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## Book Review

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Book Review 150

1. After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later by *David G. Horrell and Todd D. Still*  
**Tunchapbo**

## Editorial

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I, on behalf of the editorial board, apologize for the delay in bringing out this issue. I take this time to thank all the contributors for their articles in spite of their busy schedule. In this issue, there are six articles and each of this is written from a different perspective. The first article in this issue contributed by Aswathy John. In her article, "One in Many: Seeking for the One a Paradigm for Mission," Aswathy John argues for "One" among many as church's mission paradigm although she does not fully negate the 'many'. Her argument is based on two parables of Jesus from the Gospel according to Luke 15:3-7, "the lost sheep" and 15:8-10, the lost coin." Therefore the search for the One has significance in Jesus' ministry. The attitude of Jesus to seek the One is an eye opener in the world of the competition of many. The mission of the Church has to focus on the other One which is away and also to keep an eye on the people from the margin. Ministry towards 'One' is important in the midst of many attractions and it should have a vision of including less attracted, less privileged and less noticed. Hence, the church becomes an inclusive living community that can rejoice and celebrate together with all members.

The second article deals with the history of Christianity in the *Khasi* hills. In her essay, "Christian Mission and Cultural Hegemony in Khasi Society: A Postcolonial Critique," Wandahilin Kharlukhi argues that the *Khasi* society is organically associated with Western imperialism and colonialism. Christianity in the *Khasi* hills is the product of the colonial mission of the Welsh Presbyterian Church which is primarily a cultural, religious and missiological phenomenon that expressed Western collective ideas and religious practices. As a result of this domination, the *Khasis*, in the process, lost their cultural identity to the Western imperial

and colonial domination imposed on their culture and religion. In her concluding remark, Kharlukhi asserts that there is a need to reconstruct its theology as part of the decolonization process. The church must take an intentional and conscious effort to formulate its own theology by appropriating local resources and embracing other cultural resources in theological construction. Hence, it is crucial that the church should define its theology and the gospel in a way that might be more compelling and more culturally relevant in a pluralistic context like India.

In the following article, “A Tale of Two Theologians: Gustavo Gutiérrez and Michael Amaladoss,” Ambrose Mong presents theological ideas of the two Roman Catholic theologians, one from South America, namely Gustavo Gutiérrez and the other from Asia, and India in particular, namely Michael Amaladoss. This essay begins with Vatican’s suspicion for their revolutionary and unorthodox theological ideas. However, Mong points out that in a distinctive turn of events, Gustavo Gutiérrez, the founding father of the liberation theology movement, received high recognition and honor from the Vatican for his pioneering work in liberation theology. Whereas during the same time, Michael Amaladoss, a specialist in interreligious dialogue, religious pluralism, and inculturation, received strict sanction from the Vatican for his ‘complimentary views of sacred texts from other religious traditions to assist humankind in achieving communion with the divine.’ In his conclusion, Mong has expressed his apprehension about Vatican’s maintaining such double standard when comes to dealing with Asian scholarships.

Swarup Bar, in his article “A Pneumatology of Confluence: Pioneering Pneumatological Contributions of Pratap Chunder Mazoomdar of Brahma Samaj,” presents Pratap Chunder Mazoomdar’s contribution to pneumatology and argues that Mazoomdar’s pneumatology is largely ‘a pneumatology of confluence.’ Bar claims that Mazoomdar’s concept of pneumatology can converge various conflicting views into a whole

and at the same time can maintain the distinctiveness of each differing viewpoint. As one of the pioneers in outlining the Indian Christian pneumatology, which Mazoomdar laments its disregard in Christian theology, his works appeared only in the writings of later Indian Christian theologians. Bar concludes by summarizing the importance of Mazoomdar’s pneumatology and claims that his contribution has implications both for Indian Christian theology and global theological conversations in interfaith contexts.

Dipti Gine in “The Family System Theory and its Impact on a Family in Crisis,” opines that this theory, pioneered by Murray Bowen in 1974, can resolve the inherent family crisis, such as frustrations, break down in relationships, disunity, and so on, that has consumed our society today. The major purpose of this theory is to “reduce frustration and increase interaction” and “maintaining unity and holistic development in combating the family crisis.” Employing this theory with a case study and combined with biblical understanding, she has demonstrated that these above goals can be successfully achieved.

The last article, “Factors Responsible for the Rise of Islamic Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.” written from a religio-political and historical perspective, Kailash Kumar Chatry presents particularly the radical Islamic religious ideologies spread by Wahhab, *Ahl-e-Hadith* and Deobandi School which contributed to the rise of the Islamic religious terrorism in Kashmir. He, further, argues that during 1980s communalism and communal politics escalated because of misappropriation of power by the Central government authority against the religious constituency in Kashmir, and denial of the democratic rights of the Kashmiri people by rigging election in 1987 added fuel to the explosion of the terrorism in Kashmir. His case study at the end strengthened his argument further towards the rise of Islamic terrorism in Kashmir.

**Subhro Sekhar Sircar**  
Editor

## **One in Many: Seeking for the One a Paradigm of Mission**

*Aswathy John\**

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### **Introduction**

One or many? Both have some significance. The word 'One' is so important or valuable while nothing other than 'one' does exist. And the word 'Many' has also significant meaning, when more than one is available, one may be insignificant or sometimes one may be close to our heart. However, there is a possibility of confusion when the selection is needed out of many. Selecting 'one' from many may lead us to a second thought. Because it may take us into different levels of asking questions such as which one is the best? How does it help or useful or how long it will be helpful/useful? But the fact is that there is no option other than 'one' in terms of selection. This may be true in the case of both living and non-living things. Therefore 'One' and 'Many' are complementing each other and significant according to our taste/ attitude. How does the church look at the reality of One and Many with regard to the mission? The number One and Many may be crucial in Mission. However, the presenter gives weight to 'One' in this paper while not negating the importance of many. Therefore, the focus in the paper will be giving importance to 'One' and not for many.<sup>1</sup> Or 'One' is interpreted and highlighted in all possible ways. There will be a critical, analytical and missiological approach used to

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look at the biblical portion. This analysis is based mainly on two biblical parables in Luke 15:3-7 and 8-10.

### **One and Many**

‘One’ and ‘many’ which may not need much explanation. Both have advantages and disadvantages. One can be single, ‘only one’ even in the mathematical sense. There is no second option to think about in One, whereas ‘Many’ have more options. From many, one can get more choices. Different contexts serve different meanings to ‘Many’. Many ways, many people, many things, many students, many teachers, many religions, many places and so on. It talks about the plurality of things and provides a wider world of options for selection. The reality of plurality can be considered as the basis of aesthetic sense in human beings.

### **Advantages and Disadvantages being One**

1. Only One—no other.
2. Selection/choice is not possible.
3. If one is lost/missed—no way to regain or to retain. Lost forever. Or replacement may not be possible.<sup>2</sup>
4. One (numerical) is critical in terms of making one success or failure.<sup>3</sup>
5. One way/path. One is also important in the case of way-path.<sup>4</sup>
6. When there is only one, it will be so precious and valuable.<sup>5</sup>
7. In faith journey many paths but only ‘one’ way (Christian Belief).
8. Only one<sup>6</sup> Saviour but not many saviours.
9. One partner<sup>7</sup> in life even though many friends around.
10. Only one biological father and mother (parents) for a person.<sup>8</sup>
11. The reality ‘Brahman’ is one and there is no duality.
12. Excluding the other/many.

### **Advantages and Disadvantages of ‘Many’**

As in the case of One, there are some advantages and disadvantages for ‘many’.

If a person is asked to take ‘one’ out of many it may not be easy to select one out of many.

Some of the observations are:

1. Many provide/give choices and options.
2. Selection may be possible/easy or sometimes confusing.
3. Best can be selected according to one’s own taste, choice, need and interest.
4. When many are present ‘One’ will be selected as most important. Or One will be close to heart.
5. Out of many losing, one may not be painful all the time.<sup>9</sup>
6. Many may give us burden sometimes.
7. Many may be important when we deal with qualities of a person<sup>10</sup> or thing.
8. Many always indicate the majority.
9. Status of One and Many are different. Among many, each one will be unique.<sup>11</sup>
10. More than One makes many. Or the role of one is important in making many.
11. Many make joy/beauty.<sup>12</sup>
12. Many take more weight.

It is clear from the above observations that many and one are important, crucial and often they are interlinked.

### **Lucan Narrative of One in Many**

Having discussed the advantages and disadvantages of ‘one’ and ‘many’, this will be an effort to look into Luke’s presentation of losing ‘one’ from his two parables. Among the four gospels, Luke has a special concern towards poor, needy, marginalized, women, children and the neglected. Being a doctor and a historian Luke has a special interest in dealing with the concerns of the said group. Luke expresses his motive to bring these groups to the centre of discussion and attraction. In the kingdom experience, such groups are also very much part and they should get justice

with that of others. For the purpose of our analysis, we would be taking the first two parables.

### **One in Hundred and One in Ten: Luke 15:3-7 & 15:8-10**

Luke 15 is a unique chapter because it talks about three lost items,<sup>13</sup> lost sheep, the lost coin and the lost son. Verses 1-7 talk about the parable of shepherd losing one sheep and he wanted to draw near the lost one and bring all to the safe place.<sup>14</sup> Also, verses 8-10 talk about a woman losing her coin. Even though we give the title lost one but these parables do not end in tragedy but all three end with rejoicing. However, the third parable may give us confusion that which son is being lost-elder or the younger? There may also be a tendency of looking at this chapter as mere parables. But the parables are the media in which Jesus communicated truth and reality of the kingdom of God.

### **Luke 15:3-7- Parable of the lost and found One Sheep**

The parable of the lost sheep<sup>15</sup> gives a life touching experience of a shepherd who searches for his lost sheep which is one of his belongings. In the analysis of this parable, it is found that this parable is placed in the Palestinian setting. The image of a shepherd is found in the Old Testament but God is never called a shepherd in the New Testament.<sup>16</sup> Through this parable, Jesus exposes the reality of finding or the task of regaining one which is lost. Here Luke clearly presents that the shepherd leaves the ninety-nine in the wilderness whereas Matthew presents the sheep were left on the mountain. The setting of these two gospels is different, one in the wilderness and the other on the mountain. In both places, we see the reality of hundred sheep and the missing or going away from the group is only one. But the shepherd searched for it till he finds. Yet the shepherd who shows the readiness to searching the One is presented in both narratives. Hence the attitude of shepherd towards the missing one is love, care, the pain of losing and concern. The burden of missing one from the flock is a disturbed pain in him. Therefore he leaves the ninety-nine and searching for the lost One.

### **Parable of the lost Coin—Lost and found One Coin**

The parable of the lost coin is found only in Luke's narration. A woman having ten silver coins and loses one among them. She uses certain available tools such as light and broom for her search. She sweeps the house and searches carefully and finally, she finds it. The silver coin was worth about a denarius as a day's wage.<sup>17</sup> During the time of Nero, the coin was equivalent to a denarius. The one coin represents a significant part of her savings.<sup>18</sup> Woman's savings involved her hard work. A woman searches the coin till she finds it. There is no mention of the time factor. How many days or hours she had spent on it. But till it was found she continued the search. When 'One' loses from her collection, we may assume that the pain adds up and the intensity of losing may also be severe. The lost coin might be precious to her. The woman's search for the 'One' coin was persistent and would have a passion and feeling of burden and enthusiasm. Her diligent work was focused on the One coin, and she with perseverance and patience continued it. She never gave up the effort but continued till she got it. Losing 'One' coin made her to be determined, disturbed, restless and uncomfortable, to continue the task of searching. Thus the effort of searching yielded her good result. The coin has become more important to her in its rediscovery that it had been originally as part of her savings. Hence the parable points to the human reaction to prize what is lost even if it is a number of lesser value than what one still possess.

### **Search for the One: The Nature and Goal of the Owner**

In both parables, the common factor we find is that 'one' is missing. The first parable is a living thing and the second is a non-living thing. The sheep might have taken its freedom to move away and can be a deliberate choice or disobedience. Or it can be the carelessness of the shepherd. But when the shepherd realized that One is missing from his fold he left the ninety-nine and stepped out for the One. When we compare One with the number

ninety-nine 'One' is a small number and it can be insignificant. Also, there is a possibility of ignoring or neglecting the one. But the Shepherd leaves the ninety-nine and goes after the One which was not in the flock or misplaced or went wrong.

In the second parable, the lost one is a 'coin' and it is a non-living thing. But it is the possession and the hard work of a woman. When we compare with the value of nine, one drachma/silver coin is small. But it is her one-day income. There may be more factors that prompted her to search for it. Some of the possibilities cannot be ignored. Is it because of the pain of losing her possession, or because of her emotional and psychological attachment? Or worried about her one day's labour?

From the two narratives, it explicitly says that the owner was ready to leave the other (less important?) and search for the lost one. Also, it shows that the owner is disturbed by the lost one and making an effort to find it out. The one which was lost was really significant for him/ her. In both cases, the time duration of the search was not mentioned but it was a continuous act of search. No time limit was given. Besides, it maybe noted that finding is not the climax of the parable. It ends up with celebration and rejoicing with others. The act of losing is often painful but regaining the lost/ recovering/redeeming is always a matter of rejoicing. The owner's nature of unceasing search and the goal of achieving it to the original state show the basic nature of the owner. Each member of the flock was very dear to the shepherd and the silver coin of the woman was also so precious to her. When the lost one joins the rest of the members the completeness occurs. The idea of wholeness is possible with the homecoming of the lost and joining to the rest of the numbers this leads to the celebration and rejoicing.

The celebration is with neighbours and with the community where one has existence. The community is the one which always cares and takes care of the welfare of the members. The 'othering'/brokenness is painful but joining/ mending with the other is rejoicing. That is, the other- 'one' makes us happy and

finding the other is a matter of joy. Thus the mission is also finding the other and bringing 'one' into the community of joy. Losing from the intended place/missing is human nature but searching and bringing back to the original place or the act of recovering is divine. It is an experience of shalom, peace, and joy.

### **Mission**

It is a known fact that the word 'mission' is not from the Bible but the equivalent word carries the meaning is 'send' from the Bible. The Apostle is the one who is sent. Thus one who is sent out for some purpose and carries some messages is called messenger and the message that is translated or communicated into the context is a mission. Therefore one who comes with the message is a messenger and the act of doing such thing is 'mission.'<sup>19</sup> God who came with a message of love is Jesus Christ and through His redeeming activity, the message of salvation is manifested into the world. However, this mission of God is entrusted to the church through human agencies. As Brunner says "The Church exists by mission as fire exists by burning."<sup>20</sup> Thus where there is No mission—there is no church. Jesus called the Church to share in His mission of restoring the beauty and harmony of a world distorted by fall/sin. Mission has got different meanings but here it is pointed to the idea of going out for searching and bringing in. Or the process of mending the brokenness is the mission and the one who mends the gap is a missionary. There are two aspects<sup>21</sup> (centripetal and centrifugal) of the mission. One aspect is understood as a person goes out from the centre to the periphery and the second is bringing back from the periphery to the centre.<sup>22</sup> However, these two aspects of the mission are entrusted to Church. Going out with a calling and commitment and coming in with a joy of celebration is a mission.

### **Mission is Searching the Lost One**

The mission is sending out to seek the lost. The mission of God is bringing or inviting the one which is out of the flock. God

became a missionary by sending the Son into this world to redeem and to mend the brokenness. The mission is God's agenda and searching for the lost is one of them. The One which is lost is also misplaced and it needs to be retrieved. In this process of recovering as we have seen in the parables, the shepherd and the woman are engaged. Misplaced coin and the lost sheep give the impression that the owner remains the same even though it is away from the custody of the owner. Thus the obligation of the owner prompts him/her to go for the search. Here we may see the personal involvement of the owners. In the process of search, only one person/owner is involved. In the mission of God, our personal involvement is demanded. In both parables no one else is appointed for this task of search but, both of them are personally involved. Mission demands not only the appointment of someone but our active involvement and participation because God himself was personally involved in the saving act of the creation/universe. The best demonstration of the mission is thus shown by Jesus Christ for the salvation. God's best choice for the salvation was sending the Son into the world rather choosing or sending some others or some ways and means. Thus the sender and the message we find in one person-- Jesus Christ.

Enthusiasm to search and readiness to come out from the comfort zones are the challenges that one faces in the process of the mission. The church as the body of Jesus Christ is given the same task and cooperates with God in the mission of searching. Also, Church is the called out body to find out the lost. However, the vision to meet the lost and its aspects of centrifugal and centripetal is conveniently used for the sake of the mission. The personal involvement aspect of the mission is slowly fading away and often mission is limited to institutions and development activities of the church. The vision of Isaiah (Isa. 6: 8-9) the prophet is relevant still--whom shall I send and who will go? Often Gospel and evangelism become an agenda of the church. The search for luxury and modern facility became a day to day affairs of the

church. Money is not a problem for the mission but participation in mission is limited by giving money for the mission. At times mission becomes an agenda for making money. Addressing the mass through media is a modified or latest form of mission and it will be with much propaganda and advertisement. However, the model that Jesus showed in the parable of Zacchaeus depicts vividly that Jesus is especially interested in personal interaction, invitation, and salvation of Zacchaeus. Searching the 'One' in the Crowd like Zacchaeus reinstates the mission statement of Jesus --For the Son of Man came to seek out and to save the lost (Lk. 19.1-10).

### **Church and its Mission Pattern**

The mission of the Church has got a long history. Also, the church in India has got a Christian heritage of mission. Because churches still believe in the mission and send people to share the good news-gospel. The mission is inevitable for the church because mission produces fruits for God through the church. Moreover, Church believes in the great commission given by Jesus Christ to the disciples and it is followed all the time. The mission started as sharing the gospel and witnessing to Christ in the world. As the changes happen in the world the *modus operandi* of the mission also changes. At different stages, the pattern of doing mission also changed. The socio-political and religio-cultural background is crucial in doing the mission. The word 'mission' is misunderstood and misinterpreted at times by people of other faiths and religions. It has become an arrogant word for them and it makes hostility among people. Usually, it gives a negative impression that it is for conversion. It was understood that winning souls for Christ was the main motto of the mission. Mass conversion<sup>23</sup> and adding more number to the church continued in pre-independent and post-independent India. Numerical numbers of believers were very critical for the continued financial aid of the Church. Hence the growth of the church was directly connected with the economic benefit of the depressed class of the society.<sup>24</sup>

The old interpretation of mission was limited in evangelism and conversion<sup>25</sup> and the present socio-religious and pluralistic context demands re-definition and re-valuation of the mission.

Church has used different patterns for the mission. Sometimes it was by proselytization, through charity, social activities such as medical assistance and providing education also by abandoning evil practices such as child marriage, child sacrifices, sati, and polygamy. However, the activity of mission became instrumental in the life of many people and they joined the church. It is to be noted that by the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century the arrogant kind of mission had slowly gone down because of political involvement of the government through inquiry committee<sup>26</sup> and political agencies. The church in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has adopted an advanced way of evangelism through institutions and established a form of church's mission fields. Christians in India is a minority (2.3%)<sup>27</sup> group but the various contributions towards the growth of people in the country are tremendous to them. In the midst of criticisms and allegations church still, continue her mission in different ways. The Church still send missionaries for the proclamation of the gospel, the liberation activities such as education,<sup>28</sup> medical assistance through hospitals and clinics and to be the agents to voice against inhuman activities and rights of the people. Thus, the mission will continue because it is God's mission.

### **Church and Mission in 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

The Church though understands mission as her life, it is very lightly taken at times by people and organizations. For certain people, it is limited to charity and financial assistance. The mission activities of certain denominations (Catholic) have certain systematic strategies and serve the village people. Protestant churches<sup>29</sup> also send people into mission fields to be part of mission activities. The challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century mission are many than before. The government's political<sup>30</sup> intervention is strong in the local life of the people. This may affect the witnessing to Christ in the mission fields as well. Whatever be

the political motives of the government and the parties how does the church aim at the mission is vital. The mission is evaluated in the villages on the basis of a number of Christian members attending in the local churches and congregations. Missionaries' continuous visit produces visible changes/effect among people. The number/attendance become mandatory to evaluate the growth of the church. However, the heads and leaders of the church do not know the daily struggles of those missionaries. The other side of the mission is that alluring people with aids and assistance invite problems and the faith aspect of the people may not be mandatory. The success of mission may be evaluated on the basis of a number of members and not on quality or faith of the believers. Money becomes the main challenge in missions. The number 'one' may be insignificant<sup>31</sup> in the certain evaluation of missionary activities in the mission fields.

Yet the mission is done not only in mission fields but also in the local churches/ parishes. In the local churches/ parishes, the leaders and ministers are called to be the shepherd to the members. Knowing each member and interact with them in their problems and difficulties is also an aspect of the mission. Here one family/ one member are also significant. Within the framework of the church, administration knowing each member is important. At times certain people are being neglected and cornered and the pastoral visit<sup>32</sup> may not be done at least once in a year. Search for the members and knowing them in their local life situations are vital in the life of a member. 'One' is important in the life and mission of the church.<sup>33</sup> Rich or poor, knowing and searching each member is a mission of the pastor/ shepherd. But today's mission is diverted or distorted by several factors.

### **Today the mission/activities in the parishes can be looked at mostly –**

1. On the basis of Money. Economic benefit decides our pattern of work.
2. Seeking the green pastures and the luxury of life.

3. Sacrificial attitude towards mission is fading away.
4. The numerical number is a real concern of mission.
5. Quality and faith aspect of the people is not given importance.
6. Walking miles with them is not common/ rarely found.
7. Solidarity with people especially in their needs and their rights are limited in lip service.
8. Struggles and pain may not be accepted so easily.
9. Witnessing / exemplary aspect of the mission is not emphasized in the churches.
10. The manifestation of the mission is mainly in terms of Charity and aids or running institutions.
11. Proper and effective motivation to people in cooperating with a mission is going away.
12. Ethics in life is given less importance.
13. Certain sections of members (disabled, sick & old) are being neglected.
14. Teachings on gender, class and caste discrimination are limited but these play a significant role in the churches.
15. Being partial to one group and supporting the powerful and listening to them invite problems.

### **Searching the 'One' which is to be found out-Paradigm of Mission**

Mission in the field and mission in the local congregation are part of ministry in which ministers are called. Sending out people and finding the lost is demanded from the mission. As we have seen above when the lost one comes back it results in rejoicing. When the shepherd and the woman find the lost sheep and the coin they celebrated it with others and celebrated with neighbours. Missing makes us painful and leading us into the miserable situation and finding lead us to merry making. The shepherd and the woman represent the agents of the joyous occasion. Here the impact of 'One' makes difference. Because of One, the loss was great and again because of 'One' the act of rejoicing. The parable reminds us the value and the contributions of the community. He/she feels

that there is a community around him/her to celebrate life. One is equally important along with the community. The one makes you happy and identifying the one is a mission. The one is the other, and it is part of the community. The other is always relational. How do we understand the other? Are we concerned about the One who is rich, secured and protected or the 'One' which is poor, alienated, discarded or marginalised. In both cases 'One' is crucial.

At times one may be overprotected, overemphasized or overcrowded are rich and powerful. They will be given importance and projection. The rich 'one' and his/her place where people often visit and give the company. The public support to them also is tremendous. The paradox is that the One who is at the margin or alienated may not be visited, counseled or comforted. Here church and leaders show two faces of ministry. However, Jesus in his ministry gave priority to those people from the margins (Luke. 15:1-2). He had a special concern for this category of people. The value of other 'one' is important in the mission because Jesus the shepherd came to seek the other (John 10: 16).<sup>34</sup> Searching the lost one and following Christ should go hand in hand. It is a continuous and dynamic process. Identifying the lost one and the other is a mark of recognizing the existence of the other. To know the other 'one' means breaking one's own comfort zones and crossing the border to find out them. Here the church should have the willingness to risk and to move towards the known/ unknown is one of the challenges ahead of the mission.

### **Conclusion**

One in many is relational in the mission. The ministry of Jesus is always challenging the context and the church gets impetus looking at Jesus for its mission. The mission is searching for the lost and the 'one' is significant in His ministry. The mission of Jesus always has the focus on the other and he accepts the people from the margins. The number is may not be considered as important but the individual is important in his mission. The church is the body of Christ also should have the outlook of Jesus

in its mission of searching the 'one'. But the irony in today's mission is that church protects and search for the secured and protected Ones. The tendency we see in the church is that it stands with the creamy layer of the society and become the guardian of them. Identifying and recognizing the lost or the marginal 'One' is the need of the hour. The servant model of Jesus Christ and His interest towards people and knowing them as they are always challenging the leaders of the day. There must be a vision of people-centered mission than institutions/ organization centered mission. One single individual is important in Jesus's mission so also in the church.

Even though there were many in the flock the 'One' is important in Jesus' ministry. In the midst of many, One gets importance because it was not in the vicinity. One who resides, or sits at the last is also important. In the midst of many, one should not be neglected. Or by owning many, one is not unimportant. Here one is also equally important as many. Therefore the search for the One has significance in Jesus' ministry. The attitude of Jesus to seek the One is an eye opener in the world of the competition of many. The mission of the Church has to focus on the other One which is away and also to keep an eye on the people from the margin. Ministry towards 'One' is important in the midst of many attractions and it should have a vision of including less attracted, less privileged and less noticed. Thus church becomes an inclusive living community that can rejoice and celebrate together with all members.

## End Notes

1 One and Many/One or Many? It may be debatable for us. The numerical One is given importance in this paper to support the ideas. This does not mean that many are less important. One may be some times refer as minority an many as majority. Nuances between One and many may depend upon how do we look at it. It depends up one's attitude or perspective. At times the world may search for many but here the special importance is given to single ONE. S. J. Samartha's book *One Christ Many Religions: Toward a Revised Christology* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books &

Bangalore: SATHRI, 1994) is an interesting one in the area of Christology which highlights the universality of Jesus Christ as one saviour.

- 2 It would be possible in the case of non-living things and it may not be possible with the living. (whatever item or things we have only one-if it loses it pains us. When it comes to the reality of death of one member / one child it would be deeper and painful. Intensity of Pain will be more. Replacement of a thing which is lost can be substituted but not with the same one.
- 3 For instance examination marks. One mark/point can be very critical in examinations or in any competitive examination. Hence 'one' is very critical and significant in certain stages of life.
- 4 Some roads may be only one to reach destiny no other shortcuts or by ways to reach the end. (While, travelling we may be tempted to ask others the ways/paths to reach the final destiny).
- 5 In some case of one child the possessiveness towards the child will be more and care and protection will be more.
- 6 Brahman is One not many. In *advaita*, monism is highlighted.
- 7 In India, there was a practice of polygamy in some religions, however still few of them practice. Mostly among other religious people the conventional idea of having one partner is practiced. But Christians strictly wanted to follow one partner system and there may be rare exceptions in some cultures and traditions.
- 8 There may be some discoveries and reports that there is possibility of having more than one parent.
- 9 Regarding living and non-living things our attitude will be different,for instance, in the case of money, things, possession, and assets. However there may be a different attitude or feeling when it comes to living beings.
- 10 A person's richness can be counted on the basis of many not on the basis of ONE,for instance, many friends and assets of a person. It is assessed on the basis of many/plenty.
- 11 With regard to human beings, each one is unique.
- 12 For instance, many flowers, birds and cattle.
- 13 Luke 15: 3-7 & 8-10 are more focused in this study. The two parables talk about the lost one. The owner tries to get which was lost. However the interest in this paper is about not on the lost but one. Lost item has been found after a long search.
- 14 John Nolland (Gen. Editor), *Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 35B Luke 9: 21-18:34*. (Dallas Texas: Word Books, 1993). 769-774.

- 15 This gospel parable parallel is found in Matt. 18:12-14. This parallel explanation clearly shows that even the little one is important in the kingdom of heaven. In Matthew's explanation also it is asserted that one is as equal as many.
- 16 See Gospel According to St. Luke 15:3-8, *The New Interpreter's Bible Vol. 9* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 296. Also see John Nolland, *Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 35B Luke: 9: 21-18:34* (Dallas, Texas: Word Books Publisher, 1993), 767-778.
- 17 John Nolland (Gen. Editor), *Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 35B Luke 9: 21-18:34*. (Dallas Texas: Word Books, 1993). 774-776.
- 18 See Gospel According to St. Luke 15: 3-8, *The New Interpreter's Bible Vol. 9* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 298. See also K. R Snodgrass "Parable" in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, Howard Marshall, consulting ed. (Leicester: Intervarsity Press, 1992), 591-601.
- 19 G.B. Cooke, "Missions" in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, George Arthur Buttrick, ed. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 404.
- 20 Emil Brunner is a Swiss Theologian and belonged to the neo-orthodox movement and this is his famous quote often used by the church. See <http://www.carlislediocese.org.uk/uploads/893/revival-mission.pdf.html> accessed on 25-10-2016 11 am.
- 21 See Richard Bauckham, "Missions as Hermeneutic for Scriptural Interpretation" in <http://richardbauckham.co.uk/uploads/Accessible/Mission%20as%20Hermeneutic.pdf>, accessed on 24-10-2016 at 12 pm.
- 22 People of Israel were called to be light to the nations (Isa: 49: 6b). And they shared the gospel to the non-Jews and they gathered at Jerusalem as the centre of mission. A similar understanding is also seen in Geevarghese Mar Theodosius Episcopa, "Mission of the Church in 21<sup>st</sup> Century" in Koshy P. Varughese, ed., *Challenges and Prospects of Mission in the Emerging Context* (Faridabad: Dharma Jyoti Vidya Peeth, 2010), 20-29.
- 23 Gandhi portrayed mass conversions as imposing one's religion by offering material and social benefits to people who did not know the consequences. Also he condemned Christian efforts to convert the Depressed Classes by saying "the poor *Harijans* have no mind, no intelligence, no sense of difference between God and no-God." See Sebastian C. H. Kim, *In Search of Identity: Debates on Religious Conversion in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 30, 33& 34. At the same time, Gandhi accepted the teachings of the Bible. He even admits that there is "enough in the Bible to authorize us to invite people to a better way of life," but does not see that it involved an invitation to a new religious community, the Church See M.

- M. Thomas, *The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance* (Madras: C. L. S, 1976), 211.
- 24 Cf. Gandhi, "True Evangelism," in *Christian Missions: Their Place in India* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1941). Also to be noted that majority of the Indian Christians are from dalits and tribal background.
- 25 Christian mission has always got the blame of conversion from different leaders such as Gandhi and other religious leaders. For instance how Gandhi had perceived and looked at mission during his time. It says. With regard to the conversions carried out by the Christian missions, Gandhi had to say: "...their conversion, whether it has taken place, has not been a spiritual act in any sense of the term. They are conversions for convenience." See *Harijan* (June 12, 1937): 141. Gandhi vehemently criticized conversion as proselytization.
- 26 Enquiry Commission organized by the Madhya Pradesh Government in 1954-1956 is one example for it.
- 27 This is according to the statistics done in 2011. <http://www.firstpost.com/india/india-has-79-8-percent-hindus-14-2-percent-muslims-2011-census-data-on-religion-2407708.html> accessed on 24-10-2016.
- 28 A detailed explanation of diversified aspect of mission can be found in L. Stanislaus (ed). *Education as Mission* (Pune: Ishvani Kendra; Delhi: ISPCCK, 2004). This book gives different perspectives of education as mission.
- 29 Certain denominations send missionaries to remote places and adopt certain villages and stay with people for a long time. This produces qualitative changes in villagers and it may lead to evangelism and conversion. Ashram and other related mission activities of churches are also long time mission experience in certain part of India.
- 30 The BJP government and its different political agenda become stumbling block to mission and churches different programme that are being practiced long time in the villages.
- 31 There is general a notion that more number of believers are the success of the mission and to make more members there may be different unfair means of activities occur.
- 32 It may be with various reasons such as work load, additional responsibilities, more number of families in the parish or sometimes with laziness.
- 33 Certain area of the members will be far away from the church. Hence the visit may not be done. May be one family will be staying one particular area. Here also the family is excluded from the pastoral visit and fellowship. Our own context can be analyzed. However there is one rich family reside far away pastor may find time to visit them.

- 34 The joy of bringing the other into the fold is expressed by the shepherd here. "I must bring them also, and they will listen to my voice. So there will be one flock, one shepherd". (John. 10:16b).

## **Christian Mission and Cultural Hegemony in Khasi Society: A Postcolonial Critique**

*Wandahilin Kharlukhi\**

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### **Introduction**

The Western missionary enterprise has lately been a subject of debates, criticisms, and reconstructions. With the emergence of postcolonial theory discussions about the experience of slavery, suppression, resistance, cultural representation, difference, and race reached new focus and clarity. This discussion is taking place as a response to the Western hegemonic claim of normative culture and to the violence that Western cultural power imposed on other people and cultures.<sup>1</sup> In the *Khasi* society, the colonial mission of the Welsh Presbyterian Church is primarily a cultural, religious and missiological phenomenon that expressed Western collective ideas and religious practices. Hence, the history of Christianity in the *Khasi* hills is organically associated with Western imperialism and colonialism.<sup>2</sup> Although stiff resistance movement, which I will detail later in the paper, was launched by the custodians of traditional *Khasi* religion against Western cultural invasion, the onslaught of Western domination that resulted in massive conversion to Christianity eventually suppressed and silenced their voices. In the course of time, the *Khasis* lost their awareness of this kind of imperialism imposed on their culture and religion. Henceforth, they understand mission as a romantic and optimistic history of development, transformation, and civilization, and that

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the missionaries' work in transplanting their religion and culture in *Khasi* lands was therefore accepted uncritically by the people. As far as my knowledge is concerned, until today the *Khasi* Church continues to celebrate the inherited theology of mission that has assumed the cultural superiority of the West, which eventually results in a subsequent alienation of the *Khasis* from their own cultural traditions. Additionally, local historians also continue to pen down the 'success story' of Welsh missionaries' enterprise and failed to critically analyze the history of Christian mission from the perspective of cultural-religious imperialism and colonialism.<sup>3</sup>

As *Khasi* Christianity has failed to address issues of cultural colonialism and representation in Christian mission, this paper, therefore, attempts to deconstruct colonial mission enterprise in order to interrupt the stability of Western colonial mission theology that still dominates the essence of the *Khasi* Church. To do this, I will use postcolonial critique as a method of counter-resistance against this mainstream essentialist Christianity. Postcolonial concepts such as deconstruction and hybridity will be employed. I posit that postcolonial critique will provide a template to challenge the dominant Western discourse and disrupt the rules of representation and recognition by allowing other subjugated cultural knowledge to enter into a dominant theological or missiological discourse of the Church.

In the following, the discussion begins with a brief sketch of the inception of Christianity in the *Khasi* hills, followed by a discussion on the interaction of the missionaries and the local people. Strategies adopted by the missionaries to evangelize the people are then highlighted. This informs the readers about the way Welsh missionaries carried out their mission, which then resulted in a resistance movement launched by the adherents of the traditional faith. Then, I proceed to analyze the history of Christian mission using postcolonial critique, followed by a task of theorizing postcolonial concepts as means of decolonizing process.

## 1. A Brief History of the Inception of Christian Mission in Khasi Hills

The inception of a major Christian mission among the *Khasis* began in 1941 by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, although there was a vestige of some missionaries' activities carried on by the Serampore Baptist Mission from the year 1813 to 1838.<sup>4</sup> The Welsh Calvinistic Church was primarily working in collaboration with the London Missionary Society in sending and supporting missionaries who were committed to evangelizing the heathen world. For various reasons this connection between the two ended in 1840 and has resulted in the formation of a separate Welsh Missionary Society, later named the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Missionary Society.<sup>5</sup> In the same year of its formation, this society considered plans to begin its missionary work. A committee was set up to decide and select the field of operation. Two suggestions were brought to the Directors of the society pertaining to the field of operation. But finally perhaps for the right reason, the society adopted the *Khasi* hills as its first mission field.<sup>6</sup>

The most important event in connection with the newly-formed society was the departure of its first missionary, Thomas Jones, and his wife, for their field of labor. On April 23, 1841, five months and two days from the date of leaving Liverpool, the Jones arrived in Calcutta and were greeted and welcomed by fellow missionaries who worked there.<sup>7</sup> After a few weeks of rest in Calcutta, they started on their lonesome and difficult journey, in a small river boat to the *Khasi* Hills and finally arrived at the mission station in Cherrapunji, the rainiest inhabited place on earth, on June 22, 1841.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. The First Interaction between the Khasis and Christian Culture

This section begins with a brief history of the first interaction between the Welsh missionaries and the *Khasi* people. This

informs the readers how the theology of the Welsh Presbyterian Church (hereinafter WPC) and the missionaries as its carriers reflected their general perception of the *Khasi* race; and how the understanding and knowledge of the gospel of Christ was also construed from that perspective. When Thomas Jones came to the *Khasi* Hills he interacted with the people who already have their own distinctive religion, culture, and tradition which formed their rich heritage. After he reached Cherrapunji, a place set to be a mission station, he found that it was an inviting place to work and that in some respects the *Khasis* were a people prepared for missionary labor.<sup>9</sup> But his whole conception of the *Khasi* people is described in a letter from the hills to his home Church. Jones wrote about the *Khasis* in this way:<sup>10</sup>

Here are multitudes upon multitudes of untutored heathen, naturally lazy and sluggish, living in filth and rags, afraid to wash a rag lest it should wear out the sooner; depriving themselves of proper clothing; niggardly hoarding up every *pice* they can get; and if asked the reason why, they answer ‘that they may have something to sacrifice when they or their friends are ill.

The above quotation reflected that for Jones the *Khasi* people were a backward and primitive race. Their religious beliefs were nothing more than mere superstitions, pagan and irrational. H. Mawrie, a local writer, has clearly noted this missionaries’ attitude toward the *Khasi* culture in his “Where Lies the Soul of Our Race.” He argues that *Khasi* culture is “a red rag to the missionaries and their henchmen who are out to destroy anything that is *Khasi*.”<sup>11</sup> Hence, it can be inferred that the first intention of the missionaries’ coming to the *Khasi* hills was to liberate the *Khasis* from their backwardness, primitive religion and culture that did not conform to the Western world views and practices.<sup>12</sup> So the call for evangelization based on the “mission to save” became an integral part of the missionary endeavor.

### 3. The Missionaries’ Mission Strategies and the Introduction of Christ

When Jones set foot in the *Khasi* Hills in 1841, he realized that nothing could pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel of Christ but civilization through education, or the so-called civilizing mission. In short, for him, the acceptance of the Gospel by the heathen can only be accomplished, and their cultural practices be corrected only through education. This is clearly outlined in a letter Jones sent to his home Church in Wales.<sup>13</sup>

The only plan which appears to me likely to answer a good purpose is to establish schools in the various villages, to teach the *Khasis*—children and adults—to read their own language; and to instruct them in the principle of the Christian religion: or in other words, to give them the same kind of instruction as is given in our Sunday Schools at home, and not to introduce any other features, except what may be necessary to draw the children to the schools, or to train native teachers; and to make use of the natives to teach their fellow-countrymen to read...In this way we shall not only be bringing up the young people in the knowledge of Gospel doctrines, but we shall also teach them to read, and when we shall have translated and printed the Holy Scripture into their language, we shall have some at least, in every family, able to read them, and I may add, able to understand them also, and I would regard this as an important steps towards evangelization.

As Jones’ letter indicates, education was the first important step towards the religious conversion of the *Khasis*.<sup>14</sup> Hence, Jones began his mission work by establishing three schools in three villages—*Mawsmai*, *Mawmluh* and *Cherrapunjee* to teach the *Khasis* to read and write.<sup>15</sup> Elementary teachings in these schools were mostly religious although secular subjects like arithmetic

were included in the school curriculum.<sup>16</sup> Books read were written and translated by Jones himself. The first book written by him was *KaKot Pule Banyngkong* (The First Khasi Reader or The Khasi Primer) published in 1842. *KaKot Pule Banyngkong* or *The First Reader* consisted of *Khasi* alphabet and thus became a basic book for the *Khasis* to learn how to read and write.<sup>17</sup> It also consisted mainly of stories from the Bible. Besides, Jones also translated a Welsh booklet entitled *Rhodd Mam* (Mother's Gift), a portion of the *Christian Instructor*, along with portions of the *New Testament* like the *Gospel of St Matthew*<sup>18</sup> into *Khasi* language.<sup>19</sup> The evangelization of the gospel in the *Khasi* Hills through the schools was further strengthened through various publications by missionaries who succeeded Jones.<sup>20</sup> Introduction of these Christian literature into the school curriculum served their purpose of instilling Christian ideology into the minds of the young scholars over against their own cultural ideology. But evangelization through education was also not an easy task.<sup>21</sup> However, despite the severity of the work the missionaries' evangelization and conversion strategy through education were fairly successful.

Organized worship service was also one of the strategies that the missionaries adopted to evangelize the *Khasis*. The church regular service was normally held on Sunday. But Bible classes, prayer meetings and, family worships were held on weekdays until a decision was made to convert the Bible class into Sunday school.<sup>22</sup> Besides the Bible, books used in the Bible classes were the miracles of Christ and the history of Jesus Christ by Mr. Lewis.<sup>23</sup> In his class, U Ksan Bin, a native teacher used, besides the Bible, *KaKot Nongialam* (Mr. Charles' Instructor), a smaller Catechism and the *History of Jesus Christ*, translated by the J. Roberts.<sup>24</sup> The proselytizing work through worship services, prayer meetings, and family-worship and bible classes eventually began to bear fruit and many converts, both men and women were admitted to the Church and baptized to Christianity.<sup>25</sup>

In order to advance further the cause of evangelization through education, and with the recommendation and financial assistance of the British Lieutenant Governor, the missionaries converted the school at the mission station at Cherrapunji into a Normal School.<sup>26</sup> The purpose of this was to train native teachers and to establish schools in all corners of the *Khasi* hills.<sup>27</sup> After the establishment of schools, Christianity began to spread throughout the *Khasi* and *Jaintia* hills because each school became a preaching station and eventually a new spot on which to proclaim the gospel of Christ.<sup>28</sup>

The missionaries' agenda to foster education as a medium of proselytization was noted by Rymbai. In his article "Evolution of Modern Khasi society," Rymbai stated that the missionaries saw that the only way to win over the *Khasis* to Christianity and to the thoughts and ideals of the West was to teach them to read and write; to enable them to read the Bible and other Western books, especially those translated into *Khasi* language.<sup>29</sup> The missionaries' purpose was further confirmed by Jones' remark when he was requested by a prominent *Khasi* thinkers, Jeebon Roy and some Bengalees civil servants, to upgrade the school to a higher educational level called at that time 'High school or Entrance School.' In his response to this request, Jones said, "We have come here for religion and not education."<sup>30</sup> Such a response clearly indicated that the object of the mission was "religious" not "intellectual," to make "Christians" and not "scholars." So the scope of education was limited to the primary standard, and providing the opportunity for students to enter the portals of higher education was none of the missionaries' concern. In regard to this, Rymbai concludes, "The education given to the *Khasi-Pnars* was a very rudimentary one, to fit them to become village school teachers or village pastors for the spread of Christianity and the glorification of the West."<sup>31</sup> Hence, the schools turned out to be arenas in which education and Christianization went together, with a strong emphasis on the latter. They also turned

out to be places of conversion to alien religion and culture and of abandonment of one's traditional beliefs and practices; places freed from many superstitions, infused with the broader view of life that finally subdued to the love of Christ. This was the reason that textbooks used in the schools were mainly based on biblical themes and Christian religion, as Rymbai points out.<sup>32</sup> To the credit of the missionaries, it can be noted that the students enrolled in the schools were many despite stiff opposition and fierce persecution from parents and the clan. This progress of an enrolment of the students resulted in massive conversion to Christianity although at the same time opposition against it intensified.<sup>33</sup>

#### **4. The Gospel of Christ and Khasi Culture**

The doctrine of salvation which is at the heart of mission theology draws us to an analysis of the relation of Christ to *Khasi* culture. This is because personal conversion to Christ also entailed cultural conversion and the rejection of the prevailing culture by the prospective early converts. To be accepted into Christianity and receive baptism, strict moral standards were set for each candidate. One of the requirements among several was that each candidate should renounce their heathen practices including observing ceremonies that do not even have a religious connotation. A letter Jones sent to his home is a clear evidence of this. To quote Jones' letter,<sup>34</sup>

One night at the end of October, I heard a great noise proceeding from one of the Christians' houses on the hill opposite to that on which our house stands, although not very far from it.... I heard great shouting, and saw a large crowd of men and children hurrying to and fro around five or six large fires.... I went over immediately, to see what was going on. When I reached the spot, I saw there was a large number of men, women, and children—all the day-school children—and great commotion and excitement, and running and

shouting; some pounding rice, some attending to the fires, and some preparing the food.... Having glanced around I asked that man of the house what the great commotion meant? He answered that it was their rice-feast. I asked was this kind of thing worthy and seemly for a Christian to observe? He answered that he was only doing what they had been accustomed to do every year and that every family did the same. I said no more at the time, but returned home, and allowed them to proceed with their feast.... I was quite convinced that such feasts were altogether unworthy of professed Christians, and that an end must be put to them at once.

On the following night, our church meeting was held. The matter was brought before them, and the whole meeting was spent in discussing it.... I said at the commencement that such feasts were not seemly for those who had learned to read the Word of God, and who professed having forsaken their old customs, who now served the true and living God, and that they ought to give up their custom once and for all. I told them that we, in the homeland, set apart a day on which we met together to give thanks to God at the close of the harvest; that our meetings were held all day to read God's Word, to sing His praise and to pray; and, to show that if we were truly thankful, it was our custom to make a collection towards some good cause; that sometimes a part of the money thus collected was devoted to sending the Gospel to Khasia and Jaintia; while they after, getting a little of the first-fruits of the rice home, held a feast which was altogether meaningless; and would it not be much more seemly for them as Christians to come together on a certain day to give thanks to the God of Providence and the God of salvation for His goodness towards them during

this season? They all appeared to agree with what was said. Then, I asked them...which was the better way of showing their gratitude to God, theirs or ours? They all acknowledged very readily that our way was much the better one. Then I asked, if that was so, ought they not to discontinue their old custom. They all answered that they ought. After that, I asked if they were willing to join together to give up the old custom, and to fix a day of thanksgiving as became Christians. They all with one accord promised to do so, and from that night to this they have kept their word.

The incident cited above depicts the missionaries' negative view of *Khasi* culture. It carried with it a negative representation of "who Jesus Christ is" in relation to the culture of the people. For the missionaries, restraining the natives' cultural practices means loyalty to Christ. Hence, the doctrine of Christ has been used as a tool to conquer and denigrate the *Khasi* culture. Based on this Christ, thus, became a colonial cultural invader, the destroyer of the traditional belief system. In Christ, Christianity and *Khasi* culture were placed at two antithetical and paradoxical poles. This kind of mission theology is nothing short of the destruction of one set of cultural values and the imposition of a new set, to use George E Tinker's thought.<sup>35</sup> It is correct to say that with this kind of projection, Jesus Christ then became a divine being who was "against the culture" of the native race.

Regrettably, this Christ-against-culture model also dominated the mission theology of the WPC. The intended effort of the missionaries to restrict the converts from attending the cultural festivals was to prevent any local cultural intrusion into the sphere of Christianity. In my view, this thought divides the *Khasi* race and culture. *Khasi* Christian converts became a "different race" and produced a "new culture." So there was a clear demarcation between the old and the new race, the "*Khasi-Khasis*"<sup>36</sup> and the "*Khasi-Christians*" The *Khasi-Christians* have been uprooted

from their own culture under the banner of Christianity and Christ. Christ then became the crusader of culture and Christian culture a replacement of the *Khasi* traditional culture/religion.<sup>37</sup>

It was this portrayal of Jesus Christ that led the *Khasi-Khasis* to reject him and view him as a threat to their culture. In fact, H. Mawrie and Rash Mohan Roy of the *Khasi* religion made a direct accusation against Christianity as the main cause for the loss of *Khasi* culture.<sup>38</sup> While H. Mawrie asserts that the moral and cultural decay of the *Khasi* race is due to the dissemination of Western religion and Western culture,<sup>39</sup> Mohan Roy argues that the advent of Christianity and conversion have caused great confusion for the adherents of the traditional faith.<sup>40</sup> But it is of interest that while *Khasi-Khasi* writers put direct blame on Christianity for the erosion of *Khasi* culture, Christian writers like Hamlet Bareh and Lyngdoh came down softly on Christianity. They share their thoughts about the loss of *Khasi* culture by arguing from the perspective of the converts themselves. In his *A Short History of Khasi Literature*, Bareh argues that by the time of the advent of Christianity many *Khasi* converts themselves had forgotten their religious and cultural origin and lost their main basic directions.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, Lyngdoh also contends,<sup>42</sup>

With the arrival of the British, the alien rule and the missionaries, the Khasi society was bound to be affected.... In the beginning, the converts took fancy and pride in the Western way of life, and the traditional values and systems were thoroughly depreciated and the process of social change as a result of the new impact was bound to disturb the traditional society and culture of the Khasi.

The different views held by the *Khasi-Khasi* and *Khasi* Christian writers in relation to the demise of *Khasi* culture suggest two different opinions. While the former dealt with the root cause, the latter dealt with the outcome without taking the cause

into consideration. As a Christian *Khasi* writer and based on my analysis so far my question is: What drove the *Khasi* converts to neglect, forget their own and appropriate a different cultural tradition? I would assert that Christianity's attitude toward *Khasi* culture, the depreciation, and restrictions imposed on the converts, based on the pre-conception that any form of cultural practices would perpetuate traditional faith, are reasons enough to conclude that Christianity has been the main cause for the loss of *Khasi* culture. As a result of the erosion of *Khasi* culture, the adherents of traditional religion began to launch a resistance movement against the mission theology. To this, we shall now turn.

### 5. The Khasi Cultural Resistance Movement

The loss of *Khasi* culture and tradition became a grave challenge to the *Khasis* especially to the original *Khasi* thinkers, who resorted to a resistance movement against the inroads of a foreign culture. To assert their traditional culture some of the educated *Khasis* started a cultural awakening through literary movements. The pioneer of this *Khasi* literary renaissance was U Jeebon Roy,<sup>43</sup> who made the movement more concrete by putting the oral religious and cultural traditions into written form. His classic *KaNiam Ki Khasi* (The *Khasi* Religion) was his first publication followed by subsequent publications which dealt with *Khasi* religious ethos and philosophy.<sup>44</sup> In 1900, Roy published a book entitled *KaKitabba Batai Pynshynna Shaphanguwei U Blei* (A book about one God), to challenge alien inferences that *Khasi* religion is polytheistic and animistic.<sup>45</sup> This book is a powerful exposition of *Khasi* monotheism and the divine omnipotence of God on which the original creed of the *Khasi* lays so much stress and the sanctity of the covenant on which this old religion rests.<sup>46</sup> The cultural awakening through literary movement started by Roy was strengthened when several other writers came forward to support its cause by creating cultural consciousness in the minds of the people through their writings on the socio-cultural and religious life of the *Khasi*.<sup>47</sup> All writers held a common concern

and that was to emphasize, interpret, analyze and preserve the *Khasi* religious belief system.

This *Khasi* literary movement gradually led to a more organized form of cultural movement, culminating in the formation of an organization known as *Ka Seng Samla Khasi* (the *Khasi* Youth Organization), later called simply *Seng Khasi* (*Khasi* Organization) on November 23, 1899.<sup>48</sup> The *Seng Khasi* was formed in order to preserve the ancient religious belief system that was on the verge of extinction with the onslaught of Christianity.<sup>49</sup> This organization functioned as a reaction to the spread of this new religion. Its guiding principle was to propagate the doctrine of truth, to revive the true faith of the forefathers, to safeguard and revive the ancient *Khasi* culture that has been neglected and misled by the teaching of a foreign religion.<sup>50</sup>

The *Khasi* cultural resistance against foreign cultural invasion was also launched through the establishment of schools. In 1876, motivated by the need to offer higher education of secular type to the *Khasis*, Jeebon Roy established a school in Shillong.<sup>51</sup> In the same year, Roy approached the Welsh missionaries to raise the standard of education by starting the high school. But since the missionaries' interest in education was not 'to educate' but to proselytize the heathens, his request was turned down. Failing to achieve the co-operation of the Welsh missionaries, Roy turned to some of his fellow *Khasis* who complied with his objective of establishing a high school. Thus, in 1920 the *Seng Khasi* passed a resolution to start its own school. The school was opened on May 20, 1921. The basic aim was to run a school that imparted education based on the principles of *Seng Khasi* and to free the school from any Christian influence.<sup>52</sup> Books on *Khasi* cultural beliefs and heritage written by eminent *Khasi* authors were taught in the schools. Proselytizing literature and books written by the missionaries were not included in the curriculum.<sup>53</sup> This was done to raise a cultural consciousness among readers and students and to preserve the religious and cultural usages. It is fair to say that

the *Seng Khasi* organization since then became the caretaker of our *Khasi* cultural heritage. It emerged at the time when the progress of modernization and Westernization in the form of cultural and religious invasion posed a challenge to the traditional religion and culture of the *Khasi*.

## 6. Christian Mission and Cultural Colonialism: A Postcolonial Analysis

The missionaries' theology and agenda constitute themes of value subordination of native cultures and religious conversion of the colonized 'other.' As repeatedly stated, to the Welsh Presbyterian missionaries the *Khasis* were a degraded, culturally inferior race, buried in the grossest ignorance and religious superstitions.<sup>54</sup> The *Khasis* were also a race "without religion," "demon worshippers," and devoted to the "mammon of unrighteousness."<sup>55</sup> These labels attached to the natives are the missionaries' construction of the image of the savagery, a projection of the weaker race in need of certain redemption and civilization. Hence, we noted that as soon as they set foot in the hills the missionaries framed a political agenda which can be termed a "politics of rescue" conceived of as a social mission to uplift those designated as "degenerate types", to use Antonio Gramsci's phrase.

Thus, the *Khasis* are constructed subjects. As Jones defined us, we are "untutored heathens, naturally lazy and sluggish..." But the questions that remain are: where does this definition come from? Who has the power and authority to construct? What are the criteria evoked? How do we deconstruct this myth of cultural hegemony?

Stuart Hall, a significant postcolonial thinker argues that the cultural hegemony of the West is none other than the construction of the "West" itself. He contends that Western discourse is set up in a binary structure of the "West and the Rest." This view undergirded the ascendancy of Western culture/Christianity that shaped its image of "itself and others," its sense of "us and them," followed by its practices and relations of power toward the rest.<sup>56</sup>

These binary constructions and projections superimposed by the powerful race on the weaker race validated Western imperialism. They authorized Western power and the missions of the stronger race to help their inferior humans or the subjugated 'other' to grow up. It is interesting to note that in this colonial process, the colonizer not only colonized the colonized, but the colonized also changed their perception of themselves as they embraced their masters' ideology. Considering the partial acceptance of the dominant ideology by the natives, one questions whether the issue of mission and colonialism is still a relevant question under consideration. However, the answer to that would be wholly positive. This is because the connection of mission and colonialism was unraveling in the missionaries' strategy of the "colonization of the mind" of the weaker race, and the missionaries were successful in their attempt to colonize the natives' mind. I would argue that it was during the colonial process that the *Khasis* eventually accepted the label attached to them by the missionaries and normalized and internalized the negative self-imagery. Reports and letters of the natives to the mother Church in Wales are clear evidence of this. These sources confirmed that the *Khasis* had internalized the masters' label that described their identity. Thus, they portrayed themselves as, "foolish and ignorant,"<sup>57</sup> possessing no understanding almost like brutes.<sup>58</sup> In addition, they viewed themselves as people living in sin and darkness,<sup>59</sup> degraded and reduced,<sup>60</sup> superstitious and holding on to an erroneous belief system.<sup>61</sup> They also call their own land the heathen land.<sup>62</sup> It is ironic that the *Khasis* have incorporated all these negative constructions imposed on them by alien cultural forces. Precisely, they were made to see themselves through the prism of the powerful race and have internalized these negative images at the cost of losing their self-esteem and self-identity.<sup>63</sup>

The missionaries' dichotomous view of true-false religion, primitive-Western, sacred-profane, light-darkness represented another form of cultural-psychological colonialism. The success

of the missionaries in capturing the psyche of the native race was highlighted in the reports and letters of the local evangelists themselves. Juramon, a native evangelist, in his report to the mother Church in Wales spoke of the liberation of his own race from darkness, meaning from his own religion and culture. In his own words, he said, "...we are raised from the great and awful darkness,"<sup>64</sup> for Christianity has come to dispel the darkness. In another extract, Juramon's letter also reflected the negative teaching of the missionaries that undermined *Khasi* religion. Writing about the view of the converts to Christianity, he wrote, "...they say, we see clearly after thinking and after being taught, that ours is a false religion...."<sup>65</sup> The outcome of this dichotomy was a division of the *Khasi* race. Within this paradigm, the *Khasi-Khasis* and *Khasi* Christians belonged to two opposing realms. The *Khasi-Khasis* fell within the realm of darkness, and the *Khasi* converts within the realm of light. The two realms were opposite rather than complementary. It is my conjecture that as the task of spreading the gospel was accompanied by their motive of the cultural invasion the missionaries did not take the issue of religion and culture seriously. Therefore, instead of appreciating or dialoguing with the culture they flung an attack against the traditional culture of the people in the name of Christ.

A postcolonial analysis of Christian mission also suggests that cultural colonialism was seen in the form of proselytizing that seeks to transplant the colonizer's religious-cultural system through the preaching of the gospel message. 'Preaching of the Word' was one of the means of cultural and religious expansion. As noted earlier, the role of "education" in disseminating the gospel was highly esteemed. Education served as a medium to propagate religious and cultural change. The missionaries believed that "civilizing" the *Khasis* would prepare the 'primitive religious people' to embrace the Christian religion and, to break the spell of the *Khasi* religious-cultural belief system. This mission to the *Khasis* was also considered by the missionaries as

'divine providence,' a 'white man's burden.' It was founded on the idea that the *Khasis* required Western/ Christian conversion, reconstruction, and redemption. So the task of missionizing and civilizing the natives was their moral responsibility. It seems fair to say that the missionaries' zeal presupposed the conception that Christianizing, colonizing, and civilizing becomes part of the mission to save. In his compilation, Jyrwa recorded the deliberation of the mother Church in Wales which clearly indicates an inextricable link between Christianization, colonization, and civilization.<sup>66</sup> The deliberation runs as follows,<sup>67</sup>

During the year several letters were received from Mr. Jerman Jones...these letters contained many striking facts to show that change that has been effected by the gospel, not only in the spiritual condition of the people, but in their social and material condition; they show, at the same time, how much still remains to be done before the whole country is brought under the influence of Christianity and civilization.

Without watering down my Christian faith, I argue that the missionaries' preaching of the gospel of Christ takes the form of cultural hegemony or cultural colonialism due to Christianity's attitude and denigration of *Khasi* culture/religion. It is also my contention that this contradicts the core gospel message of Jesus Christ himself. Based on the scriptural declaration, Jesus Christ himself said, "I did not come to abolish the law (that is, the Jewish religion and culture) but to fulfill it (Mt. 5:17)." It is in this saying of Christ that gospel and culture are synthesized. Jesus Christ upheld both gospel and culture in the "both-and" category. This approach offers a solution to the Christ/gospel-culture problem. Such solutions are discovered in several places in the scripture, albeit, implicitly. Richard Niebuhr observes this when he says, "The New Testament contains no document that clearly expresses the synthetic view, but there are many statements in gospels and

epistles which sound the motif or which can be interpreted, without violence to the text, as containing this solution of the Christ-and-culture problem.”<sup>68</sup>

As education was an important strategy for evangelization analyzing the mission texts, like the scripture and Christian writings, played a significant role in furthering colonial domination. Whose literature, books, and stories were these converts read in order to obtain knowledge? What kind of knowledge was imparted to them? I would reiterate that an analysis of mission texts shows how the strategic combination of power and knowledge was embedded in the curriculum. Michel Foucault has always maintained that there is an inescapable connection between the two. Thus, he concludes “power produces knowledge...Power and knowledge directly imply one another...there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relation.”<sup>69</sup> This relationship between power and knowledge is enfolded in the Western epistemology prescribed in the missionary discourses that were superimposed on the *Khasi* knowledge system. Christian texts and literature are not independent entities. These are resources that also carried with them an unconscious expression of the culture, power, and value systems of the dominant thought forms. They were influenced by dominant external political, cultural and at times even by economic factors. That Christian/Western literature does not exist independently of outside constraint and carries with them certain forms of power given by social and cultural factors is a fact.

## **7. Decolonizing Christian Mission and Colonialism in the Khasi Hills**

A postcolonial analysis discussed above indicates that at the core of missionaries’ theology lies an imperialist ideology, which operates under the claims of superior authority and power. Christianity thus became an imperial religion, an extension of Western culture. It is therefore important to decolonize and deconstruct Christian

mission promoted by colonial master, which is inseparable from Western cultural colonialism and imperialism. Deconstruction, as a postcolonial concept, is significant in decolonizing process. Deconstruction method provides the space to reread and revise the oldest of the old, to unfold what has been folded over. It destabilizes meaning, loosens and unlock structures. Deconstruction gives old texts new readings, old tradition new twists for it embraces the multiplicity of the innumerable traditions. It argues that the regularizing structures and normalizing institution function more freely, more open-endedly<sup>70</sup>

To engage in the task of deconstruction I am applying a postcolonial framework using Homi Bhabha’s concept of “hybridity” or an “in-between space” or the “third space of enunciation”<sup>71</sup> For Bhabha, hybridity is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal of colonialist power. It is a site where all forms of discrimination and domination are displaced.<sup>72</sup> Hybridity unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power and interrupts the flow of such power so as to allow the subjugated knowledge to enter into a dominant discourse and find expression, articulation, and recognition.<sup>73</sup>

As I attempt to deconstruct the colonial mission of the WPC, I propose that hybridity is an appropriate tool to complete the task. The Christian religion that the Welsh missionary brought to the *Khasi* hills is a religion that is established only from the perspective of the cultural and religious norm of the West. As it takes root in the *Khasi* soil, Christianity discarded many of the popular and valuable elements in the traditional cultures that might best be preserved to enrich the Christian community. Hence, as stated before, deconstruction of Western Christianity in the *Khasi* hills is important in order to reconstruct a *Khasi* Christianity rooted in both Christian and tribal traditions. But how do we do this? This question is answered as we turn to hybrid space. Hybridity allows for a convergence of two oppositional ideologies<sup>74</sup> of

Christian and *Khasi* traditions. As these two traditions merge together a new form of Christianity that is neither “wholly *Khasi* nor wholly Western” is generated. So both traditions own what type of Christianity is generated in the “hybrid space.” Further, as a new form of Christianity is developed out of the two traditions, the binary structure of center-margin diminishes. This conjunction of the two traditions in the “hybrid” or “third” space is a new way of developing a Christianity/theology of mission that moves from just being a “Western Christianity/theology” to “Christianity/theology” that embraces new interreligious and intercultural resources. Within this “hybrid” or “in-between” space the idea of a “one culture” is eroded as it gives way to a “shared truth.” It is also in this space that imperialist ideologies and authorities that come from the center of theological power are disrupted, and all rules of recognition and representation cease to exist. When this happens, *Khasi* Christianity will be able to develop a local Christianity that is not tainted by colonial epistemology and ideology that reinforced the superiority and normativity of Western religion and culture. Rather, in the process of this cultural encounter, a new local Christianity is developed. This new local Christianity is a Christianity that takes seriously the resources from their own traditional traditions but does not completely detach itself from Christian tradition otherwise it ceases to be a local Christianity. Schreiter’s argument on this thought runs, “for a local theology (Christianity) to become a (true) Christianity, it must have a genuine encounter with Christian tradition.”<sup>75</sup> In sum, one can argue that the task of deconstruction for the purpose of reconstruction of Christianity is a different form of developing a local Christianity that ends the reality of domination.

## 8. Conclusion

The history of the Christian mission among the *Khasis* underlined in this paper is a history of hegemonic power and imperialism. It is a mission that reflects an imperial evangelical triumphalism. Its evangelistic principles have both colonial cultural and

ecclesiastical underpinnings that separate *Khasi* tradition from the dominant Christian discourse. The gospel of Christ that was preached to the *Khasis* displayed some imperialistic elements, as the missionaries failed to interpret it vis-à-vis the culture of the people. Additionally, the missionaries’ active proselytization to win converts, and their open contempt of the traditional religion have given a wrong notion of ‘who Christ is?’ and ‘what the Gospel of Christ is all about,’ especially to adherents of *Khasi* religion. This has made Christ to be a divine being who saves sinners not only from sin but also from their own cultural traditions considered to be incompatible with Christianity. Jesus Christ becomes a being exclusive to Western missionaries’ Christianity. Hence, any knowledge of God, Christ or divine realities outside of Christianity is invalid, inappropriate, and a distortion of Christianity or the gospel of Jesus Christ. This has resulted inessentialization and imposition of the Western knowledge system and the creation of a binary construction of Western Christianity vis-a-vis other religious-cultural traditions. Gayatri Spivak has summed up this kind of negative attitude of Western culture/Christianity over and against another cultural knowledge system as “epistemic violence.”<sup>76</sup> Applying this argument to the *Khasi* context, Spivak’s “epistemic violence” indicates a power dynamic operative in the essentialist mission theology of the Welsh missionaries that suppressed and subjugated the knowledge of the indigenous *Khasi* culture. Unfortunately, until today the *Khasi* Church is still retaining this missionary theological legacy and has never attempted to reconstruct its theology as part of the decolonization process. It is therefore crucial that the Church takes a conscious decision to formulate its own theology by appropriating local resources and embracing other cultural resources in theological construction. Existing in a pluralistic context, it is also imperative that the Church defines its theology and the gospel in a way that might be more compelling and more culturally relevant.

**End Notes**

- 1 A notable example of this is the history of the European colonization of the American Indian in North America. For a detailed history of this consult George E. "Tink" Tinker, *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008).
- 2 This argument does not suggest that the Christian mission is altogether a 'bad' mission with zero contribution to the *Khasi* society. In a true sense the *Khasis* are indebted to the Welsh Presbyterian mission for its immense contribution especially in the field of education, health system, and social change. For more on this see O.L. Snaitang, *Christianity and Social Change in Northeast India* (Shillong: Vendrame Institute, 1993).
- 3 In his latest publication J Fortis Jyrwa, a local historian, attempts to bridge the relationship between local culture and Christianity and emphasizes on inculturation and indigenization especially of worship, liturgy and theology of the church. However, a critical analysis from the perspective of the "other," or "*Khasi* cultural tradition" is still absent from his historical analysis. See J. F. Jyrwa, *Christianity in Khasi Culture: A Study of the Relationship between Christianity and Traditional Khasi Culture with Special Reference to the Seng Khasi Movement from 1899-1983* (Shillong: M.B. Jyrwa, 2011).
- 4 Actually the first missionary who stepped in the Khasi Hills and sown the seed of the Gospel was an Indian Hindu convert named Khrishna Chandra Pal. In 1813, Pal was sent by the Serampore Baptist Mission to work among the *Khasis*. After his return to Serampore, another missionary named Alexander Lish was sent to continue the work but his work did not prove to be a success. Lish's failure was a grave concern to the Serampore Mission and toward the end of the year 1838 due to the amalgamation of the Serampore Mission with the Baptist Missionary Society the work in Khasi Hills was completely abandoned. See John Hughes Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission, To the End of the Year 1904* (Carnarvon: C.M. Book Room, 1910), 71-7. See also O.L. Snaitang, *Christianity and Social Change in Northeast India*, 65.
- 5 For major reasons that caused the separation of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists and the London Missionary Society, consult. Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 25, 37.
- 6 Morris, *The History of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 35.
- 7 Morris, *The History of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 77.
- 8 Morris, *The History of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 77. See also Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia* Vol. II (New York: Orbis Books, 1998), 427.
- 9 Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 79.
- 10 This excerpt is taken from the report sent by Thomas Jones to his home church in Wales. See Thomas Jones, "Report, & c." in *Reports of the Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Wales on Khasi-Jaintia Hills 1864-1899* Compiled by J.F. Jyrwa (Shillong: Christian Communication Department, 1998), 171. Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 78. Similarly, a very negative description of the land and the *Khasi* people was also made by Jerman Jones and his wife. See also J. Hughes Morris, *Christ's Ambassador in Khasis: William Lewis, Jerman Jones* (Liverpool: Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, 1939), 37; Cf. William Williams, *Welsh Calvinistic Methodism: A Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church of Wales* (London: Publishing Office of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1884), 210.
- 11 This view is quoted from the writing of a Christian clergyman of the *Khasi-Jaintia* Presbyterian Church when he wrote about the life of (late) Dr. H. Lyngdoh published in August 1977 of the "Pateng Khristan" (a Presbyterian Church's monthly journal). See also H. Onderson Mawrie, "Where Lies the Soul of our Race" in *Where Lies the Soul of our Race: Seng Khasi*, Series no. 2 (1982): 38.
- 12 When Jerman Jones reached the villages of the *Bhoi* area north of *Khasi* Hills he found that the place had a special attraction for the missionary. He described that in this place he saw heathenism at its worst, and longed to bring to them the light and the uplifting power of the Gospel. Morris, *Christ's Ambassador in Khasis*, 44.
- 13 Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist' Foreign Mission*, 80.
- 14 To fulfill his goal of disseminating the gospel to the heathens, Jones first began to master the *Khasi* language so that he could put it into written form. But unlike Alexander Lish, a former missionary of the Serampore mission to India, Jones did not put the *Khasi* language into Bengali Script. Instead he chose the Roman letters. The reason he gave was that the Bengali script was difficult for the *Khasi* to learn and understand. To contest Jones' conclusion different historians gave different opinions on Jones' choice of the Roman alphabets over Bengali script. For these resources consult Frederick S. Downs, *Christianity in North East India: Historical Perspectives* (Delhi:

- ISPCK, 1983), 251-2. G. Angell Jones, *Ka History Jong KaBalang 1841-1966* (The History of the Church 1841-1966) (Shillong: Khasi Jaintia Presbyterian Synod, 1966), 7. B. L. Nongbri, "Christianity, Khasi Language and Literature: An Historical Analysis of the Interaction of Christianity with Traditional Culture," in *Christianity and Change in Northeast India* ed. T.B. Subba, Joseph Puthenpurakal (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2009), 180.
- 15 Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission...*, 81. These schools were run through the financial support from the home Church in Wales. Besides, the missionaries also enjoyed the support of the British Government in the form of financial aid granted to all missionaries' institutions in the *Khasi Hills*. The British government preferred to place education under the auspices of the missionaries and approved using the missionaries' books in the school it assisted. Jyrwa, "The Khasses" in Jyrwa, *Reports of the Foreign Mission...*, 3, Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission...*, 134, George Maliekal, *History of the Catholic Church Among the Khasis* (Shillong, India: Don Bosco Centre for Indigenous Cultures Publication, 2005), 71.
- 16 Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 85.
- 17 Jyrwa, "The Khasses," 80. When Thomas Jones arrived in the *Khasi Hills* the *Khasis* had already begun using the Bengali script. So when he first introduced the *Khasi* alphabets using the Roman Script there was a strong and adverse reaction from the *Khasi* indigenous people. It was only after many years that the people began to understand the advantages and therefore sent their children to school. See H. Bareh, *A Short History of Khasi Literature* (Guwahati, India: Spectrum Publication, 1997), 34.
- 18 Bareh, *A Short History of Khasi Literature*, 34, also J. Fortis Jyrwa, *The Wondrous Works of God: A Study of the Growth and Development of the Khasi-Jaintia Presbyterian Church in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Shillong: M.B. Jyrwa, 1980), 25. For more on the publication and translation of literatures by the missionaries go to Nongbri, "Christianity, Khasi Language and Literature," 181-183. Sharmila Das Talukdar, *Khasi Cultural Resistance to Colonialism* (Guwahati, India: Spectrum Publication, 2004), 64.
- 19 This literary work of Jones marked the beginning of *Khasi* literature, and as Bareh puts it, "Jones also laid the foundation of the Welsh Presbyterian Mission. In addition, since Jones was the first person to put the *Khasi* language into written form he has been considered as the "father of the *Khasi* alphabets" until today. Jyrwa, *The Wondrous Works of God*, 7. See also G. Angell Jones, *Ka History Jong kaBalang*, 8.
- 20 A group of missionaries like Mr. Lewis, Griffith Hughes, Thomas Jones II, Thomas Jerman Jones, and Hugh Roberts devoted themselves to Bible translation. It took over fifty years to translate the whole Bible, but parts of the translation printed in advance were the Gospel of St Matthew (1842), the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostle (1857), and the New Testament which was printed in full in 1871. A translation of Christian prose entitled *KaJingiaid Pilgrim* (The Pilgrim's Progress) was also done by Mrs. W. Lewis. Also included was Roberts Perry's translation of a Scriptural history. Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 24 & 44.
- 21 This was expressed by Lewis, the superintendent of the schools in a letter to his home Church. Quoting Lewis, Morris recorded, "It is no little matter, in our option," wrote Mr. Lewis, "that we have been able to persuade even a few of these young people, whose habits and minds are as wild and as uncultivated as the Hills on which they live, to sit quietly for some hours each day to read, and write, and count. Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 85.
- 22 Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 122-23.
- 23 Roberts, "Letter of Mrs. Roberts," in Jyrwa, *Reports of the Foreign Mission*, 276.
- 24 U Ksan Bin, "Letter of U Ksan Bin," trans. Mrs. Robert in Jyrwa, *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 278.
- 25 Jyrwa, *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 100.
- 26 This took place in April of 1867. The school was under the supervision of Hugh Roberts. A few months later the missionaries opened the Girls' Normal School under the charge of Mrs. Roberts. Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 122-23, 152-53.
- 27 Jyrwa, *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 148-49, also Evans, "Reports on the Normal School," J. F. Jyrwa, *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 144.
- 28 For this consult all the missionaries' reports compiled in Jyrwa, *Reports of the Foreign Mission*. See also Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 122.
- 29 Rymbai, "Evolution of the Modern Khasi Society (BabuJeebob Roy), 63.
- 30 Jayanta Bhusan Bhattacharjee, "The Messenger of Khasi Heritage," in *Khasi Heritage: A Collection of Essays on Khasi Religion and Culture*, ed. Hipshon Roy (Shillong: Hipshon Roy, 1979), 5.
- 31 Rymbai, "Evolution of the Modern Khasi Society," 67.
- 32 Rymbai, "Evolution of the Modern Khasi Society," 67.

- 33 Snaitang, *Christianity and Social Change*, 70.
- 34 This is an extract from the letter Jones wrote to his home Church in Wales, see Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission*, 156-57. Other instances can also be cited here. For example, when the missionaries and the converts heard that the *Seng Khasi*, which was initially a socio-cultural organization, planned to organize a cultural *Khasi* dance in *Weikingor* whirl pool field they, under the leadership of J.C. Evans, went and blocked the path leading to the dancing ground and enclosed it within the cemetery. This act culminated in the famous criminal case of 1915. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1911, celebration was held at Polo Ground to mark the coronation of King George V. There were archery competitions and *Khasi* cultural dances. The Chief Commissioner and English residents of Shillong attended the function, but the *Khasi* Christians with J.C. Evans organized a separate celebration in the mission ground at a place called Jaiaw. This was done in order to restrict the converts from participating in any activities related to their traditional culture. See Lyngdoh, *The Festivals of the History and Culture*, 174, 178-79.
- 35 George E. "Tink" Tinker, *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty*, 89.
- 36 This label has been used by the *Khasis* who are still holding their traditional faith in order to distinguish themselves from *Khasi* Christian. See Mawrie, *A Glimpse of Things to Come*, 20.
- 37 But it is important to note here that the *Khasi* Christians were still allowed to retain some of their customary practices, like inheritance and lineage, as they do not have much religious connection.
- 38 Cf. Thanzuava, "Tribal Theological Trends in North East India," in Keitzar, *Good News for North East India*, 107.
- 39 H. Onderson Mawrie, *A Glimpse of Things to Come* (Mumbai: np, 1996), 5.
- 40 Mohan Roy argues, "it (Christianity) has bred confusion among us *Khasis*. It has destroyed one's self-respect, it has destroyed the good and sane moral teachings of the *Khasis*, it has eroded the pure religious beliefs of the *Khasis*, it has dismembered one's body, hands, feet so that they can no longer be put together...." Kynpham Singh wrote that Rash Mohon Roy made this statement in his talk on conversion in 1907 when he saw the attacks on *Khasi* culture/religion became more and more virulent. Mohan Roy quoted in Kynpham Singh, "Seng Khasi" in *Where Lies the Soul of our Race*, *Seng Khasi Series 2* (Shillong: n.p. 1982), 11. This is also quoted in Synrem, *Revivalism in Khasi Society*, 50.
- 41 Bareh, *A Short History of Khasi Literature*, 20.
- 42 Lyngdoh, *The Festivals and Culture*, 174.
- 43 Hamlet Bareh Ngapkynta, *A Short History of Khasi Literature*, 49.
- 44 Bareh Ngapkynta, *A Short History of Khasi Literature*, 49. I.J.S. Jaswal, "The origin and Development of Seng Khasi" in *Where Lies the Soul of Our Race: Seng Khasi*, Series no. 2 (1982): 31-2, also Talukdar, *Khasi Cultural Resistance*, 83-4.
- 45 See Morris, *Christ's Ambassadors*, 11-2, 36.
- 46 Hamlet Bareh Ngapkynta, *A Short History of Khasi Literature*, 48, also H. K. Synrem, *Revivalism in Khasi Society*, 47-8.
- 47 The most notable among several others were U Rabon Singh Kharsuka, U. Hormurai Diengdoh, and U. Sibcharan Roy. For a list of their writings, see Bareh Ngapkynta, *A Short History of Khasi Literature*, 46-9, 53-7, also Synrem, *Revivalism in Khasi Society*, 46.
- 48 Lyngdoh, *The Festivals and Culture*, 177.
- 49 Jaswal, "Origin and Development," 30.
- 50 Jaswal, "Origin and Development," 114. Against the background of the foundation of the *Seng Khasi* Kynpham Singh wrote, "Urged by a deep concern for the future of their race whose social structure was being eroded, whose moral fiber weakened and whose bond of unity disintegrating by the inroads of foreigners, especially the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who mercilessly attacked, denigrated and maligned their religion, condemned their culture... sixteen *Khasi* non-Christian young men met together on the 23<sup>rd</sup> November in the Brahma Samaj Hall at Mawkhar to form an association to forge and mould again its people, to foster a sense of unity and oneness founded on the traditions handed down by their forefathers and to revive the moral teachings and tenets passed on from generation to generations. Kynpham Singh, "Seng Khasi" in *Where Lies the soul of our Race: Seng Khasi*, Series No. 2 (1982), 7 also quoted in Lyngdoh, *The Festivals in the History and Culture*, 178.
- 51 Bareh, *A Short History of Khasi Culture*, 77.
- 52 I.J.S. Jaswal, "Origin and Development of Seng Khasi," 33. When the *Khasi* School started it encountered some financial constraints. At about that time in 1924 around three hundred mission schools received grants-in aid from the government. The *Seng Khasi* School was denied of this aid because Rash Mohon Roy, who was in charge of the school, refused to include Christian religious books and proselytizing literature in his school curriculum. Kynpham Singh, "Seng Khasi" in *Where Lies the soul of our Race: Seng Khasi Series No. 2* (1982), 7. This is also recorded by Synrem in *Revivalism in Khasi Society*, 50-1.

- 53 Synrem, *Revivalism in Khasi Society*, 50.
- 54 This is expressed in the “Diary of Rev. D. Sykes,” recorded in Jyrwa, *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 23; see also Morris, *Christ Ambassador*, 11.
- 55 Quoted in Thomas Jones’ letter to his home Church in Wales. See *Thomas Jones’ Letter* recorded in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 5, 30.
- 56 Stuart Hall, “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,” in *Formations of Modernity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 318.
- 57 In his testimony a first Christian by the name of *U Liang* also said, “I am very ignorant, and I understand but very little about religious things, but I must say this, that I am very like a babe; if he sees milk, he may wonder what it is...but once he tastes it, there is something in his nature that makes him know that it is beneficial and suitable to his want. So I was with the Gospel; and if I possess, I must say that I feel very thankful to you for coming so far to teach us foolish and ignorant people.” See “Diary of D. Sykes” recorded in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 24.
- 58 Ramjan, “Letter of U Ramjan,” in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 183.
- 59 U. Ksan Bin, “Letter of U Ksan,” in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 186.
- 60 U. Juramon, “U Juramon’s Report,” in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 209.
- 61 Juramon, “U Juramon’s Report,” in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 388.
- 62 U. Siang Blah, “Letter of U Siang Blah,” Mynso, January 13, 1894 in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 316.
- 63 This is a very common colonial psychological dynamic observed by other postcolonial scholars, for example by Frantz Fanon. See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Weidenfeld 1967), also “On National Culture” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 36-52.
- 64 U Juramon, “The Rev. U Juramon Report,” in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 209.
- 65 This is an extract from a Report of Rev U. Juramon quoted by Jones in his report on the Shillong District. See Jerman Jones, “Report on Shillong District,” in *Reports of Foreign Mission*, 290.
- 66 Cf. Tinker, *American Indian Liberation*, 92.
- 67 This is an excerpt from a deliberation of the Church of Wales in response to Jerman Jones’ letters which stated the progress of the mission works in Shillong District which was under his charge. See *Report of Foreign Mission*, 44.
- 68 H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 123.
- 69 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 27. See also *The Archaeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language* trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 40-49.
- 70 John D. Caputo, *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997), 31-32, 37.
- 71 Bhabha’s hybridity is different from Schreiter’s method of syncretism although both suggest for a conjunction of two cultural traditions. While Bhabha’s hybridity undo all divided epistemologies and disrupt all forms of appropriation, Schreiter’s syncretistic system ask for a framework that need to be provided by a single system, and therefore still maintain a dominant-periphery structure as a starting point. For more on this See Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (New York: Orbis Books, 1985), 147-148.
- 72 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 152.
- 73 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 159.
- 74 I used the phrase “oppositional ideologies” because for a long time Christianity and *Khasi* traditional religion have been categorized as two opposing realities (an idea that comes from the West) although not all religious traditions of the Khasis are contradictory to Christianity.
- 75 Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 34.
- 76 Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 76.

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## A Tale of Two Theologians: Gustavo Gutiérrez and Michael Amaladoss

*Ambrose Mong\**

For decades, liberation theologians were suspected by the Vatican for teaching revolutionary and unorthodox ideas. Times have changed. In a unique turn of events, Gustavo Gutiérrez, the founding father of the liberation theology movement, has now become a celebrity. The Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), Cardinal Gerhard Müller, has invited Gutiérrez to speak during a book launch for a new book by the Cardinal entitled *Poor for the Poor: The Mission of the Church*. This book has two chapters written by Pope Francis and it focuses on explaining and defending liberation theology. Müller, a protégé of Benedict XVI, wholeheartedly supports liberation theology because he believes that it is based on the Word of God and not on human ideology. This theology focuses on Jesus Christ's role in redeeming humankind not only from sin but from sinful social and political structures as well. Liberation theology is now considered to be a significant current of Catholic theology of the twentieth century.

Gutiérrez published *A Theology of Liberation* in 1971, a pioneering work, which exercised a profound influence on the theological landscapes not only of Latin America but also of Africa and Asia. Because of its revolutionary call for the transformation of unjust social and economic structures by employing social and economic analysis to understand the causes of poverty, it was

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considered dangerous in some conservative Catholic quarters. As a result, Gutiérrez and many other liberation theologians were investigated by the CDF when it was under the leadership of Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (the future Pope Benedict XVI). However, in 2014, Gutiérrez returned to the Vatican and was honoured for his pioneering work in liberation theology.

During the same year, the Vatican investigated and threatened to censure an Indian Jesuit theologian, Michael Amaladoss, a specialist in interreligious dialogue and inculturation, for purportedly promoting unorthodox beliefs. This comes as a surprise as most people think that Pope Francis is more open to new ideas than his predecessor, Pope Benedict XVI. Moreover, Cardinal Gerhard Müller, head of the CDF, appears to be adopting a stricter policy than the flexibility and openness of Pope Francis's statements would suggest. Some people have speculated that the Vatican is concerned about the new book by Amaladoss, *The Asian Jesus*, which raises several Christological issues. Amaladoss responded to the Vatican's objection regarding his views on the uniqueness of Jesus and the Church. But the CDF, apparently not satisfied with his response, demanded that Amaladoss publicly accept the Vatican position or face punishment, which means being forbidden to teach or write. This was the sanction used by the CDF under Joseph Ratzinger to deal with theologians considered recalcitrant.

Here we have two distinguished theologians from the Third World, Gustavo Gutiérrez, from Peru, and Michael Amaladoss, from India, one celebrated and the other threatened with censorship at around the same time, for their innovative theological writings that attempt to make the gospel message more relevant to the people in their respective continents.

In view of the above, this essay attempts to examine the writings of these two theologians, Gutiérrez and Amaladoss, and to highlight their main concerns regarding evangelization and the poor. It seeks to find out why liberation theology from Latin

America is now accepted and celebrated by the church while Asian theology with a liberation thrust is viewed with suspicion.

Liberation theology, essentially a western discipline, has been easily rehabilitated and accepted by the church. With its roots in the Old Testament, albeit using modern social analysis, the theology of Gutiérrez falls within European intellectual tradition. Jürgen Moltmann puts it this way: “*Japanese theology*, done in the Buddhist context, forces Western activists again and again to fundamental reorientations of their interests and thought forms ... But up to now scarcely anything comparable has come out of Latin America. We hear severe criticism of Western theology and of theology in general and then we are told something about Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, as if they were Latin American discoveries.”<sup>1</sup> Asian philosophical and religious traditions, however, pose a greater challenge to the church than liberation theology. In fact, Joseph Ratzinger has said that “the challenge to the church in the twentieth century would not be Marxism, but Buddhism.”<sup>2</sup>

The Vatican, therefore, will continue to be more alert and stringent towards theologies that spring from the Asian well with an emphasis on religious pluralism, dialogue with non-Christian religions, and inculturation. It is easy for the CDF to evaluate theologians that operate within a European philosophical and theological framework in relation to magisterium teaching. But to deal with scholars who experiment with the finer points of Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism or Confucianism, requires expertise and training that most Vatican officials and theologians lack. In addition, there are many church officials and scholars, including Müller, who like Ratzinger, believe that the Hellenistic framework through which Christianity has been presented is actually providential and God-given and thus should not be altered.

In view of the above theological position, Asian theologians like Michael Amaladoss continue to walk on a tightrope, balancing between orthodoxy and orthopraxis, proclamation and mission,

the uniqueness of Christ and universal salvation. Whereas the controversial Marxist overtones found in Gutiérrez’s liberation theology are now considered harmless or dated given the fact that Communism in most countries has collapsed. Marxism is now considered a pastime of academics in the West. In addition, the theme of liberation has been part of the social teaching of the church since the promulgation of *Populorum Progressio* by Pope Paul XVI in 1967.

On the other hand, Christianity is much younger than Asian religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, and the church has reservations about accepting these venerable traditions as valid paths towards salvation. The declaration *Dominus Iesus* reminds us: “If it is true that the followers of other religions can receive divine grace, it is also certain that *objectively speaking* they are in a gravely deficient situation in comparison with those who, in the Church, have the fullness of the means of salvation.”<sup>3</sup> Thus Michael Amaladoss ruffled a few feathers in the Vatican when he claims that non-Christian religions are ways to salvation and he portrays Jesus in exotic Asian images such as *Avatar*, *Satyagrahi*, and *Guru*, which implies a diminishing of his divinity.

### **A Traditional Theologian**

Liberation theology as espoused by Gustavo Gutiérrez is now considered orthodox Catholic teaching. Influenced by Dominican and Jesuit spirituality, Gutiérrez is actually a traditional theologian in the sense that his work is rooted in scripture, church teachings, and traditions. His innovation lies in his critical use of social analysis including Marxist theories. As mentioned, in spite of its Latin American origin, liberation theology is actually a western product. Jürgen Moltmann points out that Gutiérrez has actually presented “the process of liberation in Latin America as the continuation and culmination of the European history of freedom. One gets a glimpse into this history of freedom by being enlightened about Kant and Hegel, Rousseau and Feuerbach,

Marx and Freud.”<sup>4</sup> In Moltmann’s opinion, liberation theology is constructed within the framework of European history and hardly in the framework of Latin American history.

Culturally, Latin America is closer to the West than Asia. Its association with colonialism is much longer and more persistent, and Catholicism is deeply entrenched in this continent. Historically, the Catholic Church played a very significant role in shaping Latin American culture and Roman Catholicism is still a major force in the sub-continent. Therefore, Gutiérrez understands the importance of theologising within the context of the church if his teaching is to have any impact in Latin America.

In his new introduction to the fifteenth-anniversary edition of *A Theology of Liberation* (1988), Gutiérrez highlights the fact that he theologises within the ecclesial context. He says that liberation theology is a critical reflection in light of the Word of God received in the *church* and theology is at the service of the Christian community and thus develops as an *ecclesial function*. Theological reflection is always subordinated to a faith that is lived within the *communion of the church*.<sup>5</sup> Be that as it may, it should be noted that Gutiérrez was investigated and the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) had issued “Ten Observations on the theology of Gustavo Gutiérrez” (March 1983). But he was never censured.

Thus, after all these years of tension and conflict with church authorities, Gutiérrez remains faithful to the directives of the Magisterium. He is now honoured at the Vatican for his pioneering work in liberation theology. In addition, the Vatican fear of Marxist influence in liberation theology has largely been abated, due to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the triumph of capitalism in the West, which in turn has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. As a result, liberation theology remains relevant and important for many sincere and faithful Christians seeking to improve their lot in society.

As the result of Gutiérrez’s fidelity to church teaching, the Vatican endorses his theology in spite of past investigation conducted by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF). In fact, Cardinal Müller, prefect of the CDF, praises the works of Gustavo Gutiérrez for making clear to Europeans that injustice is prevalent in the world and it can be overcome only by our repentance and turning to Christ. Thus, turning towards Jesus Christ, the liberator of humanity, has become the subject of study in every theology. Müller also thanks Gutierrez for carving the cornerstone of liberation theology to make it a coherent doctrine. He adds that liberation theology is not a closed chapter. For with liberation theology, pluralism has flourished in the church.<sup>6</sup>

### **Asian Theologians**

Unlike Latin America, most of the poor people in Asia are non-Christians who belong to various religious traditions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, that have shaped their cultures. Michael Amaladoss theologises from such a context and even regards himself as a Hindu-Christian. Like Gustavo Gutiérrez, he was investigated and cleared of errors by the CDF. Nonetheless, I believe the Vatican continues to exercise great vigilance in monitoring Asian theologians who promote inculturation, interreligious dialogue, and portray Jesus in non-western images. Amaladoss experiments with Christological issues by portraying Jesus in Asian images as mentioned earlier. Anyone who meddles with the Christological and ecclesiological issues usually gets into a fray with the CDF. In Asia, the cases of Tissa Balasuriya, Jacques Dupuis, and Peter Phan, also reveal to us the problems and dangers of those who work in this field.

Tissa Balasuriya, a Sri Lankan priest, criticized the church document, *Dominus Iesus*, from an Asian perspective. Investigated by Rome in 1994 for charges related to religious pluralism and relativism in one of his books, he was excommunicated in 1997. His case is an example of the severity that the CDF under the direction of Joseph Ratzinger wielded in dealing with dissident theologians.

To the embarrassment of the Vatican, this excommunication of Balasuriya made him a celebrity among third world theologians. Many theologians, including Michael Amaladoss, specializing in the areas of inter-religious dialogue and inculturation, were sympathetic towards Balasuriya and, naturally, dread what the CDF might do to them if they fail to toe the magisterium line. Sure enough, in 2014, the CDF contacted Amaladoss for an interview! Fortunately, we have a new pope now who is more tolerant and merciful.

The case of Tissa Balasuriya revealed Joseph Ratzinger's concern that relativism is influencing Catholic theology, especially in the area of religious pluralism. Ratzinger was particularly critical of theologies arising from the Asian context that encourage more openness and inclusiveness towards non-Christian religions. The Belgian Jesuit, Jacques Dupuis, a distinguished theologian who worked within the bounds of Catholic orthodoxy was also called up by the CDF regarding his book, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*. In 1998, the CDF started an investigation of Dupuis' work, which was considered controversial. Dupuis, who also taught Amaladoss as a young Jesuit, and who devoted his entire career to his ministry as a priest and theologian, was deeply affected by the investigation and died in 2004.

Like Jacques Dupuis, Peter Phan sought to develop a broader interpretation of ecclesial dialogue with other religions. Phan was subsequently, in 2004, investigated by church authorities for his pluralistic outlook. Ratzinger believes Catholic theologians must serve the church because their vocation is an ecclesial one. He is afraid that theologians like Peter Phan would confuse the faithful and lead them astray by encouraging a syncretic attitude towards church teachings. Phan, however, wanted his critical reflection on religious pluralism to enhance interfaith dialogue, to correct the mistakes of the past regarding Christian mission and to establish an authentically Asian Church.

Thus it is not a surprise that Amaladoss was investigated by the CDF. Most of Amaladoss's theological ideas are contrary to Ratzinger's position on religious pluralism. Although retired, Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph Ratzinger) personally still wields great influence in the Vatican and also through his protégé, Cardinal Gerhard Müller, head of the CDF. Thus Asian theologians who are trying to make their voices heard in a church still dominated by western thinking, faced great difficulties. Coming from Argentina, Pope Francis, in spite of his openness to non-Christian religions, may not have the insight to deal with the issues related to religious pluralism such as inculturation and interfaith dialogue.

In the next section, we will have an overview of Amaladoss's thoughts to see points of convergence and divergence with Gutiérrez's theology. One main difference between Amaladoss and Gutiérrez, aside from the fact that they reflect from two different continents, is that Amaladoss does not stress the ecclesial context of his work. In fact, he believes Christian witnessing need not be ecclesiastical. Brian Hearne also claims that in the theology of liberation, "the 'human' is given more attention than the 'ecclesial.' The world, and not the church, has become the primary context for theology ... A more human world demands a more human Church."<sup>7</sup> Gutiérrez, as we have observed, decides to work within the ecclesial context and sees his vocation as a theologian in the church. His pioneering work on liberation theology, nonetheless, has inspired many others, including Amaladoss, to spawn their own brand.

### **Asian Liberation Theologies**

The main task for Asian liberation theology is to proclaim the gospel message in such a way as to promote solidarity between Christians and non-Christians in their sufferings and struggles, without destroying their religious identities. Further, it means avoiding the claim to superiority by stressing the lordship and uniqueness of Christ. Instead, Christians should proclaim the message of the kingdom of God in the spirit of the synoptic gospels.

This is what Sebastian Kappen holds: “What I claim ... is not the superiority of Christianity over the Indian religious tradition but the superiority of the humanizing religiosity of the Buddha, the radical Bhaktas and Jesus over the magico-ritualistic religiosity of orthodox Hinduism and the depropheticized religiosity of tradition-bound Christianity.”<sup>8</sup> Indeed, Christianity cannot claim superiority over other Asian religions not just numerically, but spiritually as well.

Aloysius Pieris speaks of “the overwhelming presence of non-Christian soteriologies” in Asia. He remarks that after many centuries of missionary endeavours, Christianity is still a minority religion in Asia because other religious traditions have already established themselves in the continent. Further, Christianity is associated with colonialism, which led to further estrangement. Thus for Christ to make sense to Asian culture, Christianity must use the “soteriological idiom of ‘non-Christian’ religions. In other words, “the door once closed to Jesus in Asia is the only door that can take him in today – namely, the soteriological nucleus or the liberative core of various religions that have given shape and stability to our cultures.”<sup>9</sup> In other words, Christianity must appropriate the liberative dimension of Asian religious traditions through interreligious dialogue.

Besides “dialogue of theological exchange,” interreligious dialogue includes “dialogue of life,” “dialogue of action,” and “dialogue of religious experience.”<sup>10</sup> In the Asian context, Peter Phan argues that it is from these four forms of dialogue that a theology of liberation must be constructed whose source is spirituality and not secular ideologies. At the same time, with its association with liberation, interreligious dialogue has been transformed from mere inculturation to commitment towards the poor and the oppressed. As a method of liberation theology, interreligious dialogue appreciates the sacred texts and practices of Asian religions, which have nourished the life of people for thousands of years before the arrival of Christianity. In addition,

the importance of Asian monastic traditions with their commitment towards social justice and peace is also emphasized in interfaith relations.<sup>11</sup> Thus, dialogue must not be confined to theological discussion among academics and church officials but must also be action-oriented.

### ***Moksha and Nirvana***

As mentioned, Jürgen Moltmann claims that Latin American theology has nothing much to offer to the West, except Marx and Engels. Michael Amaladoss, however, attempts to write on the theme of liberation from various Asian religious traditions. In Hinduism, for example, the goal of religious practice is *moksha* or liberation. This *moksha* is interpreted as a cosmic liberation and the establishment of a just society on earth governed by *dharma* or righteousness.

Similar with Hinduism, the concern with suffering and liberation is a core theme in Buddhism – the Buddha sees life as suffering and seeks ways to overcome it through detachment. Buddhism seeks liberation in *nirvana* or emptiness. The ideal Buddhist is one who renounces the desires of the world in pursuit of absolute detachment because Buddhists believe that the cause of suffering comes from desire. Amaladoss reminds us that Buddha wants us to be freed from desire so that we can be happy here on earth.

### **Popular Religion**

Religions that seek cosmic liberation, or we may refer to them as cosmic religions, have been regarded as primitive and animistic but Amaladoss argues that they are actually closer to life, and organised religions actually have their roots in these cosmic realities. Cosmic spirituality is down to earth because it focuses on the needs of this present life and includes rituals to ward off evil spirits. Amaladoss writes: “The conflict between spirits that they ritualize may often be a symbolic re-enactment of ongoing social conflict, having concrete social effects in the present.

But these rituals are coded with reference to liberative events in the past, narrated in their myths, and can inspire more explicit liberative action in the present when the socio-political climate is appropriate.”<sup>12</sup> William Barrrclaims that “more recently, Latin American liberation theology has taken a new look at popular religion. Rather than seeing it as a hindrance in the quest for liberation, some liberationists now champion popular religion as an authentic manifestation of the life and wisdom of the people.”<sup>13</sup>

Tomás Bamat regards popular religious practices as the “weapons of the weak” usually used during rituals. “There is asymbolic protest in ceremonies, prayers, and healings in which powerlessness is transformed into theactive agency. Rituals often appear to heighten self-esteem and self-reliance, maintain relationships of mutuality, and help sustain hope in what can seem to be hopeless situations.” Popular religious beliefs and practices are also “part of complex processes in which people reconstitute their personal and collective identities.”<sup>14</sup>

Gustavo Gutiérrez also emphasizes the importance of studying popular religion in detail so that he can have a better insight into the implications of social and political changes. Gutiérrez is aware of secularization being a complex phenomenon, therefore refuses to accept the superficial theory of secularization put forward by some social analysts that dismissed popular religion as purely superstitious and primitive. An example is shown in his homeland Peru, where Catholicism is essentially a cultural phenomenon that people take for granted.

Indeed, religion is an important feature in the life and history of Peruvians. Popular piety is only one of its many expressions. Gutiérrez admits that the “religious factor” has been a stumbling block to people’s aspiration for freedom in situations of oppression because much of popular piety reflects the dominant ideology. At the same time, he also acknowledges the “potentiality of a liberating faith.”<sup>15</sup> A critically appropriated religion can also help the poor to be more conscious of their plight in society, and under

the right circumstances, can promote resistance to dictatorial regimes.

José Carlos Mariátegui, a Marxist journalist, sees religion as “a dynamic and intuitive element” in people’s lives, which inspires them to act. In periods of social and political upheavals, religion can assist people to act in opposition to the established order by offering people a vision of an alternative new order. Mariátegui prefers to use the word “myth” in place of “religion” because it has a broader meaning. It is this mystical element in religion that interests Gustavo Gutiérrez because it provides the dynamism and spiritual motivation in our belief.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the attraction of popular religion is partly due to the failure of Christianity as an organized faith to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the people. It may also be due to the failure of the church itself as an institution to be the bulwark of justice and peace for the poor.

### **Failure of the Church**

Both Gutiérrez and Amaladoss speak frankly of the failure of church authorities to be prophetic and to side with the poor. As in Latin America, the church in India wields great influence through its prestigious schools and hospitals. Unfortunately, these institutions cater to the needs of the middle and upper classes. The poor simply could not afford such services rendered by church-run institutions. Further, most of the Catholic schools and hospitals are located in the cities rather than in the villages where the poor live. Amaladoss also accuses the church in India of retaining a colonial mentality because of its dependence on foreign funds. The church develops a bourgeois mentality and a self-serving disposition. Amaladoss also claims that the church could not even communicate the faith effectively to the young in Catholic institutions.

Regarding the caste system, Amaladoss claims that the church is just as guilty as the other communities in discriminating the Dalits. They are the untouchables who occupy the lowest rank in Indian highly stratified society. It accepts the Dalits as

members through baptism, but it does not do anything to improve their lives. The church has tried uncritically to accommodate this social evil. In fact, Dalits also face discrimination within the church community. After baptism, nothing changes in their sufferings and anguish. In other words, the church has failed to be both evangelical and prophetic.

Gutiérrez also speaks of liberation from colonial mentality. He is concerned that the church in Latin America has been imitating the western church and he believes it is high time to assert its independence. This means the church in Latin America must develop its own spirituality, theology, and lifestyle to become the church of the poor. Gutiérrez criticizes the church for endorsing a situation of injustice and oppression by maintaining a so-called “Christian order” that works to the advantage of the rich. This means that the church has become part of the unjust system and its Christian message has been transformed into a dominant ideology. The church cannot remain neutral in politics because it has unwittingly sided with the powerful against the weak. It is high time for the church to repent and to work for the poor. This requires the church to remove itself from the influence of the rich and to work by the side of the poor to establish a more equitable society. The church’s mission is to establish and to expand the kingdom of God and not to be self-serving and dependent on the West for funds and support.

### **The Kingdom of God**

Gutiérrez and Amaladoss both emphasize establishing the kingdom of God rather than expanding the church. Amaladoss believes Christian witnessing need not be ecclesiastical if the task of building the Reign of God advocates more involvement of the laity. The laity should take the initiative to implement values of the kingdom through various pastoral initiatives and not wait for directions from the hierarchy. Most importantly, they should be involved in the struggle of the poor for justice. Gutiérrez and

Amaladoss advocate a popular church where the laity plays a significant role.

Amaladoss maintains a clear distinction, but not a separation, between the church and the kingdom of God. He makes a further distinction between the mystery of God and the historical manifestation of Jesus. The life of Christ and his saving activities happened at a particular time and space, but the work of the Holy Spirit transcends time and is, therefore, universal. The Christ-event has both historical and cosmic dimensions. Christianity, however, is only one of the ways in which God reaches to humankind. Other religions also have their place in the mystery of God’s plan for the world.

Gutiérrez, however, holds that history is one. This means that there are not two histories, one sacred and the other profane. Humankind has only one destiny assumed by Christ, the Lord of History. The history of salvation is at the heart of human history. This means that the saving action of God forms the basis of our human existence. Gutiérrez further links creation and salvation based on the experience of liberation expressed in Exodus. Creation presents us with the first salvific act, to be followed by the salvation brought by Christ. In other words, God creates us to be with him.

As we can see, Gutiérrez holds a Christo-centric view of history based on Ephesian 1: 3-5: “Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places, even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. He destined us in love to be his sons through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will.” Amaladoss, on the other hand, stresses the validity of non-Christian religions and cultures as paths towards the absolute.

### **Non-Christian Neighbours**

While emphasizing the need to maintain Christian identity, Amaladoss, however, insists that we must be sensitive to non-

Christians who are our neighbours. In other words, we should not be too quick to establish basic ecclesial communities like those in Latin America. Religious pluralism is prevalent in Asia, and Christians, a minority group, should avoid isolating themselves from the general public. In fact, Christians should work with non-Christians to realize the value of the Reign of God.

For Amaladoss, evangelization in the Asian context includes inculturation, liberation, and interreligious dialogue. Gutiérrez would agree with Amaladoss that the first task of evangelization is the advancement of God's kingdom in the world, which includes the establishment of local community. However, in Asia, Christians must be encouraged to collaborate with members of other religions in the task of promoting common human and religious values. Amaladoss makes this scathing remark that the values of the kingdom have sometimes been communicated in India in spite of the church in India. He points out that the church needs to renew itself by adapting to the local culture.

Asia has many old and venerable religious traditions, some of which are older than Christianity. Amaladoss believes that the sacred texts of these religions can be regarded as inspired by God. He speaks of the complementarity of scriptures of various religions. This means that we can read them side by side. For example, during Eucharistic celebration, we may have readings from both the Bible and the Bhagavad Gita. The sacred texts from different religions reveal different aspects of the same mystery. By reading the Bhagavad Gita, we can learn of spiritual insights not found in the Bible. Amaladoss believes reading the sacred text of other religions is a proper approach to interreligious dialogue. In doing this, we attempt to understand God's plan for the world through the testimonies of believers from other faiths. We read the texts of other religions not to compare them with ours but to be guided by them as we attempt to understand the mystery of God's will. Here Amaladoss emphasizes the complementarity of sacred texts from different religious traditions to assist humankind to achieve communion with the divine.

## Conclusion

Perhaps it was Amaladoss's view that the sacred texts of non-Christian religions are inspired, that led him, among other issues, into trouble with Cardinal Müller, head of the CDF, a close associate of Ratzinger. For example, some Catholics felt uneasy when world religious leaders, Buddhists, Muslims, Jews, and Hindus prayed together with John Paul II, in Assisi, in 1986 and again, in 2002. Joseph Ratzinger sympathized with some of these critics because he felt that the integrity of the Catholic faith had been undermined on such occasions.<sup>17</sup> While Ratzinger paid lip service to other religious beliefs in the spirit of Vatican II, his emphasis is on evangelization and the necessity of conversion to Jesus Christ.

In view of the apparent dangers and distortions to the Catholic faith that are inherent in interreligious dialogue, inculturation, and common prayer service, the CDF continues to monitor the writings of Asian theologians with great vigilance. The point I want to make is that liberation theologians like Gustavo Gutiérrez who work within a western intellectual tradition are easily assimilated within Catholic orthodoxy in spite of initial struggles and suspicions. Whereas Asian theologians, like Michael Amaladoss and others, who specialize in interreligious dialogue, religious pluralism, and inculturation, are still struggling to make their voices heard in a church that is still dominated by Roman-Hellenistic thinking.

## End Notes

- 1 Jürgen Moltmann, "An Open Letter to José MíguezBonino," (March 29, 1976) in Alfred T. Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1990), 196.
- 2 Leo D. Lefebure, "Cardinal Ratzinger's Comments on Buddhism," *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 18 (1998): 222.
- 3 Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Declaration "Dominus Iesus" on the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church, [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc\\_con\\_cfaith\\_doc\\_20000806\\_dominus-iesus\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20000806_dominus-iesus_en.html). no.22.
- 4 Moltmann, "An Open Letter to José MíguezBonino," 198.

- 5 Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, trans. and ed. Sister CaridadInda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1988), xxxiii - xxxiv.
- 6 Archbishop Müller Promotes Liberation Theology and Gustavo Gutierrez, [http://www.traditioninaction.org/ProgressivistDoc/A\\_167\\_TL-OR-2.html](http://www.traditioninaction.org/ProgressivistDoc/A_167_TL-OR-2.html). For a succinct discussion of the differences in liberation theology, see William R. Barr, "Debated issues in liberation theology," *Theology Today* 43/4 (January 1987), 510-523. Of course, not all liberation theologians from Latin American have been accepted. The cases of Jon Sobrino and Leonardo Boff are prime examples.
- 7 Brian Hearne, "Liberation theology and the renewal of theology," *Afer* 26/6 (December 1984), 363.
- 8 Quoted in BastiannWielenga, "Liberaton theology in Asia," in Christopher Rowland, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 69.
- 9 Aloysius Pieris, *An Asian Theology of Liberation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 59.
- 10 Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue, *Dialogue and Proclamation*, [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/interelg/documents/rc\\_pc\\_interelg\\_doc\\_19051991\\_dialogue-and-proclamatio\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/interelg/documents/rc_pc_interelg_doc_19051991_dialogue-and-proclamatio_en.html), no. 42.
- 11 Peter C. Phan, "Method in Liberation Theologies," *Theological Studies* 61/1 (March 2000), 47 – 48.
- 12 Michael Amaladoss, "Liberation Theologies from Asia," *Laval Théologique Et Philosophique* 54 (October 1998), 539.
- 13 Barr, "Debated issues in Liberation Theology," 522.
- 14 Tomás Bamat, "Popular Catholicism: global paradox and promise," *America* 180, (May 29, 1999), 7 - 8.
- 15 Gustavo Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, Selected Writings (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1983), 97.
- 16 Curt Cadorette, *From the Heart of the People: The Theology of Gustavo Gutiérrez* (South Humphrey: Meyer-Stone Books, 1988), 32.
- 17 See Joseph Ratzinger, *Truth and Tolerance* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004), 106 – 109. See also Stratford Caldecott, "Benedict XVI and inter-religious dialogue," *Transformation* 23/4 ( October 2006): 201.

## The Family System Theory and its Impact on a Family in Crisis<sup>1</sup>

*Dipti R. Gine\**

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### Introduction

Modern humans live in an age where they are challenged continuously from two fronts – from within and from without. Perhaps they are concerned more about *without* than *within*,<sup>2</sup> whereas it should have been the other way round. The present paper is an attempt towards comprehending the root of all crises, which a family encounters that usually takes aback seat and analyzing the situation in the light of the Family System Theory promulgated by Murray Bowen in 1974.<sup>3</sup> It is anticipated that through this Theory the inherent family crisis could be understood towards the resolution.

In order to make the topic more *readable* and comprehensible, we would first define some terms that appear to have more than one meaning and approach. We would be following extensively the method of "Family System Theory", with an implication on a family. This would be presented through a Case Study. The Paper would conclude with a Biblical reflection and conclusion.

### Definition of Key Terms

1. **Family:** "Family" is a social group bound by relationship through different interactions in a given socio-political set-ups and prove to have lasting values inculcated from different

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experiences and situations. Each member of a family becomes, in due course of time, a special unit of such family to reshape and reflect its values in their exposure at different contexts. A family is a nursery for the values of love, sharing, equality, truthfulness; caring, self-sacrifice, forgiveness and justice. Philosophically as well as artistically, “Family” is defined in different ways, like, “The family is the sacred space where the flame of life is transmitted”; “Family is the domestic dorm of all its inhabitants”, etc. The term “family” can also be understood from the institutional point of view in a broader sense.

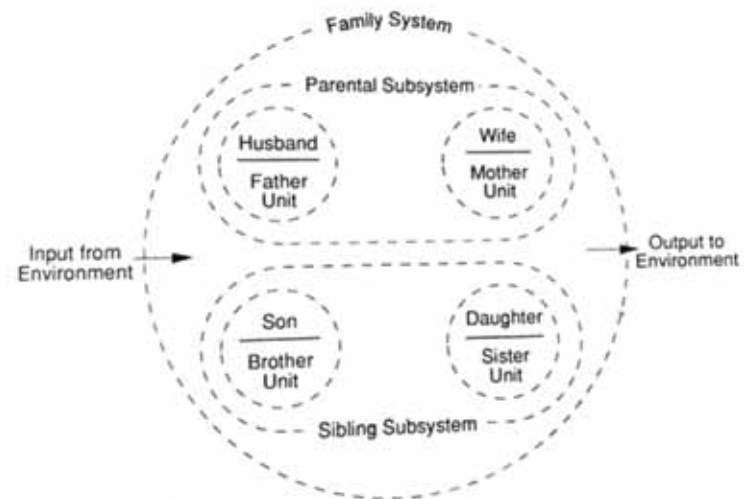
2. **Family System Theory:**<sup>4</sup> Murry Bowen (1913-1990) introduced Family System Theory in 1974, which was later popularly known as ‘Bowen Theory’. Bowen took into consideration the whole family rather than one individual for developing such theory. He was convinced that the families follow different patterns, which if not managed properly, may create some anxiety. Hence he developed a theory to defuse anxiety within families. He realized that this anxiety emerges because of either too much of closeness or too much of distance within a family relationship. Usually, levels of external stress of any kind and internal sensitivity to particular themes transmitted to generations determine the degree of anxiety within a family. As and when the family members fail to respond satisfactorily to these anxieties, these turn to be chronic and can in future become a serious concern for both the concerned family and the society as a whole. The Family System Theory is a “system that is changed by input from surrounding environment and, in turn, exerts an influence on that environment”. It means, when any change takes place, the family system is influenced by and is an influence on that particular environment. The System Theory states that the system is greater than the sum total of its parts. In other words, it claims that the total number of family members does not

only specify the number of people living in the family but also reveals an overall and wider relationship within the members of the family. Staying together induces strength among each member of the family, and withdrawal from the family unit creates an adverse effect on each of them in one way or the other.

### What the Family System Theory is all about:

1. The family is considered a unified whole rather than a sum total of different parts consisted of different structures, relationships, and functions.

**Figure No. 1: Family System Theory**<sup>5</sup>



2. Each member of the family is a single independent unit and therefore plays a significant role in the family structure. No single individual is ignored because they do not play any insignificant role in that particular family. In order to understand a particular family and its different issues, each member has to be understood well in terms of their relationship to each other.

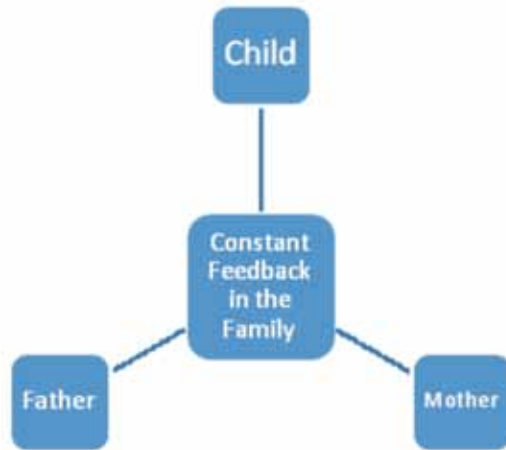
3. As a living system, the family remains open to a constant exchange of energy and information with the environment. Therefore, when there is wider openness within the family, there will be greater exchanges and better relationships.
4. Whenever there is any change within a member or a part of the family, this change would result in a change in the family as a whole. The change would require adaptation of every member or part of the family, as roles and functions take new meanings.
5. There is anxiety in each family. The level and intensity of such anxiety depend solely upon the members how they understand, accept, and attempt to resolve it.<sup>6</sup>
6. Anxiety is generated on the perception of the relationship among the members, particularly in detecting their closeness and distance. In other words, the issue of the relationship depends on the “too closeness” and “too far distance” among the members of the family.
7. Both internal and external *climate* is responsible to and can create any impact on the family *atmosphere*.
8. In most cases without the knowledge of the members of the family, the issues and anxieties pass through generations together and can make a huge impact on family, particularly on its values.
9. If anxieties and issues are ignored or not treated timely with enough care and caution, they may turn to be chronic making its (negative) impact on the generations together.
10. The chronic anxieties, however, can be treated if one is so desirous of. With such treatment chronic anxiety can be reduced, if not totally eliminated.
11. Therapy towards chronic anxiety can be done in two ways:
  - a. Facilitating awareness of how the emotional system functions, and
  - b. Increasing levels of differentiation, where the focus is on making changes for the self rather than on trying to change others.

### **How the Family System Theory functions:**

Dr. Murry Bowen presents eight interlocking concepts in working out Family System Theory.<sup>7</sup> We would limit our discussion only to three because of the dearth of time and space. These three are Triangles, Differentiation of self and Nuclear family emotional stress. Let us consider these all for better understanding how family functions.

#### **A: Triangles:**

1. It operates through the *golden triangles* of the father, mother, and child. According to Bowen, the triangle is the basis of the family system. He avoids using “harmony” in order to avoid confusion with other triangular concepts. He explains saying, a triangle is the smallest form of relationship which is constituted in the system of relationship. This triangle maintains balance in the family at the time of stress. Bowen explains the triangle in this manner. A father-mother-child triangle may have tension between the parents where a weak father reinforces conflict between a dominant mother and a possible traumatized child. Bowen calls this “weak person” in the marriage *inadequate* and the strong person *over adequate*. According to Bowen, all family wants to maintain closeness in the family, and in order to maintain this and handle anxiety at any stage, they form this triangle.
2. It considers each family and all its members as a vital source, capable units and prudent agents in dealing with the family issues.
3. A family may face a crisis at any given time; and when this happens, the members of the family must depend on each other to get through them. Interdependence of members of the family plays a vital role in the Family System Theory.
4. Feedback, response, and reflection from each member not only allow them to overcome crises but also to progress towards their goals and aspirations.

**Figure No. 2: Family Feedback**

5. Frequent feedbacks and communications show the present situation of the family. It also reveals what is really happening in the family and what is its present status. It, therefore, will naturally direct the members towards the goals which have not been achieved, changes that were anticipated have not taken place, and the roles each member was supposed to play have not been in place. This provides not only the present situation and the know-how of the problems but also reminds perspectival roles to be played by each member of the family as a whole.

### **B: Differentiation of self:**

1. This is to describe up to what extent people are able to separate their emotional and intellectual realms of personality traits. According to Bowen, there are two types of people in a family – one, who would be highly fused and thus would become dysfunctional in any emotional and intellectual spheres; two, who would be highly differentiated people and thus would be functional to a great extent in any situation of life.

2. Bowen describes this differentiated people as “solid self” and fused people as “pseudo-self”. The “solid self” knows well what is expected of them and they do likewise, whereas the “pseudo-self” reacts to any crisis in an unpredicted manner and infuses the negative feelings to other members.
3. The differentiated persons are usually concerned about others and the people around them, whereas the fused people are not so. The differentiated people can laugh, cry and have fun, and they can justify their actions. The fused people are confused with their actions and remain unaware of their beliefs and feelings. Of course, the differentiated people can also experience breakdown at sufficient pressure, but they recover without external support reasonably quickly. The fused people take inordinate time because of their state of the habitual state of mind.

### **C: Nuclear Family Emotional Process:**

1. Bowen believes that the Nuclear Family Emotional System begins from marriage with the couple’s emotional system. According to him, since marriage is the beginning of the nuclear family, other living arrangements are to be discounted.
2. It assumes that the emotions of the newly wedded couple are rooted in their respective parents, and their (i.e., couple’s) emotional patterns will be passed on to their children.
3. Too much fusion in the couple can result in anxiety for one or both of the couple.
4. As and when the couple encounter stress, the following methods are usually recommended. However, they have their own limitations:
  - a. Activate emotional distance
  - b. Engage in marital conflict (positive)
  - c. Be alerted to dysfunction in one of the spouses
  - d. Projection of the problem into one of the children.

### Nature of the Family System Therapy:

Whenever principles and policies of the Family System Theory are applied for the assimilation and analysis of the family data and then they are applied to the resolution of the crisis of the family, they, in essence, are transformed from theory to therapy. The Family System Therapy works within the system taking into account of all members of the family and their antecedents. What is seen overtly on the surface is the minimum manifestation of the deep and grave situations lying cryptic in different regions of the persons involved. It is through this therapy only a great deal of such hidden elements can be brought to the forefront and actually be given gradually due emphasis, and in the process, an anticipated result may be experienced. Depending on the complications, different manifestations and gravity of the situations, the following basic steps are usually taken in applying such therapy:

1. Accept the member or members of the family as a potential person for therapy.
2. Acknowledge whatever is revealed by the member superficially as the starting point, without pressing on to receive or hear more at this initial stage.
3. Allow the person to feel comfortable in the presence of the therapist.
4. Cooperate with the members, even if they do not show any symptom of cooperation at the initial stage.
5. Listen carefully to find where the actual clue lies with the person.
6. Act as and when necessary. This “act” involves asking relevant questions.
7. Seek cooperation from other members of the family, if needed.

### Figure No. 3: Family System Therapy (Steps)



These basic steps also provide some basic precautions. These may be described as follows:

1. Do not be too curious to know the person seeking help, rather be patient and persistent.
2. Do not be personally involved too much in the name of empathy, rather maintain distance and dignity.
3. Do not show longings to listen, rather be prepared to listen only to whatever comes at a time.
4. Do not overact, only act as you ought to.
5. Do not involve other members of the family, if not needed.

### Figure No. 4: Family System Therapy (Dos & Don'ts)



### Applying Family System Theory:

During the first six months of the academic year 2015-2016 of Serampore College, around 35 students (apart from students' parents and relatives) sought for general counseling.<sup>8</sup> They had different yet complicated problems. Some of them were sent by the faculty members. Students were found to be good in studies, but irregular in classes for various apparent reasons. Relatives of some students also came because of the complexity of their problems.

### A Case Study

Naina (not original name) is a brilliant student. According to the Family System Theory, she is the Identified Patient. She is

the only daughter and thereby loved by both of her parents. She belongs to a reputed family.

She has developed a relationship with a boy who is neither good in studies nor belongs to the same religion. He does not have the even proper family background. When Naina's result was declared, her result was found to be very dissatisfactory. Her parents were disappointed. This was the breaking point in a family relationship and *atmosphere*.

The parents came to meet me along with Naina. I had a long three-hour session with them, first individually and then corporately. Naina felt that she was under too much of restrictions. Her parents did not have any time left for her. They were busy in their own world of business. The parents, however, felt the other way round. Their complaint against their daughter was: she was disobedient and she wanted to continue her relationship with the boy who the parents have long disapproved. According to her parents, it would destroy their family reputation if she persisted on her relationship with the boy of her choice. Naina's mother started crying and the father was gradually becoming very embarrassed and restless in my very presence. They failed to control their emotional outburst. When gradually the situation improved and emotion was in control, I assured them that the confidentiality of their family matters would be maintained at any cost. After getting assurance from me they gradually opened up. They shared things in detail. I allowed them some time to think, and asked them to come again as and when they feel.

They came to me for the second time after a week. When they came, four of us (Naina, her both parents and me) sat together. I tried explaining to them the value of family relationship. I made them understand the importance of each member of the family. Each member of the family required to understand the need of the other, and should try to meet the need as much as s/he can.

Naina kept coming to me from time to time. We developed a good rapport. One day she disclosed that her relationship with that

boy broke up due to his possessive nature. Now she became more serious about her studies, and she finally received First Class in her degree course. She still keeps on coming. Her parents have expressed their gratitude to me for being a part of their life.

### **Analysis of the Case Study:**

#### **a) Exploring Family System Theory**

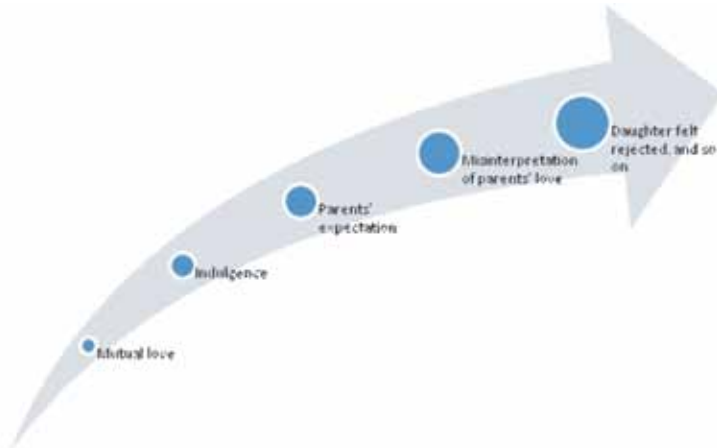
1. "Family" rotates within the radius of three – father, mother, and daughter. The Family System is in motion.
2. An *outsider* intends to intrude the *family* viciously threatening family radius.
3. Communication and interaction with the members of the family breaks and is deferred to an indefinite period until it threatened the very existence of the *family*.
4. A parallel and yet an artificial "family" emerged in utopia through the change in a member of the family. A crisis was created through anxiety because of one's change in behavior. This internal change took place because of change in the external force.
5. A strong resistance surfaced from within the existing family to protect its ideals and individuals. Before the anxiety could take the shape of chronic anxiety, help was sought by the person responsible for creating anxiety. Others in the family cooperated. An opportune time came to seek the need for Therapy.
6. Anxiety was resolved through Therapy.

#### **b) What went on in the family**

1. An environment of mutual love and trust was created among the parents and the daughter.
2. Being the only child, and that too is a daughter, full concern was centered on Naina, making her susceptible to any indulgence.

3. The expectation of the parents from their daughter went sky-high, as they fulfilled all her desires up to her satisfaction.

**Figure No. 5: Anxiety in the family**



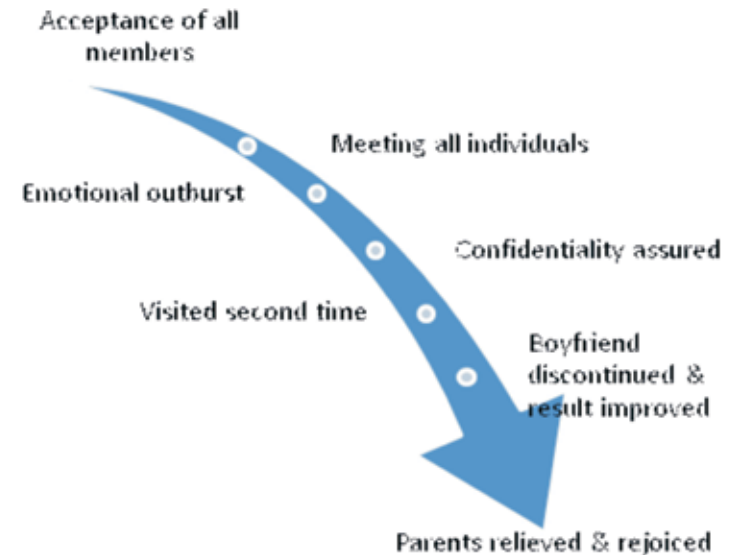
4. The daughter misread and misinterpreted her parents' love and concern for her. She anticipated approval of her parents on anything she would do or ask for. She was disappointed when her expectation was not fulfilled and her appeal was rejected.
5. The daughter felt her love was rejected and so she took such rejection as a personal insult. The whole family system suffered a setback.
6. Two cliques were created – parents and their daughter.
7. Daughter's academic result suffered
8. Blame-game started, and communication disrupted.
9. All wanted such impasse should end.

**c) Applying Family System Therapy by the therapist:**

1. Acceptance of both parents and the daughter, and creating a smooth and congenial atmosphere for communication.

2. Meeting the members individually, followed by a combined session
3. Emotional outburst – blaming each other, shouting, crying aloud, and silence
4. Confidentiality was assured and maintained
5. Visited the second time
6. Daughter's relationship with her boyfriend broke up, and her result excelled
7. Parents found relieved and rejoiced in their daughter's success
8. Original environment of the family was restored

**Figure No. 6: Applying Family System Therapy**



**Biblical Reflection:**

The Pauline dictum on family counseling therapy (Romans 12:4-5; 9-10; 16-18; 21; 1Corinthians 12:12-26) has long been applied and appreciated in church and society. What Paul says is resonated in essence in the Family System Therapy. Mutual trust and love;

interdependence; mutual respect; coherence and communication; performance of responsibilities, etc. – all are part of the family system. Paul's one of the greatest appeals to the Corinthians is that there should not be any schism among them, rather all members should be well taken care of (1Cor. 12:25). Even the Pauline dictum to the church at Galatia in this respect is unique, when he says, "Bear one another's burden, and thus fulfill the law of Christ (Gal. 6:2). This is true for both church and the family. And the Family System Theory is committed to maintaining unity and holistic development in combating the family crisis.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be said that the goal of Family System Theory is almost identical with those of role-relationship marriage counseling. Its major purpose is to reduce frustration and increase interaction. This means, its goal is to enhance mutually satisfying needs. It reopens the lines of intra-familial relationship; increases awareness of roles among the family members; makes family members interdependent; encourages members to explore the root of pain and pleasure; and experiments mutually flexible roles for relating each other.<sup>9</sup>

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### End Notes

- 1 The Paper in its original form was first presented at the Academic Seminar of Serampore College (Theology Department) on February 11, 2016 at the Auditorium of Carey Library & Research Centre.
- 2 By "within", we mean the basic tenets and ingredients which contribute towards the formation and development of a family. By "without", we mean rituals, neighborhood, and extravagant show-off through which one displays the so-called social life.
- 3 Dr. Murray Bowen, a psychiatrist, formulated the theory by using systems thinking to integrate knowledge of the human species as a product of evolution and knowledge from family research. His core assumption is that an emotional system that evolved over several billion years governs human relationship systems. People have a "thinking brain", language, a complex psychology and culture, but people still do all the ordinary things which other forms of life do. The emotional system affects most human activity and is the principal driving force in the development of clinical problems. Knowledge of how the emotional system operates in one's family,

workplace and social systems reveals new and more effective options for solving problems in each of these areas.

4 www.familyssystemtheory.org/traininghtml (accessed on February 10, 2016 at 2:15 p.m.).

5 Balswick Jack O. & Judith K. Balswick, *The Family: A Christian Perspective on the Contemporary Home* (Michigan: Baker Book House, 1994), 37.

6 J. B. Prasantham analyses this from Indian perspective. See Prasantham, J.B. *Indian Case Studies in Therapeutic Counselling* (Vellore: Christian Counselling Centre, 1978), 71-76.

7 The eight interlocking concepts are: Triangles, Differentiation of Self, Nuclear Family Emotional System, Family Projection Process, Multigenerational Transmission Process, EMOTIONAL Cutoff, Sibling Position, and Societal Emotional Process. www.genopro.com/genogram/familysystemtheory (accessed on February 10, 2016).

Since the first three have been discussed above, the remaining five may be narrated in one sentence each.

Family Projection Process looks at the transmission of emotional problems from a parent to a child.

Multigenerational Transmission Process considers the transmission of small differences in the levels of differentiation between parents and their children.

Emotional Cutoff functions in reducing or cutting off emotional contact with family as a way of managing unresolved emotional issues.

Sibling Positions provides an impact of sibling position on development and behaviour.

Societal Emotional Process takes into account the emotional system that governs behaviour on a societal level, promoting both progressive and regressive periods in society.

8 The administrative structure of Serampore College is unique in India. There are two Sections (which are known as Departments) of the College – Arts-Science-Commerce (ASC) and Theology. The writer had been involved initially in counselling only the students of Theology Department, but later she was assigned officially to counsel even the ASC students since 2010. The reflection that is made here is solely based upon her counselling experiences. Moreover, the Case Study which is undertaken here is also part of one of such counselling sessions.

9 For further description, see Clinebell Jr., Howard J. *Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling: New Resources for Ministering to the Troubled* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), 121-124.

## **A Pneumatology of Confluence: Pioneering Pneumatological Contributions of Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar of the Brahmo Samaj**

*Swarup Bar\**

In one of my earlier papers,<sup>1</sup> I had argued that the stalwarts of the Brahmo Samaj like Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) and Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884) had made theological contributions whose pioneering theology have implications for an emerging Indian Christian pneumatological discourse. Similarly, I argue that the theology of Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar (1840-1905),<sup>2</sup> disciple and friend of Keshub and a prominent member of the Brahmo Samaj has significant contributions to make towards an emerging pneumatology in India. Indian Christian theology has not paid much attention to Mozoomdar, compared to his counterparts in the Brahmo Samaj, Roy and Sen presumably because pneumatology, which is arguably the strong point of Mozoomdar was not given much emphasis during the time as compared to Christology. However, it is heartening to note that M. M. Thomas in at least two of his publications<sup>3</sup> has given space to a discussion of the theological contributions of Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar.

Mozoomdar's theology has grown out of his personal experience of Christ which transformed his life (although he did not officially embrace Christianity), his active involvement in the

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struggles and vicissitudes of the Brahmo Samaj and his conviction in the theistic faith that the Samaj originally stood for. Although his first significant publication was *The Oriental Christ* (1883)<sup>4</sup> and only secondly *The Spirit of God* (1894),<sup>5</sup> Mozoomdar's theology can be clearly said to be pneumatologically oriented because this is the wider framework he works with.<sup>6</sup> Further, Pratap's pneumatology seems significant in terms of reconciling conflicting viewpoints into a harmonious whole, while maintaining distinctions; and also in terms of laying out broad contours of an Indian Christian pneumatology. But before we elaborate on the above, it is useful to mention that Pratap was one of those pioneers in Indian theology who did not forget to underscore the neglect of pneumatology in Christian theology.

### 1. The Issue of Pneumatological Neglect

Like many theologians in this age of pneumatological renaissance who begin their pneumatology with a regret about the pneumatological neglect in Christian theology, Mozoomdar expressed this forcefully well ahead during his own time. Even Keshub Chunder Sen who preceded him and whose theology and life could be said to be built upon the inspiration of the Spirit was not explicit on this issue. Pratap observed that

...adoration, love, worship, have been offered to the Son without stint or scruple. Behold, the Spirit has no altar erected to him in all Christendom...that personal Holy Spirit is scarcely anything more than ecclesiastic(*sic*) dogma...why has the truth about the blessed Holy Spirit been practically exiled from the Christian sanctuary, his home, and his heart?... The living Spirit of God, if ever appeared, seems to have retreated from the Church in the rage of popular Christology, or sublimated himself into an arithmetical supplement.<sup>7</sup>

Only much later in the works of Vengal Chakkarai and Pandipeddi Chenchiah, who were part of the *Rethinking Christianity* group in Madras (Chennai), the issue of pneumatological neglect resurface. Chakkarai, in his well-known work, *Jesus the Avatar* (1927)<sup>8</sup> expressed the pneumatological lack in the Church in the Graeco-Roman world where, 'The Holy Spirit became a distant and mystical something, and the historical Jesus emerged in a strange shape, dimmed by allegory and fantastic interpretation of the ordinary facts narrated in the Gospels.'<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Chenchiah reiterated the fact of the estrangement of the Spirit in, *Rethinking Christianity in India* (1938) as he contended that 'when the Holy Spirit became a distant reality and then a dogma, when Jesus went to heaven and did not return, we thought of a Church and built one'<sup>10</sup> Yet Chenchiah rightly predicted the significance of the Holy Spirit in Indian theology when he said, 'The 'Holy Spirit'- the doctrine and personality- if my instincts are sound, will play a decisive role in Indian theology. They may receive a new interpretation and become the cornerstone of Indian Christian theology.'<sup>11</sup>

The issue of pneumatological neglect has been addressed to some extent as considerable research has taken place and is on the rise in the West. However, Indian theology needs to heed the voice of the above stalwarts once again in order that pneumatology can occupy a prominent position in our theological reflections at present. Indian theology must consciously acknowledge the fact of this pneumatological deficiency in its reflections and thereby make deliberate efforts towards constructing the emerging face of Indian pneumatology.

Now we shall turn to various themes where a pneumatology of confluence has been manifested in Pratap's theology.

### 2. The Personhood of the Holy Spirit: A Confluence of Impersonalist and Personalist Traditions

In Indian Christian theology so far, there have been largely a leaning towards the impersonalist tradition of the Spirit; arguably

due to the prevalence of *advaitic* spirituality, although at a popular level the spirituality of *bhakti* which is a personalist one is widespread. Ivan Satyavrata observes that in the Indian theological scene,

With the clear exception of Nehemiah Goreh and A.J. Appasamy, the pneumatology of all Indian thinkers... bears the influence of *advaitic* non-dualism. Rammohan Roy's strict monotheism... had no place at all for a personal Holy Spirit... Jules Monchanin and Swami Abhishiktananda, move even further away from a personalist conception of the Spirit... Raimundo Panikkar's understanding of the Spirit as the 'immanent God' of *advaita* represents... this journey from Christian to *advaitic* spirituality. The same tendency toward an impersonalist conception of the Spirit may also be observed in thinkers like Chenchiah and Chakkarai, who do not otherwise seem to display a conscious preference for *advaita* as a philosophical system. Even someone with strong personalistic conviction like A.J. Appasamy feels the need to make room for an impersonal conception of God within his personalist *bhakti* framework.<sup>12</sup>

The issue of the Person of the Holy Spirit is however difficult to deal with. This is because, unlike the Person of the Son which has been readily accepted, while his divinity debated; Holy Spirit's divinity has been accepted, while his personality often generated controversies.<sup>13</sup> The main issue lies in how we understand the concept of the 'person'. Jürgen Moltmann in his book, *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God* explains that the Gk. word *persona* originally meant 'mask' in the world of the theatre, which in other words referred to roles people play. On the other hand, in Greek theology, the term *hypostasis*, parallel to the term *prosopon*, meaning (character, person, appearance), is used while

explaining the concept of the Trinity.<sup>14</sup> Hypostasis has been used in the sense of distinct persons of the Trinity as compared to the unity of the Godhead. The modern concept of the person, however, has undergone changes. There are trends that understand persons in terms of relationships.<sup>15</sup> Moltmann affirms that 'Person and relation... have to be understood in a reciprocal relationship. Here there are no persons without relations, but there are no relations without persons either.'<sup>16</sup> In this sense, when we talk of the person of the Holy Spirit we can mean that the personality of the Spirit includes his relationality. Personhood, therefore in this modern sense would involve both distinct individuality and relationship.

This combination of individuality and relationality refers to the dual understanding of the Holy Spirit's personhood. This dual nature of personhood can also be understood in a different trajectory, that of, personality or the impersonality of the Holy Spirit. In Classical Christian theology, the Holy Spirit has been usually projected as a Person. The main arguments come from the works of the Spirit rather than from the notion of personality itself. The works of the Spirit attested in the Bible, that of teaching, (John 14:26), convincing (John 16:8), guiding (John 16:13) and so on are argued in favour of the personality of the Spirit.<sup>17</sup> But it is to be noted that Biblical and Patristic sources both evidence a dual character i.e. personality and the impersonality of the Spirit. The argument for the full personality of the Spirit has been drawn mostly from the triadic formula inherent in the doxology and other passages in the Bible. The Cappadocian Fathers refer to doxology and baptismal triadic formula while arguing for the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit. Passages like Matthew 28:19 and 2 Corinthians 13:14 accord the same place to the three persons thereby signalling the Spirit's personality as similar to the Father and the Son.<sup>18</sup> Scholars suggest that in the New Testament there is considerable evidence of a triadic belief which points to the personality of the Spirit.<sup>19</sup>

However, the other side, i.e. the impersonality of the Spirit can be equally argued for. It can be contended that unlike the experience of Christ, the Spirit is almost always experienced in an impersonal way. For example, the baptism and filling of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the fire and wind are not experienced as a person. The Pentecostal experience is not about meeting a person but a power and a force (Acts 2) and Jesus' enactment of giving of the Spirit is equally impersonal (John 20:21).<sup>20</sup> Moltmann, in his book *Spirit of Life*, points to the metaphors of the Spirit in the Bible, namely energy, space, fire, light, water etc. which obviously points to the impersonality of the Spirit.<sup>21</sup>

This brings us to the whole question of whether there is an option of an either/or when speaking about the personhood of the Spirit or whether both the personality and impersonality of the Spirit can go together. Ralph Del Colle for one, argues that both the impersonality and personality of the Holy Spirit would constitute a robust and trinitarian pneumatology. He shows through arguments in terms of the Spirit's presence and power as testified in the Bible that 'God as Spirit' and the 'Holy Spirit' are complementary. The former identifies the modality of God's being in his relationship between God and the world, the latter the Spirit expressed in his trinitarian identity.<sup>22</sup> Indian theologians, as we have seen have largely leaned towards the impersonality of the Spirit. But it can be argued that a combination of both is relevant to Indian spirituality. It is here that the pneumatology of Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar becomes relevant. This is because, while his theology has an *advaitic* framework, he blends it with the personalist tradition of the Holy Spirit. This is the pneumatological confluence that is found in Mozoomdar's theology. His blend of the *advaitic* concept of the Spirit with the personality of God is derived from his concept of God itself, which is deeply anthropomorphic. Mozoomdar admits that God is a person but this concept of the person according to him is not intelligible if it is not understood in terms of humanity.<sup>23</sup> He maintains that 'God

is supremely human...He is the perfection of humanity; there is none so human as he'<sup>24</sup>

In terms of the *advaitic* oneness and pervasiveness of the Spirit, Mozoomdar affirms that the Spirit of God is present and immanent amidst us. He admits that 'The universal background of things is not void, the universal heart of things is not vacant. It is surcharged with the Spirit and presence of God.'<sup>25</sup> He further claims that the 'Spirit of God is the source and substance of all things, the evolving principle in all matter, and bears forth all souls.'<sup>26</sup> His *advaitic* concept of oneness or non-duality is forcefully reiterated again when he writes,

No religion with pretension to spirituality sets forth as distinctly as Hinduism the immanence of the Spirit of God as the life and glory of nature...There is one beauty, one power, one life in all the worlds, and that belongs to the Paramatman. The Hindu conception of the Spirit is a pervasive presence.<sup>27</sup>

While Mozoomdar follows the impersonalist tradition of interpreting the Holy Spirit in terms of the *advaitic* concept of the Spirit, he was equally in agreement with the personalist understanding of the Spirit. He affirms that 'God is total, yet individual, universal, yet special and personal'<sup>28</sup> Again he notes that 'In our peculiar system of faith we have always insisted upon God as Spirit, apart from every kind of form...But the question must at some time or other arise, Can there be a Spirit without form? Is an abstract Spirit conceivable?'<sup>29</sup> In his writings, he was explicit about the personality of the Holy Spirit even as he regrets that this has been neglected in the theistic frameworks and points out that the personal Spirit has been unfortunately reduced to mere dogma. He contends,

The protecting, all-sufficing sense of the guardianship of an encompassing personal presence is strongly wanting in these so-called theistic systems...<sup>30</sup> It

is the person that incarnates that can incarnate the Person.<sup>31</sup>...But the personality of the Spirit to whom Christ habitually looked up...the patriarchs bowed to, that personal Holy Spirit is scarcely anything more than ecclesiastic(*sic*) dogma.<sup>32</sup>

Mozoomdar also explains Holy Spirit's personality both individually as well as in a relationship. This is significant as per the modern concept of personhood earlier stated. He writes that the Holy Spirit

is a tremendous personality, inalienable, concrete, living, permanently abiding in us. Its voice is stern, aggressive, commanding, -sometimes still tender also; the relation of the Spirit to man is an austere moral relation-the relation of responsibility, of obedience, of voluntary self-subjection. God and man are two, not one.<sup>33</sup> This personal Spirit is also one of love and friendship with others.<sup>34</sup>

The significance of Mozoomdar's pneumatology is that he was able to hold both the impersonalist and personalist traditions while other Indian theologians before or after him had largely leaned upon one or the other. How was he able to hold them both together? It can be argued that the connecting link between the impersonalist and the personalist traditions was the relational attribute of the Spirit's personality, which is also the modern concept of the person. On the one hand, the *advaitic* concept of the Spirit is relational in that the one universal Spirit is affirmed while interrelating countless individualities. This Mozoomdar expresses thus:

Poets, astronomers, prophets, and founders are all cosmopolitans. The Spirit which animated them is the one universal Spirit who is the higher and better self in each of us. How the One Universal can detach

himself into countless individualities, and again and often reunite these into the same Spirit, into the same undifferentiated humanity all the world over, as it were into an identity of thought, heart, and aspiration, passes the understanding.<sup>35</sup>

Later Indian theologians like Chenchiah and Chakkarai have successfully accommodated the *Sakti* tradition of Hinduism within this *advaitic* impersonalist tradition. On the other hand, as noted a bit earlier, Mozoomdar understands that the person of the Spirit is capable of a friendly and loving relationship. This obviously has undertones of the spirituality of the *bhakti* tradition of love and devotion to God and fellow-beings. Thus, the relational attribute of the Spirit has the potential to link both the impersonalist and the personalist traditions.

Thus, Pratap's pneumatology gives a clue to the significance of both the impersonalist and the personalist traditions of understanding the Holy Spirit, which will be a wider appeal than an either/or view. This will be significant both at a popular level and also in the level of our intellectual sensibilities.

### 3. The Work of the Spirit

Mozoomdar acknowledges all the Biblical aspects of the Spirit's work as a comforter, teacher, helper, guide, revealer, intercessor on our behalf, and a compassionate consoler who is ever present with us.<sup>36</sup> He claims that the inspiration of the Spirit is behind all true worship and in bringing us closer to God.<sup>37</sup> With this, he agrees with one of the important aspects of Spirit's work i.e. inspiration. He also upholds a certain sense of the unknowability of the working of God and the Spirit and the knowledge of the Spirit's self-revelation which sometimes evades us.<sup>38</sup> A certain mystery is accorded to the Spirit who blows wherever he wills as his movements and presence are sometimes unknown. This also prevents us from any naïve uncritical equation of a particular movement or event with the work of the Spirit.

### 3.1. A Confluence of Immanence and Transcendence of the Spirit

Mozoomdar brings the work of the Spirit within the general purview of his *advaitic* understanding of the Hindu view of the Spirit. But he effectively argues against the charge of pantheism<sup>39</sup> and also the general misconception that any *advaitic* understanding is basically monistic which does not uphold the immanence and transcendence of the Spirit of God, or that there is a general confusion regarding God's Spirit and the human spirit.

Mozoomdar's *advaitic* standpoint is clear when he says that 'God (Spirit) is one in the matter as well as in Spirit, one indivisible.'<sup>40</sup> He contends that the 'Spirit is the substance, breath, and soul of all things and affirms that we are all essentially spirits or spiritual.'<sup>41</sup> The Spirit's pervasive nature is also brought out when he says that 'he (Spirit of God) is the light, glory of all things, the essence of life, soul of all creation and the one who indwells creation.'<sup>42</sup> Mozoomdar actually explains the nature of immanence of the Spirit which is accepted by the Brahma Samaj, when he says,

The Divine Spirit permeates every pore of matter and of humanity, and yet is absolutely different from both... There is no beauty, no wisdom, no faithfulness, no purity, no piety and self-sacrifice that is not inspired by him. The goodness of all the good is a ray of reflection from him, the greatness of all the great points to his throne on high. If this is pantheism the Brahma Samaj is not ashamed of it... if this be mysticism, the Brahma Samaj is proud of it. It is eminently the spiritual instinct of India.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, within the *advaitic* framework, the idea of the immanence of the Spirit of God is clearly brought forth. However, this obviously has risks of pantheism, but Mozoomdar obviates

that risk through his idea of the transcendence of the Spirit, while he stresses the Spirit's otherness and distance. He argues,

There is nothing apart from him, nothing alien to him, though, as the Talabken Upanishad says, "He is different from all things known as well as unknown"<sup>44</sup>... (He) 'exceeds all limits: he is beyond all, unlike all, unbounded by law, or quality or attribute or condition.'<sup>45</sup>

Here the Spirit of God is both rendered similar and different than us. The otherness of God is stressed as well as his immanence. M.M. Thomas in his *Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance* describes this position as that of 'revised pantheism.'<sup>46</sup> In contemporary parlance, we might call this position panentheism.<sup>47</sup> In fact, Mozoomdar explains the nature of 'panentheism' that is accepted by the Brahma Samaj and opposes those who make the charge of pantheism. He contends,

To accuse the Brahma Samaj... (of) That pantheism which identifies the universe with its Maker, and aman with God, the Brahma Samaj repudiates. That pantheism which takes away from the sinner's view the painful spectacle of his own sins, and leaves no field of repentance, progress, salvation and a personal sense of God's grace; that pantheism which ignores the difference between man and God, the Brahma Samaj repudiates.<sup>48</sup>

The confluence of these two strands in Pratafactually becomes possible because of the *advaitic* understanding of God as Spirit which admits of both distinctiveness and pervasiveness in God-world relationship. This understanding of God as Spirit, of course, runs the risk of modalism in the Trinitarian framework; however, this equally helps the British Anglican theologian Geoffrey Lampe (1912-1980) in his well-known work *God as*

*Spirit* develop an alternative frame of reference where a 'concept of mediator is required to bridge the gulf between creator and creatures.'<sup>49</sup> Lampe, through his understanding of God as Spirit, holds together the relationship of the one and the many, the transcendence and immanence of God which is difficult in a platonic Logos framework.<sup>50</sup> God as Spirit is a bridge term to Lampe which has animmanent presence in the cosmos as well as in human beings, but at the same time transcendent.<sup>51</sup> Of course, Lampe betrays here a unitarian tendency which is prevalent in any *advaitic* spirituality and which occupied a central place in the Brahma Samaj since its inception, though neither Keshub nor Mozoomdar had any difficulty in accepting a Hindu understanding of the Christian Trinity. Nevertheless, a pneumatological framework for understanding God-world relation and potential thereby of confluence between transcendence and immanence could open up further possibilities for integration and harmony between God and humans or among humans themselves.

It is to be reiterated that in Mozoomdar, any kind of confluence also includes maintaining distinction and preserving the identities of the entities involved. The earlier quoted paragraph from Mozoomdar reveals that he makes a distinction between the identity of human beings and that of God while upholding relationship. He stays away from pantheism that makes God and humans identical. A significant step from this is a question of the relationship between the Spirit of God and the spirit of human beings, where often the charge is made that in the *advaitic* system they are often confused. The work or role of the Spirit can also be understood in and through the relationship between the Spirit of God and the human spirit.

### **3.2. Relationship between the Spirit of God and Human Spirit**

Mozoomdar sought to distinguish between the Spirit of God (*Paramatman*) and human spirit (*Jivatman*). Linguistically in the text of his book *The Spirit of God*, he uses the upper case for the

Spirit of God but the lower case for the human spirit to distinguish between the two. He further expresses the relation between them by the imagery of the two birds who are united in the Spirit but living in the same tree which is the human body. Mozoomdar describes the human spirit as the deluded soul who is immersed in worldly relations, but when the human spirit beholds the Lord or the ruler of this universe, the soul becomes wise. This brings the human soul back from his waywardness or alienation from God into unity with God. This is the distinction and relationship between the two which also analyses their nature, alienation and subsequent unity with the one another.<sup>52</sup> The fact that Mozoomdar acknowledges that the human spirit is deluded can give a clue that he believed in human sin that is responsible for the alienation of human beings from God. The distinction is brought out again when he affirms that the Spirit's mind is in us, but our spirit should look forward to the goal of uniting with the Spirit of God.<sup>53</sup> Here it is made abundantly clear that though the Spirit of God is in us, yet the human spirit which is different, must strive to be in union with the Spirit of God. Here Mozoomdar is not in favour 'of a pantheism which is soul destroying and annihilates human personality,'<sup>54</sup> but a panentheism which keeps the identity and personality of both the human soul or spirit and the Spirit of God.

### **3.3. Confluence of the Holy Spirit and Christ-Spirit Christology**

Mozoomdar follows and elaborates the Spirit Christological hint that Keshub Chunder Sen, his predecessor left. Keshub hinted at the role of the Spirit in Christ's life from baptism onwards.<sup>55</sup> Mozoomdar goes further and acknowledges the role of the Spirit in the life of Christ. In fact, he confesses that through the indwelling Spirit he came to personally know and experience Christ.<sup>56</sup> Mozoomdar maintains that Christ left the development of his work on the Spirit and acknowledges the role of the Spirit in Christ's birth, baptism, and ministry.<sup>57</sup> This obviates any kind of risk of an adoptionist Christology which holds that Jesus was

adopted by God as his Son at baptism. Mozoomdar even contends that 'Christ's life and death served as an introduction to the advent of the Spirit.'<sup>58</sup> Of course, he lacks a prominent incarnational or logos Christology due to the absence of significant discussion on logos becoming flesh, although he accepts that in Christ, the manifestation of divine character took place.<sup>59</sup> Christina Manohar notes that Spirit Christologists, in general, do not take the pre-existent Logos or Son, as the starting point for Christology, instead they take the human flesh of Christ to be the starting point.<sup>60</sup> Mozoomdar has shown similar leanings. However, the real contribution of Mozoomdar in developing a pioneer Spirit Christology from an Indian perspective lies in lending a universal character to Christ from a pneumatological perspective. This was possible because of the very close association of Spirit and Christ in his theology, which almost spiritualises Christ. He writes that,

He (Christ) was spiritualized, entirely; he was the Spirit made flesh. The glory of his transfiguration was the spiritual glory. The glory of his crucifixion was spiritual glory...The glory of his resurrection was spiritual glory: it was no flesh and blood, but the spirit ascended with the Kingdom above. We materialize him because we have so little of the Spirit...The Spirit of God glorified himself in the Son.<sup>61</sup>

It can be contended that such close association of Spirit and Christ arguably made Mozoomdar's Christology bear the character of universalism. He maintained that,

The need of man is a central figure, a universal model, one who includes in himself all these various embodiments of God's self-manifestation. The need of man is for an incarnation in whom all other incarnations will be completed. Such incarnation was Christ. In Abraham and before Abraham, in Socrates, and in all

great and good ever revered in humanity, was Jesus Christ in spirit.<sup>62</sup>

Of course, such very close identification of the Spirit with Christ bears the risk of pneumatomonism or pneumatocentrism. This is, however, a very common feature of the Indian theologians even later because they fail to maintain the adequate distinction between Spirit and Christ. Killian McDonnell notes that the mutuality of Christ and the Spirit should be an essential element in this issue and that while there is union with the divine and human spirit in Christ, yet the individualities or subjectivities ought not to be lost.<sup>63</sup> This is a corrective which Mozoomdar's theology would have needed. However, this universalism of Jesus Christ in the Spirit was also reflected in a universal religion or the Spirit's relation to religious harmony and unity, while maintaining the uniqueness of Christ.

### **3.4. Spirit and the Confluence of Religions**

Mozoomdar marvellously blends a renewed understanding of the uniqueness of Christ with that of a universal religion drawn from the common source of the Spirit of God. He argues that Christ was unique because he brought all known manifestations into unity. He states:

Christ is unique, not because his flesh was born of a virgin, but because he was the unity of all those who had preceded him in the divine order of humanity... Christ is unique because he perfectly embodies the true and universal relation between God and man: the Father and the Son is the true relation between God and man...Christ is unique because in him the unity of all these different shapes of divine excellence was first effected.<sup>64</sup>

Mozoomdar expresses the hope that in the future, people will realise Christ in the Spirit as this universal principle who reconciles all. He hopes that,

Someday...the followers of Christ (will) realize that he does not supplant or abolish the prophets and incarnations of other religions but that they all and each have their place in him, that he completes and reconciles them.<sup>65</sup>

In Mozoomdar, this unity, reconciliation, and universalism in Christ and the Spirit is matched with an affirmation of a universal religion which is in formation through commonness in the Spirit of God. He maintains that,

A universal religion is always forming in the atmosphere...It has contributed slowly to the formation of unity between man and man- at least towards creating aspiration for a common religion...wherever spiritual religion arose, whether originating among one or many, it arose out of common instincts...The skeleton of all religions largely shows a common structure...It is the same Hand that lays down the rudiments, and from the rudiments builds up the common whole...Coming from common instincts, common truths, common processes, religion proves its source is also common; namely the Spirit of God. The commonness and continuity of religions become still more interesting when it is found out that each supplement the others, each emphasizes one all-essential feature which the others generally or lightly touch, each represents one great permanent principle, which constitutes the many-sided fullness of God's revelation.<sup>66</sup>

Such universal religious consciousness holds the capacity within itself to bring together Scriptures of various religions and

reconcile human beings from various backgrounds. Mozoomdar observes that the 'One all-pervading Spirit is expressed in Scripture as well as in and through human beings, reconciles discords and reminds us that human beings are essentially a unity.'<sup>67</sup> The presence and unity of the Spirit 'make the sacred writings of one Land the Scriptures of all mankind, and gives the true prophet, wherever he may rise, the ministry of the children of God.'<sup>68</sup> The Spirit who is present with human beings of all races brings them together into harmony.<sup>69</sup>

While maintaining the commonness in various religions, M.M. Thomas notes that Mozoomdar repudiates the idea of the vague equality of all religions on the one hand while rejecting the idea that any particular religion will have a monopoly.<sup>70</sup> He maintains that,

Each religion is the offspring of the Spirit according to the needs and nature of the people among whom it arose, but in advancing progress and unity of mankind, it is observable there is a law of unity and progressive order in the rise and spread of all the great systems of truth.<sup>71</sup>

While Mozoomdar vouches for religious harmony and unity between peoples of all religions, he does not forget that while dealing with various religions, one essential requirement is that of the discernment of the Spirit. Thus, perhaps among Indian theologians of that era, he is one of those pioneers who brings out the necessity of discernment of the Spirit in inter-religious relations.

#### **4. Discernment of the Spirit/Spirits**

M.M. Thomas notes that Mozoomdar is deeply conscious of the spiritual perversions of those who claim to have the inspiration of the Spirit.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps he has matured out of his experience in the Brahma Samaj about Keshab Chunder Sen's controversial doctrine of the *adesa* through which the latter claimed inspiration

of the Holy Spirit for his support for his minor daughter's marriage even against the principles of the Samaj. Mozoomdar, therefore, warns us of the need for discernment of the Spirit and his inspiration in our lives and lays down some criteria for discrimination between true and false interpretations of the Spirit. He provides three criteria for determining the same, namely, our spiritual conscience, the church, and the Scriptures. He writes,

Thus we are brought face to face with three manifestations-the impulse in the heart and conscience, -the unanimity in the Church, and the voice of the dead recorded in the Scriptures. When these voices speak in unison, the testimony of the Spirit's coming is complete: when they disunite, the impulse may be for the man or the moment, never for all time.<sup>73</sup>

Again, correspondingly, Mozoomdar argues that the test of the Spirit is in the 'heart and the conduct' and importantly in the fruit of the Spirit, in the nine fruit which are to be manifested in our lives and in the power of transmitting them to others. The discernment of the Spirit is also attached to the issue of unity. Mozoomdar argues that wherever unity works there is the work of the Spirit.<sup>74</sup> He maintains that,

The test of the Spirit is in the heart and in the conduct... The sure test of the Spirit is the power of transmitting it to others...unity is the only test that God's Spirit abides in a community...Unity is the seal of spiritual progress. Mutual subjection and mutual adjustment are the signs of the Spirit's work, all places and all functions distribute themselves naturally.<sup>75</sup>

The issue of the discernment of the Spirit is a crucial and a difficult one as it might be construed in different ways. However, basically, it is the issue of recognizing the action of God in concrete situations in the universe and in the community of God's

people and responding appropriately to it.<sup>76</sup> Biblically, both the Old Testament and the New Testament contains references to it and testifies to the need for the discernment of the Spirit or if we want to talk about spirits in the plural.<sup>77</sup> However, the main argument lies in setting up the criteria for discernment. The WCC assembly in 1991 opened up a serious debate about discernment of the Spirit and the spirits. From then on in ecumenical circles, the debate continues about various criteria for discerning the Spirit and spirits.<sup>78</sup> Among the criteria, the Christological one stands the uppermost. Surprisingly, Mozoomdar lacks the criterion of Christ in his discussion on discernment. At the Canberra Assembly, two main criteria were put forward, namely, that the Holy Spirit "points to the cross and resurrection and witnesses to the Lordship of Christ," and secondly, the Holy Spirit produces the fruits of the Spirit, especially love, joy, and peace. (Galatians 5:22-23). Moreover, it has been also stressed that the chief criterion should be 'Christlikeness' and not belief in Christ. There are others who have stressed the life-affirming nature of the Spirit which should be a criterion. Yet others have cautioned that the important issue is who makes such criterion; the question of power is involved.<sup>79</sup>

However, one can see that more than a century ago, Pratap had this brilliant insight of proposing some criteria viz., the Church, Scriptures, individual conscience, the fruit of the Spirit signifying conduct and unity for discernment, for which he deserves appreciation.

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, some broad contours regarding the significance of Mozoomdar's theology and particularly his pneumatology can be outlined for India and for wider conversations. Although during the course of the paper various aspects of significance have been mentioned, it is worthwhile to summarize them at the conclusion.

First, Mozoomdar's pneumatology helps us to realise the importance of pneumatology for Indian and global theological conversations. The acknowledgment of pneumatological neglect

though common in the West leads us to the reality of Indian theological reflections which seriously lack pneumatological contributions. This will probably help to bring pneumatology back into the agenda of Indian theology.

Second, a pneumatology of confluence, broadly, is expected to help in bringing together various, even opposing strands in Indian traditions together. Here, in the Spirit, the *advaitic*, the *bhakti* and the *shakti* strands have the opportunity of dialogue with each other, without either negating the significance of each or diluting the identity of each strand. This has also implications for global pneumatology, since the confluence between the duality and non-duality, the many and one, the transcendence and immanence of God, are significant for bringing together opposing viewpoints in the larger spectrum of pneumatological debates, for example with the Pentecostals and the other historic denominations.

Third, a Spirit Christology which avoids pneumatomonism and adoptionism, but which maintains both the divinity and humanity of Christ, from an Indian perspective, as found in Mozoomdar, is expected to contribute to global conversations in pneumatology.

Fourth, Mozoomdar's pneumatology provides an avenue to explore a pneumatocentric theology of religions, while maintaining the uniqueness of Christ in universal terms. This is a definite contribution to interfaith theology in Indian and global spheres.

Fifth, and importantly the criteria Mozoomdar offers for discernment of the Spirit in the larger interfaith conversations can add insights for both Indian and global theology to reorganise their priorities based on their contexts and work towards a comprehensive framework for discernment.

## End Notes

1 Swarup Bar, "Exploration of Pioneering Indian Christian Pneumatology and a Conversation with Reformation Pneumatology," Unpublished Paper, 2017.

- 2 Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar was born in 1840 at Basberia, some distance from Calcutta. He belonged to the Vaidya Caste and was distantly related to Keshub Chunder Sen. He came into contact with leaders of the Brahma Samaj, especially Maharshi Debendranath Tagore. He signed the Brahma Samaj covenant in 1859. In 1865, Mozoomdar with many others left the *Adi Brahma Samaj* under the leadership of Keshub and founded the Brahma Samaj of India. Mozoomdar was appointed Assistant Secretary. After the death of Keshub he became the leader of the Samaj which was already split with divisions. He used to regularly publish in journals and later books. His first publication was *The Faith and the Progress of the Brahma Samaj*. This was followed by other significant publications like *The Oriental Christ* (1883), *The Spirit of God* (1894), *Heart Beats* (1894) etc. See M.M. Thomas, P.T. Thomas, *Towards an Indian Christian Theology: Life and Thought of Some Pioneers* (Tiruvalla: The New Day Publications of India, 1992), 47-51; Publishers, *Leaders of the Brahma Samaj: Being a Record of the Lives and Achievements of the Pioneers of the Brahma Movement, with seven portraits* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2000), 145, 151, 157.
- 3 M. M. Thomas and P.T. Thomas, *Towards an Indian Christian Theology: Life and Thought of Some Pioneers* and M.M. Thomas, *Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance* (Madras: CLS, 1976).
- 4 P.C. Mozoomdar, *The Oriental Christ* (Boston, 1883), henceforth *OC*.
- 5 P.C. Mozoomdar, *The Spirit of God* (1894), henceforth *SG*.
- 6 M.M. Thomas argues that the framework of Mozoomdar's theology is the Divine Spirit. See M.M. Thomas, *Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance*, 84.
- 7 *SG*, 63-65.
- 8 Vengal Chakkarai, *Jesus the Avatar* (Madras: CLS, 1927).
- 9 Chakkarai, *Jesus the Avatar*, 114.
- 10 G.V. Job, D.M. Devashayam and A.N. Sudarisanam, eds., *Rethinking Christianity in India* (Madras: Sudarisanam, 1938), 96.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 161.
- 12 Ivan Satyavrata, 'The Spirit Blows Where it Wills: The Holy Spirit's Personhood in Indian Christian Thought' in *The Spirit over the Earth: Pneumatology in the Majority World*, ed. Grene L. Green, et al. (Cumbria, U.K.: Langham Global Library), 50-51.
- 13 David T. Williams, 'In the Light of the Spirit: the Dual Nature of the Third Person,' *Koers* 65//2 (2000): 179.
- 14 Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God: The Doctrine of God*, tr. Margaret Kohl (London: SCM, 1981), 171-172.

- 15 Williams, "In the Light of the Spirit: the Dual Nature of the Third Person," 180.
- 16 Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God*, 172.
- 17 Williams, "In the Light of the Spirit: the Dual Nature of the Third Person," 182-183.
- 18 Ibid. 181.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Jurgen Moltmann, *Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*, tr. Margaret Kohn (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 268-281.
- 22 Ralph Del Colle, "Holy Spirit: Presence, Power, Person," *Theological Studies* 62 (2001): 323.
- 23 *SG.*, 134, 135.
- 24 Ibid., 127.
- 25 *SG.*, 9.  
Ibid.  
Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., 39, 40.
- 27 Ibid., 41.
- 28 Ibid., 128.
- 29 Ibid., 125.
- 30 Ibid., 134.
- 31 Ibid., 135.
- 32 Ibid., 64.
- 33 *SG.*, 56.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid., 26.
- 36 Ibid., 57.
- 37 *SG.*, 14.
- 38 Ibid., 17.
- 39 'The term 'pantheism' is a modern one, possibly first appearing in the writing of the Irish freethinker John Toland (1705) and constructed from the Greek roots *pan* (all) and *theos* (God)... At its most general, pantheism may be understood positively as the view that God is identical with the cosmos, the view that there exists nothing which is outside of God, or else negatively as the rejection of any view that considers God as distinct from the universe.' See <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pantheism/>

- 40 *SG.*, 107.
- 41 Ibid., 29
- 42 Ibid., 39.
- 43 *OC.*, 41.
- 44 *SG.*, 43.
- 45 Ibid., 46.
- 46 Thomas, *Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance*, 84.
- 47 Panentheism is conceived as the ultimate whole, God is the final unity of all reality, ceaselessly in process of becoming, according to a model which privileges becoming over being and values relationality as much as independence. In the words of the biologist Charles Birch and the theologian John Cobb: 'God is not the world, and the world is not God. But God includes the world, and the world includes God. God perfects the world, and the world perfects God. There is no world apart from God, and there is no God apart from some world. Of course, there are some differences. Whereas no world can exist without God, God can exist without *this* world.' See Nancy Frankenberry, 'Classical Theism, Panentheism, and Pantheism: On the Relation Between God Construction And Gender Construction' *Zygon* 28/1 (March 1993): 34-35.
- 48 *OC.*, 40.
- 49 Geoffrey Lampe, *God as Spirit: The Bampton Lectures* (London: SCM, 1977), 132-133. See Christina Manohar, *Spirit Christology: An Indian Christian Perspective* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2009), 57.
- 50 Christina Manohar explains that Lampe argues that in the Logos framework, the mythological idea of God becoming man introduces 'a hierarchically structured divine being' rather than God being approached by the 'immanent personal presence' and inevitably leads towards ditheism or that of Arianism. See Christina, *Spirit Christology: An Indian Christian Perspective*, 56.
- 51 Lampe, *God as Spirit*, 133. See Manohar, *Spirit Christology: An Indian Christian Perspective*, 56.
- 52 *SG.*, 31
- 53 Ibid., 34.
- 54 *OC.*, 40.
- 55 *Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India*, The Brahma Samaj (London: Cassell and Company, 1904), 41.42
- 56 *SG.*, 62.
- 57 *SG.*, 57.

- 58 *SG.*, 59.  
59 *OC.*, 95  
60 Manohar, *Spirit Christology: An Indian Christian Perspective*, 118.  
61 *SG.*, 62.  
62 *SG.*, 239.  
63 Killian McDonnell, "A Trinitarian Theology of the Holy Spirit?" *Theological Studies* 46 (1985): 189, 203.  
64 *SG.*, 240-242.  
65 *Ibid.*, 242.  
66 *Ibid.*, 301-305.  
67 *Ibid.*, 27.  
68 *Ibid.*, 79.  
69 *Ibid.*, 228  
70 Thomas, *Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance*, 96.  
71 *Ibid.*, 96.  
72 *Ibid.*, 95  
73 *SG.*, 68,69.  
74 *SG.*, 71,72.  
75 *Ibid.*, 51.  
76 Justin S. Upkong, "Pluralism and the Problem of the Discernment of Spirits," *The Ecumenical Review*, 41/3: 416.  
77 *Ibid.*, 417-420.  
78 The Canberra Assembly recognized that "[the Holy Spirit] is distinct from other 'spirits' in this world, whether benign or demonic." See Kirsteen Kim, "Spirit and 'Spirits' at the Canberra Assembly of the World Council of Churches, 1991," *Missiology: An International Review* 32/ 3 (July 2004): 357.  
79 Kim, "Spirit and 'Spirits' at the Canberra Assembly of the World Council of Churches, 1991," 357-359.

## Factors Responsible for the Rise of Islamic Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir

*Kailash Kumar Chatry\**

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### Introduction

For more than two and half decades Islamic terrorism has been a serious socio-political challenge to the Indian sub-continent. In India, Islamic terrorism began in Kashmir in the late 1980s. From the early 1990s, this force gained impetus and started spreading its tentacles of terrorist activities beyond the borders of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiri terrorist groups have been known for – besides attacks on the Indian military and paramilitary personnel and installations – the killing of innocent civilians, attacks on people belonging to other faiths (mainly Hindus), bombing, breeding religious hatred, and other destructive activities in different parts of India. Moreover, some of the terrorist groups seem to have established close links with some other terrorist organizations, within and outside India.

Although a great deal of research has been done by many social scientists (Sumit Ganguly, Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay, Riyaz Punjabi, Balraj Puri, Mohammad Ishaz Khan, Chitralakha Zutshi, Ashutosh Varshney and host of others) on the Kashmiri terrorism it is necessary to do further investigation of the important motivating factor/factors that prompted the rise of the problem in Kashmir. In this article, an attempt is made to establish that, in contrast to the existing views, the primary motivating factors

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for the rise of the Islamic terrorism in Kashmir were a strong combination of socio-historical experiences, political problems, and radical Islamic religious ideologies. Hence, it is imperative to assess how the socio-religious and political environment from the time of the *Dogra* period produced negative impact among the Muslim community in Kashmir and how this negative effect turned into religious hatred or antagonism. Moreover, in the post-independent India, this antagonism had been further aggravated by various factors, like political, religious and cultural grievances.

### **1. Definition of Religious Terrorism<sup>1</sup> in Brief**

Religious terrorism is terrorism that claims – basing its ideology of violence on the given religious conviction, selected religious texts/teachings and symbols, and the given historical and socio-political context – to fight divinely sanctioned battles or holy wars, whereas religious terrorists aim to achieve specific political or religio-political goals here and now. Since this terrorism relies on a given religion to justify its act of violence, all those who do not conform to the given ideological claims of this terrorism are considered to be the forces of evil and they are to be terrorised and destroyed using all forms of violence. In some cases, religious terrorists may begin their terrorist activities due to socio-political factors against a government, majority or minority community or another ethnic group and afterward manipulate religious ideology to justify their act of violence to gain sympathy and the support of their wider religious community to strengthen and sustain the given terrorist organization.

Religious terrorism functions in two different forms – the “technically organized” form and the “religio-politically motivated” form. The first category is a systematically organized form (similar to a military establishment) of a religious terrorist group that uses the latest technology and modern weapons against a government, governments or people. Every active member of this terrorist organization is trained and armed to do or die to achieve the goal of the organization. In the meantime, terrorist activities

of the technically organized terrorist groups do not conform to a particular geopolitical boundary.

The second category is a religious organization that terrorises and destroys life and property of the people belonging to other religious (particularly minority) communities to achieve its given religio-political goals. This form of terrorist organization may or may not use the latest technology and modern weapons. Such groups’ terrorist activities are mostly motivated and sustained by religio-political organizations or parties, and they mostly function within a limited geopolitical boundary. In India, particularly, the distinction between these two types of religious terrorism is obvious.<sup>2</sup>

### **2. Beginning, Aim, and Objective of the Kashmiri Militant Movement**

Islamic Militant activities began in Kashmir in 1988 – the militant violence is- termed as “ethnoreligious and secessionist violence”<sup>3</sup> by some scholars like Sumit Ganguli. In July 1988, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), a pro-independence and the oldest Kashmiri militant group, launched an armed struggle against the Indian rule over Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>4</sup> The main objective of the JKLF was to achieve independence and union of both sides of Kashmir – Pakistan occupied Kashmir (known as “Azad” or “Free” Kashmir) and Indian Kashmir. This aim of the JKLF neither was acceptable to India or nor to Pakistan; therefore, lack of Pakistani training and support, on the one hand, and the heavy military repressive measures of the Indian state, on the other hand, marginalized this group within a couple of years. In the next few years, the group was split several times, and the largest surviving faction of the JKLF declared a unilateral ceasefire in 1994.<sup>5</sup>

From the last part of 1989, the armed movement was taken over by other well trained, better armed and hardened Islamic militant groups, like the *Hijb-ul Mujahideen* (HuM – Party of Holy Warriors), who were provided training, arms, and support

by the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Agency of Pakistan.<sup>6</sup> The aspiration of these Islamic militant groups is to seek the union of both parts of Kashmir and merge (the united Kashmir) with Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> The objective of these Kashmiri militants is religio-political one; nevertheless, in Islam religion and politics are so interlinked that they are “like two sides of the same coin”<sup>8</sup> – Prophet Muhammad and his first four successors (the first four *Khalifas*, who are being honoured as the righteous *Khalifas* by all Sunni Muslims) did not differentiate sacred (spiritual) and secular (temporal) aspects; they were both spiritual and political heads/leaders.<sup>9</sup> Thus, to achieve their goal the Kashmiri militants began to carry out whatever violent attacks they could plan against their supposed enemy targets. Owing to the violent activities of the Islamic militants there was a mass exodus of more than two hundred thousand Kashmiri Hindus (generally known as *Pandits*)<sup>10</sup> – who had been coexisting with their Muslim brethren in Kashmir for several centuries – to Jammu and other parts of Northern India in 1989,<sup>11</sup> and more than ten thousand (according to some conservative estimates at least forty thousand) lives were lost<sup>12</sup> within the first decade of the militant violence. Furthermore, their violent activities were not constrained within the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. They have been, directly or indirectly, involved in several deadly bomb blasts that killed and injured hundreds of people in Mumbai, Delhi, Hyderabad and other places in India. Such violent activities make it evident that the intention of these militants is to cause and spread terror all over India with the aim of achieving the given religio-political goal.

### 3. What Prompted the Rise of the Kashmiri Militancy in the late 1980s?

The existing arguments on the rise of the Kashmiri militant movement can be divided into two categories: 1) the explanations of the apologists for the Indian and the Pakistani governments; 2) the observations of the social scientists. Apologists for the Indian government argue that the problem was created by Pakistan with

its subversive plan to destabilise Indian Kashmir. They claim that Pakistan has been involved in inculcating Islamic fundamentalism in the Kashmir valley from the late 1970s. These apologists hold that once Pakistani masterminds cease to provide training, arms, and help, and “call off their terrorist underlings” violence in Jammu and Kashmir will end and a “peaceful settlement be achieved.”<sup>13</sup> This argument comfortably dumps the major responsibility for the misfortunes of the Kashmiri people at the doorstep of Pakistan and vindicates Indian leaders of political negligence and mismanagement for the violence and military brutality in the state.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, this explanation sounds incomplete and one-sided because it tends to forget the grievances of the Kashmiri people against the Indian state and the role of the Indian state in the aggravation of the crisis in Kashmir. Whereas the Pakistan government has defensively argued that the Kashmir problem is the outcome of “historical betrayals, constitutional despotism, the negation of socio-cultural identity, religious discrimination, economic deprivation and state repression, besides [more than six decades] of misrule and manipulation by Delhi.”<sup>15</sup> But, in this argument there is no mention of the involvement of Pakistan’s ISI in providing training, arms, and support to the militant groups, like HuMand *Lashkar-e-Toiba* (LeT);<sup>16</sup> therefore, this explanation rather gives the impression that the argument is put forward to justify the Pakistani involvement in supporting the Kashmiri militancy.

Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay, Riyaz Punjabi, Balraj Puri, Mohammad Ishaq Khan, Chitralkha Zutshi, Ashutosh Varshney, Stephen Cohen, Neil Aggarwal, Imtiaz Bokhari, Perry Thornton, Patricia Ellis, Zafar Khan, Deepak Lal, Mohammed Ayoob and Sumit Ganguly attempt to locate the origin of the Kashmiri militancy in the conflict of compelling nationalist ideologies, widespread electoral malpractices, collapse of the fused Kashmiri identity (*Kashmiriyat*), or the rise of disappointed middle class.<sup>17</sup>

### 3.1. Disintegration of the Traditional Bond of Kashmiriyat

*Kashmiriyat* (Kashmiriness or the state of being a Kashmiri) generally denotes Kashmiri identity that cuts across the religious division. Therefore, this concept has been described by various intellectuals as synthetic and syncretic (also symbiotic) Kashmiri identity. The key elements that define *Kashmiriyat* are the love for Kashmir (the motherland) and common language (*Koshur*). In the view of Balraj Puri, Mohammad Ishaq Khan, Zutshi and Riyaz Punjabi the concept of *Kashmiriyat* symbolizes a common Kashmiri culture that does not have a religious connotation. This concept opines Khan, “has evolved out of the yearning of the Kashmiri, both Hindus, and Muslims, to situate their motherland (*Mouj Kashmir*) in something unique;” however, “something unique is not merely reminiscent of their preoccupation with self-definition but also with certain historical contradictions.”<sup>18</sup> *Kashmiriyat*, for Puri, had been the most dominating, homogeneous and crucial part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. He says, “the Kashmiris have always perceived their identity as distinct and separate” from other regions of India; therefore, this exclusively Kashmiri identity encompassed all sections (Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists) of the Kashmiri society.<sup>19</sup> According to Riyaz Punjabi, the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir embody unique socio-cultural characteristics, and both Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus represent customs and traditions which are distinct from their counterparts elsewhere in the subcontinent. *Kashmiriyat* flourished in the pre-partition period, therefore, there was ethnic harmony among the different ethnic communities in Kashmir. During the time of partition there was no communal tension in the Kashmir Valley; instead

The Valley provided asylum to many a Hindu sufferer from the neighbouring areas of the valley which were the scene of communal riots. There was no communal riot at the time of the partition in any part of the valley.

This is perhaps why Gandhiji saw a ‘ray of hope’ in Kashmir.<sup>20</sup>

Therefore, the Kashmir crisis, in his opinion, is caused by the disintegration of this Kashmiri cultural identity, which was the fusion of diverse Kashmiri cultures.<sup>21</sup> The central government’s policy of promoting and supporting the unpopular regime in Kashmir, he asserts, gradually alienated the Muslim population and the traditional bond in the common vision of *Kashmiriyat* fell apart and gave birth to the problem.

Although the so-called *Kashmiriyat*, the concept of integrated Kashmiri identity, sounds fascinating the ground reality, however, was that the Kashmiri society was deeply divided on the religious and the sectarian line from the time of the *Dogra* period<sup>22</sup> – this point will be discussed further later on. Furthermore, the concept of *Kashmiriyat* was developed by Zain-ul-Abdeen, a Muslim ruler of the fourteenth century, to serve his political or administrative purpose. However, the *Dogra* kings, who hailed from Jammu region, identified themselves with Hindu community and favoured Hindus and Sikhs in both religious and political areas against the Muslims. According to Zutshi, the *Dogra* regime was responsible for bestowing distinct political identity upon the Muslim community of Kashmir.<sup>23</sup> The idea of integrated Kashmiri identity was further shattered by the Muslim uprising against the *Dogra* Hindu rulers (which will be assessed in later sections) in the early 1930s. For Kashmiri Muslims, the Kashmiri Hindus (*Pandits*) represented their oppressors or enemies rather than their Kashmiri brethren,<sup>24</sup> and this impression continued after the Indian independence. Hence, the disintegration of the fused Kashmiri identity could not be practically reasonable for the rise of the crisis in Kashmir.

### 3.2. Assertions of Religious, Ethnic and Secular Nationalism

Ashutosh Varshney contends that the competing assertions of three types of nationalism – religious, ethnic and secular – gave rise

to the militancy in Kashmir.<sup>25</sup> These three types of nationalism, he contends, were compromised, particularly in Kashmir, for the purpose of nation-building and political convenience; therefore, the Kashmir problem is the product of the clash of national visions that was compromised.<sup>26</sup> Mainly four parties and two factors, in the view of Varshney, have been involved in this regard. Four parties are Pakistan, the Indian state, Hindu nationalism and Kashmiri Muslim ethno-religious nationalism. From the beginning of its birth Pakistan has represented Islamic nationalism and has claimed that it has unqualified right over Kashmir because, the State is dominated by Muslim majority; therefore, it has been employing both overt and covert tactics to win over the Kashmiris and merge the Indian Kashmir into Pakistan. Indian state symbolizes secular nationalism, but it has not been able to restrain the aggressive outlook of the Hindu religious nationalism that seems “to demonstrate the most virulent form of nationalism” and prefers “to recall Babar and Aurangzeb, the intolerant Moghul rulers, rather than Akbar, the tolerant one.”<sup>27</sup> In the meantime, the Indian political leaders mismanaged Indian secularism and used religion for their political goal. Meanwhile, the Kashmiri ethno-religious nationalism has aspired for the separation of Kashmir from the Indian Union on the ground that it is an object of “terrible nationalist repression” on the basis of religion. The two factors are the availability of deadly weapons in plenty in many parts of the world; and the modern information technology such as videos and televisions. The first aspect made the “ethnicity – and the response to it – more brutal in unprecedented ways,” and the second one imparted “a new emotional intensity that is not the same as reading or hearing about one’s own community on an insurgency path or in watching security forces roll it back.”<sup>28</sup> Militants make use of the information technology to serve their purpose, i.e., to spread their propaganda. Thus, on account of these (the above-given parties and factors), he maintains, the Kashmir problem,

which dates back to partition period, has taken violent form and has consumed the lives of many people.

If the Kashmir problem, as admitted by Varshney, has begun from the time of the partition, then why did it took so long for it to take present violent form? Even though the modern information technology was not available then, weapons could be supplied by foreign forces (as in the case of Naga and other militant groups in Northeast India) if Kashmiri people were ready for an armed rebellion against the Indian state and Hindu society; but it did not happen. Varshney’s explanation does not give a definite answer to this query. Moreover, this argument seems to be mainly based on the external, like interference of the Cold War politics, and the internal Indian politics during the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The main weakness in this argument is that Varshney fails to link the problem to its historical background, on the one hand, and the communal dispute that began in Kashmir in the 1930s (this will be discussed later on), on the other.

### **3.3. Breakdown of the Original Relationship between the Centre and the State**

Reeta Tremblay, in her article “Kashmir’s Secessionist Movement Resurfaces,” acknowledges the involvement of entirely internal dynamics in the rise of the militancy; at the same time, she admits that Pakistani and the Islamic *Jihadi* (holy war) elements have, to some extent, played a role in the organization and continuation of the militant movement.<sup>29</sup> According to Tremblay, the following issues were accountable for the origin of the militancy: breakdown of the originally invented relationship between the Centre and the state of Jammu and Kashmir; corrosion of the state’s autonomy granted by the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution as a result of the adoption of constitutional measures from 1953, the year in which Mohammad Abdullah (also known as Sheikh Abdullah) was deposed from his position as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, till 1975, for the rapid consolidation of the state within the Indian union; lack of economic development of Kashmir; and

finally, the rigging of 1987 election depriving election victory to the Muslim United Front candidates.<sup>30</sup>

Tremblay seems to mostly rely on the political and economic factors that developed after 1953, to explain the cause of the problem. No doubt the political developments contributed towards the eruption of the problem but, they were, to use D.N. Danagara's words, the symptoms only, not the disease<sup>31</sup> – in reality, the disease began to develop before the Indian independence. The problem began like a volcanic formation deep below the surface from a certain point of time in the past and erupted in the late 1980s. The above argument fails to investigate, for the explanation of the problem, the socio-historical context of the Kashmiri Muslim community during the *Dogra* rule. Further, the argument does not examine the possibility of the role of Islamic religious ideologies, which justify violence on the basis of socio-historical and political experiences of the Muslim community of Kashmir, for the rise of the Islamic terrorism in Kashmir; therefore, this argument fails to explain the main cause of the problem adequately.

### 3.4. Re-eruption of the Problem left Unsolved in 1947

Cohen, Aggarwal, Bokhari, Thornton, Ellis, and Khan are of the opinion that the Kashmir extremism took birth due to the problem that has been left unresolved from the time of partition. Some of the above-mentioned thinkers blame the Colonial power for throwing Kashmir into the present imbroglio. According to Stephen Cohen, "Kashmir originally came into dispute because of a British failure of will when they divided and quit India in 1947."<sup>32</sup> For Cohen, the method with which the fate of the princely states was sorted out was not competent enough. Thence, the political leaders of both India and Pakistan "compounded the original problem when they turned Kashmir into a badge of their respective national identities."<sup>33</sup> So, from this time Kashmir became the bone of contention between the two countries. Neil Aggarwal too contends that the Kashmir problem is the outcome of the unfinished business of partition.<sup>34</sup> The partition, point out

Imtiaz Bokhari and Perry Thornton, laid the groundwork for the today's unresolved problem of Kashmir.<sup>35</sup> The Hindu ruler of Jammu and Kashmir "joined his state to India in a clear violation of the intent, if not the letter, of partition;" and from that time, in their observation, Kashmir became the apple of discord between India and Pakistan. Patricia Ellis and Zafar Khan argue that the rise of the Kashmiri militancy is the re-eruption, in a more powerful form, of the problem left unsolved in 1947; because, according to them, many of the Kashmir's population had never accepted the partition of Kashmir between India and Pakistan.<sup>36</sup> This unsolved problem, in their understanding, triggered off the eruption of the Kashmir crisis in the late 1980s.

The partition and the unsettled problem of Kashmir since 1947 have been one of the major concerns of the people of Kashmir. The Kashmiris have been struggling for, what they consider, their birthright from the time the land came within the Indian Union; however, their struggle did not take violent form till the late 1980s. This argument does not make it clear why it took almost half a century for the re-eruption of the problem if many of the Kashmiri people had never accepted the partition of Kashmir. At the same time, the people had an ample opportunity to rise against the Indian state in the 1960s and in the early 1970s, because during this period Pakistan and India fought two wars – one over Kashmir and the other over Bangladesh. The Kashmiris could have sided with or supported Pakistan during the wars, but they did not do so. One cannot deny that partition is one of the major international and internal political concerns of India, Pakistan and Kashmiri people of both sides of Kashmir; however, this political issue alone does not satisfactorily explain the cause in the rise of the Kashmiri militancy in the 1980s.

### 3.5. Hindu Organisations, Indira Gandhi, and Rajiv Gandhi were Accountable for the Crisis

Two factors are involved in this argument: political and communal factors. Mrs. Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi are blamed for political

failure in Kashmir due to their party politics. In the view of Punjabi, the state of Jammu and Kashmir represented a strong tradition of secularism. This strong tradition began to drift away from its past due to “the political phenomenon and power-game.”<sup>37</sup> This political power-game, he thinks, to a large extent contributed towards polarization of the population of the state in communal line and strengthened the communal forces in the state. “The politics of Kashmir in the 1980s,” says Deepak Lal, “is one of the rigged elections, with the Congress Party attempting to gain control over the state.”<sup>38</sup> The Congress under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi was blamed for engineering split in the National Conference Party of Farooq Abdullah and dismissal of him from the post of chief ministers in 1984. According to one Indian bureaucrat, with long years of service in Jammu and Kashmir, the “critical event” in triggering off the armed insurgency took place in July 1984 when the popular chief minister of the state, Farooq Abdullah, was deposed from his post with “the behind-the-scenes assistance of New Delhi.”<sup>39</sup> From that time, he contends, psychological alienation of Kashmiri people from the Indian state started, before that incidence many Kashmiris thought that the Kashmir problem was over. Meanwhile, Hindu communal forces have been indicted by Kashmiri Muslims as well as other intellectuals for inciting Hindu communalism in Jammu region, where Hindu population has two third majorities. Mohammed Ayoob in the article, “Dateline India: The Deepening Crisis,” holds accountable the Hindu religious and political organizations (the BJP, the RSS, the *Shiv Sena*, and the *Vishwa Hindu Parishad*) and Indira and Rajiv Gandhi for the birth of the militancy in Kashmir.<sup>40</sup> According to Ayoob, both Indira and Rajiv, for their temporary electoral gain, “condoned Hindu communalism by pandering to chauvinistic instincts within the religious majority.”<sup>41</sup>

This argument focuses on the detrimental political development that began to take place from the late 1970s. It is true that the atmosphere of the Indian politics began to deteriorate

owing to the waning popularity of Indira and her Congress party and the active involvement of the Hindu communal politics. Such political atmosphere, without doubt, helped to further antagonise the minorities – like Sikhs and Muslims – and pushed them to the point of the explosion in the 1980s. But the root of the Kashmiri problem began, as hinted in the earlier sections and will be dealt with in the later sections, long before the birth of the *Vishwa Hindu Parishad*, the BJP, the *Shiv Sena* and the entry of Gandhis in the Indian politics.

### 3.6. Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay

Moreover, Sumit Ganguly attempts to offer a more satisfactory explanation of the reasons for both the origin and the timing of the militant movement in Kashmir. He has challenged the other arguments by proposing a new explanation to the problem. Thus, political mobilization and institutional decay, he maintains, best explains the origin and timing of the militancy in Kashmir. Political mobilization, according to him, had taken place very rapidly all over India and in Kashmir in particular, as a result of the national policies and projects. In the meantime, successive central governments had done little to strengthen the institutional politics in Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>42</sup>

Political mobilization, as defined by Ganguly, is a type of political awakening with the passion for political participation, and this awakening is created by “increased literacy, media exposure, and economic development.”<sup>43</sup> He confirms that: there was speedy growth in literacy rates in the Kashmir valley during the 1960s and 1970s due to the increasing number of educational institutions in the area. According to him, during the period starting from 1971 to 1981 the growth of literacy rate in Jammu and Kashmir was more than forty-three percent, which was the third fastest growth rate in India. Along with the expansion of formal education there was rapid growth of *madrassas* (Islamic educational institutions) in Kashmir – from 1983 there was further boost in the growth of *Madrassas* in the Kashmir valley due to the inflow of Pakistani

money and migration of Bangladeshi Mullahs (religious leaders) from Assam due to the violence against Bangladeshi population in Assam.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, the Kashmiri people were exposed to the mass media due to the rapid expansion of the technology in Jammu and Kashmir. Hence, Ganguly observes that with the speedy growth of literacy rate and exposure to mass media the Kashmiri people of 1980s were far more conscious of their “political rights and privileges,”<sup>45</sup> and were highly politically mobilized people. Therefore, the Kashmiris, being regularly “denied their voting rights in deeply flawed elections,” were filled with bitterness against the malpractices of the Indian state and this bitterness had turned into violence.<sup>46</sup>

Ganguly’s argument better explains the timing of the militancy instead of the cause of the problem. According to Ganguly’s observation there was chaotic imbalance between the socio-economic-educational development and the development of institutional politics in Jammu and Kashmir. This chaotic imbalance plus electoral malpractices, according to him, explicate main reason of the rise of the militancy in the 1980s. But, Ganguly does not attempt to explain sufficiently the role and influence of the religious leaders (Mullahs – who could have been instrumental in radicalisation of many young Muslims in Kashmir and other parts of India) and religious institutions (*Madrasahs* – where Muslim children and young people are being radicalised<sup>47</sup>) in the life of the Muslim community in Jammu and Kashmir. Further, this argument does not take into consideration the socio-historical background of the pre-1947 Kashmiri people in relation to the present development. Hence, this argument too is deficient in providing the satisfactory explanation to the cause of the problem.

All the above-arguments are partial explanations of the cause of the Kashmir problem. The above-discussed issues, without doubt, had contributed a considerable amount of force in the eruption of the militancy, but none of them give satisfactory answers to the following questions. Why did Kashmiri militants

target Kashmiri Hindus (who were a small minority)? Why did the Indian state (in spite of its constant effort towards economic and educational developments of Kashmir during the 1960s and 1970s) fail to gain the confidence/trust of the Kashmiri people (Muslims)? Why did hardcore Islamic terrorists begin to grow (in number and capability to strike intended targets anywhere in India) despite Kashmir being heavily militarized by the Indian state? Apparently, without a strong support of the Kashmiri Muslim community (may be a section of the community) foreign terrorists or mercenaries would not be able to survive for long in the battle against almost half a million strong Indian military force stationed in Kashmir from the time Islamic militancy took birth in the state.

Meanwhile, in the mobilization of the Islamic religious constituency with the objective of achieving a religio-political goal, the motivating aspect should have the dynamism to inspire both spiritual and physical spheres of the members of the religious community/group. In this regard, only radical Islamic religious concepts, like “jihad” (holy war) against the enemies of Islam, could play such powerful role. “Jihad” (“literally, jihad means to strive”), as found in the Quran, may not always mean fighting. Jihad, in the view of al-Bukhari (one of the greatest Islamic theologians), means *Istidsha* (martyrdom) rather than murder or killing. “According to Muslim theology,” said al-Bukhari, “the highest act of love that a person could offer to Allah is his or her own martyrdom.”<sup>48</sup> However,

All Muslims agree that the Quran allows Muslims to fight in two main circumstances: self-defense and to maintain their right to worship. Yet each Muslim can decide when self-defense is needed or when the worship of Allah is jeopardized. Again personal interpretation is far more relevant to understanding jihad than the literal text.<sup>49</sup>

Therefore, from the early period of Islam, the concept has been associated with warfare and conquest<sup>50</sup> against the enemies of Islam. Thus, the concept of Jihad seems to have played a very significant role in motivating Kashmiri Muslims for religious violence/terrorism against their perceived enemies. Moreover, from the time of *Dogra* period the Kashmiri Muslim society had been struggling with two different forces (enemies) – the Hindu rulers and their Hindu supporters, on the one hand, and different sectarian (particularly the Kashmiri Sufi order) religious teachings that, according to orthodox Muslims, dilute Islam, on the other hand. Therefore, I suggest the combination of socio-historical context, political issues, and radical Islamic religious ideologies played the fundamental role in the birth of militancy in Kashmir. The mobilization of the religious constituency by exploiting certain Islamic religious texts and symbols justifying acts of violence against so-called enemies on the basis of socio-historical experiences, religious conviction and political grievances could explain both the origin and the timing of the outbreak of the Kashmir problem more adequately. To comprehend the socio-religio-historical context of the Kashmiri Muslim community it is necessary to briefly review the socio-political environment of Kashmir during the period of *Dogra* rule.

#### **4. Pre-1947 Jammu and Kashmir: Socio-Political Context during the Period of *Dogra* Rule**

Kashmir has been known for its rich natural beauty and splendour that enchanted people from far and wide. Several writers call it “the fabled”<sup>51</sup> land or the paradise on earth. As its scenic beauty enthralled many foreigners so also the land fascinated many foreign rulers to make it their dominion. The Kashmir valley, known as the Vale of Kashmir, went under the Muslim rule in the fourteenth century; then, in 1752 Akbar, the Mogul Emperor of India, made it a part of his kingdom, and from this time the Kashmir valley became the summer residence of the successive Mogul rulers. With the decline of Mogul reign, the control of the

land passed on to the Afghans and then to Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1819. After the death of Ranjit Singh, Gulab Singh, who was *Dogra* Hindu *Rajput* and Rajah of Jammu, bought the land from the British.<sup>52</sup> According to the Treaty of Amritsar, writes Rekha Chowdhary, “the state was sold to Maharajah Gulab Singh by the British for seventy-five lakhs [seven and a half million] of rupees and Maharaja became the supreme sovereign of the state.”<sup>53</sup> Thus, the *Dogra* rulers were responsible for the creation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir as a single political entity in 1846. The *Dogra* kings ruled Kashmir for a century before it was accessed to India.

Hence, it is indispensable to have a bird’s eye view of the socio-political context of the people of Jammu and Kashmir during the time of the *Dogra* rule in explaining the rise of the Islamic terrorism in Kashmir in the late 1980s; because, the mobilization of Muslim constituency with the slogan “Islam in danger” began in Kashmir in the early 1930s. In 1931 a Muslim uprising, the first of its kind during the whole period of the *Dogra* rule, took place in the Kashmir valley and this unrest was mainly inspired by religious factors. The incident made two things obvious: first, the communal cleavage between Hindus and Muslims began to emerge in Jammu and Kashmir; and second, the consciousness of community identity and aspiration for socio-religious freedom were fully developed among the Muslims of the Kashmir valley. Moreover, after more than eight decades of its oppressive rule against the dominant Muslim majority in Kashmir, the authority of the *Dogra* regime was seriously challenged by this rebellion. So, the root of the present Kashmir problem can be traced back to this historical antecedent – according to Mridu Rai, Kashmir’s problems began from the time of the *Dogra* regime owing to the regime’s anti-Muslim – religious, economic and political - policies.<sup>54</sup>

#### **4.1. Religio-Political Economy of *Dogra* Regime**

The *Dogra* rulers had been oppressive from the outset of their reign over the Muslim subjects of Jammu and Kashmir. According

to Alastair Lamb, the *Dogra* rule was corrupt and discriminatory because it favoured Hindus and Sikhs.<sup>55</sup> Probably due to the unusually submissive nature of the Muslim peasantry (in the view of Tyndale Biscoe “a people whose ‘manhood’ had been crushed by exploitation,”<sup>56</sup>) the *Dogra* rulers could rule over them for almost a century without any threat to their oppressive administration. The *Dogra* kings regarded the Kashmiri Muslim peasants as their slaves, and did not grant them “equal opportunities in trade, industry, education, jobs, agriculture and above all for their upliftment as a community culture.”<sup>57</sup> Therefore, the Muslim peasants under the regime had no identity, except as a race of slaves. In the early twentieth century, as narrated by Biscoe, Muslim peasants in Kashmir Valley lived in virtual enslavement with no conception of rights.<sup>58</sup> They did not have the freedom to practice their religion as the Hindus and the Sikhs did because the legal system of the regime was Hindu and Sikh biased. “Muslims,” writes Bose, “were generally not permitted to become officers in the state’s military, which was led by Sikhs and Hindu ‘martial’ castes such as *Dogras* and *Rajputs*, and were virtually unrepresented in the state’s civil administration.”<sup>59</sup> The *Dogra* rulers were communal, casteist and racist, therefore, the Kashmiri Muslims had to bear triple burden of suffering. It was communal because it was Hindu biased and provided an opportunity to the Hindus, from outside the Kashmir Valley, to set up business, trade, and industry.<sup>60</sup> The racial character of the rulers was made obvious by their practice of favouring *Dogras* (their own people) as superior to all other as in the case of British colonial power under the auspices of whom the regime worked. One of the laws established by the regime was that any other person, except a *Dogra*, could be hanged. Moreover, the Muslims were regarded as outcastes or untouchables and slaves. The communal, racist and casteist structure and policy of the *Dogra* rule disadvantaged the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir economically, educationally and socially. They might have accepted their economic and socio-

political condition as their karma – Hindus believe that the low-birth is the fruit of past evil actions. Though the caste system and law of karma were un-Islamic the majority of Kashmiri Muslims, being converted from Hinduism, were yet to be free from certain Hindu beliefs and practices. This might be the reason why Maqbool Shah, in his poem, wrote:

They [the peasants] regard the mosque and temple as equal,  
Seeing no difference between muddy puddles and the ocean.  
They know not the sacred, honourable or the respectable,  
They are unaware of the Shariat, the *millat*, or Islam.<sup>61</sup>

This poem depicts the pathetic condition of Islam in Kashmir during the period of *Dogra* rule. There is a clear indication of infiltration of some Hindu religious elements into Kashmiri Muslims’ belief and practice system. Hence, the *Dogra* regime not only oppressed the Muslim subjects of Jammu and Kashmir but also suppressed and corrupted their Muslim faith and practice by imposing the legal system that disadvantaged the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir. Under the Kashmiri law, cow-slaughter was strictly prohibited and anybody who was found guilty of cow-slaughter would be imprisoned for up to ten years (recently same system of law is imposed in Haryana state by the BJP government), whereas goat-slaughter was allowed only on specific days of the year.<sup>62</sup> Conversion from one religion to another was not legally prohibited, but the person who changed his/her religion would forfeit one’s ancestral property – on the whole, this law punished Muslims because Hindus did not practice proselytization.<sup>63</sup> In addition, the regime’s other activities, like those of some mosques and religious buildings for official purposes, further confirmed that the *Dogra* rulers disregarded the religious symbols of the Muslim subjects. In such socio-political environment what else, except Islamic religious ideologies, could provide courage and inspiration to the downtrodden Muslim people of Kashmir to resist this powerful oppressive regime?

#### 4.2. Theological Discourse during the Dogra Period

Islam did not enter into Kashmir as a conquering power as was the case with most of the other regions of South Asia; instead, Islam was brought in by Sufi saints in the fourteenth century.<sup>64</sup> The mass movement of Kashmiri people to Islam was not a forced one. Islamic and historical conditions, in view of M. I. Khan, “suggest a peaceful conversion in contrast to the previous scholarly focus on Brahman resistance to Islam.”<sup>65</sup> Therefore, the vast majority of the Kashmiri Muslims venerate Sufi saints and their shrines. Nevertheless, the Kashmiri Muslims were divided into *Sayyids*, who claimed themselves as the direct descendants of the Prophet; Moguls originally migrated from central Asia; Sheikhs, descendants of local Hindu converts to Islam; and *Pathans*, the descendants of the Afghans.<sup>66</sup> Besides, they belonged to different Islamic sects – Sunni, *Shia* and *Ahmadiyya* sects – Sunni Muslims were the dominant majority. Hence, the Muslim community of Jammu and Kashmir was not a homogeneous one; at the same time, veneration of saints and their shrines was very important part of Kashmiri Islam. According to Ishaq Khan:

‘Kishmiri Mislms’ devotion to the shrines of the Sufis and the Risis is deep-rooted in the local context rather than Islam alone. It is not just the famous shrine of Hazaratbal or that of the most prominent Sufis like Mir Sayyid ‘Ali Hamadani, Shaikh Nuru’d-Din Rishi, Sahikh Hmza Makhdum, etc. That attracts a multitude of Muslim devotees on the eve of urs but also innumerable shrines of the known or unknown Sufis that form objects of their veneration.<sup>67</sup>

Later on, this religious practice of the Kashmiri Muslims was sternly denounced as un-Islamic practice by those Muslim leaders who came under the influence of radical Islamic religious ideologies propagated by puritanical theologians, like Yahya Shah and his followers. Yahya Shah and his followers called the

managers of the Sufi shrines, their *Khadims* (administrators) and their followers, *mushriks* (polytheists or idolaters – the ones who assign partners to Allah), therefore they were against the unity of God (*tawhid*),<sup>68</sup> one of the two central dogmas of Islam. The two central dogmas of Islam are God’s Unity and Mohammad’s prophetic mission. These fundamental principles of faith are put together as, “There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Apostle of God.”<sup>69</sup>

Consequently, from the late nineteenth century competing Muslim religious leaders began to assert their authority over the same city shrines with the focus on influencing the people to accept their theological ideologies. Such competing claims gave rise to intra-community conflict and infused a consciousness of community identity among Muslims of the Kashmir valley. The dispute was mainly on the definition of Kashmiri Islam; therefore, it was a theological issue which included all Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir and their belief and practices. One group of Muslim leaders were favouring and defending the saint or shrine worship and the role of *pirs* (Sufi saints) in the life of the Kashmiris. The other group denounced the practice of saint worship as a un-Islamic and sacrilegious act, and they called their opponents sacrilegious saint-worshippers (*mushriks*) and defilers of Islam; in other words, this group called the Kashmiri Muslims back to the *Quran* and the teachings of Muhammad. The first group accused the second group for attacking the traditional religion of Kashmiri Muslims through preaching a *Wahhabi* doctrine that was imported from Hindustan (India). *Wahhabism* was first propounded by Muhammad ibn Abd-ul-Wahhab (1703-1791) in Arabian Peninsula. According to Wahhab, Islam was corrupted and made weak by later dilutions and addition; therefore, he asked all Muslims to return to original simplicities of Islam.<sup>70</sup> His aim was to re-establish the golden age of the Prophet Muhammad and his immediate companions. Within a short time, Wahhab’s teaching and example influenced the Indian Muslims profoundly.<sup>71</sup>

Regarding the dispute between the above stated two groups (the group that defended the saint worship and the group that denounced the saint worship) Zutsi writes, “by framing the dispute in terms of religious ideology, the contenders were attempting to define and appropriate the Kashmiri Muslim collectivity itself.”<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the dispute made it apparent that radical Islamic theological ideologies of Wahhab, *Ahl-i-Hadith* (people of the Traditions – which was originally known as *Fara’idi*, *Wahhabi* sect in India) and *Dar-ulUloom* (“House of Knowledge” – also known as *Deobandi*) School of Deoband, in North India, began to infiltrate into Kashmir valley from late 19<sup>th</sup> century and slowly but steadily started the process of mobilization of Kashmiri Muslims. These schools of Islamic theology sought to purify Islam by ridding it of the Sufi tradition which was believed to be un-Islamic and corrupting product of British colonialism and Hindu influence. They emphasized the importance of *Taqlid* (tradition or “acceptance of the old interpretations”) and denounced the concept of *ijtihad* (re-interpretation of Islam according to time).<sup>73</sup> According to the orthodox Muslims,

in Islam a perfect law has been given, even to the details of religious, social and political life [...] and since all first principles are contained in the Qur’an and the *sunna*, what does not coincide with them must be wrong.<sup>74</sup>

Hence, the Islamic theological undertaking, in conjunction with the socio-political factors, could have played a very significant role in causing the Muslim riots in 1931.

#### 4.3. *Muslim Uprising in Jammu and Kashmir in 1931*

Two occurrences – which might not sound so serious to non-Muslims – had instigated Muslim riots in Jammu and Kashmir in 1931. These were an insult of the *Quran* by a Hindu constable and discovery of some pages of the *Quran* in a drain in Srinagar.<sup>75</sup> During the unrest, the Muslim crowd and the police clashed

outside the Srinagar central jail and several people in the crowd were killed due to the police firing on them. Following this incidence, there was general rioting during which many shops and homes of Hindu *Pandits*, money lenders and minor government officials in the city were destroyed by Muslim mobs.<sup>76</sup> The Muslim revolt of 1931 changed the religio-political map of Kashmir for forever. One of the most significant outcomes of the uprising was the formation of the Muslim Conference which clamoured for agrarian reform<sup>77</sup> because most of the cultivable land belonged to landlords who would give their land to the Muslim farmers on the lease. Hence, the farmers who tilled the land every year remained poor and ragged, because a good portion of the produce of the land would go to the landlords and another portion would go to the government (as tax). Even the farmers who owned land would hardly be able to feed their family for a whole year because of heavy land taxation. At the same time, most of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir were farmers, who totally depended upon the production of the land. So, the Muslim farmers were totally at the mercy of the landlords and the Hindu government. Therefore, it was necessary to bring land reform to liberate the Muslim farmers from the control of landlords as well as the government. The agrarian reform was people-centered project – I will further discuss this in the later section.

In relation to the cause of the uprising, the contemporary observers were divided. Some British and the *Dogra* government officials held that it was the work of external forces like Bolshevik agents. According to E.M. Jenkins, the then Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, the cause of the problem was the economic condition of the Muslim people.<sup>78</sup> But, the economic condition of the Muslim peasants of Jammu and Kashmir had never been better throughout the *Dogra* rule, therefore, the economic situation could not be the main cause of the insurgency. Copland on the other hand associates the uprising to three factors: first, “the example of [the] civil disobedience movement in British India” infused

courage to resist the suppressive authority; second, the death of *Mirwaiz*, the hereditary spiritual leader of the Muslims of Srinagar in 1931, which deprived the Palace of a close Muslim friend and an influential Muslim leader who was instrumental in putting in check the more radical Muslims; and third, “the emergence, in the late 1920s, of an embryonic Muslim political class able and willing to carry the torch for their co-religionists.”<sup>79</sup> Among the three factors, the second one sounds more reasonable because the radical Islamic religious ideologies of Wahhab, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and *Dar-ulUloom* already began to spread gradually in Kashmir in late nineteenth century and gain followers among the Kashmiri Muslims. In the struggle against the oppressive Hindu government and the sectarian teachings the concept of *jihad* (here it may mean both spiritual and physical struggle) might have boosted the morale of many Muslims who came under the influence of the puritanical theology.

There had been radical Islamic theological undercurrents at work from the time, as mentioned above, in the Kashmir valley. This religious force could have gradually inculcated among the Muslims in the valley a strong sense of community identity and spiritual passion and inspiration to protect the sacred religious symbols of Islam. Meanwhile, the Hindu police constable who was accused of insulting the *Quran*<sup>80</sup> represented, on the one hand, the oppressive *Dogra* regime and, on the other, the minority Hindu community which had been supporting the regime from the very beginning. Hence, both the parties the constable stood for were anti-Muslim and oppressive forces. At the same time, the insult of the *Quran* was an anti-Islamic and anti-divine act for which the wrongdoer had to be punished severely for the sinful deed, but the government by dismissing the charges against the constable proved that it was also a party in the sinful act. Besides, the *Quran* is not just a religious text or symbol for the Muslims, but it is the revelation and eternal Word of God. Therefore, the insult of the *Quran* enraged the Muslims of the Kashmir valley and they

rose up against the government and its supporters.<sup>81</sup> At the same time, other grievances – economic and political – added more fuel to the uprising. The rebellion had widened the community cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims and this chasm had turned into deep-seated communal antagonism and mistrust, which resurfaced sporadically in the form of communal violence in post-independent Indian Jammu and Kashmir. Meanwhile, the post-independent Indian state policies against the Kashmiri people seemed to have further intensified this antagonism and mistrust against the Indian state and the dominant Hindu majority.

### **5. Post-1947 Jammu and Kashmir: Betrayals and Broken Promises**

After a century of ill-treatment, the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir entered into a new era in 1947. Unfortunately, the transition was not a favourable development for the Kashmiri people because the new age dawned with the partition of Kashmir and war between India and Pakistan – about a third of the Kashmir was absorbed into Pakistan and the two-thirds became Indian Kashmir. So, since 1947 the Indian Kashmir has been abode of contention between Pakistan and India. The two nations have already fought three declared and one undeclared war – out of the three declared wars one was fought over East Pakistan, present Bangladesh. From the time the Indian subcontinent was partitioned the Kashmir issue became an international concern and the United Nations Organisation (UNO) was involved with the search for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue from the very beginning; however, the Kashmir issue remains unresolved till today due to the prevailing disagreements between the two nuclear-powered nations.

Thus, some scholars, like Tremblay, trace the roots of the Kashmir militancy to the Treaty of Accession signed by Hari Singh, the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1947.<sup>82</sup> The Hindu Maharajah of the dominantly Muslim majority state was hesitant to join India in the beginning, but when he was

unable to defend Kashmir from the invading Pakistani tribesmen he, having no other choice, was compelled to sign the Instrument of Accession to get the Indian military support to drive away the invaders. Alastair Lamb, in his book *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*, questions the legitimacy of the Instrument of Accession.<sup>83</sup> According to him the Treaty was not signed by the Maharajah on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1947, a day before the Indian troops landed in the Kashmir valley; therefore, he argues, the accession of Kashmir to India was the result of a plot hatched between the leaders of the Indian Congress, the Kashmir government and senior military officers (including British).<sup>84</sup> Although the claim of Lamb sounds like the argument postulated in favour of Pakistan there is a considerable amount of truth in it, because the Treaty was an agreement hastily arranged between the leaders in the Indian government and the Maharajah, and it was implemented without being endorsed by the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Thus, after ten decades of cruelty and oppression, the Treaty was the final betrayal connived by the Hindu *Dogra* regime, on its death bed, against the Muslim people of Kashmir. This last act of deception of the regime left the land of Kashmir divided between the two rival nations and, at the same time, it gave birth to a permanent dispute that has been a serious threat to the whole of Southeast Asia. Besides, the Kashmiri people were tossed from one Hindu rule into another Hindu-dominated secular rule – under both the governments, as per the theological proposition of the radical (fanatical) Islamic theologians like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and ‘Abd al-Qadir, Islam is in danger – according to Abd al-Qadir, the leader of a jihad against the French, “the Muslims must not submit to unbelieving rulers, and that Muslims who helped them and served as their accomplices themselves became unbelievers.”<sup>85</sup> The present Kashmir problems (i.e. the division of Kashmir between the two hostile nations and the Islamic militancy/terrorism in Kashmir) would not have occurred if the Maharajah would have taken concrete steps to gain the confidence of the

Muslim majority of his Kingdom after the incidence in 1931, and would have sought the people’s approval before the partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947, to decide whether to join India or Pakistan or remain independent.

However, although the Treaty of Accession was signed by the Maharajah without the consent of the Kashmiri people Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India, assured the people of Kashmir through the Maharajah that the question of accession would be placed before the people of Kashmir after the liberation of the land from the invaders. Likewise, Nehru at once

confirmed this conditional acceptance and, in a detailed statement to the Constituent Assembly of India, reasserted the ultimate right of the people of Kashmir, under the supervision of an impartial international tribunal such as the U.N., to decide their future political association.<sup>86</sup>

Meanwhile, both India and Pakistan, as per the report of the U.N. Security Council in 1948, agreed that “the fate of the country should be finally decided by a free expression of the will of the people.”<sup>87</sup> These assertions and agreement assured the Kashmiri people that, soon their natural right, the right of being the sons of the soil, to decide their own fate would be given back to them. So, the people waited with high hope for the time they would exercise their right of self-determination, but the day never dawned on them. So, once again the Kashmiri people were betrayed – this time by the Hindu dominated secular administration.

However, the Indian Constitution accorded a “special status” to Kashmir granting it considerable autonomy within the federal system of India and, at the same time, the central government sanctioned a substantial amount of financial aid towards the economic development of the state. Nevertheless, both the constitutional and the economic provisions were granted with the intention of total integration of the state of Jammu and Kashmir

within India without holding any plebiscite. According to Kohli, this strategy of the Indian government did the “Trick” from 1950 to 1980, because during this period ethnic nationalism in Kashmir remained mild even though the memories of subjugation, betrayal, and injustice against them were kept alive and, in the meantime, there were international problems over the Kashmir issue.<sup>88</sup>

### 5.1. Why there was no Insurgency before 1988?

Since the ground was conducive for the people of Kashmir to rise up against the Indian state from the early 1960s to early 1980s, why did the insurgency not erupt in this period? There were two noteworthy factors that played a key role in preventing any armed movement in Jammu and Kashmir till the early 1980s. One of those factors had been the leadership of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. He was “a master political strategist”<sup>89</sup> and “‘founding father’ and much-revered leader”<sup>90</sup> in Kashmir. He was rightly called the *sher-i-Kashmir* (“Lion of Kashmir”) because he fought and suffered bravely for the rights of the Kashmiri people. Abdullah was not only a political leader, but he was also a devout Muslim – in 1931 Mirwaiz Kashmir (the hereditary religious leader of the Muslims in Srinagar) was so impressed by Abdullah’s religious zeal, that he permitted Abdullah to make *Jamia Masjid* as the organizational centre for his political activities.<sup>91</sup> Besides, from the very beginning of his political career, he used Islamic concept of social and political rights which was the concept of a unified Muslim community.<sup>92</sup> Hence, he had been able to balance both spiritual and political as “two sides of the same coin in Islam” throughout his life.

Moreover, right after he held the responsibility of administration of Jammu and Kashmir Abdullah took two bold decisions to ameliorate the economic condition of the downtrodden people of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1950 his government passed two very important pieces of legislation: “the Abolition of Big Landed Estates Act and the Distressed Debtors Relief Act.”<sup>93</sup> The first Act seized all cultivable land of more than twenty-three acres

and distributed it to the landless peasants, and the remaining land was made state property. The second piece of legislation formed a board that instituted guiding principles for the debt relief.<sup>94</sup> These timely and poor people oriented actions of his government though alienated big landholders made him the most popular and respected leader among the Kashmiri mass.

Further, he stood tall among all the Kashmiri leaders due to his constant determination to achieve socio-economic and political liberation for Kashmiri people. Because of such determination, the Indian government was not able to persuade him to change his views on the right of self-determination of the Kashmiris. Abdullah disregarded all the tactics of persuasion by the authorities in the Indian government to give up the idea of self-determination, and such defiance left the Indian leaders with no other choice but to detain him for an indefinite period.<sup>95</sup> Hence, in 1953 he was deposed from the post of Prime Minister of Kashmir and kept under house arrest for over fourteen years; however, even the dismissal and detention could not break his willpower.

Abdullah was able to channel his influence upon the people of Kashmir even though he was incarcerated. Nevertheless, he was against following the path of violence to achieve the political goal. The main reason behind this viewpoint was that he and his associates were deeply influenced by Gandhi’s philosophy of non-violence and the effectiveness of passive resistance in the struggle against the British government in India,<sup>96</sup> and that influence continued. Abdullah’s standpoint was recognized by the Indian leaders at the time the state government was troubled by communal violence between Hindus and Muslims. In 1967 communal violence broke out in Srinagar and seriously undermined the law and order in the city. The Kashmir government was forced to put the city under curfew, ban the publication of the newspapers and close down all colleges in the city. Yet the situation continued to be very tense and unpredictable. At this critical juncture, the Central government authorities acknowledged that Abdullah was

the only person who “possessed the stature and influence to revive the political moderation and communal harmony in the state.”<sup>97</sup> Therefore, the Central government, in spite of strong opposition from some quarters, released him in the beginning of January 1968. The recognition of the weight of his leadership by the Indian government during such crucial time makes it obvious that he played a highly influential role in averting any armed movement in the state, and Abdullah continued to uphold the above-stated standpoint till he breathed his last.

Abdullah remained the revered leader and “the Lion of Kashmir” till the end of his life although in the latter days of his life his administration was accused of financial irresponsibility and exploitation of his authority to increase the wealth of his family.<sup>98</sup> He died in 1982, and with him also died the hope of a peaceful solution of the long-standing Kashmir issue.

The second factor, which was instrumental in the prevention of armed movement before the 1980s, was the economic and educational development in Jammu and Kashmir. Due to central government’s financial aid, there was rapid economic and educational development during the 1960s and 1970s. The Kashmiri people, who very recently had shed a load of slavery, in all probability, did not want to miss any economic and educational opportunities for their and their children’s future welfare. In the 1960s the majority of the people were first-generation Kashmiris who had undergone the experience of slavery, therefore, for them, more important and urgent needs were economic prosperity and the opportunity for their children’s education; whereas, political issues like self-determination bore less weight compared to these urgent necessities. Thus, the Central government’s strategy, as mentioned earlier, did the “Trick”, because the government was able to divert the Kashmiri people’s attention towards economic and educational opportunities.

Therefore, the Islamic theological undercurrent, which had been at work since the pre-independence period, could not

mobilize the religious constituency in Kashmir towards the creation of an Islamic insurgency till the early 1980s. During this period (i.e., before the early 1980s) there were several aggressive and militant Muslim groups working secretly and, who were willing to apply force to achieve their goal; among those groups the *Awami* Action Committee, led by Mirwaiz Farooq, the 24 year old spiritual leader of the *Jama Masjid* (mosque) in Srinagar, was “more openly militant and pro-Pakistan in its political outlook.”<sup>99</sup> Since the ground for the mobilization of Kashmiri Muslims to take up arms in the name of Islam was not yet ready these aggressive and militant groups could not inspire armed rebellion in Kashmir. Only from the late 1970s, due to the success of the Islamic resurgence in Iran and the engagement of Taleban fighters against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, the moral of those radical Islamic theologians (who favoured armed struggle against the so-called infidels in India) was boosted.

## **5.2. Islamic Religious Ideologies in the Rise of Terrorism in Kashmir**

Bin Taymiyya, one of the radical Islamic theologians, divided the world into *dar al-Islam* (the land/house of Islam) and *dar al-kufra/dar al-harb* (the land of unbelief or house of war).<sup>100</sup> The first one is the domain in which governing principle is the Islamic law (*sharia*) based on the Quran and the Traditions (*Sunna*) of the Prophet; the second one is the realm which is governed by non-Islamic law. Haji Shari’at Allah of Bahadurpur, who was a Wahhabi (a follower of Wahhab’s theological ideology) and the founder of Fara’idi sect in Faridpur district in East Bengal in 1804, declared India “the house of war,” because India was ruled by non-Muslim government<sup>101</sup> and, for this reason, India was not suitable place for the Muslims to live. This radical theological teaching of Wahhab motivated the Indian Muslims to denounce the educational system of the British government after the defeat of *Sepoy* Mutiny in 1857. According to the orthodox Muslim religious leaders (*maulawis*), the British educational system was

“the pathway to certain apostasy designed to destroy their young ones.”<sup>102</sup> So, those Muslims who sent their children to government or Christian Mission schools were considered as infidels by the orthodox Muslim leaders and their followers.

From late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as discussed earlier, the radical theological ideologies of Wahhab, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and *Dar-ulUloom* School of Deoband began to make deep inroads into the Muslim society of Kashmir through the preaching of radical Muslims who opposed the practice of Sufi Islamic tradition in Kashmir. Since then, the radical ideologies of these schools had been gradually expanding their domain in the Kashmir valley. After the independence of India, the radical Muslims of Kashmir got full freedom, due to the freedom of religion granted by the Indian Constitution, to preach and teach those radical ideologies to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1940s *Jamaat-i-Islami* of Jammu and Kashmir (JIJK) came into existence with two objectives – to purify Kashmiri Islam and establish an Islamic state. The ideological framework of this Islamic organization does not differ from other branches of the *Jama'at* elsewhere. The Ideology of the JIJK is based on the writings of the founder, Maulana Sayyed 'Ala Maududi (1903-1979), of the *Jama'at*. According to Maududi, Islam is an absolute ideology and way of life that covers all areas of a Muslim's individual and collective existence.<sup>103</sup> To impose Islam in its totality it requires all Muslims to struggle for the establishment of an Islamic state or states that is/are governed by Islamic principle. Democracy is a un-Islamic political system because it stands in opposition to the Islamic understanding of God as the ultimate authority and maker of law. Likewise, secularism is to be condemned, because it separates religion and politics. The JIJK had been committed to fulfilling this understanding of Maududi by all means. According to this understanding, every Muslim of Kashmir must fight for the liberation of Kashmir from India for the purpose of the establishment of an Islamic state.

Further, the growth of Islamic educational institutions could have assisted in inculcating these Islamic theological ideologies in the mind of Kashmiri youths from their young days; therefore, the second and the following generations of Kashmiri youths, born after 1947, were more likely to be radicalised with these theologies. Hence, in late 1980s many of the Kashmiri youths were educationally advanced; theologically radicalized; politically deprived, and better updated of the happenings around the globe. So, this radicalized Islamic religious constituency was like a time bomb ticking for the appointed moment to explode. Meanwhile, the success of the Islamic movement in Iran, a worldwide Islamic revival and the rise of Taleban force and its success against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan added more inspiration and determination to fight against the supposed infidels, the Indian government and its supporters, to attain the given religio-political goal of the Kashmiri people.

Furthermore, the political and communal elements which occurred in the 1980s, after the death of Abdullah, worked together as detonating the device and set off the time bomb in 1988. The political and communal elements were the Hindu appeasing tactics applied by Indira and Rajiv when their popularity began to wane, dismissal of Farooq Abdullah's government in 1984 because he aligned with other non-congress heads of the states,<sup>104</sup> communal and political activities of the *Sangh Parivar* and its threat to Non-Hindus, particularly Kashmiri Muslims, in India because the *Sangh Parivar* vies to do away with the Article 370 (the Article which grants special status to Jammu and Kashmir) of the Indian Constitution, betrayal of Kashmiri people by Farooq and his party by making alliance with the Congress for the 1987 election and, finally, the rigging of the 1987 election denying election victory to several of the Muslim United Front candidates.<sup>105</sup> The rigging of the 1987 election was the last straw that broke the camel's back; because in this election, the Muslim religious constituency was betrayed and humiliated by applying

unfair means. A most noteworthy aspect of this incident was the involvement of the National Conference party in the betrayal, which could be understood as apostasy or a denial of the Islamic faith. These events of 1980s were not isolated ones but, they were very much interconnected with the anti-Muslim and suppressive forces of the past, discussed earlier in this chapter. All these events sent out a very strong signal to the people of Kashmir in general and to religiously radicalized Kashmiri youths in particular that Indian government was anti-Kashmiri and anti-Muslim, therefore, India was not the house of Islam but the house of struggle or war. So, 1988 was the right time for them to start their armed struggle to achieve their goal.

### 6. Islamic Terrorist Groups: *Lashkar-e-Toiba* and Its Ideology

Among the Islamic terrorist groups in Kashmir the most prominent ones are JKLF (found in Britain in 1977), HuM (militant wing of JJK, most probably found in 1987), *Muttahida Jihad Council* (United *Jihad* Council, started in Muzaffarabad, in Pakistani Kashmir, in 1990), *Lashkar-e-Toiba* (LeT - The Army of the Pure), *Jaish-e-Mohammad* (Army of the Prophet Mohammad – started in 2000), and *Harkat-ul Mujahideen* (earlier known as *Harkat-ul-Ansar* – began its terrorists activities in 1995).<sup>106</sup> *Harkat-ul-Ansar* was the first Kashmiri terrorist group to be listed in the U.S. Department of state's list of the groups that sponsor terrorism in 1997; then, the group changed its name to *Harkat-ulMujahideen*. Among these terrorist groups, JKLF is considered as secular or nominally secular by Ganguly and Tremblay. The other three are more radical Islamic terrorist groups. Among these, the most dreaded and brutal one is the *Lashkar-e-Toiba*.

*Lashkar* is the militant arm of *Markaz Dawa-ul-Irshad* (the Centre for Preaching), an Islamic religious organization of the Pakistani Punjabis.<sup>107</sup> This militant group was established in the late 1980s to train young Pakistani Muslims to fight against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. After the Soviet occupation of

Afghanistan ended the terrorist organization diverted its attention to other parts of the world. *Lashkar* terrorists are given training in Pakistani camps. They receive two stages of training – basic and intensive. Basic is a short course which lasts for 21 days and the intensive training is a three-month rigorous training course. In the training, the trainees are taught the tactics of guerrilla warfare, use of modern arms and ammunition, endurance and survival, and airplane hijacking. As the militants of LeT are well trained and highly religiously inspired, they are extremely efficient in their modus operandi to engage their conceived enemies on the enemies' own territory. *Lashkar* militant recruits come from different parts of the world. Further, the *Lashkar* militants are known for their brutality, because they treat their victims with inhuman cruelty – they behead or eviscerate their captives.<sup>108</sup> This terrorist organization seems to have some link with the Al-Qaeda, because of its political wing, *Markaz*, received a contribution from Osama Bin Laden in 1987 for its building project.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, besides Kashmir, this movement is involved in terrorist activities in other Muslim dominated regions of the world like Chechnya; therefore, it recruits more militants mainly from Pakistan and the Middle East.

The LeT infiltrated into Kashmir in January 1990; since then it has been carrying out its terrorist activities in Kashmir and other parts of India. Meanwhile, the organization claims that it can strike any-place in India. Some of the most daring terrorist acts of the *Lashkar* militants in India were: the attacks against the symbolically crucial Red Fort (in 2000) and the attack on the Indian Parliament (on 13 December 2001), the most vital organ of the Indian state, in the heart of the capital of India, Delhi.<sup>110</sup> The attack on the Indian Parliament almost dragged India and Pakistan into full-scale war. The LeT, in early 2002, had declared that it had sent 14,369 Indian soldiers to hell (*wasl-e jahannam*), whereas about 1,200 rebels had “drunk the cup of martyrdom (*jam-e shahadatnushkarna*).”<sup>111</sup>

The ideology of the *Markaz* and the *Lashkar* is derived from the radical theological teachings of *Ahl-e Hadith* and Deobandi School. The group's main objectives are, to purify Kashmiri Islam and establish a pan-Islamic state under a *Caliphate* (Spiritual leader of all Muslims). In this regard, Kashmir is looked at as the single element of struggle toward the creation of thepan-Islamic state in the entire Indian subcontinent.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the objectives of the *Lashkar* are much broader than the objectives of other Islamic terrorist groups in Kashmir. LeT, in the view of Abou Zahab,

Promotes transnational activities in the name of jihad against infidels in the world where Muslims are perceived to be oppressed, aims at creating a new deterritorialized identity (i.e., the *ummah*) based on its understanding of Islam. It rejects all cultural particularities, as they are perceived as dividing Muslims and having a negative influence on ritual practice.<sup>113</sup>

The above-given reasons make it plain that the terrorist activity of the group is not restricted to the territory of Jammu and Kashmir alone.

## 7. Towards a Solution

There are many suggestions towards the solution of the Kashmir problem. Among the suggested solutions there seems to be a common understanding among the scholars, who studied the Kashmir problem, that some kind of regional autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir might be helpful towards the resolution of the problem.<sup>114</sup> Granting of limited regional autonomy to the state might not be the right solution to the deep-rooted antagonism and mistrust. The most important factor towards the solution of the problem is to gain the trust of the Kashmiri people in the Indian administration. In this regard, the best possible solution is the re-implementation of the special status granted to the state

in the Indian constitution. The Central governments, from the beginning, never honoured the special status granted to the state by the constitution. According to the provision of the Constitution Indian state could only have jurisdiction over the defense, foreign affairs and communications of the state. The constitutional provision gives Kashmir a separate constitution, flag, penal code and criminal procedure code; therefore, the state of Kashmir, as per the constitutional provision, is different from the other states of India. But, these constitutional provisions were gradually eroded due to the policy of the total integration employed by the Congress governments. If the constitutional provision is once again honoured and the original status of Kashmir is restored the people of Kashmir might gradually begin to trust and cooperate with the Indian government. At the same time, non-interference in the state politics by Indian political leaders may help to establish a better center-state relationship; a better and sustainable center-state relationship seems to be imperative in search of a peaceful solution of Kashmir problem.

Furthermore, the Indian government has to work out plans and projects for the regular interaction and cooperation among different religious communities of the state. In this regard, the government might have to take a strong measure to restrict any outside communal element that might attempt to create communal tension in the state. Besides, the violence of human rights by the Indian military forces needs to be strictly checked and any report of past or present violence has to be thoroughly investigated. The Indian government has to be considerate in several areas to win the trust of the people and to let them get rid of the deep-seated socio-historical, political and religious antagonism.

## Conclusion

This paper has illustrated that the historical experiences, political issues from the time of the Indian independence and the radical Islamic religious ideologies – particularly the radical religious ideologies propagated by Wahhab, *Ahl-e-Hadith* and Deobandi

School – were responsible for the birth of the Islamic religious terrorism in Kashmir. However, the political developments in the 1980s – after the death of Abdullah, communalism and communal politics, misappropriation of power by the Central government authority against the religious constituency in Kashmir, and denial of the democratic rights of the Kashmiri people by rigging election in 1987 detonated the terrorist blast in Kashmir.

This case study offers the following contributions: Islam plays essential role in the life of the Kashmiri Muslim community; in the Kashmiri Islamic society sacred (which includes shrines of *pirs*) and secular are very closely interrelated; the land of Kashmir has special significance in both religious and secular life of the people; the puritanical Islamic theological ideologies have been (since the early twentieth century) expanding their support base in the Kashmir Valley; from the early 1930s Islam has been providing inner courage, determination and passion to the people to rise up against the forces of injustice; the socio-religious antagonism (among the Kashmiri Muslims) against the Hindu religious community budded from the *Dogra* period; the Hindu communal activities against the Muslims (which will be evaluated in the following chapter) and religious and political developments from the late 1970s strengthened the Islamic extremist elements within the Kashmiri community. The afore-mentioned points offer a better knowledge of the importance of religion (Islam) in instigation and mobilization of religious terrorism in Kashmir in the late 1980s.

## End Notes

1 Besides the term terrorism, I have also used the term militancy in this article. Militancy is a self-justified act of aggression or violence to achieve political, religio-political or theological goal; extremism advocates political or religious radicalism and extreme ideas and actions that are not reasonable and not acceptable to any normal society; whereas, insurgency is an armed movement which seeks independence/separation/autonomy of a geo-political region/territory, e.g. Nagaland, Punjab or Jammu and Kashmir. Although violence is integral part of militancy, extremism and insurgency,

it is not necessary that militancy, extremism or insurgency should lead to terrorism. However, it is obvious that the violent activities – such as violence against Muslims in Gujarat in 2002, violence against Christians in Orissa in 2007-8, killing of innocent Hindus and *Nirankaris* in Punjab from the early 1980s, and violence against the Hindu minorities (Kashmiri Pundits) in Kashmir from the early 1990s – of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim extremist organisations characterize acts of religious terrorism. Apparently the above given examples of the acts of violence denote that the purpose of the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim extremism is to terrorize perceived enemies (e.g. Hindu majority considers Muslim and Christian communities enemies of Hinduism, and to *Khalsa* Sikh and Kashmiri Muslim communities Hindu majority is a serious threat to the survival of their ethno-religious identity) and to destroy the lives and property of the, so-called, enemies.

- 2 In India, besides technically organized religious terrorist groups, there are certain religious organizations (such as the *Bajrang Dal* and the *Trisul Sena*) mainly motivated by religio-political parties of the majority religious community, that use terrorist tactics to terrorise and destroy life and property of the people belonging to the minority faiths with the aim of establishing divine rule as per their religious ideology.
- 3 Sumit Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace* (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.
- 4 Alexander Evans, “The Kashmir Insurgency: As Bad as It Gets,” in *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2000), 69.
- 5 Evans, “The Kashmir Insurgency,” 69.
- 6 Sumit Ganguly and Kanti Bajpai, “India and the Crisis in Kashmir,” in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 34, No.5 (May 1994), 405; Atul Kohli, “Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism? Rise and Decline of Self-Determination Movements in India,” in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (May, 1997), 341.
- 7 Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay, “Kashmir’s Secessionist Movement Resurfaces: Ethnic Identity, Community Competition, and the State,” in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 49, Issue 6 (2009), 935.
- 8 G.H. Jansen, *Militant Islam* (London: Pan Books Ltd., 1979), 17. In Islam a defining feature, according to Mervyn K. Lewis, “is that Islam commands authority over the totality of a Muslim’s being, not accepting any distinction between the sacred and the secular [...] In Islam, the realms of God and Caesar are not separate jurisdictions. Two aspects in particular shape the nature of Islamic corporate governance. One is that Islamic

- law, the *Shari'ah* claims sovereignty over all aspects of life, ethical and social, and to encompass criminal as well as civil jurisdiction. The literal meaning of the Arabic word *Shari'ah* 'the way to the source of life' and, in technical sense, it is now used to refer to a legal system in keeping with the code of behaviour called for by the Holy Qur'an and the *Sunnah* (the authentic tradition [the tradition of the Prophet]). Every act of believers must conform with Islamic law and observe ethical standards derived from Islamic principles. These ethical principles define what is true, fair and just, the nature of corporate responsibilities, the priorities to society, along with some specific governance standards." Mervyn K. Lewis, "Islamic Corporate Governance," in *Review of Islamic Economics*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2005), 14-15.
- 9 In the view of Sayyid Qutb, "Muhammad dictated a strict new law code, which put religion once more at ease in physical world, except a better way than ever before. Muhammad's prophecies, in the Koran, instructed man to be God's 'vice regent' on earth – to take charge of the physical world and not simply to see it as something alien to spirituality." Paul Berman, "The Philosopher of Islamic Terror," in *The New York Times* (23 March, 2003), IV.
  - 10 Sumit Ganguly, "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay," in *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Autumn 1996), 76.
  - 11 Tremblay, "Kashmir's Secessionist Movement Resurfaces," 926.
  - 12 Atul Kohli, "Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism?" 338.
  - 13 Robert G. Wirsing, *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Original Conflict and Its Resolution* (London: Macmillan Press, 1994), 115; this is the argument of Afsir Karim, *Counter Terrorism: The Pakistan Factor* (New Delhi: Lancer International, 1991).
  - 14 Wirsing, *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute*, 115.
  - 15 Shaheen Akhtar, *Uprising in Indian-Held Jammu and Kashmir* (Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies, 1991), 48; quoted in Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 16.
  - 16 See Evans, "The Kashmir Insurgency: As Bad as It Gets," 70 & 71.
  - 17 Ganguly, "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency," 78.
  - 18 Mohammad Ishaq Khan, "The Rishi Tradition and the Construction Kashmiriyat," in *Lived Islam in South Asia: Adaptation, Accommodation and Conflict*, edited by Imtiaz Ahmad and Helmut Reifeld (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2004), 63.
  - 19 Balraj Puri, "Kashmiriyat: The Vitality of Kashmiri Identity," in *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1995), 55.
  - 20 Riyaz Punjabi, "Communal Politics in Jammu and Kashmir State," in *Contemporary South Asia* (1995), 159.
  - 21 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 17-18.
  - 22 See Chitralkha Zutshi, *Language of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004), 148.
  - 23 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 139
  - 24 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 233.
  - 25 Ashutosh Varshney, "Three Compromised Nationalisms: Why Kashmir has been a Problem," in *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflict in South Asia*, edited by Raju G. C. Thomas (Boulder: Westview, 1992), 191 ff.
  - 26 See Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 19.
  - 27 Ashutosh Varshney, "India, Pakistan, and Kashmir: Antinomies of Nationalism," in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 31, No. 11 (Nov., 1991), 998.
  - 28 Varshney, "India, Pakistan, and Kashmir," 998.
  - 29 See Tremblay, "Kashmir's Secessionist Movement Resurfaces."
  - 30 Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay, "Review: Kashmir Conflict: Secessionist Movement, Mobilization and Political Institutions," in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 4, (Winter, 2001-2002), 575. Tremblay, "Kashmir's Secessionist Movement Resurfaces," 931;
  - 31 D.N. Danagara, "Agrarian Conflict, Religion and Politics: The Moplah Rebellions in Malabar in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Past and Present*, 74 (1977), 141.
  - 32 Stephen P. Cohen, "Kashmir: The Roads Ahead," in *South Asia Approaches the Millennium: Reexamining National Security*, edited by Marvin G. Weinbaum and Chetan Kumar (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995). 129.
  - 33 Cohen, "Kashmir: The Roads Ahead," 129.
  - 34 See Neil Aggarwal, "Kashmiriyat as Empty Signifier," in *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2008), 222-235.
  - 35 Imtiaz H. Bokhari and Thomas Perry Thornton, *The 1972 Simla Agreement: An Asymmetrical Negotiation* (Washington, D. C.: Foreign Policy Institute, 1988), 1.
  - 36 Patricia Ellis and Zafar Khan, "Partition and Kashmir: Implications for the Region and the Diaspora," in *Region & Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent*, edited by Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 270.
  - 37 Punjabi, "Communal Politics in Jammu and Kashmir State," 164.

- 38 Deepak Lal, "Kashmir," Paper for Carnegie Project on Globalization, National Self-determination and Terrorism, University of California, Los Angeles (December 2003), 9.
- 39 Wirsing, *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute*, 116.
- 40 Mohammed Ayoob, "Dateline India: The Deepening Crisis," in *Foreign Policy*, No. 85, (Winter, 1991-1992), 178.
- 41 Ayoob, "Dateline India: The Deepening Crisis," 178.
- 42 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 20-21.
- 43 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 21.
- 44 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 31-32.
- 45 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 36-37.
- 46 Ganguly, "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency," 80.
- 47 On Islamic radicalisation in *madrassas*, see S. Kalayanraman, "India and the Challenge of Terrorism in the Hinterland," in *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 34, Issue 5 (2010), 702-716; also, Jamal Malik, *Madrassa in South Asia: Teaching of Terror* (London: Routledge, 2008).
- 48 Gabriele Marranci, *Jihad Beyond Islam* (New York: Berg, 2006), 22. On the question "Is Jihad a holy war?," Marranci writes: "Although the majority of Muslims emphatically reject such an axiom, we must recognize that historically a straightforward answer does not exist. During their histories, the Islamic states had to face a difficult decision: to interpret the Qur'anic teaching so that any imperialistic aspirations had to be renounced, or to venture into philosophical and theological sophisms and combine their earthly desires with Allah's injunctions. Since power and territorial control are difficult to renounce, Islamic leaders have a privileged political interpretation of jihad over the spiritual elements of Islam. Jihad cannot be understood outside the historical contexts and events. Marranci, *Jihad Beyond*, 17 & 18.
- 49 "Muslims have not shaped their contemporary idea of jihad only through the Quran and the Prophet's *Sunna*. The Islamic judicial traditions (*fiqh*), the history of the ummah (community of believers) and the formation of the Ottoman empire have played a fundamental role in sifting the meaning of jihad towards holywary." Marranci, *Jihad Beyond*, 22. Also, see Reuven Fireston, *Jihad: The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5ff.
- 50 John C. Zimmerman, 'A Review of: "Michael Bonner. Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice,"' in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20:1 (January, 2008), 150.
- 51 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 1.
- 52 Alastair Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir: 1947 to 1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 23.
- 53 Rekha Chowdhary, "Political Upsurge in Kashmir: Then and Now," in *Economic and Political Weekly* (30 September, 1995), 158.
- 54 See Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004).
- 55 Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir*, 27-28.
- 56 Sumantra Bose, *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 18.
- 57 Prakash Chandra, "The National Questions in Kashmir," in *Social Scientist*, Vol. 13, No. 6 (June, 1985), 39.
- 58 Bose, *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, 17.
- 59 Bose, *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, 17.
- 60 Chandra, "The National Questions in Kashmir," 39.
- 61 Quoted in Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 152. Also see Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir* (Srinagar: Kesar, 1967), 287; G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashmir: Being a History of Kashmir*, Vol. II (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1949), 19.
- 62 Ian Copland, "Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir, 1931-34," in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 54, No.2 (Summer, 1981), 234; see Lord Birdwood, "Kashmir," in *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944), Vol. 28, No. 3 (July, 1952), 300.
- 63 Copland, "Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir," 234.
- 64 Sumit Ganguly, "The Islamic Dimensions of the Kashmir Insurgency," in *Pakistan Nationalism without a Nation?*, edited by Christopher Jaffrelot, Reprint (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2004), 182.
- 65 Ashis Saxena, "A Review of the Valley of Kashmir – the Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture?," edited by Aparna Rao, in *Asia Journal of Global Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2010), 104.
- 66 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 11.
- 67 Mohammad Ishaq Khan, "The Rishi Tradition and the Construction of Kashmiriyat," in *Lived Islam in South Asia: Adaptation, Accommodation & Conflict*, edited by Imtiaz Ahmad and Helmut Reifeld (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2004), 63.
- 68 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 133.
- 69 L. Bevan Jones, *The People of the Mosque*, seventh edition (Delhi: ISPCK, 1998), 83.
- 70 Jansen, *Militant Islam*, 92.

- 71 Jones, *The People of the Mosque*, 191.
- 72 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 132.
- 73 “Kashmiri Separatists: Origins, Competing Ideologies, and Prospect for the Resolution of the Conflict,” Wikileaks Document Release, CRS-12: available from <http://wikileaks.org/wiki/CRS-RL32587>; internet accessed on 2 February 2009.
- 74 Jones, *The People of the Mosque*, 75.
- 75 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 212.
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- 77 Birdwood, “Kashmir,” 301.
- 78 Copland, “Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir,” 233.
- 79 Copland, “Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir,” 235.
- 80 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 211.
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- 82 Tremblay, “Kashmir’s Secessionist Movement Resurfaces,” 926.
- 83 Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1884-1990* (Hertsfordbury: Roxford Books, 1994).
- 84 Tremblay, Review: “Kashmir Conflict: Secessionist Movement, Mobilization and Political Institutions,” 571.
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- 87 Josef Korbel, “The Kashmir Dispute and the United Nations,” in *International Organization*, Vol. 3, No.2. (May, 1949), 279.
- 88 Kohli, “Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism?,” 339.
- 89 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 227.
- 90 Kohli, “Can Democracies Accommodate Ethnic Nationalism?,” 339.
- 91 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 228.
- 92 Zutshi, *Language of Belonging*, 231.
- 93 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 30.
- 94 Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 30.
- 95 David E. Lockwood, “Sheikh Abdullah and the Politics of Kashmir,” in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 9, No. 5. (May, 1969), 384.
- 96 Lockwood, “Sheikh Abdullah and the Politics of Kashmir,” 382.
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- 98 Sten Widmalm, “The Rise and Fall of Democracy in Jammu and Kashmir,” in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 37, No. 11 (Nov., 1997), 1009.
- 99 Lockwood, “Sheikh Abdullah and the Politics of Kashmir,” 387.
- 100 See Bin Taymiyyas, *Muslims Under Non-Muslim Rule*, 123.
- 101 Jones, *The People of the Mosque*, 191.
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- 103 Yoginder Sikand, “The Emergence and Development of the Jama’ at of Jammu and Kashmir (1940s-1990),” in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (July, 2002), 707.
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- 106 See “Kashmiri Separatists: Origins, Competing Ideologies, and Prospect for the Resolution of the Conflict,” CRS 17-22.
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- 110 Mariam Abou Zahab, “‘I Sahll be Waiting for You at the Door of Paradise’: The Pakistani Martyrs of the Lashkar-e Taiba (Army of the Pure),” in *Practice of War: Production, Reproduction and Communication of Armed Violence*, edited by Aparna Rao, Michael Bolling and Monika Bock (Berghahn Books, 2007), 138.
- 111 Zahab, “‘I Sahll be Waiting for You at the Door of Paradise’: The Pakistani Martyrs of the Lashkar-e Taiba (Army of the Pure),” 137.
- 112 Kashmiri Separatists: Origins, Competing Ideologies, and Prospect for the Resolution of the Conflict,” CRS 17-22.
- 113 Zahab, “‘I Shall be Waiting for You at the Door of Paradise,’” 152.
- 114 Tremblay, “Review: Kashmir Conflict,” 576.

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## Book Review

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***After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later***, David G. Horrell and Todd D. Still, eds. (London: T&T Clark International, 2009), Hardback | 208 pages. £106.29; Paperback.£35.41. ISBN: 978-81-8465-540-7.

The book reassesses the groundbreaking work of Wayne A. Meeks, “The First Urban Christians” which is one of the most significant works on Pauline communities. It is a jointly edited book of David G. Horrell and Todd D. Still. The book begins with an introductory note of editors, highlighting the significance of Meeks’ work which developed the social-scientific approach by synthesizing the pioneering works of Gerd Theissen and others. With the brief appraisal of Meeks’, all the remaining eight essays engaged and each of which following the same order with various aspects of Meeks’ study addressing relevant questions in light of recent scholarship.

**The first essay**, *Whither Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation? Reflections on Contested Methodologies and the Future* by David G. Horrell, examines the use of social-scientific methodological stance of Meeks’ book. Horrell critique the work of Meeks and others taking Bruce Malina’ method because Meeks based on inappropriate sociological models which are not properly social-scientific. Horrell’s key point of the argument is “they fail to conform to a recognizable and model-based approach of social science research” (p.16). However, Horrell also points out the difficulty “to draw any boundary around what does and does not count as social-scientific work... Moreover, there is no sustainable distinction to be drawn between what is ‘social science’ and what is ‘social history’” (p.17). Horrell suggests a few areas

for further development like literary ethnography, iconological and postcolonial studies. However, he could not substantiate properly the distinction between model-based studies and other approaches, yet, the recommendation of interdisciplinary reading has enhanced in the early Christian studies.

**In the second essay**, *Contours of the Urban Environment*, Peter Oakes discusses on Meeks’ description of the urban environment of the Pauline Christianity. Oakes while appreciating Meeks’ description; he also identifies weakness for his failure to give a sustained discussion of the cities of Pauline churches. Therefore, Oakes proposes Pompeii, a non-Pauline city as a model to study the first-century Roman cities in general. Oakes with rich documentation describes the physical and social environment of Pompeii with which the cities of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth were considered. Oakes discovered various convergence and divergence between the Pauline cities, which definitely helped in understanding the context for Pauline studies. Yet, Oakes’ reading from the non-Pauline city may consider as casuistic unless cautiousness is done.

**The third essay**, *Socio-Economic Profiling of the First Urban Christians* by Bruce W. Longenecker, assesses and argues the theory of Meeks of “status inconsistency” of Pauline communities. Longenecker does not find Meeks’ work altogether unsustainable, as “it consequently fails to have the explanatory power” (p.38) and he does argue that joining Christianity had often been compound the problem of status inconsistency. For Longenecker, the Pauline communities were more attractive with other factors than Meeks’ proposal - Good News. Longenecker stresses the significance of “reference group” for understanding the rise of the early urban Christian movement, because the shift from Greco-Roman middling groups to the smaller reference groups gives more intimacy and has a high value of defining their social identity and status. His hypothesis is valuable and significant that heightens the significance of the early Christian groups which offers especially

to those middling-level urbanites. However, the theory of a whole could have given more attention to the participants' own ways of seeing things and wave off conceptual and spiritual dimensions that involved.

**In chapter four,** *First-Century Models for Paul's Churches: Selected Scholarly Developments Since Meeks*, Edward Adams review Meeks' description of households, voluntary associations, synagogues, and philosophical schools as possible comparative models for Pauline Churches from the Greco-Roman environment. He engages in each of these four areas analyzing with subsequent scholarly works and concludes that no single model suffice or considered "best" for the first-century model for the formation of the Pauline communities. Adams draws attention to Richard Horsley's view that Paul fosters an "alternative society" within the Roman Empire which is grounded upon an apocalyptic perspective. Indeed, he cautioned to be more careful while comparing with other ancient groups as there is increasing similar models. For him, the focus should be on early church practices rather than social associations as an alternative. Adams' suggestion of comparative study will enlighten and sharpen in understanding Pauline churches, however, he couldn't explain well on his suggested alternative of the vastness of church practices.

**In the fifth essay,** *Organizational Structures and Relational Structures Among the Saints: The Establishment and Exercise of Authority Within Pauline Assemblies*, Todd D. Still engages on Meeks' discussion of "governance in the Pauline assemblies" in relation to Paul's use of metaphors, institutionalization, and authority with an exploration of scholarly works. With that, Still further shifts by providing evidence from Romans, Philippians, Philemon, and 2 Thessalonians giving focus on various "inferences" to draw leaders and warrants for authority. He pointed out conflict and community; mutuality and authority; structure and spontaneity characterized Pauline churches. Therefore, he infers that the dialectical relational patterns that suit the paradoxical

pairings Paul applied in his writings to explain his ministry and to explicate his theology. The main flaw of Still's essay is, instead of substantiating his proposition, he leaves Paul and his churches as living with enigmatic lives.

**The sixth essay,** *Ritual and the First Urban Christians: Boundary Crossings of Life and Death*, Louise J. Lawrence appraises on Meeks' discussion of "rituals" especially on the classification of each major, minor and unknown. Lawrence while appreciating Meeks' centrality given to Baptism and Lord's Supper, he suggests linking with the rest of the ritual world of the early Christians. Lawrence criticism on Meeks is his suggestion on the "solidarity and identity of the group" in all rituals because Meeks did not address well the internal group disputes and that may not be in reality what Paul envisages. Lawrence brought some key development in the study of ritual, namely, ethnographic studies in relation to Pauline texts, ritual and morality, ritual and the construction of social memory, ritual and empire. She finds Meeks gave less attention to the actual physical death of early Christianity. Lawrence, though stresses the importance even to the rest of the rituals with many probes, however, his proposition still poignant for the Pauline Christians.

**The seventh essay,** *Patterns of Belief and Patterns of Life: Correlations in The First Urban Christians and Since*, Dale B. Martin examines Meeks' study of correlating between "Patterns of Belief and Patterns of Life." Despite Meeks caution of the casual relation of the two, Martin stresses on how social experience causes and shapes religious belief with several illustrations unlike Meeks' vice versa or rather occurs in both directions. In order to substantiate his argument, Martin discusses three types of subsequent works after Meeks' monumental book. With that, he comes up a more robust correlation between social practice and pattern of belief to the understanding of early Christianity. Though Martin does not altogether neglect Meeks' methods and points out criticism voiced during twenty-five years, the social

study of religious beliefs caused the “reductionism” meaning religious beliefs. However, he holds on to his argument saying, “if we could never legitimately imagine a social context for a text, we would not be able to read texts at all” (p. 132). This area could be where consensus among scholars will be quite beyond the reach.

**In the final essay, *Taking Stock and Moving On*,** Meeks respond to each of above essays. Meeks, while looking back the development of the social-scientific study of Pauline Christianity, and pointing for future to engage, he also continues to defend his methodological eclecticism which Horrell argued against Malina’s. Meeks again come up as to whether a distinction of methodology (social history and social science) can be made in a broader area. However, this distinction would be difficult despite Horrell, Meeks and others in the subsequent period had tried, rather a compound methodologies will come under social-scientific criticism.

The outstanding contribution of “After the First Urban Christians” is its substantive and constructive sift by developing Meeks’ work with many scholars’ contributions of the twenty-five years. The book in some cases appears as an extended literature review of Meeks’ work, but it shows its importance in the study of Pauline and New Testament as a whole. Though Meeks’ book remains a milestone in scholarship, the essays in this book made the social-scientific study in Pauline corpus gives comprehensive understanding and opens many areas of inquiry in the subject. The flaw of the book is, it’s scoped and focused is only on Meeks’ work which directly or indirectly neglected many important contributions to the study of Paul. However, the book fulfilled its purposes and challenges on the further task of Meeks’ work. Every serious student of Pauline studies and NT, in general, must get well-versed and possess this book.

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