However, there is a tendency to read them in a kind of literary isolation – as 'texts without contexts'[21]. Postcolonial literature has also been accused for the lack of engagement with the theoretical self-sufficiency of colonised states[22]. It is said to be caught between the politics of structure on the one hand and of fragments on the other hand[23]. There were some points of convergence as well. The means of writing Latin American history by the historians in the United States and Latin America had converged in the 1990s. The close and deep exchange between academicians in universities reformed the writings of both rather than placing one scholarly culture over the other[24]. Theatres in Latin America also witnessed similar synthesis[25].

[17] Steven Feierman, "Africa in History: The End of Universal Narratives." In *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, by Gyan Prakash. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.)

[18] Walter D. Mignolo, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse: Cultural Critique or Academic Colonialism?," in, *Latin American Research Review* 28 (3), 1992: 120-134.

[19] Joseph M. Bryant, "On Sources and Narratives in Historical Social Science: A Realist Critique of Positivist and Postmodernist Epistemologies," in, *British Journal of Sociology* 51 (3), 2000: 489-523.

[20] Eli Park Sorensen, "Postcolonial Literary History and the Concealed Totality of Life," in, *Paragraph* 37 (2): 235-253.

[21] Priyamvada Gopal, *The Indian English Novel: Nation, History and Narration.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.)

[22] Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*

[23] Ibid

[24] Thomas E. Skidmore, "Studying the History of Latin America: A Case for Hemispheric Convergence," in, *Latin American Research Review* 33 (1), 1998: 105-127.

[25] Marina Pianca, "Postcolonial Discourse in Latin American Theatre," in, *Theatre Journal* 41 (4), 1989: 515-523.

The present paper examines the literary works of the colonised and explains how the pain and loss of self are expressed through them. These literary writings expose the pain, anger, and frustration of the colonised, otherwise not explicitly expressed by the colonial historiography. Two novels, one each from Kenya and India, have been selected for the purpose of substantiating these arguments. The selected texts were written in native languages using the script of alien languages. Ngugi wa Thiongo's *Devil on the Cross* was written in Gikuyu language using the Roman script whereas Uthaman's *Chavoli* was written in a native language but using Malayalam script. Let us first discuss the experiences of neo-colonialism in Ngugi's novel.

Neo-colonial Kenya

African societies had sophisticated social, economic, political, legal, and cultural systems prior to colonization. Colonialism, on the other hand, wrecked traditional social institutions, drained natural resources, and damaged cultural legacies. This had a profound and long-lasting influence on African communities, resulting in poverty, food insecurity, and political unrest. African countries faced severe obstacles following independence, including poor institutions, economic dependency, political instability, and ethnic and tribal rivalry. The legacy of colonialism, which built institutions to serve the interests of the colonizers, compounded these issues. Political turbulence and ethnic struggles have frequently affected the stability of newly established African republics, with external forces sometimes taking advantage of this volatility. This setting served as the inspiration for Ngugi wa Thiongo's masterwork, *Devil on the Cross.* The author is putting the devastation brought on by colonialism throughout post-colonial Africa into perspective.

Thiong'o's book was first written in the Gĩkũyũ language and published in 1980 under the name *Caitani Mutharabaini*. The book was written on tissue papers in Kamiti Maximum Security Prison, where the author was detained for staging the divisive play *I Will Marry When I Want*. Ngũgĩ chose to write the novel in Gikuyu, his home language and a regional Kenyan dialect, even though less than 25% of Kenyans can speak it and even fewer can read it due to his beliefs about language. He believed that it was essential to represent the reality of what was occurring in Kenya using a local language rather than the language of the invaders

who had wreaked havoc on the country in the first place. His choice of language for the book was ultimately recognized as a turning point in his career, but it was not without its detractors at the time. Interestingly, the language may have prevented the book from being censored after a guard took a draft of the text when he was incarcerated. The guard kept this text for many weeks before giving it back to Ngũgĩ stating that it was 'written in extremely difficult Kikuyu.' For Ngugi decolonisation also means delinking from the colonial language[26].

The author contends that the challenges experienced by Wariinga, the chief protagonist in the novel, are not unique to her region, but rather are symbolic of a greater problem plaguing newly independent states. Because of the influence of American specialists who prioritise self-interest over the common benefit of the nation, many nations suffer from poverty and corruption. Furthermore, the author emphasises the impact of cultural values on economic systems, as well as the way foreign influences can affect these values. According to the text, Wariinga is impressed by a young man's remarks and accepts the validity of his insights on the obstacles that newly independent nations face. She is relieved to have a forum to express the grief, despair, and tears that have been weighing heavy on her heart. The author argues that the young man's comments connect with Wariinga and that she may be open to the notion of metamorphosis as a method of overcoming the obstacles she experiences. Wariinga examines the challenges and problems faced by women from rural communities who lack formal education. Even those who have obtained an education, she observes, frequently receive a poor education. The author emphasises unfairness and a lack of possibilities for people living in poverty, notably young women in Nairobi.

The author investigates the difficulties that emerge when disadvantaged people have undesired pregnancies, as well as the restricted alternatives accessible to them to provide for their children. The author discusses a fictitious story featuring Kareendi and her circumstances. Kareendi is facing an undesired pregnancy with a father who is a 'loafer' in the village. The author wonders how Kareendi would provide for her child given the father's unemployment and the couple's poverty. According to the author, the couple's relationship was founded on basic pleasures such as playing the guitar and attending village dances, as well as staying

[26] Peter Hitchcock, "Postcolonial Africa? Problems of Theory," in, *Women's Studies Quarterly* 25 (3/4), 1997: 233-244.

in small hotels on occasion. The author emphasises the possible social rejection and abuse encountered by women who fall pregnant outside of marriage, as well as the cultural constraints on women's options and agency. He discusses the ramifications of refusing pregnancy termination drugs in a culture where unplanned pregnancies are stigmatised and women are expected to take on child-rearing responsibilities even if they are unprepared or reluctant to do so. The author tells a story of Kareendi, who decides to have a child despite her lack of planning and financial resources. Kareendi's financial troubles are discussed by the author, who had to rely on her parents' money to pay for her education at a secretarial college, where she learned crucial typing and shorthand skills. Despite the difficulties, the author applauds Kareendi's diligence and perseverance in obtaining her credentials, which will allow her to support herself and her child. However, Kareendi's workplace experience is marred by sexual harassment from her boss, Mr. Boss Kihara, who tries to coerce her into socialising outside of work by using his position of authority. The author condemns such behaviour and pushes for a harassment-free professional environment.

The author then goes on to talk about Mwaiira's fixation with money and his propensity to engage in unethical deeds in order to accumulate a fortune. According to the author, Mwaiira is motivated only by avarice and sees money as a goal rather than as a means to an end. Mwaiira's use of physical intimidation and violence is cited as proof of his hazardous inclinations by the author, who cautions that his behaviour is generally known within the community. In addition, the author tackles the issue of poverty in Kenya, particularly in rural areas, where peasants and workers are obliged to borrow money to maintain their lives but frequently lose their possessions when they are unable to repay their loans. The author emphasises the structural biases that perpetuate poverty in Kenya and warns against the belief that urbanisation can address the problem on its own. Wangari's unjust arrest and brutal treatment in a filthy cell are also mentioned in the book as examples of prejudice, injustice, and police corruption. To prevent such abuses of power, the author emphasises the significance of tackling systemic issues such as police prejudice and corruption.

The text discusses how acquiring wealth may lead to moral degeneration and a detrimental influence on character. Nding'iiri, the protagonist, is

portrayed as an example of this occurrence. The rapid accumulation of fortune transforms him into an avaricious, harsh, and nasty guy obsessed by legal fights to acquire the property of others. The author believes that Nding'iiri's money was obtained dishonestly and that he takes advantage of others' suffering during times of hunger to build his personal wealth. As a result, the author is critical of the negative influence of wealth on morals and character. Furthermore, the author emphasises the social and moral implications of a fixation on power and wealth, which is presented as harmful to community and to moral principles. The author criticises Nding'uri's arrogance and greed, which prioritise property and wealth over other virtues, resulting in a rejection of society and national norms. Nding'uri's vicious behaviour and greed are driven by his notion that property can change anything unpleasant into something magnificent. Even the nomenclature for famine is changed to make it obscure.

The author also discusses more serious topics such as women's exploitation and objectification, particularly those from marginalised backgrounds. The influence of colonialism and neocolonialism on interactions between people of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds is also investigated. A tourist from the United States is depicted objectifying and exploiting the African girl with whom he is travelling, treating her as a sexual object for his own enjoyment. The power dynamic between the American and the African girl is emphasised, with the former using his riches and social prestige to exploit the latter's weakness and poverty. The author also describes a circumstance in which workers go on strike to demand improved working conditions and pay, only to be met with hostility by their employer, who eventually declares the strike illegal and brings in police enforcement. According to the author, when commodity prices rise but wages stay unchanged, it is tantamount to employees being subjected to a pay cut, whilst employers typically benefit from greater profits because of price increases. Overall, the author's study offers a comprehensive examination of the moral and social ramifications of wealth accumulation, emphasising its propensity for moral degeneration, exploitation, and social inequality. Finally, the author laments the loss of cultural legacy as a result of cultural imperialism and the perception of the superiority of foreign ideas and practices over local customs. According to the author, this loss has resulted in a lack of awareness of national history and cultural practices,

leaving future generations vulnerable to adopting foreign customs and practises without respect for their own traditions and values.

Ngugi's novel is primarily a critique of capitalism and neo-colonialism in Kenya. The novelist mixes dreams, realities, and allegories to express the pain of the enslaved in the neo-colonial state. It is not just the story of Nairobi alone. That's why a young man tells Kimwana in the novel, "the same is true of all the cities in every country that has recently slipped the noose of colonialism". For him, Nairobi as a representation of colonies was 'soulless' and 'corrupt'. In the journey to Ilomorg for attending devil's feast, Mwaura equated independence with 'the sound of money in pocket'. The mockery of competition for modern theft and for robbery itself expose capitalism's race for new means of exploitation and enslavement of people in erstwhile colonies. That is why theft and robbery are mocked as measures for progress of country and the West is tagged as master for the same. In this modern robbery, slaves become friends who continue to obey the commandments of erstwhile colonial masters even after gaining the keys to their new states. The devil of colonialism got resurrected even before the third day by the people in suits and ties, writes Ngugi.

Chavoli

Chavoli (voice of dead) is a novel written P A Uthaman in 2007, narrating the life of Dalits in Nedumangad, Thiruvananthapuram in the Indian state of Kerala. Although the novel uses Malayalam script, the official language of state of Kerala, it predominantly speaks in the native dialectic of the Kuruva community in Nedumangad. Uthaman says that the original language of his text might be viewed as orthographical errors by contemporary writers. However, he firmly believes that a writer should reflect one's own community and society. *Chavoli* is a right move in that direction. It exposes the untold life of people at margins. It helps readers to feel the pain and loss of the author's parents, siblings of his father and others, whose abundant experience of enslavement silenced by social and caste hierarchies is very telling. Postcolonial literary writings in Africa inspired Uthaman in writing this novel, says P K Rajasekharan in the foreword. Uthaman's novel is also distinguished by the lack of victimisation. It mixes memory with the contemporary social realities of people at the margins. It also objects to the politics which stands for the maintainability of Dalithood.

The first part of novel – *Mannilandamarangalay* – deals with the enslavement of Kochmebi, Velutha, Neelambi, Athichan, Theyi, Karumban, Chinnan, Perumal and Kunjiraman. The author narrates the actual ways in which these people are maltreated by the landlord Velaynnar (Velayudhan Nair). Kochembi, the eldest in the family, narrated their past to his granddaughter Theyi through mythical stories. Kochembi says, showing the forest beyond mountains, "these were our places, we took only what we need from this land and we lived happy. Then came the land lords. Even a fart can divide people easily"; Kochembi mocks the inglorious conquest of land by the masters. This was his simple version of the story of enslavement. Mockery is a tool for Kochembi to counter the authority of his landlords. Kochembi is eventually killed by Koynnar – the land lord – for laughing at him. Kochembi's contemptuous laugh is enough to shake his master's dominance. In the beginning of the novel, it was narrated that Kochembi's wife was killed by a tiger attack. Eventually, it was revealed that the actual 'tiger' was Koynnar himself. Brutal rape by the landlord was normal in the everyday lives of women in their community. Kochembi's daughter Velutha was also raped by Koynnar.

The chief protagonist of the novel, Neelambi, and his wife Velutha travelled from one hill to another, being evicted from land they tilled and lived. It is only when they left the place called Kosavarkod, that Neelambi revealed to his daughter Theyi that she was fathered by the landlord. At the end of the novel, Theyi asks Velaynnar – who is my father, who killed my husband and what is my right. Velaynnar screams and runs away. Athichan, son of Neelambi and Velutha becomes a *Vaidyan* – physician practicing native medicine. His conquest of knowledge and fight against feudalism help him to break the boundaries of caste hierarchy to an extent. He treats even Govindan Nair – the land lord. Chinnan, who mastered hair cutting, was brutally beaten for doing the job which was assigned to a caste higher than his caste. These experiences of Chinnan and Athichan Vaidyan show the violent and painful struggle for mobility in their social life.

The novel also shows how slaves shared even the emotions of their landlords. That is why Karumban cries when Velaynnar weeps after gifting a flute to the former. The same cruel land lord becomes a teacher for Chinnan and Karumban. Chinnan and Karumban start a secret night school – *Pulimoottil Murukavilasam Rappallikkoodam* –

for their fellows. They became teachers and students of each other. The landlords send spies to learn about the secret schools and people stop going to school fearing loss of their jobs on the masters' land. Although Chinnan and Kurumban identify the spies of the landlord within their community, they never want to fight against them. For them, everyone shares the same blood.

The novelist becomes a character in the second part of the novel – *Amaravazhvukalingane.* Raghuthaman the journalist is the self-reflection of the novelist Uthaman. His memories might be taken to be the author's own pains in his life journey as a writer. Kunjiraman, living in a slum, is always a surrogate accused for the police. Kunjiraman tells Raghuthaman the story of the enslavement and evictions experienced by his community to. But nobody in the colony knows Kunjiraman. Only Raghuthaman had talked with him and shares his memories. He is a fictional device for the narration of 'history.' The Government built the colony by clearing the forest, the river, and the land. This section mixes the life in the slum, memories shared by Kunjiraman and Raghuthaman's dreams. This unique mix of past, present and dreams help readers to feel the pain of people who have lost their land, identity, and past.

The novel also narrates the heroic campaigns of Ayyankali, (a real historical figure) who was a social reformer who led his "army' in the fight for the right of Dalits. Ayyankali drove a bullock cart in public streets where untouchables were not allowed to enter. His army fought back *Mappilas* who had beaten people in Nedumangad market. The events like Ayyankali's *Kallumalasamaram* – an agitation in which lower caste women discarded their stone necklaces, the symbol of slavery, and demanded right to wear ornaments - are also narrated in the novel. The author leads readers to events that led to the formation of Kuravar Mahsabha and the challenges they faced. They opened a tea store and hair cutting shop to get rid of discrimination faced in these places. These discriminations faded away despite the collapse of these establishments.

The communicator in the novel Raghuthaman could not write anything about the colony. He witnesses how a park is constructed after demolishing huts in a slum. The park which was built for the pleasure of the urban creatures ends up as mountains of garbage. Hills are

demolished, forests are cleared and lands are mined. The chairperson of the municipality teaches people about how a fisherman can become a wage worker in a mine and about the magic of converting a prostitute to an angel during the inauguration of the park. He shows no concern about the people who are evicted from their land. Raghuthaman cannot bear his words and he leaves. Authorities have aspirational plans for the slum, converting it into an international market. People live there happily, knowing nothing about the plans for their 'prosperity.' Raghuthaman suffers from fever. Kunjiraman, in Raghuthaman's dreams, brings medicine from Athichan Vaidyar and Raghuthaman recovers. And who was Kunjiraman really? The author wonders if it be Raghuthman himself.

Concluding Remarks

Uthaman's *Chavoli* analyses how globalization and caste hierarchies have affected Kerala's traditional societies, while Ngugi's novel looks at how the wealthy in Kenya abuse the underprivileged. The use of allegory to express their message is one thing the two novels have in common. While Devil on the Cross centers on the lives of workers and their struggle against the capitalist system, Chavoli focuses on the lives of villagers and their effort to maintain their traditional way of life. The local language and dialects are also used in both pieces to evoke a sense of authenticity and cultural identification. Additionally, both narratives offer an analysis of colonialism and its effects. While Ngungi investigates the long-lasting repercussions of British colonialism and neocolonialism in Kenya, Uthaman exposes the effects of traditional hierarchies and neoliberal economic policies on everyday lives of native cultural communities in Kerala. Finally, while Chavoli and Devil on the Cross share some thematic and stylistic elements, they also differ significantly in their cultural context, narrative style, political focus, use of language, and genre. These distinctions reflect each work's distinct artistic visions and authorial approaches, and they emphasize the importance of considering literary works' cultural and historical context.

Postcolonialism ushered in a literary turn from the dominant positivist history-making of colonialism. However, postcolonialism did not fail to give persuasive and simultaneous account of literature and history. The criticisms that postcolonial literary narratives are 'literary isolation' or 'texts without contexts' are mendacious. Ngugi and Uthaman mix

dreams, memories and present to narrate their pain of enslavement and marginality. Their texts are neither detached from context nor isolated from the real.

References

Achebe, Chinua. *Things Fall Apart.* Knopf doubleday publishing group 1995.

Allman, Jean. "Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing." *The American Historical Review* 118 (1), 2013. : 104-129.

Blom, Hansen Thomas, and Finn Stpputtat. "Introduction: States of Imagination." In *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Exploration of the Postcolonial State*, by Hansen Thomas Blom and Finn Stpputtat. London: Duke University Press, 2001.

Bryant, Joseph M. "On Sources and Narratives in Historical Social Science: A Realist Critique of Positivist and Postmodernist Epistemologies." *British Journal of Sociology* 51 (3), 2000: 489-523.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.* New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chapman, Michael. "Postcolonialism: A Literary Turn." *English in Africa* 33 (2), 2006: 7-20.

Chinnaiah, Jangam. "Politics of identity and the project of writing history in postcolonial India: A Dalit Critique." *Economic and Political Weekly* 50 (40), 2015: 63-70.

Feierman , Steven. "Africa in History: The End of Universal Narratives." In *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, by Gyan Prakash. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction.* 2. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.

Gopal, Priyamvada. *The Indian English Novel: Nation, History and Narration.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Hitchcock, Peter. "Postcolonial Africa? Problems of Theory." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 25 (3/4), 1997: 233-244.

Kapoor, Ilan. "Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency versus Postcolonial Theory." *Third Wold Quarterly* 23 (4), 2002: 647-664.

Kincaid, Jamaica. *A Small Place.* New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1988.

Maathai, Wangari. *The Challenge for Africa.* New York: Pantheon E Books, 2009.

Mignolo, Walter D. "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse: Cultural Critique or Academic Colonialism?" *Latin American Research Review* 28 (3), 1992: 120-134.

Pianca , Marina. "Postcolonial Discourse in Latin American Theatre." *Theatre Journal* 41 (4), 1989: 515-523.

Prakash, Gyan. "Postcolonial criticism and Indian historiography." *Social Text* 31/32, 1992: 8-19.

Quayson, Ato. "Periods versus concepts: Space making and the question of postcolonial literary history." *Modern Language Association* 127 (2), 2012: 342-348.

Quayson, Ato. "The Sighs of History: Postcolonial Debris and the Question of (Literary) History." *New Literary History* 43 (2), 2012: 359-370.

Skidmore, Thomas E. "Studying the History of Latin America: A Case for Hemispheric Convergence." *Latin American Research Review* 33 (1), 1998: 105-127.

Sorensen, Eli Park. "Postcolonial Literary History and the Concealed Totality of Life." *Paragraph* 37 (2), 2013: 235-253.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa. *Devil on the cross.* United Kingdom: Heinemann, 1987.

Uthaman, P A. *Chavoli.* Thiruvananthapuram: Chintha Publishers, 2016.

Verma, Dinesh Narayan. "Some unknown freedom fighters of Santal paragans division in Jharkhand state." *Proceedings of Indian History Congress 2000-01,* 61: 733-738.

Vinson III, Ben. "Introduction: African (Black) Diaspora History, Latin American History." *The Americas* 63 (1), 2006: 1-18.

●●●

MICHEL FOUCAULT AND POST-MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY

-Moncy Varghese[*]

Introduction

Historical scholarship has moved beyond earlier concerns of politics, war, diplomatic manoeuvrings, and narrative history. In various academic schools, academic Historians and philosophers have opened new areas of interest, often utilizing innovative techniques and methodologies. To be certain, not all have welcomed these changes nor have all historians joined the various interests spawned by new approaches to historical research.[1] But one thing is certain, historical studies have undergone a sea change, and as innovation and methodological technique continue to evolve, so shall historical studies and its scholarship reflect that evolution. Foucault was a French social theorist. He was a pioneer in postmodern thinking, which offers a critique of Enlightenment rationality. He was not a historian in the academic sense, but he worked on the foundations of knowledge in the human sciences.[2]Through his work he opened a critique of modern Enlightenment rationality which is the foundation of all systems of knowledge of the modern period. His main area of study was on the way knowledge was produced in different areas of the human sciences. Many of the Foucauldian postmodern categories strongly influenced the writing of history and historiographical methodologies. This short paper is an attempt to explore some of the Foucauldian categories and its impact on postmodern and post-colonial historiography.

Post-modern Historiography

Postmodern historiography designates an array of approaches to historical inquiry that eschew modern historiographical assumptions.[3] Modern

[*] Rev. Moncy Varghese is the Director of Christian Agency for Rural Development (CARD)

[1] B .Sheik Ali, *History: Its Theory and Method* (Delhi: MacMillan Publishers, 1981), 41.

[2] Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 12-15.

[3] Historiography is concerned with the principles, theories, or methodology of scholarly historical research and presentation. Rather than merely the study of a particular history itself, historiography involves the study of how historical events have been recorded, interpreted and presented. The study of historiography demands a critical approach that goes beyond the mere examination of historical fact. Historiographical studies consider the source, often by researching the author, his or her position in society, and the type of history being written at the time.

historiographical assumptions rejected by postmodern historiography include teleology, coherence, totalizing (or "grand") narratives, determinism, progress, truth, realism, objectivity, universality, and essentialism. Postmodern historiographical approaches have been described variously as counter-history, Metahistory, critical and effective history, New Historicism, and New Cultural History. Postmodern historiography is exemplified most notably in the works of Friedrich Nietzsche, Michel Foucault, Hayden White, and Stephen Greenblatt. Foucauldian epistemological categories constructed a paradigm shift in the metaphysical assumptions of traditional historiography. One can say that post-colonial, subaltern, feminist, tribal, Dalit, and transgender historiographies emerged along with the new postmodern categories. [4]

Michel Foucault and Critique of Enlightenment Historiography

Foucault criticised the Enlightenment rationality and offered a new paradigm to move beyond Enlightenment historiography. This paper confines itself to Foucault's critique of Enlightenment historiography and of the metanarratives of modernity. "Archaeology" is the term Foucault used during the 1960s to describe his approach to writing history. Archaeology is about examining the discursive traces and orders left by the past in order to write a "history of the present". In other words archaeology is about looking at history as a way of understanding the processes that have led to what we are today. Post–modernist theories have brought very challenging issues to history as a discipline and to its methodological assumptions. For instance the Enlightenment position regarding truth and objectivity has been challenged by Foucauldian thought. One of the major contributions of the influence and the role of Foucauldian theories is that it helps the historian to discover and unearth the hidden and silenced spaces in history.[5] So historians should use critical tools offered by post-modern theories. It will definitely enhance the process of deconstruction and decategorization which is vital to the doing of history and to the recapturing of the inner and deeper strata of micro –histories.

---

[4] M.P.Mujeeb Rahaman, *CharitramezhuthinteCharitram* (Thiruvanthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute, 2008), 87-90.

[5] T.K.Gangadaran, *Historiography with Special Reference to India* (Calicut: University Central Co-Operative Stores, 2001), 13.

Archaeology versus Genealogy

Foucault establishes many new fields for historical research and, with such ideas as "discontinuity" and "discourse," sheds new light on historical conceptualization. He also shakes the very foundation upon which modern historical scholarship rests.

Foucault's remarks on the difference between archaeology and genealogy are generally rather vague and confusing. The tools Foucault uses to practice both methods are to all intents and purposes the same. But, if archaeology addresses a level at which differences and similarities are determined, a level where things are simply organized to produce manageable forms of knowledge, the stakes are much higher for genealogy. Genealogy deals with precisely the same substrata of knowledge and culture, but Foucault now describes it as a level where the grounds of the true and the false come to be distinguished via mechanisms of power.

Archaeology as the Critique of Enlightenment Historiography

Foucault is highly critical of the historians search for origin. Instead he suggests that they must now try to understand, explain, and interpret the operation and existence of power structures that were behind all historical models or epistemologies. [6]One of the major works of Foucault, archaeology of knowledge compiles his critique of enlightenment historiography from his previous writings .By archaeology Foucault means an excavation of knowledge a search for its underlying conditions and determinants. In archaeology he rejects core concepts of modern social theory and historiography such as subject, origin, continuity, teleology, causality, change, period, and totality and attempts to reconstruct some of these with new vocabulary such as statement, positivity and discursive formation. A major goal of Foucault's historiography is to complicate modern accounts of society and history which he considers to be simplistic and reductionist[7]. Modern historians try to unify differences and supress discontinuities in their attempt at totalizing modern histories.[8] Archaeology considers the

[6] E. Sreedharan, *A Textbook of Historiography* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Pvt. Limited, 2004), 108-109.

[7] Beverley Southgate, *History: What & Why?* (London: Routledge, 2001), 81.

[8] Steven Best, *The Politics of Historical Vision: Marx, Foucault and Habermas* (London: The Guilford Press, 1995), 95.

realm of history to be a highly complex domain and must be described in its various relations, interdependencies, and forms of differences and dispersion. Foucault criticizes this method of totalizing and strongly suggests a method of bringing out differences and dispersions in history.

Discontinuity in History

Modern historians try to present history as a continuous process. The linear, teleological and progressive presentation of history is informed by the view of continuity. Foucault proposes discontinuity of history along with continuity. History is not continuity alone. There are discontinuities and ruptures in history. So Foucault rejects the ideas of origin, influence and progress. Things are not perceived in the same way in different historical eras. So there is no meaning in claiming originality for any one particular tradition. The church is not one and same from the beginning to the end. It is a historically constructed phenomenon, which can engage with history in its existing historical era. Many historians try to establish continuity of the church from the beginning, forgetting the discontinuities in it across different historical eras.

General History against Total History

Enlightenment historiography looks for unity in history. It attempts to make unifications by ignoring differences or by demonizing them. Enlightenment historiography also tries to deduce universal laws from unified historical processes. It forgets the underlying complexities and interrelations. This is the attitude of total history. General history would deploy the space of dispersion. It holds that the complexities and interrelations cannot be reduced to a single law and unity in history. General history does not negate the underlying unity but rejects centralization and totalization. It stands for decentralization or for the acknowledgement of different centres, and posits the necessity to present differences and to constitute different categories to analyse them and to define their concepts.

Totalizing Scheme as a Metaphysical Scheme

The Enlightenment tradition of historiography is criticized for its metaphysical scheme. A metaphysical scheme here means an effort to present history as a unified whole. In metaphysical history, historical

construction is not influenced by time and space.[9] Time is an accidental veneer to be peeled away in order to find the essence and identities that abide throughout the flux of history. To Foucault, history is the analysis of discourse and knowledge. Any event in history is a discourse. It is constructed in relation to other discourses. There is a power play of discourses. One seeks to counter the other and there by establish its place in the ongoing game. Historiography's aim.should be to locate these discourses and analyze them.

Periodization in history is an example of the metaphysical, totalizing project of historiography. Many of the European and protestant historians divided history and its texts using periodization, presenting each period as a unified whole.[10] This gave rise to essentialistic and denominational claims. It ignored the other tendencies, oppositions, discontinuities and ruptures of each historical era. Thus it creates a metaphysical scheme of historiography. Foucault's discourse analysis rejects the metaphysical tendencies of Enlightenment historiography and recaptures the complexities of historical time in a new or effective history.

Transcending Subject- Object Dichotomy

Foucault attacks the concept of Man as the subject and the world outside as the object of his study. The modern perception of Man as the knowing subject, a rational independent individual, transcending all historical conditioning and formations is a metaphysical concept. In Enlightenment modernity, Man is the knowing subject. He is independent of any influence, for he is rational and the reason he possesses is universal. Foucault considers it as a "disembodied", "inhuman" subject. This view assumes a transcendental, foundational subject that objectively or unaffectedly observes the objective world and creates a subject- object dichotomy and the claim of objectivity. By eradicating the "disembodied" human subject. Foucault overcomes the subject object dichotomy in emEnlightenment historiography.

In British Protestant historiography relating to older Eastern Christian traditions and those that follow the Enlightenment tradition, we see the presentation of the subject as the authentic, absolute one and the St.

[9] Alun Munslow*, Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 2006), 131.

[10] Michel Foucault, "Objective" in The Modern Historiography Reader edited by Adam Budd (London; Routledge, 2009), 398.

Thomas Christians as the object of study. The subject- object dichotomy results in the unfair treatment of the community under study. The subject is an embodied subject and should be aware of her formation, conditioning and influences.

Against Essentialism

Enlightenment historiography creates essentialism. Its enquiry into origin, unity, continuity, progress etc. of the communities under study can only lead to essentialism. Contrary to this, Foucault holds that nothing is constant in history and there are no essences or identities, and that everything is historically constituted and so has a history. Foucault holds that the enlightenment tradition of historiography attempts to find origins and endings.[11] The search for "origins" involves a historical attempt to grasp a pure essence, a primal undifferentiated source that always exists even in the context of historical change and contingency. The search for origins valorizes the first moments of existence as pure and untainted and contrasts it with a subsequent fall and decline. Foucault argues that every search to find the pure origin stems from the desire for power and domination.

Against essentialism Foucault presents the idea of genealogy. Genealogy is opposed to the notion of a plan, goal, or end in history, which presupposes a purpose as established by God, Reason or Spirit. To Foucault, history is a haphazard succession of various power formations. British and European historians creates essentialism in reconstructing the history of the world. The European historians subjugated metaphysical realities and theological affirmations through scientific examinations. Essentialism is an important problem in historiography. It makes exclusive, foundational and naturally good or naturally bad identities. This orientation gives rise to fundamentalism, communalism and racism.

History as Counter-Memory

For Foucault, history is counter- memory. which sets itself against the memories of the dominant, elite and ruling groups. It opposes the historical representations made by them.[12] Counter-memory validates

[11] Paul Rabinow*, Foucault Reader,* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 250.

[12] Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge, Power" in Foucault Reader edited by Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 250.

the narratives and experiences of the marginalized and the oppressed groups. Foucault's method helps to awaken and create different historical memories that can help to challenge and to subvert forms of domination. At the same time counter-memory rejects the metaphysical model of a pure consciousness reflecting on a continuous past. Even in counter-memory by the marginalized and the oppressed, the methodology must be anti-essential, anti-foundational and non-metaphysical. It must include ruptures and discontinuities in the composition of its stories. It cannot create a monolithic, exclusive history following the same scheme of Enlightenment rationality and historiography.

History of the Present

Foucault is known as a historian of the present. Though Foucault problematizes the present, i.e. the discourses and discursive practices of project of modernity and Enlightenment rationality, his approach does not glorify the past or proposes to go back to past. Foucault is against all sorts of revivalism that possibly may emerge from his critique of enlightenment rationality and historiography. So Foucault says: "history protects us from historicism, historicism that looks into past in order to face the questions of the present".[13]Foucault opposes any theory of "return". By countering progressiveness and teleology in enlightenment historiography, Foucault does not intend regression. He problematizes the concept of progress and exposes the fact that it is a construct and results in new kinds of domination. For Foucault, history is always the history of the present.

Postmodern Historiography in Michel Foucault

Foucault's critique of Enlightenment rationality and historiography formulates itself as a postmodern historiography which is anti-essential and non-metaphysical.[14]The characteristics of postmodern historiography in Foucault are as follows:

Reason is Historical

In the Enlightenment rationality, reason is universal, and is kept outside history. In Foucault's postmodern historiography reason is historical.

[13] Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory* (New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited, 2008), 176.
[14] Michael Roberts, "Postmodern and the Linguistic Turn" in Making History edited by Peter Lambert and Philip Schofield (London: Routledge, 2006), 233.

Reason is historical in the sense that reason is different at different historical eras and in different situations. Or in the sense, that there are different discourses that go into making up the tradition of reason so the implication is that no one can claim superiority for reason because in this sense nobody is inferior. The many iterations of the tradition of reason are formed in different ways by different discourses. What historians should do is to locate the foundations of reason in each situation and problematize them.

Relativism

Postmodernism promotes relativism, but not naive relativism. It questions the enlightenment concept that there are timeless, eternal foundations of knowledge and truth. Postmodernism holds that knowledge and truth are relative. They are constructed through various discourses. A historian should locate these discourses and problematize them.

Anti-essential

The perception that characteristics that make up identity are given, natural and universal is actually nothing but essentialism. Enlightenment historiography, through its attempts to discover common origin, and purity of the past creates essentialism and exclusivism. Against this attitude, postmodernism holds to anti-essentialism, which rejects common, pure origin and upholds diversity and interrelatedness.

Rejection of Absolute Subject

Enlightenment historiography claims objectivity on the basis of the concept of the subject that studies an object or a historical reality as unified, conscious, and rational, capable to grasp the object or reality under study, without being affected by any prejudice. This concept of the subject is repudiated in postmodernism. It holds that this essentialist and idealist subject creates domination over the object or event under study. Thus history becomes domination in the Enlightenment worldview. Postmodernism, by rejection of absolute subject, intends liberation through history.

Discontinuities

Postmodernism holds that history is not a linear, continuous path of development that encompasses all cultures within one great movement

and culminates in universal harmony at the impetus of teleological laws. Instead it highlights discontinuities and ruptures, different voices and different narratives by the marginalized and the silenced. Those who are misrepresented come forward with their narratives and this makes for different histories.

Valuing Traditional Cultures

Postmodern historiography holds that Enlightenment historiography is elitist and that it imposes its own conscious bias on the past and its own authorial voice upon the narrative. It counts traditional cultures as static and superstitious. Postmodern historiography rejects the devaluation of pre-modern cultures.[15] The devaluation of pre-modern cultures is a political agenda. The core political vision of postmodern theory is the liberation of differences and plurality from the oppressive and homogenizing effects of modem theory.

Overcoming Cause and Effect Mechanism

Finding causes for historical events and reducing them to laws of universal nature is an impact of Enlightenment rationality. This is an imitation of the scientific methodology. It indicates that historical events are controlled by certain forces of cause and effect. Applying this to historiography, it causes determinism. There is another view, an idealist one that the history is an outcome of human intentionality. Human actions determine historical events. Postmodern historiography rejects both idealist emphases on history as the outcome of human intentionality as well as determinist emphases on the inevitability of actions and events. Postmodern historiography holds that chances and indeterminacy play major roles in historical events. There is no cause and effect mechanism operating.

Fragmented Nature of Society

Postmodern historiography abandons the enlightenment belief in society as an ordered whole that can be grasped through systematic theory. Postmodern historiography holds that the society is dispersed, fragmented, differentiated and complex. It cannot be taken to be a

[15] Alex Callinicos, *Social Theory A Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 299-305.

unified whole. No theory can produce an absolute history of a society. All histories are fragmented histories.

Overcoming Historical Absolutism

Postmodern historiography denies the enlightenment norms of its truth and objectivity and claims that knowledge is unavoidably subjective and partial. Historical facts are not absolute. They are 'fictional' narratives. In a different epistemology they can be questioned. In this sense history is an ongoing process. It is subjected to interpretation and reinterpretation in different epistemological shifts. In Enlightenment historiography, we see absolute, objective truths based on evidences. This notion constructs essentialism, that leads to discrimination of communities through value judgment and ultimately to fundamentalism, communalism and exclusivism. The postmodern accounts of history emphasize chance, contingency, plurality, and indeterminancy and oppose historical construction of change to regularity and universal laws.

Modernity's Assumptions of Metaphysical Histories

Enlightenment rationality is criticized for creating binaries between European and non-European, superior and inferior, civilized and superstitious. It also was instrumental in imperial domination over the "weak and inferior". The major content of many histories is constructed by Enlightenment prejudice. Attempts by Indian Christians to write history from their perspective is to be appreciated but they too became the victims of Enlightenment historiography. They created essentialistic arguments about their denominations, and their superior identity. Thus denominational prejudice and claims of being "original" continued in the dominant historiographies. This methodology created dominant histories which were later criticized by subaltern, post-colonial and also by feminist historians.

Conclusion

Foucault's philosophical categories and historical methodologies have challenged the very knowledge foundations and basic premises of Enlightenment rationality as well as of modernity. The scientific claims of modernity and its entire productive mechanism in the forms of disciplinary practices have been seriously questioned. History has been

viewed as an instrument of ideological control (by a class). The scientific status of history has been seriously challenged and conventional history has been viewed as being constituted by discourses of dominance and thus operating as an instrument of hegemony. The postmodernist turn therefore tries to critically locate history, including its crafts, in a structure of power relations. Its insistence on understanding the underlying power structure and going beyond written sources and elite historiography has led to a great deal of theoretical modification, ethno-historical engagement, multidisciplinary research ,conceptual rigour , and polyphonic local history. It works through epistemological exercises that blur genres and attempt cognitive restoration. The most important effect of the post-modernist interrogation of history has been in the form of the emergence of the new cultural history with new theorisation of identity, experience, and interest and the emergence of new social theory. The subaltern turn in historiography may have to be placed in this direction.

Bibliography

Ali, B .Sheik. *History: Its Theory and Method.* Delhi: MacMillan Publishers, 1981.

Best, Steven. *The Politics of Historical Vision: Marx, Foucault and Habermas*. London: The Guilford Press, 1995.

Callinicos, Alex. *Social Theory a Historical Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.

Doshi, S.L. *Modernity, Postmodernity and Neo –Sociological Theories*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2003.

Gangadaran, T.K. *Historiography with Special Reference to India.* Calicut: University Central Co-Operative Stores, 2001.

Kelly, Mark. *The Political Philosophy of Michel Foucault*. London: Rutledge, 2009.

Munslow,Alun. *Deconstructing History* .London: Routledge, 2006.

Rabinow,Paul. *Foucault Reader.* New York: Pantheon, 1985.

Smart, Barry. *Michel Foucault* .New York: Routledge, 2007.

Sreedharan, E. *A Textbook of Historiography.* Hyderabad:Orient Longman Pvt. Limited,2004.

●●●

THE EMERGENCE OF NEW POLITICAL FORCES AND THE CHANGING POLITICAL STRATEGIES IN COLONIAL TIME: 1885-1917

-Santosh Suradkar[*]

At the initial stages of the Indian National Congress (established in 1885) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was a debate among the nationalist leaders about whether caste and Untouchability issues should be raised on a political platform or not. And Untouchability was seen as a sectoral problem rather than a problem of the entire society or the nation[1]. According to Bipan Chandra "The Indian national movement was fully committed to a polity based on representative democracy and the full range of civil liberties."[2] Tara Chand also made a similar argument that "although the Congress was a middle-class organization, it interested itself in the needs of all classes."[3] Thus the paper will discuss and examine the Indian National Congress policy toward understanding caste and untouchability. It will discuss the evolution of conflicts on the issue of caste between emerging low-caste movements, as well as between the extremists and moderates within the Congress party. Also, the paper will analyze the disassociation of Dalit movements and disagreements between Congress leaders. This study will be in the context of Bombay province where the Congress and the Indian National Social Conference, in the first phase, were dominated by Bombay provincial leaders.

Relations between Nationalist leaders and the British

It is important to understand three crucial policy moves made by Congress in this period. In 1911 the Congress expressed warm approval of a dispatch by the Government of India recommending the gradual

[*] Dr. Santosh Suradkar is an Assistant Professor in Post Graduate Teaching Department of History Gondwana University, Gadchiroli, Maharashtra.

[1] For details see presidential addresses delivered at the Indian National Congress Sessions by W. C. Bonnerjee (1885) Dadabhai Naoroji (1886) and Badruddin Tyabji (1887), On this, see *The Indian National Congress*, (Madras, G. A. Natesan, and Co., pp.), 1 – 36.

[2] Bipan Chandra; *Essays on Indian Nationalism*, (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publication, 1993), p.11.

[3] Tara Chand; *History of the Freedom Movement in India,* (New Delhi: Volume 2, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1974), p. 551.

extension of a larger measure of self-government to the Provinces, which was interpreted as that the Provincial Governments shall not only be controlled by the Center but by the Provincial Councils also.[4] In 1913 it called for another step forward in the constitution of the Council, there should be a non-official majority at the center and elected majorities in all the Provinces besides Bengal.[5] In 1915 it declared that the time had come for the Provincial Councils to acquire effective control over the acts of the Executive Government.[6] In the autumn of 1916, when it was known that the British authorities were also considering this question, nineteen members of the Indian Legislative Council, Hindu and Muslim, together come up with an agreed plan of constitutional advance. It was discussed, amended and accepted at subsequent meetings of the Congress and the League, and at the end of the year, the pact was formally ratified at Lucknow.[7]

Educated Indians had welcomed the 1909 reforms as an advancement towards parliamentary self-government. Even the Moderates, who stood for cooperation with the British administration, did not consider it to be ending itself.[8] Though the Moderate and Extremists had different opinions about how to attain self-government, they had a similar opinion regarding depressed classes' political representation. Both were not ready to consider untouchables as a political category and therefore the differences between these two groups cannot be considered absolute. Despite all the squabbles among themselves, the moderates and extremists posed as unity, in the face of an outsider group (s).[9]

Relations between the British and various Lower Castes' Movement

Colonial political developments contributed to the emergence of lower caste movements in the country. From the 1901 census onwards, the British also made a direct contribution by trying every ten years to

4 *All India National Congress Report*, 1911, NMML.

5 Ibid., 1913.

6 Ibid., 1915.

7 R. Coupland; *The Constitutional Problem in India*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 47.

8 S. R. Mehrotra; *A History of the Indian National Congress,* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1995), p. 139.

9 G. Aloysius; *Nationalism Without a Nation in India*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 117.

classify caste based on 'social precedence as recognized by native public opinion'. An attempt which immediately encouraged a flood of claims and counterclaims as jati leaders jostled for pre-eminence, organized caste associations, and invented mythological caste 'histories'. Caste solidarity, one might add, was encouraged in at least two ways by the new situation. For the poorer members of a jati', links of patronage with more successful fellow members seemed often the only means of survival in a harsh and increasingly alien world.[10] Among the factors that came to be associated with the process of census enumeration was the emergence of caste associations in the second half of the nineteenth century and thereafter, as well as a major concern with myths of origin of various castes.[11]

Mahars, an Untouchable caste in Maharashtra, started their activities after the dissolution of the Mahar battalion in 1991. The new emphasis on north Indian 'martial races' in army recruitment provided the immediate provocation for the beginning of Mahar organization.[12] Their programme was in some ways more moderate[13] than that of both the Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj, but their pronouncements on caste and equality were more radical. While they themselves created no alternative system for those among the lower orders who desired better status, they offered intellectual justification for both Mahars and Non-Brahmans to seek new forms of power.[14] In some sense, the reasons for the politicization of the Mahar movement lay not in its own internal dynamics, but rather stemmed from the political atmosphere and context of the times. The rapid development of the nationalist movement and the concomitant intensification of tensions between the Indian National Congress and the British Raj set the terms for political competition. In the conflict between the Congress and the British, all minorities in Indian society sought to obtain guarantees which would safeguard their position vis-à-vis the Hindu majority. The predominant political strategy adopted by most, if not all, minorities was to bargain with the British government as well as Congress and to play each against the

[10] Sumit Sarkar; *Modern India 1885-1947*, (Chennai: MacMillan, 2008), p. 55.
[11] Uma Chakravarti; *Gendering Caste Through a Feminist Lens,* (Calcutta: Stree, 2003), p. 118.
[12] Sumit Sarkar; *Modern India 1885-1947*, (Chennai: MacMillan, 2008), p. 56
[13] *Mahar Movement*, ACC. NO. 678, NMML, pp.1-10
[14] Eleanor Zelliot; *From Untouchable to Dalit Essays on the Ambedkar movement,* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), p. 47.

other. In so doing, the objective was to secure a political advantage which would compensate for their majority status. The conditions of Indian politics during this period, therefore, demanded that the Mahar movement competes in the political arena.[15]

In the twentieth century, non-Brahmans started to establish caste-wise educational institutions, which, according to M. S. Gore, enabled leaders of the Nationalist movement to approach individual caste groups and seek to mobilize and integrate them into the nationalist movement. The fact that in Maharashtra the Nationalist forces were led by Brahmins made it that much easier as well as necessary for the non-Brahmin movement to retain its separate identity.[16] The collaboration of Tilak and Annie Besant was an important factor which brought a good deal of unity between the Justice Party and the 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' to rebut the criticisms of the Home Rule Movement.[17] The non-Brahmin movement was criticized and dubbed as anti-nationalist by the Home Rule Movement leaders.[18] In Bengal also these political tendencies became apparent when the Namasudra refused to participate in the nationalist agitation that followed the first partition of Bengal (1905) and actively opposed it on a number of occasions.[19]

The Indian National Congress Resolutions and Untouchability

In the annual session of the Congress held at Calcutta in the year 1917, the Congress for the first time abandoned its silence on social issues and it marked a tremendous change in its history. In that session Congress passed the resolution which stated that "The Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character,

[15] Jayashree Gokhale; *From Concession to Confrontation: The Politics of an Indian Untouchable Community,* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1993), p. 144.

[16] M. S. Gore; *Non-Brahmin Movement in Maharashtra,* (New Delhi: Segment Book Distributors, 1989), p. 73.

[17] K. K. Kavlekar; *Non-Brahmin Movement in Southern India,* (Kolhapur: Shivaji University), p. 103.

[18] *Addresses Presented by The South Indian Liberal Federation to Viceroy and Governor General of India in 1917*. 1-4 (File is available in NMML New Delhi, but File number and file name is not mention)

[19] Sekhar Bandopadhyay; *The Namasudra Movement*, (New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2005), p. 4.

subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience".[20]

Earlier in 1917, Annie Besant organized a *misra-bhojan* for people belonging to all castes and communities at Calicut[21] and she was the president of the session that supported this resolution. This was strange because in 1914 the Social Conference had brought a resolution on the education of the Depressed Classes, where Annie Besant had opposed the idea of providing for a uniform education for students of all castes.[22] Similarly, in the 1890s, Besant repeatedly attacked social reformers and extolled the virtues of traditional Hinduism, though her views on this as well as on many other subjects were to change dramatically.[23]

The need now was for mass support and politicization of the masses and by 1917 one-seventh of the Indian population that was Untouchable had come to be recognized as socially deprived but politically important 'Depressed Classes'.[24] This was after 32 years of silence Congress decided to talk about this issue when they were deeply engaged with other political programmes. Before this year, Congress was not at all ready to raise social issues on its platform. In 1892, when W. C. Bonnerjee in his presidential address at the Eighth Session of the Congress reminded the audience that "we, at last, came to the consideration from the full consent and concurrence of those distinguished men that it would not do for the Congress to meddle itself, as a Congress, with questions of social reform."[25]

In 1886 Dadabhai Naoroji presided at the second session of the Congress held in Calcutta. In his presidential address, he had referred to Congress's attitude toward social reform and suggested that there are "proper times, proper circumstances, proper parties and proper places for social issues". He claimed that they were meeting as a political body to represent to the rulers their political aspirations, not to discuss social

[20] *All India Congress Committee Report,* File no 1, 1885/1920, NMML, p.190.

[21] K. Saradamoni; *Emergence of A Slave Castes, Pulayas of Kerala,* (New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House, 1980), p. 171.

[22] *Indian National Social Conference,* (Madras: NMML,1914), p. 63.

[23] Sumit Sarkar; *Modern India 1885-1947,* (Chennai: Macmillan, 2008), p. 74.

[24] "The Depressed Classes: An enquiry into their Condition and Suggestions for Their Uplift", (Madras, G. A. Natesan, c. 1912). Cited in Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (ed.); *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 20090, p. 219.

[25] *Indian National Congress Report,* 1892, NMML.

reforms. Further, he rejected the role of Congress to deal with social reform and asserted that only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed."[26] He made it clear that caste and Untouchability were not a Congress problem and was afraid it would hurt other caste Hindus feeling. He asked Congress to focus on the issues where an entire nation had direct participation and refused to give any special attention to social reform.[27] The same explanation was offered by Badruddin Tyabji who presided over the third Annual Session of the Congress held in 1887.

The third occasion on which the subject was referred to was in 1892 when W. C. Bonnerjee in his presidential address at the Eighth Session of the Congress gave expression to the following sentiments "I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussion of social matters; those are things which, I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organization to do what they can for its improvement."[28] He made a clear distinction between social and political reforms and argued that Congress was not to solve social problems but only political matters. Bonnerjee criticized the notion that "we shall not be fit for political reform until we reform our social system". Thus, he problematized this idea and spoke of the way social reform affects judicial reform and permanent settlement.[29] In 1895, the Congress held its session in Poona, presided over by Surendranath Bannerjee. This was the last session where the president discussed social issues. Thereafter the next occasion was in 1917.

Within the Congress, there were two schools: one wanted to take up social issues on the Congress platform whereas the other one was not ready to deal much with any social issues in the Congress. It was felt by some of the moderate leaders Madhev Govind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Bhandarkar that the national movement should not be exclusively political in orientation but side by side with the consideration of political questions, questions affecting Indian society and economy should also be discussed and that the best endeavours of all should be put for vitalizing Hindu society by removing all social evils and social wrongs.[30] But this view was defeated by extremist leaders.

---

[26] Ibid., 1886.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., 1892

[29] Ibid

[30] B. R. Ambedkar; "What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchable", in Vasant Moon (ed.), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*, (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1990), p. 11.

Later pro-social reform leaders focused on a separate Indian National Social Conference from 1887. So great was the spirit of co-operation and goodwill between the two that the annual session of the National Congress and the Social Conference was held in immediate succession of each other within the same pandal and a large majority of those who came to attend the Congress Session also attended the Social Conference. The Social Conference was, however, an eyesore to Congressmen who belonged to the anti-social reform section. At the eleventh Congress meeting in 1895 at Bal Gangadhar Tilak's stronghold of Poona, the objections of Tilak and other extremists were so strong that the Social Conference was forced to disassociate itself completely from the Congress venue.[31] In 1895, when the Congress met in Poona, this anti-social reform section rebelled and threatened to burn down the Congress pandal if it was allowed for use by the Social Conference.[32]

There had been great differences between the social Conference and Tilak over the Age of Consent issue in 1890-91. Throughout October and November, Tilak and his friends organized public demonstrations in Poona to put pressure on Congress.[33] Even Damodharpant Chaphekar who is regarded as a revolutionary, wrote in his autobiography: "I went many times to burn the (Social Conference) pandal".[34] In this conference Satyashodhak leader Krushnaji Pandurang Bhalekar erected a farmer's statue in front of the Social Conference gate and wrote: "Can even 20 farmers, out of the population of 20 crore farmers, be found representing their pains and sorrow in this National conference?".[35] Satyashodhak leaders opposed the Social Conference which was dominated by upper castes and classes.

In the 1895 Social Conference, Ranade read out a letter sent by Surendranath Bannerji in which he was sceptical that such an initiative might lead to conflicts between nationalist leaders most of whom were

[31] Eleanor Zelliot; 'Congress and Untouchables 1917-1950', in Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader,* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 219.

[32] Sudharak, 9 September 1895.

[33] Johnson Gardon; *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism – Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880-1915,* (Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 119.

[34] *Source Material on Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and the Movement of Untouchables,* Vol. 2, 1885-1920, (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1982), p. 981.

[35] Y. D. Phadke; *Dr. Ambedkaranche Marekari Arun Shoury*, (Mumbai: Lokvangmay Gruha, 1999), p. 19.

not ready to discuss this issue.[36] Tilak agitated for the total separation of the Congress from the Conference in his newspapers. He wrote, "Poona is essentially a conservative town, and it is natural that public opinion should not be in favour of the Social Conference".[37] Gopal Ganesh Agarkar opposed Tilak's stand for separating the Indian Social Conference from the Congress. He reminded "If our political aspirations and the Indian National Congress are the products of Western education, so are the reform and the Social Conference. It is idle to talk of one without the other".[38] The rebellion succeeded largely because the pro-social reform party in the Congress was not prepared to fight seriously against their opponents.[39] After 1895, moderates or social reformers had no real basis of power in the city; D. K. Karve founded his widows' home in 1898 in Hingne but had to remove it owing to city harassment, and to the *melas* or singing groups of the Ganpati festival that mocked not only the British and Muslims but also social reformers.[40]

After all these differences and after a long silence about the Untouchability issue, in 1917, Congress brought a resolution about the Depressed Classes. For an answer to this as to why the silence was broken in 1917, one must turn to the resolutions passed by the Depressed Classes in 1917 at two separate meetings held in the City of Bombay under two different presidents.[41] The first of these meetings was held on 11 November 1917, under the chairmanship of Narayan Chandavarkar. He was the general secretary and president of the Indian National Social Conference. In that meeting some important resolutions were passed. The fifth resolution carried unanimously was as follows "that the Chairman of this public meeting be authorized to request the Indian National Congress to pass at its forthcoming session a distinct and independent resolution declaring to the people of India at large the necessity, justice, and righteousness of removing all the disabilities imposed by religion and custom upon the Depressed Classes." In the same month, a second meeting was held. In this meeting, one of the resolutions was read that "This meeting cannot give its support to the Congress-League Scheme in spite of its having been declared to have

[36] *Indian National Social Conference,* 1895, NMML.

[37] Gardon Johnson; *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism: Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880-1915, (*Cambridge: University Press. 1973) p. 119

[38] *"Aamche kai Honar?"*, Sudharak, 12 November 1888.

[39] Ibid., p. 13

[40] Gail Omvedt; *Cultural Revolt in A colonial Society: The Non-Brahmin Movement in Western India 1873-1930*, (Bombay: Scientific Socialist Education Trust, 1976), p. 230.

[41] Subodha Patrika, 25 November 1917.

been passed at the meeting of 11th November 1917 by an overwhelming majority."[42]

A prominent untouchable leader from Nagpur, Ganesh Akkaji Gawai, opposed the resolution (Congress-League Scheme) and described how the Congress was against untouchables. Moreover, he said Untouchables were not aware what were the demands in the Congress-League Scheme. Chandavarkar under his leadership formed the untouchables' committee to present their political opinion before Montague and Chelmsford.[43] In 1917, surprisingly, Tilak started favoring Untouchables. He appealed to the Untouchables to join Congress. He described Untouchability on class lines. This was the first time Tilak was speaking against Untouchability for political purposes.[44] After 11 November 1917 mobilization of untouchables took place at a larger level and they started demanding their representation in the Legislative Council. When Montague and Chelmsford were on tour in Bombay, N. G. Chandavarkar interviewed Montagu on behalf of the Depressed Classes' Mission. Montague and Chelmsford assured the committee that they would secure their political rights. Thereafter many upper caste leaders started organizing untouchables' conferences.[45]

There was an obvious interconnection between the resolution passed by the Depressed Classes and the National Congress resolution which was passed in 1917. This interconnection will be easily understood by adverting to the political events of 1917. The situation in 1917 was very different: the extremists and the Moderates had merged the year before, the Muslim League and the Congress agreed on a common platform, and the Congress met in the context of a British promise of eventual self-government. The need now was for a mass base and politicization of the masses, and by 1917 one-seventh of the Indian population that

[42] B. R. Ambedkar; "What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchable", in Vasant Moon (ed.), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches,* (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1990), pp. 15-16.

[43] Jagadvrutt, 18 November 1917. See also Changdev Bhavanrao Khairmode; *Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, Vol-1,* (Pune: Sugava Prkashan, 2002), p. 221.

[44] *Hindu Missionary,* April 8-15, 1818.

[45] Changdev Bhavanrao Khairmode; *Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, Vol-1,* (Pune: Sugava Prkashan, 2002), p. 222-223.

was untouchable had come to be recognized as socially deprived but politically important 'Depressed Classes'.[46]

On 20th August 1917, Montagu, announced in the House of Commons the new policy of his government towards India; namely, the policy of gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of a responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. For this many schemes were formulated, and on two of them, public attention was centred. One was called the Scheme of the Nineteen. The second was called the Congress-League Scheme. The Congress was interested in seeing that its own scheme was accepted by the British government. The Congress, therefore, was keen on giving the Congress-League Scheme the status and character of national demand. This could have happened only if the scheme had the backing of all communities in India. The Muslim League had accepted the scheme; they now needed to get support from the Depressed Classes. This time the Depressed Classes were more politically conscious and against Congress programs. Montagu and Chelmsford were deluged with petitions and pleas from various groups, including at least ten groups that can be identified as Depressed Classes, all asking for representation in the forthcoming legislative bodies.[47] Montagu and Chelmsford had been touring the whole country, receiving deputations and granting interviews everywhere. Apparently, Montagu's mission was to consult conflicting interests in India and to formulate draft schemes for the consideration of Parliament in England.[48] Narayan Chandavarkar had considerable influence over the Depressed Classes and the Congress sought to get the support of Depressed Classes for the Scheme. The Depressed Classes did not give unconditional support to the Scheme, they agreed to give support on condition that Congress passed a resolution for the removal of the social disabilities of the untouchables. Finally, Congress brought a resolution against Untouchability. Thus, Congress's motive was not

[46] Eleanor Zelliot; 'Congress and Untouchables 1917-1950', in Sekhar Bandopadhyay (ed.); *Nationalist Movement in India A Reader* , (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 219.

[47] Eleanor Zelliot; 'Congress and Untouchables 1917-1950', in Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader,* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 220

[48] Pattabhi Sitaramayya; *The History of the Indian National Congress 1885-1935,* (New Delhi: The Working Committee of the Congress, 1935), p. 233.

for genuine self-reform. The stand on caste was forced upon them due to political pressure. Though Chandavarkar had a significant role in getting Untouchable support for the Congress-League Scheme, his act was politically motivated and it was evident through his affiliation with the Aryan Brotherhood organization. Daftari Solicitor took the initiative for starting the Aryan Brotherhood organization and Chandavarkar became its first president.[49] The Aryan Brotherhood Conference in 1917 strongly opposed communal representation.[50]

Not only Untouchables but even the non-Brahmin movements from Madras presidency did not support the Congress-Muslim League scheme. On 17 December 1917, non-Brahman organizations came together to present their addresses to the Viceroy; they wrote: "All three bodies are wholeheartedly opposed to the Congress-Muslim League scheme of reforms."[51] In Bengal Namasudras were trying to build up their separate political identity and did not support the Congress's claim that it represented all communities. The petition that the Namasudra community had given to the government stated that "we desire to be recognized by the Government as an entirely different community having separate claim to political privileges like Mohammadans."[52] Thus, many anti-Congress agitations were taking place in the Bombay presidency. Therefore, Shinde and Chandavarkar tried to get support for the Congress-League scheme from the Bombay presidency and along with Tilak organized meetings in Pune and it empathically supported the Congress-Muslim League scheme.[53]

Conclusion

Thus, the issues like untouchability and caste were becoming part of nationalist discourse through the political requirement and development emerging through political representation interest. Colonial policies and emerging independent untouchable political forces had significant influence in shaping the nationalist discourse on social issues.

●●●

[49] Ganesh L Chandavarkar; *A Wrestling Soul – Story of the Life of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar*, (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, 1955), p. 93.

[50] Subodha Patrika, 25 November 1917.

[51] *Address- Viceroy*, Revised Programme, Monday, 17 December 1917 (Publication and file name is not available, NMML, New Delhi)

[52] Bandyopadhyay Sekhar,_*The Namasudra Movement,* (New Delhi: Published by Critical Quest, 2005), p.24.

[53] *The Bombay Chronical* (Bombay), November 8, 1917

DEPICTION OF VALUES OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., THROUGH HIS SPEECHES

-*Awdhesh Singh Bhadoriya*[*] & Shipra Ahuja Joshi[**]

Abstract

Beliefs that are essential and fundamental in nature and that guide or motivate behaviors or attitudes are called values. These values assist us in determining what is significant to us. The personal attributes that we choose to embrace in order to guide our activities are referred to as values. Values are also characterized as the type of person that we aspire to be - the manner in which we treat ourselves and others, and the way in which we interact with the world around us. They serve as the overarching principles that guides the behavior of every human being.

For ages, speeches have been a subject of contemplation. The ability to speak is one of the characteristics that distinguish humans from other animals; persuasion is the main function of speech. There is no direct correlation between the use of words and syntaxes for persuasion as the manner of delivery also has a significant capacity for persuasion.

In this paper, we attempt to analyze the values that motivated Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as can be inferred from his speeches. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. spearheaded the Civil Rights Movement in America and was a famous orator who had the capacity to influence the masses through his speeches.

Keywords – Values, Forgiveness, Non-violence, Determination, Peacefulness

Introduction

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on January 15, 1929. He was at first named Michael but after sometime he was given the name Martin Luther King, Jr. His grandfather was the pastor in Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church and his father also served in this position. Dr. Martin

[*] Awdhesh Singh Bhadoriya is pursuing Ph.D from Medi- Caps University, Indore.

[**] Prof. (Dr.) Shipra Ahuja Joshi is working as the Head of the Depatment of Languages at Medi- Caps University, Indore.

Luther King, Jr., worked as co-pastor there until his death. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was known as a man who always fought against the segregation between races, especially in America. Racial segregation had become a way of life in America for years before civil war. One of most influential people of the 20th Century, Dr. King's contributions to civil rights helped change the course of American society. Through the mission for social justice and equality, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., became the leader of his people and his leadership style was modeled on the peaceful protest movements instituted by Gandhi in India. His peaceful efforts were also recognized universally as evidenced by the fact that he was awarded Nobel Prize for peace in 1964 when he was only 35 years old. He was the youngest person till then who had received this award.[1]

King started his struggle in the Civil Rights Movement from Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 in the context of the non-violent resistance movement now famously known as the Montgomery Bus Boycott. He became a prominent leader after his speech during the boycott, a speech that revealed his unique leadership skills. He remained passionately involved in this movement until 1968 when he was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.[22]

Oratory Approach of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,

As a preacher and as a leader of Civil Rights Movement, the Dr. Martin Luther King's ability to move a crowd with his words was unparalleled. He was an incredible orator and motivator. He also had great organizational skills, which further enhanced the impact of his oratory. He had studied the work of Mahatma Gandhi and earned a degree in sociology, both of which helped him to formulate his own ideas of peaceful co-existence and non-violent protest.2 He made everyone around him feel motivated. He was a transformative leader who had the ability to mobilize laymen by his speeches. He successfully communicated his message of love, social equality, hope and non-violence categorically not only to Americans but also to the people of all over the world.

---

[1] Roger Bruns, *Martin Luther King Jr. A Biography*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2006.)

[2] Troy Jackson, *Becoming King, Martin Luther King Jr. and the Making of a National Leader*, (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008.)

In 1964, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in the Civil Rights movement in America, that showed the efficaciousness of non-violent resistance to racism in the structures of the state and of society. His poetic oration made his speech delivery even more effective.

> Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last![3]

Religious faith and belief in God were an integral part of his speeches which also connected him well with the audience.

> In Christ there is no East or West.
> In Him no North or South,
> But one great Fellowship of Love
> Throughout the whole wide world.
> This is the only way.[4]

Values manifested in the Speeches of Dr Martin Luther King, Jr.,

An analysis of Dr. King's speeches reveals the value-framework undergirding his rhetorical output. The most important values that van be inferred can be considered under the following heads:

Forgiveness

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a master orator, always emphasized the value of forgiveness in his speeches. He spotlighted the value of forgiveness in numerous talks and urged his audience to refrain from harboring animosity towards white people. In 1957, he delivered a very famous speech titled 'Give Us the Ballot' in which he said to his people very categorically

> Love your enemies (Yeah), bless them that curse you
> (Yes), pray for them that despitefully use you.[5]

---

[3] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on I have a Dream, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., August 28, 1964." *U.S. Embassy & Consulate in the Republic of Korea*, www.kr.usembassy.gov.

[4] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Loving Your Enemies, Montgomery, Alabama, November 17, 1957." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

[5] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Give us Ballot, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., May 17, 1957." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

Throughout his life, King remained steadfast in his faith and his underlying belief that, in the end, love will triumph over hatred, no matter how long it took. Only love has the power to drive out hatred.

He frequently spoke about love and brotherhood, pushing people to see others, even foes as family. He felt that love, not violence or hatred, was the only remedy to the world's problems. One can see forgiveness as a key value made manifest in his speech named 'Loving Your Enemies' which he delivered on November 17, 1957 at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama. He said,

> What an individual must do in seeking to love his enemy is to discover the element of good in his enemy, and every time you begin to hate that person and think of hating that person, realize that there is some good there and look at those good points which will over-balance the bad points.[6]

He quoted the instance of Abraham Lincoln for proving that forgiveness is the greatest virtue in this world. When Abraham Lincoln was fighting the presidential election of United States America, one person was campaigning against him and spreading various rumors about him by way of influencing the election. He even made disparaging comments on his looks. The name of this man was Mr. Stanton. Nevertheless, when Abraham Lincoln won the presidential election and when he constituted his cabinet, he decided to choose Mr. Stanton as a secretary of war in his cabinet. Many advisers of President opposed it at the time. Lincoln answered that he was the best person for this job. After some months when Lincoln was assassinated, Stanton remarked, "Now he belongs to the ages."6 So with the help of the virtue of forgiveness virtue, Lincoln could transform Stanton.

Non-Violence

Dr. Martin Luther king Jr. is regarded as the Mahatma Gandhi of America. He was a true follower of Gandhi's legacy of non-violence. He was so influenced by Gandhi that in 1959, he visited India in order to learn more about Gandhi's approach non-violence. He admired Gandhi's non-violent struggle against British oppression and for establishing justice and human

[6] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Loving Your Enemies, Montgomery, Alabama, November 17, 1957." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

values. After his visit to India, Dr. King became a great leader of the civil right movement in his own country. He gave a new dimension to this movement by infusing the input of non-violence, based on the Gandhian model. The speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., are full of non-violence as a cherished value. In 1957, in his speech titled 'Give us the Ballot' he demanded voting rights for his fellow African Americans (referred to in his times as Negroes) but he instructed his followers that they would have to follow the non-violence path for their movement and that only by following the non-violent way, could they go ahead properly and achieve their goals. King remarked,

> We must follow nonviolence and love.[7]

Dr. King was opposed to the Vietnam War and he was against using violence for attaining any kind of social or political objective. He criticized the then American government for the war and bloodshed. He insisted on stopping the war as early as possible and on adopting non-violent means for realizing political aspirations. On April, 4, 1967 in New York he delivered the speech 'Beyond Vietnam' in which he said categorically that the social transformation process was possible only through non-violent action. He said,

> I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through non-violent action.[8]

Kindness

Kindness for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was focused on acceptance of everyone as equals. Because of his tenacious leadership, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. inspired millions of people to stand up for equal human rights. He used his kindness for fulfilling his dreams and for attracting many people into the mission of fighting for their rights. He spent years working to abolish segregation in the United States. He supported

[7] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Give us Ballot, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., May 17, 1957." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

[8] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Beyond Vietnam, Manhattan's Riverside Church, NewYork, March 04, 1967." *University of Hawaii System*, www.hawaii.edu.

nonviolence and peace, justice, and stood up for what he believed in. All these things were done through kindness. He is renowned for promoting kindness through his work. He thought that everyone should be treated as a complete individual. As a well-known spokesperson for the Civil Rights Movement, he frequently engaged in deeds of kindness towards everyone. His speeches were also full of kindness. In his speech 'Loving Your Enemies', he emphasized the need to show more love for one's enemies because God wants it. According to him, it is rather difficult, hard and painful to love one's enemy. It is vexing to sit with the person who wants to oppress you but when one starts to love one's enemy the latter is moved into reciprocating, and then most problems become easier to resolve.

> Men must see that force begets force, hate begets hate, toughness begets toughness and it is all a descending spiral, ultimately ending in destruction for all and everybody.[9] he once observed, indicating the importance of kindness as a value

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was very kind to members of his own Negro community. He felt the pain they experienced on account of their status as a people who largely underprivileged and discriminated against. It was the reflection of his kindness that he devoted his life to fighting for the rights of Negroes, a struggle for which he sacrificed his own life. On the other hand, he never instigated the Negroes against the Whites, which reflects the kindness he felt towards White people. The only purpose of his struggle was to establish brotherhood, wherein people of both communities could sit down together, which is possible only when people of both communities cherish the kindness as a value. In his famous speech 'I have a Dream' he says,

> I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together.10

---

[9] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Loving Your Enemies, Montgomery, Alabama, November 17, 1957." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

[10] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on I have a Dream, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., August 28, 1964." *U.S. Embassy & Consulate in the Republic of Korea*, www.kr.usembassy.gov.

Determination

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was known for his determination. He joined the Civil Rights Movement in 1955 and continued his struggle till his death in 1968. If it is said that he lost his life because of his firm commitment to the Civil Rights Movement, it will not be an exaggeration. Remarks in his speeches are persuasive and loaded with determination. He demonstrated tenacity by never giving up in the struggle for universal equality of rights and by working to eradicate inequality for all Americans. He showed loyalty by sticking up for his principles despite countless arrests and assaults on him, his family, and his supporters throughout the marches and speeches he gave in numerous locations.

On March 25, 1965, he delivered his famous speech 'Our God is Marching On' in which he expressed his will to fight for equal rights for black people and this freedom struggle would be continued till the realization of all the goals of the movement. "Our homes being bombed won't deter us. We won't be distracted by the assaults and deaths of our young people and pastors. We wouldn't be deterred if their knowing murderers were released willfully".

> We are on the move now. Like an idea whose time has come, not even the marching of mighty armies can halt us. We are moving to the land of freedom.[11]

His firm determination for non-violence is also reflected in his speeches which made him the most effective speaker not only in America but also all over the world. On August 16, 1967, he delivered his speech 'Where Do We Go from Here' in which he clearly expressed his determination for non-violence, peace and justice and said that we need to reconfirm our dedication to nonviolence. Recently in racial riots, the sad futility of using violence in the fight for racial justice has been brutally revealed. A riot undoubtedly has a profoundly depressing quality. Screaming children and irate adults are struggling unsuccessfully and pointlessly against overwhelming odds. Dr. King, with a strong sense of determination, committed himself to non-violence as the best weapon for struggle by saying,

> I say to you today that I still stand by nonviolence. And

[11] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Our god is marching on, Montgomery, Alabama, March 25, 1965." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

> I am still convinced that it is the most potent weapon available to the Negro in his struggle for justice in this country. And the other thing is that I am concerned about a better world.[12]

Equality

Equality was a value that was deeply upheld by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He was focused on the anti-segregation struggle and it can be said that the main objective of his speeches was to establish equality in American society as a whole so that black people who were spending their life without equal opportunities for progress could also get equal chances for their development as just as much as was possible for whites. Segregation was a threat to equality, which was why Dr. King devoted his life to eradicate this evil from American society. His struggle against segregation (not very different from the system of Apartheid then prevalent in South Africa) and his fight for equality was fully non-violent. For this he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. In his Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech, he compared the white man to the lion and black man to the lamb and said that when the lion and lamb would sit together or when white men and black men would sit together; on that day actual equality would be created in American society and every man can live without any fear, and with dignity and respect. On the other hand, he was equally opposed to the idea of black domination. To him, any type of domination was against equality.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott played a lead role in giving birth to the Civil Rights Movement and this incident also led to the recognition of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as a leader of this movement. On December 5, 1955, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered a speech wherein he called upon invoked black people to be united in the struggle for the establishment of equality and for the abolition of racial segregation in America. He articulated this principle most effectively when he said:

> We, the disinherited of this land, we who have been oppressed so long, are tired of going through the long night of captivity. And now we are reaching out for the daybreak of freedom and justice and equality.[13]

---

[12] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Where do go from here? Atlanta, Georgia, August 16, 1967." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

[13] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Montgomery Bus Boycott, Montgomery,

Peacefulness

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a man of Peace who devoted his life to the promotion of peace in America. His vision was clear - that if social justice objectives were achieved in a peaceful manner, then they could be enjoyed by all without being trapped in the vicious cycle of hate and violence. His pursuit of peace was rooted in his relationship with God and he did it by serving as a conduit for the love and peace of God. It aimed to build a link between God and people. He always urged black people to stay committed to the peaceful struggle against white domination. Peacefulness emerges as an important value in his Nobel Prize Acceptance speech:

> Sooner or later all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood.[14]

Conclusion

Nobel Peace Prize Winner Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a remarkable and powerful mass leader for the United States of America because of his values. As a Baptist leader, he possessed a strong Christian faith. Thus he can be viewed as a spiritual leader and not only a political and social leader. Because of his strong hold on his culture and society, he was able to inspire his followers to achieve their goals, and his oratorical skills were crucial to this. He was successful in communicating his ideas, opinions, and thoughts to others through speeches, and he was able to persuade them to do something specific by way of social action for racial justice.

His speeches reflect the key values that he held dear such as forgiveness, non-violence, equality, freedom, determination, peacefulness and kindness. These values are true human values which made him a key change-maker in America during the decades of 1960s and 1970s. His vision and his values were so clearly, vividly and memorably expressed in his speeches that his audiences could not fail to be influenced. No doubt his values as well as his speeches are not only the great legacy of American history but also for the world as a whole, capable of inspiring the human race for many centuries.

Alabama, December 05, 1955." *BlackPast.org*, www.blackpast.org.

[14] Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Statement on Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance, University of Oslo, Oslo, December 10, 1964." *The Nobel Prize*, www.nobelprize.org.

References:

Bruns, Roger. *Martin Luther King Jr. A Biography*. London: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Jackson, Troy. *Becoming King, Martin Luther King Jr. and the Making of a National Leader*. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008.

King, Jr., Dr. Martin Luther; "Statement on Give us Ballot, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., May 17, 1957." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

King, Jr., Dr. Martin Luther; "Statement on Loving Your Enemies, Montgomery, Alabama, November 17, 1957." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

King, Jr., Dr. Martin Luther; "Statement on I have a Dream, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., August 28, 1964." *U.S. Embassy & Consulate in the Republic of Korea*, www.kr.usembassy.gov.

King, Jr., Dr. Martin Luther; "Statement on Our god is marching on, Montgomery, Alabama, March 25, 1965." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

King, Jr., Dr. Martin Luther; "Statement on Where do go from here? Atlanta, Georgia, August 16, 1967." *Stanford University*, www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu.

King, Jr., Dr. Martin Luther; "Statement on Beyond Vietnam, Manhattan's Riverside Church, NewYork, March 04, 1967." *University of Hawaii System*, www.hawaii.edu.

King, Jr., Dr. Martin Luther; "Statement on Montgomery Bus Boycott, Montgomery, Alabama, December 05, 1955." *BlackPast.org*, www.blackpast.org.

King, Jr., Dr. Muuartin Luther; "Statement on Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance, University of Oslo, Oslo, December 10, 1964." *The Nobel Prize*, www.nobelprize.org.

www.lincs.ed.gov

www.kinginstitute.stanford.edu

www.usatoday.com

www.uky.edu

www.en.wikipedia.org

www.learningforjustice.org

www.newsweek.com

www.history.com

www.saieditor.com

BIBLE STUDY

KICKING AGAINST THE GOADS: DECIPHERING THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF ECCLESIA

ACTS 26. 14-16

*- S. Stanley**

Authority is a word that has "power" when it's spoken. Historically it has been a threatening sound to the powerless. Even in the present context the word authority is a threatening sound for many. We need to ask and understand what this authority actually is. If we look into the History there were many conflicts that took place for authority. In the 11th and 12th centuries, a series of Popes challenged the authority of European Autocrats. The Pope or royals had the authority to appoint local church officials such as bishops of cities and abbots of monasteries, when Emperor agreed on the Concordat of Worms. It differentiated between the royal and spiritual powers and gave the emperors a partial role in selecting bishops. The result seemed mostly a success for the Pope and his claim that he was God's chief representative in the world. However, the emperor did retain considerable power over the church. The investiture controversy began as a power struggle between the Pope and Roman Emperor. A significant struggle over investiture also occurred between Emperor of England and Pope, and the issue also played a minor role in the struggles between the church and the state in France. By undermining the imperial power established by previous emperors, the controversy led to nearly fifty years of civil war in Germany. Authority has always been a word belonging to the rulers, wealthy and religious people. Never ever could the poor, marginalized people own the word authority. Often as a Church we use the word authority. Now I get the question who are we? Are we the rulers, rich, or are we powerless and in the margin. We as a Church have the word authority but we have to introspect, the idea of the word authority to us. The Church has become a boxing ring for authority. People never worried to do anything to gain authority. But in the process of Gaining and sustaining of authority, the

* Rev S. Stanley is an ordained clergy of CSI, Medak Diocese.

witness of Church is being spoiled. Having listened this let us know what is Saul's understanding of Authority

Saul's Understanding of Authority: A Self-Hurting Act

St Paul was both a Jew and a Roman citizen, studied under the feet of Rabbi Gamaliel, Paul was from Tarsus of Cilicia located in modern day southern Turkey (Acts. 22:3). Some Biblicists explained how Paul, a Jew, obtained Roman citizenship from his birth. People there were accepted as Roman citizens as Tarsus of Cilicia got included into Rome, and Paul's ancestors with high social status received citizenship. Apostle Paul exercised the right as a Roman citizen while he preached the gospel. Saul led a violent persecution of the young Christian church in Jerusalem. He went from house to house, dragging men and women off to prison. When believers were found guilty of what was considered to be blasphemy, Saul called for them to be stoned to death. It has been suggested that the zeal which Saul showed at the time of Stephen's death led to his election into the Sanhedrin, and so Saul took a judicial part in the later stages of the persecution, and, it may be, from a desire to justify the choice of those who had placed him in authority, he sought to be appointed over the enquiry after the Christians in Damascus. Acts 26:10 says that before this inquisitorial journey he had been armed with the authority of the chief priests in his search after the Christians in Jerusalem. Saul went to the high priest who would most likely be the authority through whom the power, which the Great Sanhedrin claimed to exercise, in religious matters, over Jews in foreign cities, would be put in motion. The letters were written and signed in the name and by the authority of the Sanhedrin, or Great Council of the nation. Saul, that if he found any thereof this way any of the Christian community whether, they were men or women, for Saul and his employers spared no age or gender. Saul might bring them bound unto Jerusalem to be proceeded against in the severest manner by the Sanhedrin. Saul was not content with having driven many of them into exile, and with having imprisoned others, (Acts 8:3,) but he thirsted for their blood. In the process of exercising authority there was much bloodshed.

This particular pericope Acts 26:12-14 is about St Paul formerly known as Saul, making his defense before King Agrippa. Paul acknowledges

that prior to his conversion, he too, was ignorant. He persecuted the people of the way with vengeance. While summarizing his conversion on the Damascus road, Paul quotes Jesus, Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me? It hurts you to kick against the Goads? Although the idea of the goad for oxen is common in the Jewish world, Paul (or Luke) seems to be adopting the Greek proverb here, It is hard for you to kick against the Goads was a Greek proverb but it was also familiar to the Jews and anyone who made a living in agriculture. Here the Act of Kicking is an act of dominance. However in Saul‘s encounter with Jesus, Jesus wants Saul to know about his ignorance. Jesus says to Saul that his act of dominance is nothing but hurting his own. Though Jesus is there as a representative of suffering people. Jesus says the End is going to be suicide of the power.

Authority of Church: Jesus Model or Saul Model?

The thirst for authority is not over. In the Church from the beginning till today the struggle for authority is an ongoing issue. However, the thirst for the authority is reality. But the root cause of the problem is the wrong “understanding of the Church about the authority”. The Church has unfortunately put herself in parallel with secular institutions. The Church has to understand that the idea of the authority is totally a different concept to Church. The Church has preferred Saul’s model of authority. The Saul model of authority is nothing but exercising the power against the powerless and not knowing that the end result is self hurt. We have seen in the history that many have chosen the Saul’s model of authority and failed miserably in the world history. If Church also follow’s the same then Church is going to hurt her own. It is high time for the Church to introspect its idea of authority. We often failed to see things through the eyes of Jesus. Jesus is the only and right model of Church for authority. Jesus had the authority given by God but his authority was to suffer. Jesus’ power was seen through his powerlessness. While Saul’s authority was to persecute, Jesus authority is to liberate. But the Church has failed to take the Jesus model and embraced Saul’s model. If the Church not going to change its model of authority then the Church has to have the Damascus experience to have an encounter with God who is the God of powerlessness.

●●●

NCCI NEWS

ACKNOWLEDGED TO ACCOMPANY: NCCI -IDEA ACKNOWLEDGED AND HONOURED COVID HEROES FOR THEIR EXCEPTIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

The NCCI Indian Disability Ecumenical Accompaniment (IDEA) Acknowledged and Honoured COVID heroes serves as a testament to the transformative power of selfless service and the unwavering spirit of compassion. It sets a commendable example for the ecumenical accompaniment and reaffirms the commitment of the NCCI to advocate for the rights and well-being of persons with disabilities in India.

In an inspiring event held at the UELCI campus Chennai, NCCI-IDEA honored the unsung heroes who selflessly served persons with disabilities during the COVID-19 pandemic. The NCCI Indian Disability Ecumenical Accompaniment (IDEA) Award ceremony showcased the extraordinary efforts made by individuals and organizations to create a barrier-free church and society for all.

Out of a staggering 50 applicants from across the nation, NCCI selected the most deserving candidates in three distinct award categories. Esteemed paediatrician and Disability activist, Dr. Aiswarya Rao, had the privilege of presenting the awards to the remarkable COVID heroes, whose dedication and commitment shone through their exceptional achievements.

In the Individual Category, Mr. Sandeep Paul, the project coordinator for UNNATHI – Disability project, stood out for his outstanding coordination and resource mobilization efforts. Despite limited resources, Mr. Sandeep effectively supported individuals with disabilities by implementing training programs and raising awareness during the pandemic.

The Institution Category witnessed the recognition of the CSI School for the Intellectually Disabled, a residential school that defied government orders to send children home. With immense compassion,

the school decided to keep around 30 inmates, including orphans, and extended their reach to over 100 kilometers to support 110 persons with disabilities.

In the Church Initiative Category, the Shaphiro initiative led by H.G. Dr. Yuhanon Mar Diascros Metropolitan and a group of passionate laity members received well-deserved accolades. The online glocal initiative connected more than 25 families from the Indian Orthodox community across India, the Middle East, Europe, and the ANZ region. The regular online fellowships for "Shaphiro" families and special needs children since December 2021 have had a profound impact on the lives of participants.

The award ceremony created a significant impact on the audience, which included representatives from various churches, institutions, and theological colleges. The COVID heroes shared their inspirational stories, shedding light on the challenges faced by persons with disabilities and the tireless efforts undertaken to support and empower them.

By recognizing these exceptional individuals and initiatives, NCCI IDEA aims to encourage and inspire others to work towards the creation of an inclusive society. The event highlighted the significance of collaborative efforts in fostering a just community where all individuals, regardless of their disabilities, can flourish and thrive.

To promote inclusivity and make people with disabilities feel welcomed in churches, a workshop on disability inclusion was held on 14th June 2023 led by NCCI-Indian Disability Ecumenical Accompaniment and Engage Disability. The workshop challenged participants to think beyond the statement which they made initially from "We don't have a person with disability in our church so we have to be a welcoming church". The goal of the workshop was to equip churches with the tools they need to make their spaces welcoming to people with disabilities and to encourage their active involvement. The event aimed to equip churches with the necessary tools to create an inviting atmosphere for people with disabilities and encourage their active participation within the church community.

The workshop commenced with an engaging activity focused on raising awareness about disabilities. Participants were divided into pairs, with one person assuming the role of a person with a disability by having their hands and legs bound or their eyes covered. The other partner acted as their guide. By sharing personal stories and recounting the challenges faced during the activity, participants were encouraged to develop empathy and a deeper understanding of the experiences of individuals with disabilities.

One of the key highlights of the workshop was the introduction of the Disability Inclusion Audit for Churches in India, a tool for ongoing self-assessment and progressive improvement of churches created by Engage Disability. This tool provided participants with the means to conduct ongoing self-assessments of their church's inclusivity practices and identify areas for improvement. During the session, pastors and church leaders had a unique opportunity to familiarize themselves with the Disability Audit Toolkit, enabling them to take proactive steps towards promoting disability inclusion within their congregations.

Through the workshop, attendees gained insight into their current disability inclusion practices. Participants highlighted areas where their churches excelled while also identifying areas that required further development and attention. The dedication exhibited by the participating churches towards promoting disability inclusion was evident in the workshop's outcomes.

In addition to equipping attendees with practical tools, the workshop emphasized the significance of engaging with disability-related policies, particularly the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (RPWD) Act 2016-2017, as published in the Gazette of India. By actively involving themselves in disability-related policy discussions, churches can positively impact the lives of individuals with disabilities and foster inclusivity, advocacy, and support within their communities.

Disability Inclusion at Workshop Organized by NCCI-Indian Disability Ecumenical Accompaniment and Engage Disability

To promote inclusivity and make people with disabilities feel welcomed in churches, a workshop on disability inclusion was held on 14th June 2023 led by NCCI-Indian Disability Ecumenical Accompaniment and Engage Disability. The workshop challenged participants to think

beyond the statement which they made initially from "We don't have a person with disability in our church so we have to be a welcoming church". The goal of the workshop was to equip churches with the tools they need to make their spaces welcoming to people with disabilities and to encourage their active involvement. The event aimed to equip churches with the necessary tools to create an inviting atmosphere for people with disabilities and encourage their active participation within the church community.

The workshop commenced with an engaging activity focused on raising awareness about disabilities. Participants were divided into pairs, with one person assuming the role of a person with a disability by having their hands and legs bound or their eyes covered. The other partner acted as their guide. By sharing personal stories and recounting the challenges faced during the activity, participants were encouraged to develop empathy and a deeper understanding of the experiences of individuals with disabilities.

One of the key highlights of the workshop was the introduction of the Disability Inclusion Audit for Churches in India, a tool for ongoing self-assessment and progressive improvement of churches created by Engage Disability. This tool provided participants with the means to conduct ongoing self-assessments of their church's inclusivity practices and identify areas for improvement. During the session, pastors and church leaders had a unique opportunity to familiarize themselves with the Disability Audit Toolkit, enabling them to take proactive steps towards promoting disability inclusion within their congregations.

Through the workshop, attendees gained insight into their current disability inclusion practices. Participants highlighted areas where their churches excelled while also identifying areas that required further development and attention. The dedication exhibited by the participating churches towards promoting disability inclusion was evident in the workshop's outcomes.

In addition to equipping attendees with practical tools, the workshop emphasized the significance of engaging with disability-related policies, particularly the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (RPWD) Act 2016-2017, as published in the Gazette of India. By actively involving themselves in disability-related policy discussions, churches

can positively impact the lives of individuals with disabilities and foster inclusivity, advocacy, and support within their communities.

The workshop, conducted in collaboration with the Nagpur Ecumenical Fora and Nagpur ED Hub, witnessed the active participation of 25 pastors from various denominations, institutional heads, and church members from Nagpur. The diverse representation of individuals showcased the collective commitment to promoting disability inclusion within the church community.

With the tools and knowledge gained from this workshop, participants are now motivated to develop more accessible and inclusive venues with the right attitude towards inviting people with disabilities to their places of worship.

Rev Ribin John
Executive Secretary, Ecumenical Fora

●●●

NCCI Women's Concern promotes
THURSDAYS IN BLACK
Campaign
in Churches and Christian/Ecumenical Organisations
To address
GENDER INJUSTICE
particularly Domestic Violence and Rape

Need Help?
Feel Free to call: 9455059522 / mail us your concern:
jyoti@ncci1914.com; ncci@ncci1914.com

DR AGNES ABOUM – THE EPITOME OF FAITHFULNESS

National Council of Churches in India (NCCI) expresses its deep sorrow at the demise of Dr Agnes Aboum (73), the former moderator of the central committee of World Council of Churches (WCC). As the first woman and the first African to serve as moderator of WCC central committee, she proved her staunch leadership in handling the most difficult of issues with grace. Her role in enhancing women's leadership, especially in the Church worldwide, is noteworthy.

Her passion for social justice led her down the path of activism, especially during her college days at the University of Nairobi. Her active involvement in politics forced her to leave Kenya for Sweden and she continued her studies over there. After returning to Kenya, she continued her involvement in politics and was imprisoned for opposing President Daniel Arap Moi, the longest serving president of Kenya.

She was part of the ecumenical movement worldwide for years and was honoured on multiple occasions for her faithful and committed leadership by numerous organisations, including church bodies. Her zeal for gender justice and peace-making will be remembered for ever.

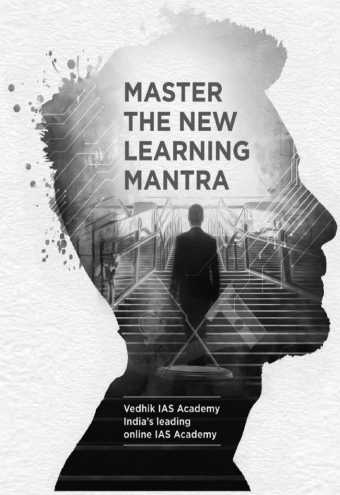
On behalf of the leadership of National Council of Churches, I, pray for the repose of the soul of the deceased in the dwellings of the righteous, and comfort to those who mourn her loss.

Rev Asir Ebenezer
General Secretary

●●●

VEDHIK
IAS ACADEMY
The New Learning Mantra

National Council of Churches in India



UN/UPSC Civil Service
Exam Coaching Programme

In Association with National Council of Churches in India (NCCI)

PROGRAMMES PRIMED FOR CIVIL SERVICE COACHING

When you are with Vedhik, it doesn't matter which part of the world you are in. At present, we have 129 centers in India and a presence in more than 14 countries. Our online programmes are structured to build strong foundations for you, improve your knowledge base and develop analytical skills.

Let your journey to success in the Indian & UN civil services examinations begin here. Choose the programme that suits you.

SPRINT - One-year Programme for Final year Degree Students/ Graduates/ Post Graduates

RUN-A-MILE - Two year Programme for 1st and 2nd year Degree and Post Graduates

MARATHON - Four-year Programme for Higher Secondary Students (11th and 12th)

CROSS COUNTRY - Six-year Programme for High School Students (8th,9th and 10th)

India's Largest Online IAS Academy

We have fixed one time fee of Rs.29,999/- plus GST for the Civil Service Coaching Programme.

Contact us for Registration

www.vedhikiasacademy.org

For Seat Availability & Feedback of Complaints

+91 9383 432 123 | +91 7777875588

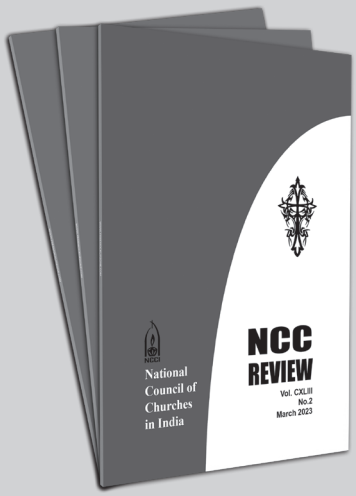
Coordinating Office:

National Council of Churches in India (NCCI)
#403, CNI Bhavan
16, Pandit Pant Marg,
New Delhi – 110 001

ncci@vedhikiasacademy.org

011 – 2373 06 57 | +91 9778 410 461

NCC REVIEW - GIFT COPIES



Gifting Journals and Books is a way to develop reading habits in our communities. NCC Review is providing an opportunity for the Church Leadership, Institutional Heads and Organizations to gift copies in bulk for a year, at a reduced price. The first copy from your annual subscription to NCC Review will specially mention your name and be marked as 'GIFT COPY'. Please contact NCCI Office or write to us at *nccreview@ncci1914.com.*

-Rev Dr Abraham Mathew
Managing Editor

ADVERTISEMENT RATES IN THE NCC REVIEW

	Full Page	*Half Page*	*Inside Cover*	*Cover*
Single	Rs. 1200	Rs. 800	Rs. 1400	Rs.1600
Multiple*	Rs. 900	Rs. 650	Rs. 1050	Rs. 1200

*Multiple rates applicable per insertion for at least three consecutive insertions. All other terms and conditions shall remain same.

NCC REVIEW REVISED SUBSCRIPTION RATES FROM 4/2016

	1 **year**	3 **year**	5 **year**
Indian Subscriptions ***(Regular)***	INR 250	INR 500	INR 800
Indian Subscriptions ***(Discounted for Theological Educators, Pastors, Evangelists, Students - Individuals only. NOT for Organisations, Institutions, Librarians, etc.)***	INR 200	INR350	INR 550
Bulk order (over 50 copies for Indian Subscriptions)	10% off		
UK Subscriptions	GBP 31	-	-
USA, South America, Canada, Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, Subscriptions	USD 45	-	-

PAYMENT MODES:

VPP: Place your subscription order by email: <ncci@ncci1914.com> or <nccreview@ncci1914.com> (Rs.20/- added to subscription cost)

Demand Draft: To be drawn in favour of "National Council of Churches in India" payable at Nagpur.

Cheque: To be drawn in favour of "National Council of Churches in India" (Please add Rs. 20/- for outstation cheques).

Money order: To be sent to: The Editor, NCC Review, Nagpur.

Bank Transfer:

Bank name: INDIAN BANK
Branch: NAGPUR
IFSC CODE: IDIB000N007
A/C NAME: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES REVIEW
A/C NUMBER: 496991073

ISSN 0975 - 1882 RNP/NPCity/237/2018-2020
Under No. 72101/99 Registered with the Registrar of Newspapers for India
Price: ₹ 23/- ***Date of posting 20th of every month***

NCCI COMMUNICATIONS

Get NCCI news updates and stay connected on our network through your comments

Website: www.ncci1914.com

Facebook: facebook.com/nccionline

Twitter: twitter.com/nccionline

YouTube: youtube.com/nccinet

SMS: Register your mobile number to get NCCI alerts/updates on your phone. Details on our website

News Update: Register your email address to receive NCCI news updates by email. Registration details on our website

NCCI NEWS app for Android devices
NCCI NEWS app for AndroidTM devices on Google Play™
Download the app on your mobile device.
Search for "ncci" on Google Play on your device.

NCC Review : To subscribe to India's oldest ***(since 1862)*** Ecumenical journal ***NCC Review*** download the subscription form on the link: https://ncci1914.com/ncc-review/