Towards an Archaeology of Silence:
Perspectives on Subalternity

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Abstract

This research work is an outcome both of the personal, social, political, and economic experiences that I have witnessed in Pakistan as a Christian religious minority and of the critical readings that I have chosen to include in my thesis. Theology or religion plays an integral role in shaping the socio-political structures of any economy. Owing to the watertight compartments of religion existing in Pakistan, it is almost impossible to break free of the shackles of authoritarian government and prevailing ideologies. Thus, one needs to constantly question, challenge, analyze these existing binaries to understand the larger role of human beings and the freedom that they have in any oppressive society. Reading works by Foucault, Fanon, and Spivak leads us into this zone of questioning the motives behind these societies that are still plagued by colonialism and its residues. I am using Spivak's concept of the "native informant" as I believe that in this process of retelling the tale of oppression, I have become the sufferer and the carrier of this information and writing this work is perhaps a way in which the "native informant" in me is writing back to Pakistan. I am aware of my "doubly marginalized" situation, where I am both marginalized in my native land and in the "foreign land" in which I live. I, therefore, coexist in these two worlds – East and West – belonging to neither. The idea of despair as elaborated in this thesis is an outcome of a colonial and postcolonial hangover when the colonized is not to find a "cure/remedy" for his/her situation. This symptom is discussed in length by Fanon and I have analyzed his work not as a possible solution but as another problem for the colonized. The colonized then cannot rely on theology, which traps the colonizer and is discussed in chapter 1, nor on apology, which just remains a "pseudo-apology" as discussed in chapter 2, nor on despair, which also bring us back to the idea of lamenting and relates the religious dimensions of apology and despair.

There is an intrinsic connection between despair and prayer as despair was once treated as a spiritual anomaly rather than an emotional or psychological symptom of a disorder.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my father Anwar Waseem, my mother Perveen Akthar, my wife, Anita Waseem, and my son, Zion Waseem.

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Introduction

This thesis tracks the representation of the subaltern through various practices such as philosophy, political theory, theology, and culture. This work will speak for, with, and about the subaltern from the point of view of a "native informant". I borrow the term from Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. She takes it from ethnography, in which it is used to describe indigenous people who provide information about non-Western societies to Western ethnographers. She considers ethnography takes the "native informant" seriously. According to her, in ethnography, the subaltern has a chance to gain a cultural identity. She thinks that in philosophy, the native informant has been exploited to consolidate Western theories and then excluded. She claims that philosophy and literature enabled Imperialism to create fictional truths and claims. For example, Spivak's reservation concerning the third-world is associated with the idea of Imperialism, which she insists divided the earth into "three worlds". As she puts it, "the account of the history and literary pedagogy, as they appropriate and disseminate reports and tales, are two ways in which mind-set are set" (Spivak 1987: 246).

Postcolonial critics have offered different definitions, but the common point is that hegemony imposed by the imperial powers on the so-called third world was not confined just to economics, but its effects can be found in different cultural fields including literature and philosophy. These critics assume that imperialism was motivated by the desire for and belief in European cultural dominance and in their superior rights to exploit world's resources. The imperial discourse, they argue, was powerful and could manipulate the means of representation of the subaltern. In literature, for instance, Spivak argues that Imperialism influenced fictional structures by moving white female characters from the margins to the center at the expense of marginalizing another racial character.

The Spivakian perception of the "third world" is based on the claim that the idea is fictional and constructed, since imperialism manipulated both philosophical, and political representations of the so-called "third world". In her critique of Imperialism, Spivak uses two concepts, "wordling" and "epistemic violence". She believes that it was European Imperialism that produced the division of the world, which was not present before colonialism and this "wordling" was followed by "epistemic violence" which can be defined as an "interested construction" rather than the disinterested production of facts. The West created a sustained image of the colonized peoples. These images gave the European societies the stereotype of the uncivilized "Other" and led them to justify and support their civilizing mission, which was the pretext of colonialism. Epistemic violence enabled the subject/object binary opposition in which one side collapsed into the other. In claiming that the other could collapse into self, Imperialism proclaimed that they have obtained the knowledge of the Others and the right to represent them. By this process, Imperialism domesticated the Other. Spivak insists that this "domesticated other" cannot retrieve its identity or consciousness. No perspective (critical theory) of Imperialism can turn the other into a self, because the project of imperialism has always already refracted what might have been the absolute "Other" into a "domesticated Other". Spivak further elaborates this idea and argues against the possibility of making the Other as a copy of the self and she calls this "selfing the Other". Therefore, the theory of "three worlds" is a fictional construction and Spivak tries to avoid this when dealing with subaltern or the Other.

Spivak's literary analysis of the Kantian text is also important, because on several

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occasions she reads Kant's text from the point of view of the forclusion[1] of "native informant". Spivak says, "I borrowed the term 'foreclosure' (*forclusion*) from Lacanian psychoanalysis. I read psychoanalysis as a technique for reading the pre-emergence (Raymond William's term) of narrative as ethical instantiation" (Spivak 1999: 5).

Spivak argues that Kant's text particularly his "critique of the sublime" forecloses the "native informant". She chooses instances from Kant's *Critique of Judgment* and uses them to substantiate her argument. The first instance is the appearance of *der rohe Mensch*, which she translates as "man in the raw", in the *Analytic of Sublime* (Spivak 1999: 13). The second is the naming "man in the raw" as the New Hollander, the Australian aboriginal and the Fuegian (a native of Tierra del Fuego), which appears in Kant's *Analytics of Teleological Judgment*. Spivak uses them as the variable for the native informant. "The man in raw" appears in Kant's explanation of the sublime. The concept of sublime hinges on the relationship of two faculties of mind: imagination and reason. Kant divides it into the "mathematically sublime" and "dynamically sublime". He defines the "mathematically sublime" as that "which is absolutely large (*absolute, non-comparative, magnum*) … That anything is a magnitude (quantum) may be cognized from the thing itself, without any comparison of it with the other things" (Kant 86).

Dealing with the "dynamically sublime", Kant writes that nature can be considered dynamically sublime, "of nature regarded as might [power] is that which is superior to great hindrances" (Kant 98). He explains that, because it can be seen as an object of fear, it can be threatening to our life and can call forth our will to resist it. Kant proposes that the

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[1] Lacan, in his *The Language of Psycho-Analysis* (1974) introduces this term *forclusion* in French.

predisposition to this ability (to feel sublime) is part of our nature, whereas it remains up to us, as our obligation, to develop and exercise this ability. Kant also adds that to be attuned to feel sublime the mind must be receptive to the ideas and this requires culture:

 "It is a fact that what is called sublime by us, having been prepared through culture, comes across as merely repellant to a person as uncultured and lacking the development of moral ideas… But the fact is that judgment about sublime in nature requires culture… Still in no way implies that it was initially produced by culture and then introduced to society by way of mere convention, rather it is the foundation of human nature; in something that, along with common sense, we may require and demand of everyone, namely, the predisposition to the feeling for ideas" (Kant 108-109).

From this vantage point, Spivak intervenes in Kant's text and argues that the term translated as "uncultured" or "uneducated" should be translated as "man in raw". Spivak is convinced that because the culture in Kant's text refers only to the Western culture excluding other cultures, she concludes that it is impossible to become cultured in Western culture, particularly if one is an outsider.

Chapter 1 - Theology: Colonization of Mind

My Braids were cut off in the name of Jesus
To make me look so white
My tongue was cut out in the name of Jesus
So, I would not speak what's right
My heart was cut out in the name of Jesus
So, I would not try to feel
My eyes were cut out in the name of Jesus
So, I could not see what's real
            (From Reservation Blues, Alexie, Sherman 131)

This verse from native American poet and novelist Alexie Sherman highlights how "in the name of Jesus" or one can say under the garb of religious colonization, the colonization of mind becomes an outcome. This chapter specifically introduces the idea of colonization of mind which becomes an integral aspect in understanding the issues related to postcolonialism. I will be analyzing how Bible becomes an instrument of this colonization and, therefore, it results to psychological and social transformation. To understand these processes, one needs to view the close relationship between postcolonial criticism and Biblical Hermeneutics.

Biblical Postcolonial Criticism is not only a discipline which originates from, and within the field of the Biblical studies but also injects a new approach into Biblical Hermeneutics[2]. However, the acceptable mainstream reading strategies and theories that Western Biblical scholars apply are often formulated by a historical-critical perspective, which has its origin in Enlightenment positivism. On the other hand, Postcolonial scholars of the Bible are aware of their marginalized position as they are still not well known in the field of Biblical

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[2] Within the field of Biblical studies, hermeneutics and exegesis are highly technical terms. Hermeneutics is the art of reading different practices of exposition of the Bible, whereas exegesis is the actual work of dealing with the text. It requires a competitive understanding of the languages of the Bible. Consequently, the present study is hermeneutical, rather than exegetical.

Hermeneutics. According to the post-colonial Biblical Hermeneuts, the interpretations and conclusions of Western Biblical scholars are less factual historical reconstructions as they are mere expressions of epistemological presuppositions originated during the Enlightenment era.

To begin answering the question that I have raised in the previous paragraph, it is important to understand that there is a dramatic historical distance between the text of the Bible and postcolonialism. Although, some will argue that it is inappropriate to interrogate 1st-century texts through the optics of 21st-century theories and concerns, but it would imply that the text (The Bible) should be allowed to speak for itself. One can say that the argument is compelling, however, the distance represents an obstacle and an obvious challenge. I am more convinced against the utopian idea that the text can ever speak for itself as it is always a highly mediated articulation. The normative status of Biblical studies as a master discourse and the privileged status it possesses in Western discourse is not either accidental or a result of an ideological free market. Instead of letting the text speak for itself, postcolonial Biblical Hermeneutics speaks to the text. A common focus of postcolonial studies within all academic disciplines is to study the effects of imperial processes on the Bible. Although the perspective of postcolonialism was developed against the background of Western modern empires, one must assume that the imperial processes during the Roman Empire also affected the imperialized societies. In my opinion, these effects should be studied despite the historical distance to postcolonialism.

I will begin by analyzing the theoretical location of the field, that is, the discipline's locus within its episteme. To trace and define this locus, one needs to understand which episteme the discipline belongs to. Therefore, it would be helpful to interconnect Biblical Hermeneutics and postcolonial criticism by using Michel Foucault's "theory of episteme".

Foucault states, "all academic disciplines exist within and on the foundation of a specific episteme, episteme may be suspected of being something like a world-view, a slice of history common to all branches of knowledge... By episteme we mean, in fact, the total set of relation that unites, at a given period, the discursive practice that gives rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems" (Foucault 1972: 191). In other words, our modern knowledge, beliefs, assertions, doubts, questions, and answers have their entire basis in an invisible construct called an "episteme". According to Foucault, episteme is not only a specific type of knowledge rather it functions as a distinctive structure of thought, that appears during a certain period in history or it is the total set of relations that unites, at a given period.

We can characterize an episteme as the mortar or the binding force of the building, where the bricks symbolize different discourses of knowledge. Without an episteme/mortar, the building would collapse. There is always an episteme present in human societies and collectivities, but it may change over time and, therefore, is not constant. Since discourse with which a scholar engages is part of the episteme, therefore, he/she interacts with both history and other contemporary discourses through the episteme.

Foucault helps us to understand the crucial role Christianity played in the formation of the Western political subject, and modern nation-state. There are two stages to this argument, in the first the *secularization* theory will be examined. In the second stage, the *desacralization* process will be examined. The traditional Enlightenment story about secularization was an incoherent fiction which significantly distorted the understanding of the intellectual and political history of Europe and its Other. Foucault is praiseworthy because he explains how to rethink the Enlightenment's idea of progress. The Enlightenment idea of progress rests on the claim that science and reason supplanted religion and faith. It is impossible to understand the

origins of colonialism (also totalitarianism and fascism) without considering a distinctly religious conception of the political subject. Protestant Reformation shifted epistemic authority from a unified church to the individual conscience, and the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages led to the proliferation of religious schisms, which resulted in the rediscovery of the truth, and nonreligious mentality in the West.

Postcolonial hermeneutics of the Bible is the hermeneutics of difference and refusal. The Postcolonial Hermeneut negates, and rejects the Western technique of identity, and self-making. "The theological or religious technology of self, therefore, is not dependent upon a conscious declaration of belief, but rather upon an instituted model of self-knowledge" (Lackey 131). For Michael Lackey, Foucault is important because "instead of examining what people say or believe, Foucault examines the systems of knowledge and power that have given birth to their particular system of thinking" (Lackey 130). Christianity is not only a salvation religion, but it is also a confessional religion. It imposes very strict obligation of truth, dogma, and canon, more so than the pagan religions. The writings of some prominent authors, like E. M. Forster, supports this idea as he himself rejected Christianity. By 1924, with the publication of *A Passage to India*, Forster observed, "that it is impossible to understand the colonizing politics of the British Empire without taking into account its religious justification which is best expressed in Isiah 9:7: 'For unto us a child is borne, unto us a sonne is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder.' As chosen people who take their cue from God, the British are divinely ordained to rule and govern (the government shall be upon Christ's shoulder, since the British are the Imperial ministers to Christ, the government falls upon their shoulder), which explain why the British have been authorized to control India" (Lackey 128). If the theological assumptions continued to inform colonial-

political-systems of thinking, even after putting God aside (state and religion are separate), then the idea of *secularization* becomes self-contradictory.

Another important aspect is Foucault's focus on "histories" which suggests a profound interest in the historical events. The term "event" is far more complex than a public or temporal happening and is central to Foucault's thought. Foucault's archeology is the description of archives, the historical *a priori* of a given period which "conditions the practices of exclusion and inclusion that are the ingredient in all social exchanges… an archeology of religious discourse is, the actual discursive and non-discursive religious practices" (Flynn 146). Of all the "events" the archeologist describes, most important and rarest are the ones which Foucault calls transformations and ruptures, the famous epistemological "break" analyzed in his work *The Order of Things*.

Foucault admits that a certain theoretical *desacralization* has taken place since Galileo, but we have not yet reached the point of practical *desacralization*. He laments, "despite all the techniques for appropriating space, despite the whole work of knowledge [savoir] that enables us to delimit or to formalize it, contemporary space is still not desacralized" (Foucault 1986: 23). Through this, one can say that Foucault provides us a way to bring Bible out of its sacred zone and the Biblical text attains certain worldliness. He abolishes the necessity of a signifier/ specialist. "Foucault identifies the principal through which the history of the developed sciences is handed over to a specialist" (Webb 120).

The question of the location of Postcolonial Biblical Hermeneutics in the history of knowledge is fundamentally colonial in its nature. Postcolonial Bible scholars find examples of Orientalism in a wide range of scholarly productions, dating from the beginning of Biblical

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exposition, and continuing to the present day. The theory of Orientalism is important for the Postcolonial Biblical criticism, since Orientalism was formed in the same episteme as the colonial project, especially the historical-critical method. It also enables Biblical criticism to deconstruct the myth of authority and location of the subject. Edward Said states, " my principal methodological devices for studying authority here are what can be called *strategic location*, which is a way of describing the author's position in a text with regard to the oriental material he writes about, and *strategic formation*, which is a way of analyzing the relationship between texts, and the way in which groups of texts, types of texts, even textual genres acquire mass, destiny and referential power among themselves and hereafter in the culture at large" (Said 1979: 20).

One method by which colonial authority has been normalized is through the idea of 'cultural relativism'[3]. The concept of *hybridity* is also important for Biblical Hermeneutics. The postcolonial concept of hybridity has been developed at length by Homi Bhabha. Hybridity destabilizes colonial fixity and rigidity. Hybridity for those in the margins is shaped by a negative colonial influence and often includes a certain amount of self-denial and self-alienation. Jenni Ramone argues, "Bhabha insists that hybridity does not assume a comfortable coming together of colonizer and colonized or any other binary opposition. The concept is not employed in order to reduce tension, which might have the effect of justifying colonial interventions, but instead, it intends to increase tension. This increase in tension is required in order to create a crisis for systems of authority, which depend upon their ability to ascribe a kind of sense to colonialism" (Ramone 112).

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[3] Cultural relativism accepts cultural differences by showing that different practices; laws, moral ideas and so on are normal in their separate cultures.

The Bible originated largely in West Asia, but when it was introduced to rest of the continent it was an alien text. Thus, an Asian Christian reading of the Bible has never been an easy, natural reading. It is not a spontaneous reading as is a Hindu reading of the Gita or a Buddhist reading of the Dhammapada. There are several reasons for it, and one of them is the influence of colonial Hermeneutics on the Biblical text. Colonialist reading includes interpretation that was undertaken during the colonial period. Colonial hermeneutics starts with the assumption that if a barbarous country like Britain can become civilized after turning to Christianity, so can other nations. For example, the editors of the Missionary Register, in their first issue in 1813, called upon their readers to take up their missionary vocation in the following manner:

"Christians! the obligation, which lies upon you to join in this sacred cause, is infinite. Your own ancestors, on this very Island, once worshipped dumb idols. They offered human sacrifices; yea, their sons and their daughters unto devils. They knew not the truth, they had not heard of the name of Jesus, they lived, they died, without hope, and without God. Before the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, no Church here existed, but the temple of an Idol; no priesthood but that of Paganism; no God but the Sun, the Moon, or some hideous image. To the cruel rites of the Druidical Worship, succeeded the abominations of the Roman Idolatry. In Scotland stood the temple of Mars; in Cornwall the temple of Mercury; in Bangor, the temple of Minerva; at Malden, the temple of Victoria; in Bath, the temple of Apollo; at Leicester, the temple of Janus; at York, where St Peter's now stands, the temple of Bellona; in London, on the site of St Paul's Cathedral, the temple of Diana; at Westminster, where the Abbey rears its venerable pile, a temple of Apollo. But mark the contrast, you now are a

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favored nation: your light is come; the glory of the Lord is risen upon you. All these heathen rites have ceased, the blood of the victim no longer flows. An established Christian Church lifts its venerable head, the pure Gospel is preached, ministers of the sanctuary, as heralds of salvation, proclaim mercy throughout the land" (Sugirtharajah 2004: 62).

1.   *Inculcation and Encroachment*

One of the earlier marks of colonial interpretation was the use of the Bible as a vehicle for inculcating European manners. During the Colonial period, interpretation of the Bible was based on the assumptions of the superior status of Christianity. Local customs were denigrated as barbaric compared to the civilized progress of the Biblical religion. "Edward Sell's Commentary on Psalms was written primarily for the Indian clergy, again portrayed the Christian religion as a superior one when compared with the native religious customs and practices" (Joy 16). The colonial interpretation was the introduction to the "other", under the guise of *Biblicization*. The idea was to repudiate local culture for its inability to transmit Christian truths. The indigenous culture had to be born again, baptized, and Christianized before it could become a vessel for the Biblical faith. As Ramone states, "the idea that the colony is inhabited by the primitive other, who must be controlled, and then improved, is the basis on which all ideas of imperial domination, as well as related activity, such as missionary works, are founded" (Ramone 80). To achieve their goals, missionaries, if necessary, did not hesitate to alter or falsify local cultural values. Colonial missionaries propagated a sense of guilt, by injecting Christian values into native cultural norms, thus altering their way of perceiving things. I would like to give an example from my own experience. While preaching to Hindu tribes in Sindh (Pakistan), Hindu converts were reluctant to forsake the cultural and social practices of their Hindu forefathers, for example, the marriage rituals. An integral part

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of traditional Hindu marriage includes circling around the fire seven times (*Satpheras*). This practice was unacceptable for the Christian missionaries present in that area. Hindu converts were told that circling around the fire is a sin in Christianity. It is evident that the missionaries taught these converts Christian (Western style) traditions of marriage, forsaking their Hindu traditions and refusing to contextualize it. The solution that was offered by the native Christian clergy was a fusion of Christian liturgy with the Hindu Tradition (that is, exchanging Christian vows after every round and using the Holy Bible instead of their Hindu rituals), thereby keeping intact their cultural identity as well as their religious sentiments. This solution, however, was not accepted by the missionaries who were entrenched in Christian dogmas believing that it is nothing but the sin of worshipping the fire.

2. *Displacement*

The second mark of colonial interpretation was the displacement of local culture. This approach is the opposite of the cultural encroachment that we witnessed in the previously. Missionaries saw Egalitarian values of local cultures as a hindrance to the understanding of the progressive nature of their civilizing mission. Native customs and manners were thought to undermine the viability of Christian virtues and the colonial project. The missionaries saw the laid-back, no-rule, non-authoritarian lifestyle of Indians as a sign of their primitiveness.

Following is an excerpt from Robert Stewart's book *Life and Works in India* (2012):

"But at present, the condition of the work in countries like India, are such as to demand a different course. So long as, new converts are as weak and poorly established in the faith, as they now are, so long as they can be tossed about, not only with every wind of doctrine, but also with every change of worldly prospects, so long as denominational strife continues to be

the stumbling block and the hindrance, and the scandal which it now is (when carried on) in heathen lands" (Stewart 96).

Missionary societies were engaged in the denominational struggles, so they created "mission territories". According to Stewart, "missions keep themselves within well-defined limits and see that they do nothing to distract and damage their neighbors' work; and especially so when experience proves that encroachment can seldom be made without taking mean advantages" (Stewart 96).

3.   *Gospel Analogies and their Implication*

The third mark of colonial interpretation was the juxtaposition of the Biblical and secular history as a convenient weapon against those who dared to resist colonial intervention. Biblical narratives were introduced and opportunistically read to justify the cruelty and suffering caused by the violent invasion. Missionaries considered misery of the native people as a sign of punishment from God, and a necessary experience that the native Indians had to go through. They portrayed themselves as a divine instrument appointed to teach a valuable lesson. A common title for the new converts was "depressed or promising classes" which is still used for the Christians of Pakistan. Stewart uses it to legitimize the colonial Christian mission, "have we the right to sit still to see wide door unentered and promising classes neglected" (Stewart 93).

4.   *Textualization and Translations*

Textualization of the Bible, privileging it over the oral, is another characteristic of colonial hermeneutics. Missionaries had a firm belief that no religious teaching was of any value unless it was found in written form. They recognized that the only access and entrance

for the converts were by means of the printed page. The converts must learn to read the sacred record as well as hear it explained. The legacy of textualization is that the written word acted as the broker for God's revelation. To discern and experience God's purpose, one now had to privately analyze the printed word. In the cultures of Africa and Asia, the Word of God need not be in written form to be efficacious. Its oral form, its recitation and memorization, and its public performance, through either visual or theatrical media, were valid ways of expressing God's manifestation. Sugirtharajah tells the following story:

"When a translated copy of the New Testament was offered to Chief Namekei in the New Hebrides, his reaction was revealing. His immediate response encapsulated the oral/aural tension felt in certain communities. Can it speak? Make it speak to me. Let me hear it speak. When parts of the book were read to him, his ecstasy was boundless. It does speak. It speaks my own language, too Oh! give it to me. He got hold of it, opened it, and then closed it disappointed, and said I cannot make it speak. It will not speak to me" (Sugirtharajah 2004: 68).

Translation during the colonial period came through three groups of people; Orientalists, Missionaries, and civil administrators. Each of them contributed to making available Christian scriptures in vernacular language. Sugirtharajah says it was a process of textual and theological cleansing:

"The great translation activities were undertaken during what scholars characterize as the Orientalist and Anglicist phase of the colonial history of India. Orientalists perused a policy promoting Sanskrit literature, philosophy, and court culture, whereas, Anglicists were vigorous in propagating Western education and values. Both Orientalists and Anglicists had an ambivalent

attitude toward Indian's ancient traditions. On the one hand, they had the scholarly and natural urge to unlock the ancient and mysterious wisdom. On the other hand, they were under a colonial compulsion to expose India's glorious past as superstitious, stagnant, base, and degenerated, and then to use it as an argument against foreign intervention and introduction to Christianity" (Sugirtharajah 1998:86).

The missionaries were not preoccupied with the tricky dichotomy between orality and literacy, or the competing merits of oral recitation and silent reading. In India, Hermeneutics used to be a public activity undertaken by professional story-tellers and singers. If we look at the translation strategies, and practices of the colonial period, we will see how these literary outputs reflected racial and class bias of the colonizer.

Reading Back: Resistance as a Discursive Practice

When the colonized faced these interpretations, they resorted to discursive practices such as resistance and assimilation. Both provided a convenient entry for the colonized to engage in debate. Resistance has been theorized mostly in terms of an opposition between Europe and its "Other". Edward Said amplifies the idea of resistance. Resistance, in his view, is a "rediscovery and repatriation of what had been suppressed in the native's past by the process of imperialism" (Said 1994:210). The concept of resistance helped to establish cultural differences and to affirm an identity within the discursive territory of the imperialists. As the colonial situation differed from continent to continent, we see somewhat different appropriations of the Bible in North America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. He sees the armed struggle against the invader as primary and the ideological as secondary. However, one can translate Said's ideological resistance as

discursive resistance and view people such as Sundar Singh[4] as a hermeneut who resisted the colonial interpretation.

Sundar Singh's theology is essentially a theology of experience rather than intellect. He was never treated as a 'theologian proper' during the colonial period "though convinced of his pivotal importance for the story of Indian theology, he could not be called a theologian in a technical sense" (Parratt:37). For him theology is less important than spirituality or piety, and dogma less important than prayer. He explicitly states in his writings that Colonial theological systems are philosophical inventions which have dominated Christian thinking in the West for far too long and have obscured the essence of what the Christian faith really means. Sundar Singh states, "We Indians do not want a doctrine, not even a religious doctrine; we have had more than enough of that kind of thing. We need the living Christ. India wants people who will not only preach and teach, but workers whose whole life and temper is a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Parratt 36). He also felt that a key reason the gospel was not accepted in India was because it came in a garb foreign to Indians. He was convinced that this was the best way to introduce the Gospel to his people, since it was the only way which his people were accustomed to.

The experiential nature of Sundar Singh's religion is also reflected in the way in which

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[4] Sundar Singh is perhaps the most famous Indian Christian who has ever lived. The story of Sundar Singh's life (1889-1929) is legendary, comparable to the lives of the medieval saints. His influence was not limited to Christians, "both Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi knew him and admired his peculiarly Indian approach to Christian faith and practice" (Parratt:37). He decided to become a sadhu (holy man). "As a sadhu, he wore a yellow robe, lived on the charity of others, abandoned all possession, and maintained celibacy. Dressed in his thin yellow robe, Sundar Singh took to the road and began a life of spreading the simple message of love and peace and rebirth through Jesus. He carried no money or other possessions, only a New Testament" (tentmaker.org). Unlike Western preachers, he followed the sadhu's itinerant way of life. This was, as he put it, "the Christian water of life in an Indian cup" (Parratt 39).

his ideas were communicated. He wrote no ponderous theological tomes, no theoretical explication of his Christology or anything else. He used the language of the people, parables, stories from Indian bazaars to convey his thought. To understand Indian philosophy of religion one needs to know the concept of "master and disciple" and their relationship. A disciple is one who lives within the discipline of one's master. And when Sunder Singh resolved to write he did not present Jesus as a philosophical figure. He depicts Jesus as a Guru (master or teacher), with whom people can relate themselves. In the preface to *At the Master's Feet* (1922), he writes "when the truths set forth in this book were revealed to me by the Master [Jesus as Guru] they deeply affected my life, and some of them have been used by me in my sermons and addresses in Europe, America, Africa, Australia, and Asia" (Singh 2).

Another figure who gave importance to the idea of "Jesus as Guru" was Raja Rammohan Roy. In the beginning of 1820, Raja Rammohan Roy published a modest book, titled *The Precepts of Jesus: The Guide to Peace and Happiness*, which caused an enormous tumult. All it contained was a collection of Jesus' sayings, taken word for word from the standard English translation, the King James Version. The collection was preceded by an introduction, which recommended these texts as a simple but edifying instruction for religion and morality.

Upon the arrival of the book Joshua Marshman, a missionary stationed in Kolkata, emerged as a fierce and uncompromising heretic hunter. The only reason behind this polemic combat between Marshman and Roy was that latter did not accept Christianity as his official religion. He was attracted to the teachings of Jesus, but he did not reject his ancestral religion. Marshman sees Roy as an intruder, or a person who cannot claim authority on the biblical text. Whereas, Roy sees Jesus as an undeniable reality in Indian religious context in the

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future. His translation becomes a bridge between the ruler, and the ruled at the same time a form of resistance.

The Bible in the colonial context was a cultural weapon which both the colonized, and the colonizer employed to enhance their positions. Missionaries saw the Bible sufficient for dealing with all the ills of the natives, and used it as a tool for civilizing, and rescuing them from their moral degradation. The colonized, on the other hand, employed it as a tool of resistance. Rather than see it as unsettling their way of life, the invaded turned it to their advantage. They learned to master it to survive or resist the new social, political, and economic situation.

Paul, Hermeneutics, and Marginality

Postcolonial criticism developed primarily in the field of literary criticism. It reads colonial, anti-colonial, and postcolonial literature in the colonial/imperial or neo-imperial contexts. The Bible is now, for better or worse, entrenched in previously colonized cultures as well as Western imperial cultures. In confronting those effects, postcolonial Biblical criticism will surely make its most important contribution by focusing on the imperial/colonial use and abuse of the Bible.

Postcolonial studies is also one of the principal factors forcing us to acknowledge and explore the remarkable contradiction between standard New Testament/Pauline studies which developed in imperial Western Europe and the letters of Paul. In a broader ancient imperial context, Paul's letters addressed the fledgling communities of the early Christians. His mission and letters in their vision and goals pointedly oppose the Roman imperial order. It is thus ironic that the "letters of the anti-imperial apostle to the subjugated peoples have become

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the canonical Scriptures of the imperial Western religion that were made to justify, even inspire, the European campaign to propagate the Christian faith among peoples under European colonization, and the European imperial expansion with which Christian missionary enterprises went hand in hand" (Horsley 224). Thus, investigating Pauline hermeneutics in the context of imperial rhetoric invites a postcolonial perspective. It helps to raise different questions, and highlight aspects of, and tensions in the texts that other approaches and methodologies might not focus on. Its principal challenge to the Biblical studies is to recognize that the Bible functioned effectively as colonial literature. Bible reading inspired Western European and North American imperialism. It formed the focal agenda of imperial missionary enterprises among colonized African and Asian peoples.

The important mark of colonial theology was to create boundaries between believer and nonbeliever, and Paul's correspondence to the Corinthian congregation was used by the colonial hermeneuts to create physical and psychological boundaries.

Horsley makes a connection between Roman imperial, and European colonial systems, and suggests that enslavement of conquered people exists in both, and the reason is economy rather than theology. He argues that traditional Western Christian scholarly readings of Paul have constantly been twisting Paul's comments to legitimize the established political and economic order of inequality and oppression. The English translations, the *King James Version* or even the *New Revised Standard Version*, illustrate the self-serving imperialist reading that legitimated the slave-holding. For example, "let all of you remain in the condition in which you were called. Were you a slave when called? Do not be concerned about it. Even if you can gain your freedom, make use of your present condition now more than ever'" (1 Corinthian 7:20-21). Horsley says, "this translation is out of context and is incomplete,

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especially when we see it in the light of overall argument. First, the incomplete second half of Paul's statement in Greek lacks a noun, "if you can get it rather use [it]!" Which must be supplemented from the closest previous noun 'freedom' more correct reading in Greek would therefore be: "If you can gain [your freedom], avail yourself of the opportunity!" (Horsley 232). Keith Hebden gives another example of appropriation of the Biblical text, he says, "when the court translators of King James chose to translate anthistémi[5] [I take stand against, I oppose] as "resist not evil", they were doing something more than rendering Greek into English. They were translating nonviolent resistance into docility" (Hebden 13).

Jeremy Punt suggests we should view, "the status and nature of the Bible as literary as well as a cultural product" (Punt 33). Paul's correspondence is also heavily loaded with power rhetoric[6], phrases like armor, fight are frequent in them. There has been much debate about the issue of power and its relationship with the colonizer in the Pauline correspondence.

For Won J. Lee, we should not understand Paul as "the one who separated Christianity from Judaism by eradicating the practical, halakhic distinction between Jews and Gentiles. Paul's taking up the terminology of the powerful and turning it to his own purposes can be understood as catachresis (Lee 21).

Catachresis is a concept introduced by Spivak in postcolonial thought to refer to the recycling or redeployment of colonial and imperial culture and propaganda by the colonized for their own purposes. Catachresis is, therefore, at once an act of creative appropriation in turning the rhetorical instruments of their owners against them. "It is a strategy of counter-

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[5] Original Greek word is ἀνθίστημι; for details see, http://biblehub.com/greek/436.htm.

[6] For the kingdom of God does not exist in talk but in power (1 Corinthian 4:20).

appropriation which redirects and reflects the appropriative incursions of imperialist discourse, and a device of subversive adaptation, since, it creates a parody through strategic misrepresentation. In this way, mimicry becomes a mockery, exposing the falsity of the claims made, deriding the conventional rhetoric through exaggeration and misapplication, imitating the claims of empire and its associates only to make it appear ridiculous" (Punt 122).

Tan Yak-hwee views the concept of power and its relationship with Pauline writings through a Foucauldian lens:

"Foucault sees discourse as a system of knowledge governed by certain unspoken rules, such as what is to be included or excluded, and which determine the nature of the discourse. These are unspoken rules of 'the classification', the ordering and, the distribution of that knowledge of the world that the discourse both enables and delimits. In so doing, the world is no longer neutral but can be identified, recognized, and discerned. Those who have power over knowledge have the power to produce and regulate the kind of knowledge to be disseminated. And those who have such knowledge have power over those who do not" (Yak-hwee 75).

While all the above-mentioned scholars favor Paul as a marginal and persecuted figure, R. S. Sugirtharajah disagrees and argues that, "Paul was in a way a typical product of empire. He was born to immigrant parents from Judea, who settled in Tarsus, a city colonized by Seleucid and Roman rulers. A Pharisee at the same time, he received his education in the language of the imperialist. He acquired Roman citizenship" (Sugirtharajah 2008: 152). Sugirtharajah perceives Paul as a, "native informant" who was steeped in the language of both colonized and colonizer. He claims that, "the issues prominent in John's writings, such as the

Incarnation, the relation between the Father and the Son, and the mystery of the Divine Being, were the innovation of the "speculative" thinking of the Oriental churches, whereas, Paul's theological interests, such as, election, grace and faith, were the product of "the logical mind of the west" (Sugirtharajah 2008: 153). During the colonial period in India some missionaries tried to portray Paul as an imperial hero, a loyal nonpolitical citizen of the empire. J. C. Kumarappa, an Indian Christian who joined Gandhi's (Indian leader) freedom movement, found Paul unhelpful, especially in an Indian struggle against the British. For Kumarappa, "Paul was a person who was steeped in Western tradition, and whose acquaintance with the Aristotelian doctrine of subordination of the individual to the state could not carry much weight in colonial India." (Sugirtharajah 2008:163)

Postcolonial Religious Experience: Dalits of Pakistan

The concept of religion in Western societies in the 21st century is different from that of Third World, particularly in Pakistan. It is almost impossible to know postcolonial Pakistan without the knowledge of religious conditions there. Religion is an important form of social identity in Pakistan. It is above racial and ethnic identities and defines the status of an individual in the society. Pakistan is a country governed by its strict religious ideology, Toor calls Pakistan, "a nation of Islam" (Toor 106). As a result, anyone who is not Muslim, is not part of the nation. This idea of religion as social identity is convenient for the Muslims, but it excludes religious minorities. Saadia Toor suggests that the process of narrowing of national identity around religion started right after the creation of Pakistan, "sanctioning of violence in the name of religion both by the state, and more importantly, by non-state actors, such as sectarian groups, and individuals had a major impact on Pakistani culture" (Toor 161).

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Christianity as a religious identity is problematic in this regard because it hides inequalities, and abuses by the majority Muslim population. It would seem difficult for Western world to believe in the present-day existence of the social evil of untouchability and segregation based on socio-religious belief systems in Pakistan, to such an extent that it is considered as an abstract idea. These social evils are believed to be prevalent in India (the Dalits as untouchables) but Pakistan seems to be untouched by these evils. To support this, sociologist Deliège states, "untouchability was a typically Indian phenomenon. It is derived from the pure/impure ideology connected with caste" (Deliège 14). However, nobody knows that Pakistani Muslims are as zealous practitioners of untouchability as their Hindu neighbors. Pakistani Christians cannot be better than Dalits, therefore it would not be wrong to call them the Dalits of Pakistan, or Untouchables of Pakistan.[7] Indian Dalits are fortunate to forge their own identity, as untouchables, and a socially segregated class. Untouchability and social segregation are common in both cases. But Pakistani Christians are reluctant to embrace their lineage. Both Dalits and majority of Pakistani Christians came from the same descent. Indian Dalit theologians use their lineage and caste as a tool of resistance and liberation and claim that they are the indigenous people of the land. They use "Aryan invasion theory" to claim their rights:

"The Aryan theory is a racial theory. According to the standard view of this theory, the present-day Dalits were the black race natives like the *Dasas* and *Dasyus* [male and female slaves] who were conquered and enslaved by the white Sanskrit speaking Aryan invaders around BC 1,500. Varna or color is an important dividing category in this theory, which is

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[7] "The word *Dalit* is derived from Sanskrit. The word means broken and downtrodden. It has been adopted as a self-designation by those in the Indian population (roughly 16%) who are outside the four main castes" (Parratt 101).
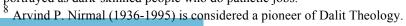
supported through reference to ancient textual evidence like the *Rig Veda*. According to this theory, the dissident indigenous groups, such as the *dasa/dasyus, rakshasa, asuras*, which did not submit to the hegemonic Aryan invaders were considered to be a threat to the Aryan way of life. Thus, they were hated constantly and attacked by the Aryans. Upon their eventual subjugation, they were excluded from the main economic activity of the time, assigned unskilled, unproductive, lowly, and menial jobs[7], and treated with utter contempt and were segregated as a residual category of people to be employed as and when necessary" (Rajkumar 19).

Indian Dalit theology, therefore, is a counter-theology, an alternative option, which seeks to raise the self-image of those who have historically been conditioned to think of themselves as inferior and as created to be the menial servants of the higher castes. Dalit writers often seek to recover their history and argue they were the original indigenous populations of the Indian subcontinent.

The problem with such theories is when a radical voice easily transforms into an academic industry which is carried out at a distance from the real concerns and insights of those with whom it originated. This radical theology, is the result of a unique contextual, usually oppressive, set of circumstances. A characteristic of theologies of this kind is that they tend to identify the person of Jesus with the oppressed group. Arvind P. Nirma[8] believes that "the God whom Jesus Christ revealed and about whom the prophets of the Old Testament spoke is a Dalit God. He is a servant God. Dalits have a history of servitude to the upper

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[7] It is not accidental that whenever Christians are depicted in popular Pakistani literature, and media, they are portrayed as dark-skinned people who do pathetic jobs.
[8] Arvind P. Nirmal (1936-1995) is considered a pioneer of Dalit Theology.

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castes. So, to speak of a Servant-God is to recognize him as a truly Dalit Deity for servitude is innate in the God of the Dalits" (Parratt 104). Runneson gives us a perfect example in this regard:

"Early one evening, the inhabitants of a small village in Mizoram in northern India gathered together at the village square. A fire was lit, and the flames reached up towards the darkening evening skies. People were talking intensely with each other, upset, it seemed, about something that had just transpired in their midst. The pastor of the Presbyterian congregation stepped forward, carrying a package that had been sent to the church from England. It was a book, a doctoral thesis in Biblical studies, written by one of the young and gifted members of the community… The pastor took the book out of the package and threw it on the fire. Within minutes, hundreds of pages of discussion and thinking, years of the young man's labor in a foreign country, went up in smoke and merged into the nothingness of the silent night… The research was perceived as deeply irrelevant, to the point of being offensive. People were disappointed, very disappointed" (Runesson 1)

Contextualization of theology in postcolonial Pakistan is becoming a difficult task, and if it is done, there is a strong resistance from within the Christian congregations of Pakistan. The colonial interpretation of the Bible is still considered authoritative source of truth. In the light of the above example, the questions that one then needs to ask is why did this happen? Why were people so upset? And why was the young man sent to a different culture to study in the first place? What caused this violent reaction?

Talib Nasrani was a gifted poet of Punjabi language who incorporated Biblical themes

in his poetry and gave them new colors.[10] Nasrani used Panjabi lifestyle and language to explain the Bible. He addressed common, marginal, and persecuted Christians in his poetry, and criticized the colonial attitude of religious elitists toward downtrodden Christians of Pakistan. His style, depth, and command of language makes him equal to the classical master of Punjabi language. He was rejected because he was illiterate and did not have any formal theological education.

Postcolonial criticism of the Bible is important because it gives a tool to the religious subaltern to resist. A Postcolonial critical tool also instantly identifies native elites who act as colonial agents in contemporary hierarchical societies, native elites who are caste-ridden and represent nontribal and sexist-dominant voices, sweeping away indigenous agency ruthlessly. This religious elite speaks on behalf of marginal groups. They translate the subalterns according to Western theological needs of consumption. Thus, Dalit theologies in the twentieth century exposed how colonial theologies have failed to address various social justice issues. When colonial theologians did not perceive casteism as a socially evil system, contradictory to biblical truths, the Bible lost credibility as a source for social justice and for the marginal groups.

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[10] Talib Nasrani's biographic information is not available.

Chapter 2 - Apology: Defense of Empire

Apology is not a simple term: it has been tempered and meditated with the passage of time in literary, philosophical, and religious discourses. The major task of apology is to resolve conflicts and restore an antecedent moral order by expunging or eradicating the harmful effects of past actions. This is applicable to the apologies offered in a limited social domain, as well as for those offered by the groups, institutions, and states. This chapter focuses on the colonial atrocities and the contemporary apologies offered as a solution. The argument is that, rather than destabilizing conventional patterns and discourses of domination, state apologies reconfigure them. State apologies advance an interest of the state (or people within the state) that historically practiced colonialism. These apologies are laden with tropes and narratives that are reminiscent of the tenets of the colonial enterprise. The very act of apologizing necessitates humble, and penitent stances which are at odds with the state apologies. The state apologies are utilized in the interest of metropolitan actors who retain colonial-like attitude. This illuminates apologies as defensive mechanisms, somewhat salvaging missions in preserving historical narrative. Moreover, state apologies arise at a moment when there is an instant international and domestic need.

The Function of Apology

The core function of apology is to mend and heal a relationship. However, there is a sense that, no matter how somber, an apology cannot undo the offense/deed. An apology recollects a past event and endows it with both plotline and normative significance. One of the central facets of apology is its ability to illuminate the normative principle of social life, given that it is offered when social norm is transgressed. It affirms the dignity of a victim; a

categorical apology has the capacity to radically transform the relationship between transgressor and victim. In other words, when an agent exploits or wrongs another, there is the implicit indication that offender has little regard for the other's dignity. An apology (in certain circumstances) has the capacity to reinstate that dignity. At the other end of the spectrum, colonial apologies not only endow the event with negative recognition, they also reaffirm adherence to a moral or legal principle.

Apology and "Pseudoapology"

Aaron Lazare points to few techniques by which an apology may offer what he calls as "pseudoapology" (Lazare 85). He lists them as, "offering a vague and incomplete acknowledgement, using a passive voice, making offence conditional, questioning whether the victim is damaged, minimizing the offence, using empathetic I am sorry, or I regret, apologizing to the wrong party, [and] apologizing for the wrong offence" (Lazare 85-106). While Lazare's analysis is detailed and eloquent, not every one of these points is applicable to the colonial apologies. An incomplete acknowledgment of the offense leaves an ambiguity to the historical episode for which the agent is apologizing. An ambiguity which evades accountability can be exploited by a wider discourse of denial, justification, or glorification.

Memory, Postcolonialism, and Glorious Past

Colonial past is marked by the denial of violence, justification of motives and glorification of past. While this dilemma is rooted in past events, it is also a problem which traverses the present. It posits a serious question, whether the West was able to win the world by the superiority of its ideas, values, and religion, or by its superiority in applying organized violence. Such a notion can destabilize the discourses that sustain, legitimize, and naturalize

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contemporary geographic paradigms of power and wealth. To make this point clear, it is about how Western states articulate and negotiate past, including through apologies, and how these discourses sustain and legitimize current geographical formations.

Societal understanding of the past is inter-subjectively woven through multiple representations. These representations of the past shape group identity, and form hierarchies and structures of power. Therefore, it is important to raise the issue of collective memory, and its relationship with the colonial past and postcolonial present. According to Aleida Assmann, there are two kinds of a memory: storage memory (cultural memory) and functional memory (political memory). She explains,

"on the cultural level storage memory contain what is unusable, obsolete, or dated. It has no vital ties to the present and no bearing on identity formation… Functional memory, on the other hand, consists of vital recollections, that emerges from a process of selection, connection, and meaningful configurations" (Assmann 127). Therefore, we can designate storage memory to colonized, and functional memory to colonizer, because, "functional memory has a verity of tasks to perform; legitimization, delegitimization, and distinction. Delegitimization is the immediate concern of official and political memory" (Assmann 128).

History, Memory, and Remembrance

On the question of memory and remembrance, Maik Nwosu states that the memory of colonized is like a nightmare. For the colonizer, it is like a dream. He claims, "the nightmare begins with the discovery of the Americas by Christopher Columbus" (Nwosu 171). The idea of the New World is like a dream which began, "when Queen Elizbeth granted Sir Humphrey Gilbert the authority to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands, not in

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the possession of any Christian Prince" (Nwosu 177). One can forget a dream but cannot forget a nightmare.

It is an obvious phenomenon that these states use mechanisms that are available to them (curriculum, political rhetoric, national holidays, coins, museums, and statues etc.), in forging perception of past. Moreover, the state is a forum where narratives are constructed, and memories are made official. Such narratives serve for a multitude of purposes. They reinforce collective identity and uphold social cohesion. But states are also constrained in their articulation of the dominant narrative, they are contested by the rival states and anti-state groups within their own borders. For example, with some hyperbole in his speech to the Conservative Party conference, British Defense Minister Michael Portillo said:

"Let us teach our children the history of this remarkable country. I do not mean the wishy-washy sociological flimflam that passes for history in many of our schools today. I don't mean the politically correct, debunking, anti-patriotic nonsense of modern text books. I mean the real history of heroes and bravery, of good versus evil, of freedom against tyranny. Of Nelson and Willington and Churchill… we are not ashamed to celebrate Britain's military prowess. On the land. At the sea. Or in the skies… We will speak of pride, of honor, of velour in the battle and yes of glory" (Portillo).

While Portillo was hailed and applauded by his party members, he was highly criticized by different human rights organizations within Britain, as well as by people from its former colonies. In this way, powerful groups within the state inescapably meet with the resistance.

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Postcolonial theory has the normative disposition of critically engaging with colonialism, it seeks to combat the continuing overt operations of imperial systems of economic, political, and cultural dominance. In terms of the official narrative of colonialism, it is pertinent to recognize that official discourses were not and have not been similar through space and time. Therefore, like memory colonial representations are kinetic and shift according to time and place. Although the certain aspect of the subaltern's past is articulated, it remains exclusively in direct relation to the West. In this respect, an apology reproduces a narrative of the colonized history that commences and defines its encounter with the West. Thus, the subaltern gains history through this process, however, the orientalist juxtaposition remains in place. The subaltern, according to these officialized narratives, now has a history but it is one of victimhood and passivism. The format of apologies reinforces this passive/active relationship which will be discussed in the following pages of this chapter.

The British Apology: A Case Study

On 13 April 1919, during the traditional festival of Vaisakhi, thousands of Indians gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh (garden) near the Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar (India). To take advantage of this opportunity, local political leaders held a meeting in the garden. An hour later, around 4:30 pm, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer came "along with a group of sixty-five Gurkha and twenty-five Baluchi soldiers into the Bagh. Dyer deployed his troops, the Gurkhas to the left and the Baluchis to the right of the entrance to the square" (Datta 99). Dyer had also brought two armored cars armed with machine guns, however, the vehicles were left outside, as they were unable to enter the Bagh through the narrow entrance. The Jallianwala Bagh was surrounded by houses and buildings and had few narrow entrances.

Most of them were kept permanently locked. General Dyer, "without warning the crowd to disperse, blocked the main exits" (Datta 98). Dyer ordered his troops to begin shooting toward the densest sections of the crowd (including women and children). Firing continued for approximately ten minutes. Cease-fire was ordered only when "troops fired off their last remaining rounds" (Perkins 86) Many people died in stampedes at the narrow gates or by jumping into the solitary well on the compound to escape the shooting. A plaque in the monument at the site, set up after independence, says that 120 bodies were pulled out of the well. The wounded could not be moved from where they had fallen, as a curfew was declared, "until 10 pm, Dyer kept marching in the city with a small force, "in order to see his curfew orders are being obeyed" (Datta 101). The number of deaths caused by the shooting is disputed. While the official figure given by the British inquiry into the massacre is 379 deaths, which was "based on estimations" (Datta 104), since the official figures were probably flawed regarding the size of the crowd "between 15,000 and 20,000" (Datta 104), the casualty number quoted by the Congress (political party) was more than 1,500, with approximately 1,000 being killed" (Datta 105).

Hunter Commission Report

On 14 October 1919, Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu issued an order to the Government of India (the Raj) in which he announced the formation of a committee to inquire into the events in Punjab. He referred is as the "Disorders Inquiry Committee", later it was known as the Hunter Commission, named after its chairman, Lord William Hunter. The purpose of the commission was to investigate the disturbances in Bombay, Delhi, and Punjab, their causes, and the measures taken to deal with them. "On 8th March 1920, the Hunter Commission submitted its report to the Government for its consideration" (Datta 130).

Concerning Jallianwala Bagh incident, "the report shows that the people and any section of them were not in the violent mood" (Horniman 93). During investigation,

"Dyer regretted nothing, apologized for nothing, and made no attempt to conceal anything. He justified his action, either on the grounds of military necessity or requirement of prestige" (Datta 129).

Pramod K. Nayar claims that the idea of "British prestige" was important from a strategic point of view. According to Nayar "from the mid-nineteenth century, it was felt that some display of Britain's imperial powers was necessary for Indians as well. Young Englishmen who came out to India as part of the Civil Service were told that, while in India, they live among a race who is peculiarly sensitive to external pomp and circumstance" (Nayar 146).

In *Imperial Crime and Punishment* (1977), Helen Fein records remarks of the British officers about Jallianwala Bagh Massacre:

"Lord Sumner said, 'if the empire was to be preserved', it is by the prestige of British name, by the authority of force which is in reserve but rarely used.... Brigadier General Surtees reminded his colleagues that British rule was the rule of one or few white men over thousands of natives of other races. They could easily be overwhelmed by them, 'but for one thing'. That one thing is British prestige. Once you destroyed that British prestige the empire will collapse like a house of cards" (Fein 151).

In the Hunter Commission Report, Dyer was not found guilty of any capital crime. He was court marshaled and sent back to England. Where he was hailed as "savior of Punjab and presented with the sword of honor and a purse" (Collett 390). Indians were held responsible

because they dissented from British policies. To grasp the mnemonic and political significance of Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and Hunter Commission report, it is first necessary to explore the divergent ways in which the event is conventionally recollected. Amritsar Massacre evokes two contesting memories, one of official memory encapsulated in the Hunter Commission Report, and the other of a popular memory that has emerged in resistance to political memory, which carries the remembrances of the victims, families, and wider national community in India and Pakistan.

The national (oral) memory is conventionally represented in oral storytelling, popular culture, (songs and eulogies, rituals, and commemoration of the dead), and the official narrative enshrined in the Hunter Report is not only contradictory to the national memory. It is highly antagonistic to it, compounding the fact that British army shot those who dissented to its policies. Supposedly designed to uphold law and justice, the judicial process of the empire served instead the British establishment. The failure of law and justice in the Amritsar Massacre is so profound that it seared into the collective consciousness of the Indian community. In Indians, it instilled a distrust in the capacity of law and judicial process to protect them.

Political Dimensions of Apology

Social changes, the growth of multimedia platforms, and the infusion of politics into popular culture, have resulted in the emergence of an emotionalized experience of politics. Bentley talks about politics and emotionality in political discourse. He argues, "as far back as antiquity, Roman statesmen Cicero advised on the utility of the tears in the practice of oratory... Likewise, before Putin and the Clintons, senior statesmen like Lincoln and Churchill were no stranger to welling up in public" (Bentley 133). However, there is decreasing

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distinction between the public and private life of a political leader, which has a transformative effect on the way public consume and the media, and politician construct politics. "Apologies help governments and organizations to restore their public image. Moreover, public apologies have increasingly become part of the tactical and strategic toolbox of managers, politicians, institutions and even states or international organizations" (Cuypers 3). Following is an excerpt from a news article published in *The Hindu* (newspaper) by Sarabjit Pandher:

"For many who have hoped a full and formal apology for the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, UK Prime Minister David Cameron's floral tribute at the Martyr's Memorial and his comments in the visitor's book did not go far enough. Staying close to the position Winston Churchill took Mr. Cameron said that Jallianwala Bagh incident was a 'deeply shameful event in British history'. Mr. Churchill the then Secretary for war had called the incident an 'outrage'. Mr. Cameron later said that the incident had happened 40 years before he was born, and it will not be 'the right thing to reach back into history and to seek out things you can apologize for'" (Pandher).

While talking about affective apology John Kador highlights the aspect of recognition of the offense by the offender: "acknowledging the offense is the first dimension of apology. It establishes that an offense requiring apology has been committed. To the offender, this step may seem as obvious as the offense itself, and therefore it may be tempting to just get through the apology to get on with it. But often, skipping the recognition step results in a statement that just compounds the offense because it leaves the victim uncertain whether the apologizer understands why the victim is so upset" (Kador 49). Do we see any kind of recognition of the offense by David Cameron in the above-given news article? Cameron's ambiguous comments aggravated the political situation in Britain and India. The following news item explains

subsequent situation in Britain, "Labour MP Virendra Sharma is urging British parliamentarians from across the political spectrum to come together to support his parliamentary motion pushing for a formal apology from the British government for the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre" (Ram). Shashi Throore, an Indian politician, reacted in the following manner:

"You cannot quantify the wrongs done, what is far more important than the financial reparation [he is talking about colonial project in its entirety] would be an apology. People who are not responsible today for the wrongs done by their forbearers in the past era apologies nevertheless to people who are not the ones to whom wrong was done. But it is in a sense an entire society apologize to entire people…. In the book he also writes, David Cameron's rather mealy-mouthed description of the Massacre in 2013 as "deeply shameful event" does not, in my view, constitute an apology. Nor does the ceremonial visit to the cite in 1997 by Queen Elizbeth and Duke of Edinburgh, who merely left their signatures in the visitor's book, without even a redeeming comment" (Press Trust of India).

Electoral Dimensions of Apology

Beneath the surface of modern apology lies a political agenda. It has become a necessity in the electoral systems. Political parties use *mea culpa* as a sign of transparency and integrity. Political parties use the apology to contest and compete during the time of elections to gain the support of the oppressed groups. Following are Asian demographic statistics of United Kingdom:

Asians make up just over 3.5% of total UK population.

About 2,084,000 out of nearly 58,800,00.

1.8% are Indian – 1,054,000.

1.25% are Pakistani -747,000.

0.5% are Bangladeshi – 283,000.

Or ratio of Indian: Pakistani: Bangladeshi = 10: 7: 3 (nriol.com)

It is obvious from these statistics that Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi populations in Britain make a large vote bank in its electoral system. Therefore, Cameron's comments on Jallianwala Bagh Massacre were a political necessity rather than a genuine apology. But, from Cameron's way of dealing with the Amritsar Massacre, one can imagine, unlike his preceding administrations, Cameron's governments' propensity for such apparently humble discourses facilities the establishment of apologies for thorny issues of past. However, the previous administrations were less reflexive, and more orthodox in their response to deeply contested past.

Since the end of the Cold War, it has been necessary for states to, at least in a symbolic way, abide by the cosmopolitan discourse of human rights. Concepts like "collective memory" play an important role in this regard. In this process, the episodes of historical human rights violations are placed under the intensity of a public microscope. Local human rights organizations also play a part in it by exerting pressure on governments to address these issues. As an example, "Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau delivered a formal apology in his country's House of Commons for an incident that took place more than a century ago. In mid-May 1914, the Komagata Maru, a Japanese steamship, arrived in Vancouver after leaving Hong Kong in early April. On board were 376 passengers, most of whom were Sikh migrants from what was then British India. The ship was not allowed to dock" (Ishaan). Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's apology falls into categories of political correctness. Political

leaders are always aware of their public identities and strive to make their impression on others, which helps to form a long-term identity.

Talking about "believability and normativeness" on reaction to excuse (apology) Kin-ichi Ohbuchi states, "believability is the degree to which recipients feel that excuse maker states the truth; and normativeness is the degree to which recipients feel that excuse is in accord with the standard or normative way of explaining one's action in a given situation" (Ohbuchi 29). The British apology by David Cameron was not trusted because its Indian recipient did not feel that the apology maker stated the truth. Before Cameron, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown said these words in 2005, "Britain must stop apologizing for its colonial past, and recognize that it has produced some of the greatest ideas in history" (Brogan). After Cameron, British Foreign and Common Wealth Affair Minister William Hague opined, "Britain should get out of this postcolonial guilt, and should just relax… British history is no longer an issue for the rest of the world." (François-Cerrah). Jennifer Lind reminds her reader to pay attention to the epistemological aspects of remembering history. She says, "one of the most important ways countries institutionalize remembrance of past violence is through history education. Leaders' statements may be ephemeral and may not represent the views of the country as a whole; textbooks, on the other hand, are the central vehicle through which a government transmits national identity to a country's young people" (Lind 14).

In the case of postcolonial societies, reparation is due, atonement is needed, and apology is required. But the present form of apology reopens colonial wounds instead of healing them. It does not give any kind of solace to the victim-nations. The nostalgic attitude

towards glorious past, and the ambiguous nature of these apologies turn them into mockery. According to Shashi Throore,

"Indeed, the best form of atonement by the British might be, as Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn has suggested, to start teaching unromanticized colonial history in British schools. The British public is woefully ignorant of the realities of the British empire, and what it meant to its subject peoples. These days there appears to be a return in England to yearning for the Raj: the success of the television series *Indian Summers,* building upon earlier Anglo-nostalgic productions like *The Far Pavilions* and *The Jewel in the Crown,* epitomize what the British-domiciled Dutch writer Ian Buruma saw as an attempt to remind the English 'of their collective dreams of Englishness, so glorious, so poignant, so bittersweet in the resentful seediness of contemporary little England." (Throore 2).

Chapter 3 - Despair: Dialectics of Passion

This chapter reads "despair" against/within postcolonial tradition - despair as a dialectic issue, and a colonial, and postcolonial symptom. In this respect, Frantz Fanon treats despair in a completely different way than other authors. Fanon considers despair a question concerning history (the histories of slavery and colonialism) and embodiment (the violence to which black bodies are routinely subjected, as well as the disfigurations, done to oneself when domination is "epidermalized"). With Fanon political questions about racial oppression, the legacies of European colonialism, the psychic, and somatic effects of domination, come to the fore.

Fanon treats violence as a colonial symptom and raises question on violence, identity, and the demands of critique. In colonial situations, "the system and its victims agree that violence is absolutely inevitable and necessary. The system knows it must deploy it daily and implacably just to sustain itself" (Avelar 7).

Fanon and "The Wretched of the Earth"

Neil Lazarus has described Fanon as "revolutionary optimist" and has challenged this optimism in light of the subsequent setbacks and defeats of the postcolonial period. Lazarus writes, "Fanon's voluntarism comes not from his advocacy of violence, but from what I have elsewhere called his messianism… Fanon's idealization of Algerian peasantry" (Lazarus 176). Lazarus shows Fanon as exemplary of the pitfalls of messianic consciousness. According to Lazarus, Fanon is responsible for the violence and corruption of authoritarian regimes in postcolonial Africa. What is extraordinary about Fanon is not his revolutionary and messianic consciousness or his impossible attachment to an imaginary Algeria, but how he permits

ruthless critique to finally abandon its attachment to hope and find its dynamism elsewhere. His world is consumed with sickness and loathing and is also one that furnishes refracted images of freedom, justice, and democracy. In my opinion, Fanonian critique can enrich contemporary political thinking. What we learn from Fanon is that critique gathers its political force from the passions, and critical theory today demands a militant politics, and militancy draws its strength from despair.

Fanon's experiments in writing, indicate his persistent efforts to give form to the passions. Consider, for example, how the formal features of *Black Skin, White Masks* (1951), a text Fanon describes as a "prayer" (Fanon 232), are linked to its content. These features of the book tell us something about the problem it addresses, the despair that results from racial domination, and the difficulties of finding a consistent way of speaking the effects of race on psyche and society. *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) proffers a powerful argument for the role of violence in transforming the colonial subject. *The Wretched of the Earth* represents yet another form of critique, more analytical and systematic, but also more profoundly partisan. What *The Wretched of the Earth* offers is neither a defense of violence, nor a denunciation, but an analytic of violence. Françoise Vergès while talking about "Fanon and identity" argues, "the philosopher Fabien Eboussi-Boulaga proposed an "ethical identity" whereby the sufferings of the ancestors are incorporated into one's construction of identity. It is not about carrying a moral burden, making one's own the crimes or sins of the ancestors, but recognizing one's debts. Moral discourse does not explain humanity's malice, it transforms it into a projective thing" (Vergès 274). But Fanon says, "I am not the slave of the slavery that dehumanized my ancestors" (Fanon 230). The impulse to identify so completely with an Algeria that is not his own is a symptom of Fanon's total despair, which is also indicated by

the passionate and lyrical quality of his rhetoric. Passion is the most basic element of Fanonian critique, that he draws from various traditions, schools of thought, lyrical forms, and political projects. One can see, phenomenology, psychiatry, Negritude, poetry, and revolutionary politics, all in one place. Revolution is a productive activity and deciduous transformations demand "total will". As Ato Sekyi-Otus puts it, "What must the experience of human bondage be like, in order to give rise to this manifestly unbridled voluntarism [Fanon's] in the rhetoric of revolutionary agency? What manner of apprehending history would yield this radical catastrophism in the representation of social transformation?" (Sekyi-Otus 48).

Fanon's diverse rhetorical strategies revolve around a different set of objects, the process of decolonization, the fate of the nation, the distinctive set of challenges faced by people determined to chart their own futures. Reading Fanon is to discover the forms that critical theory takes when moved by despair. Despair does not delude or derange his thinking. One cannot portray Fanon as the opportunistic colonial elite or the willfully repressed revolutionary romantic. The tonalities of despair in Fanon come from a residue in his thought left by Hegel. Reconstructing the elements of Fanonian critique involves what he accepts and what he rejects in Hegel's dialectic and the radical philosophical projects that Hegel inspired. It also requires following Fanon into a kind of postcolonial clinic, where the sickness of the colonial system is concentrated and where critique finds its diagnostic voice.

Fanon and Hegel

Fanon challenges Hegel's master-slave dialectic from the perspective of the real hell of the Middle Passage and the racial order born out of it. Fanon retells Hegel's master-slave dialectic and explains that it obscures more than it reveals about bondage. For example, it

does not account for the epidermalization of inferiority, the process by which racial hierarchy is scratched into the surface of the skin. Hegel cannot comprehend the actual effects of subjugation on the body and spirit of the enslaved. For Fanon, racial formation in this context is not simple failure of recognition. It involves a more fundamental assault on subjectivity. Freedom is fastened to rupture, to the things coming undone and breaking apart, a "mystic consciousness" born out of despair. The colonial relationship serves no higher unity, it is a military occupation to serve the economic and political interests of the occupying force. Fanon will resist all forms of rationalization for colonial oppression. Love, rage, envy, pride, grief, shame, and hatred are all at play in his dialectic. This dialectic restores the fullness and complexity of passion to human history. His controversial call for a new humanism might be considered in this context as a political and philosophical alternative to a conciliatory Hegelianism.

In *Black Skin, White Masks* Fanon explains why Hegel matters for his analysis. Since the black man is a former slave, there is good reason to consult the master-slave dialectic. Hegel's master-slave dialectic, from the perspective of the black man who is always seen to be acted upon, is the parable of what was never permitted to be. If, "Self-consciousness exists in and for itself when, and by the fact that it so exists for another, that is, it exists in only being acknowledged" (Hegel 630). Fanon takes it and argues that it looks like, "there is not an open conflict between white and black. One day the white master without conflict recognized the black slave" (Fanon 217). Analytic of violence is absent from Hegelian formula. "There is at the basis of the Hegelian dialectic an absolute reciprocity that must be recognized" (Fanon 217). This, for Fanon, is what will separate Hegel from the lived experience of the Black

Man. The postulate of "absolute reciprocity" means that Hegel avoids all the challenges introduced by a master-slave relationship.

Fanon and Colonial Psychiatry

Waltraud Ernst explicitly states that colonial "psychiatry and colonizing of mind" are intrinsic to each other (Ernest 1). Talking about West's perception about East he says, "West encounter [with East] was perceived as leaving its mark on people's personality that those who had lived in the Orient for some time were regarded as a 'distinct species'. Their peculiar views, attitudes, and behavior were both excused and explained by reference to life abroad and on return to Europe, they were treated either with awed bewilderment or humorous ridicule" (Ernest 1). In other words, Orient was a madhouse. What we learn from Fanon is that racism, identity crisis, violence, and despair is most visible in day-to-day matters. It is the crudest element of a colonial structure and one of the real and most visible effects of racism is mental illness, both individual and collective. In colonial settings, the psychiatry was degraded to enthnopsychiatry, "that sought to understand the psychological functioning of non-Western peoples, particularly in comparison to what was European 'norms'. Ethnopsychiatric studies in Africa were generally conducted in colonial settings and, as such, inherited many of the racially hierarchical assumptions that formed the basis of social relations in colonial environments" (Heaton 39).

Waltraud Ernst states that in colonial India madness was considered as a spiritual sickness. He writes, "an evangelical strain of thought was being nurtured by Charles Grant, a

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member of the "Clapham Sect"[9], who used his influence as director and chairman of the East India Company to ensure that India would be opened up for the civilizing mission… They were keen to prevent destitute sailors, vagrants, deserters, lunatics, and such like from becoming a threat and nuisance" (Ernest 15).

The colonial governments throughout most of the colonial period sought to minimize public service expenditures both as an economic measure and because they had little desire to actively transform indigenous communities. Heaton writes, "colonial mental asylums were purely institutions of social control designed to house only the most dangerous and criminal lunatics. They were strictly custodial in nature, providing little to no psychiatric medical treatment. And because the colonial government was not willing to make psychiatric service allocation an administrative priority, colonial asylums remained chronically underfunded, understaffed, and overcrowded throughout the colonial period" (Heaton 39).

Fanon, Violence, and Postcolonialism Despair

Colonial violence is the institutionalization of insanity which imagines itself to be civilized. Anticolonial resistance is the rational violence that rebels against official madness. No form of violence, or non-violence, can be considered apart from the objective conditions that produce it.

Some forms of violence include narrative, and storytelling, even communication without words. Violence is both a symptom and a therapy. It is the sign of sickness but also treatment for sickness. Fanon describes its effects as detoxifying and cathartic. Fanon's

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[9] Clapham Sect was a group of evangelical Christians, who were prominent in England from about 1790 to 1830. They campaigned for the abolition of slavery and promoted missionary work at home (England) and abroad (colonies).

critique of violence is different from political historians and analysts, who often tell the story of violence in a different way. They depict resistance movements that began in nonviolence and fell into violence when initial hopes were gone. Fanon presents something entirely different. He describes a social structure built on a systematic and institutionalized violence, a resistance movement that begins in sporadic, and volatile fits of violence. Françoise Vergès criticizes "the seductive dimension of Fanon's vision, a vision deeply inspired by Western theology" (Vergès 269). Neil Lazarus in his essay "Disavowing Decolonization" challenges Fanonian "New Humanism" in these terms, "throughout Africa and elsewhere in the colonial world, precolonial social, cultural, and ideological forms survived the colonial era meaningfully. Indeed, they continue to survive meaningfully today, in the postcolonial present" (Lazarus 1999: 172). Once again talking about *The Wretched of the Earth,* Lazarus writes, "these are the moving lines, [wretched of the earth] but the validity of the central claim, I think to be disputed, the wretched of the earth are still with us… Fanon has little to say about the outcome of the process of decolonization" (Lazarus 2011:178-179). Even though aggressively critical, these essays are extraordinary, and they help to re-center the question concerning the politics of critique. Fanon believed, "that the conscious and organized undertaking by a colonized people, to re-establish the sovereignty of that nation constitutes the most complete and obvious cultural manifestation that exists" (Fanon 2001: 1592). Colonialism and postcolonialism, both are pedagogical. Colonialism cannot survive without training and inculcation of native people, as we saw in the first chapter. Decolonization is also pedagogical, we may invoke Paulo Freire's and his book *Education as a Practice of Freedom and Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in which he shows the role which education can play in the building of a new and open society. "The key category in this book is that of conscientization,

which consists of a liberation process on the part of the dominated conscience to get rid of the influence exercised by the dominating consciousness. The dominated consciousness is "lived in" by the dominator, and the process of conscientization is that of getting rid of this "guest" (Gadotti 30). Postcolonial biopolitics shares many rationalities and modes of intervention with its former masters. Yet the postcolonial world is unable to govern itself. Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat track the lineage of this anomalous postcolonial behavior in the colonial education. They state, "the colonial bifurcation of populations into educated, respectable quasicitizens entrusted with governmental and civic responsibilities, and the uneducated innocent messes that could be turned into a dangerous passion-driven mob in need of strict policing also persisted in many postcolonial states" (Hansen and Stepputat 30).

This educated class, trained, and hired by the colonizer has the exact same attitude as their masters. After the departure of their masters, this educated class replaced the masters, and felt that "the multitude still need to be groomed, educated, policed, and governed with a firm hand" (Hansen and Stepputat 30). John Otim laments on the postcolonial system of education, he says, "the old colonial mission of 'for the glory of empire' that guided learning and the curricula, is gone. Good. But nothing has been put in its place" (Otim 6). Thus, the colonizer became a citizen, and the state became "sovereign" in postcolonial societies. This was far from reality in many cases. According to Foucault's "theory of power", power is regarded as a right which can be possessed in a way one possesses a commodity… [and] juridical operation [is] similar to an exchange of contract" (Foucault 13). In case of Pakistan and India, the transfer of power (independence) was as an "exchange of contract". Pakistan and India, "inherited those laws [British Law] when it [Pakistan here] came into being after the partition of India" (Asian news). In Pakistan, Indian Civil and Penal Code produced

during British Raj (government) in India, became Pakistan civil and Penal Code, and in India, it remained as it was. In principle, Pakistan became a sovereign state but, every system in the country was based on colonial paradigms. For example, the civil and penal code is kept pristine without any major amendment and because partition of United India was based on religion, only amendments[10] done in the Constitution of Pakistan are those which make it look increasingly like Islamic law. Pakistani establishment started to use the constitution as a commodity to avenge colonial atrocities brought to the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. The religious minorities such as Christians became the prime target, they were assumed as the British agents, because of their religion. How does it work? For example, "Blasphemy laws of Pakistan".

"Blasphemy laws are not subject to bail, and the sentence is outright execution… minorities such as Christians and Ahmediyyas are the main targets" (Abbas 20, 80). Although this law is deeply rooted in Islamic Law, Pakistani authorities justify it by claiming that they are using British Penal code and that it is not something new. According to Shemeem Burney Abbas:

"The British colonial administrators created these blasphemy laws to keep peace in a heterogeneous society like India, where the majority were Hindus, with strong numbers of Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis, Christians, and others. The British ensured the 'writ of the state' through these laws, which are as follows: Section 295; Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that

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[10] In Pakistan, these amendments are called Religious Amendments.

any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion , shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term that may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both… In 1927, Section 295 A was added to the Indian Penal Code through the Criminal Law Amendment Act" (Abbas 74).

According to the Constitution of Pakistan: Article 295-B relates to defiling of a copy of the Holy Quran. The penalty is life imprisonment. Finally, the most controversial of the laws, 295-C, relates to derogatory remarks in respect of Prophet Muhammad. This offence entails capital punishment or life imprisonment. In 1990 the religious parties [Islamic] took the matter to the Federal Sharia Court[11], stating that there should be a mandatory death sentence for this offence, and the Sharia court acquiesced. Thus, the alternative life imprisonment clause was deleted from 295 C. In 1992 both the National Assembly and Senate of Pakistan passed resolutions affirming this amendment to the Blasphemy Law (Theodore 60).

Radu Murea reads this attitude as, "defensive modernization and self-induced colonialism" (Murea 45). The concept of an ideal Islamic society is different than that of the Western concept of society. Islamic countries, such as Pakistan want to "internalize the Western notion of progress, and thus become self-Orientalized" (Murea 51). Because Islam does not lend itself to an easy homogenization with the West, this phenomenon results in the construction of semi-Western and semi-Islamic societies, which creates an environment of conflict. Consequently, people in those societies become defensive to justify their aggression and use the same language as their former master did. The concept of "Westernization and

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[11] Islamic Law court.

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loss of identity" is important here. The notion that Pakistani society is going to lose its true identity if it is Westernized, Europeanized, and Americanized. This behavior gives way to "internal colonialism"[12], which means anyone who relates to West is Western, therefore needed to be subjugated. "Blaming one or other or great powers for their fate" and "the sensibility to victimization" in the past and present cause "semi-colonization" (Todorova 46).

In internal colonization the identity of the oppressed group is lost. Going back to Fanon on the question of identity, recognition, violence, and despair. Fanon is important because he "attempts to describe the "lived experience of a black person, to some extent it is autobiographical" (Zeilig 51). The situation such as it is in Pakistan provides no space for Christian and other minorities to breath in. If I borrow a term for this situation of the Pakistani Christians, then I would use Samira Kawash's terminology and refer to it as a "zone of non-being". In such a space, Muslims are free to adjust their bodily attunements to be heard, whereas Christians are not. To the Christians restriction on freedom to make bodily adjustments of this sort prevent them developing a personal style which would enable them to emerge and differentiate from the phenomenal field they find themselves in. Cynthia R. Nielsen views "so-called racial differences [caste and religious] are phenotypic", which "result in the oppressed group living, what amount sociohistorically speaking, to a different world than the dominant group" (Nielsen 80). This sense of alienation, the non-entity, and non-adjustability brings the "total despair" in the life of oppressed. Violence in this situation becomes a necessary tool, the oppressed and the oppressor both use it in accordance to their

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[12] Internal Colonialism is a notion of structural, political, and economic inequalities between regions or peoples within a nation-state. Otherwise known as "uneven development", and to describe the exploitation of minority groups. For details see, Robert, Peckham Shannan. "Internal Colonialism: Nations and Regions in Nineteenth-Century Greece", in Maria Todorova. *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*. New York University Press, 2004, pp. 41-59.

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needs. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe can be useful in this regard because they give us insight for how "subordination must be politically activated" so that it becomes a "site of oppression to be resisted", and "form of domination to be changed" (Laclau and Mouffe 30-40). Therefore, reading Fanon is not "undeniable glorification of violence" (Kawash 237). Although it does not guarantee an attentive listening, violence towards self and others call for someone to listen, and thereby demands a response. It is paradoxically a willful act of power over those who labor to ensure that power remain within the existing state apparatus and of disempowerment as the "self" destroys itself to enable the continuation of a greater cause.

According to Donna McCormack, "characters who have survived trauma articulate their histories" even without "sole resource to linguistic forms or narrative structure. These histories are expressed through subtle bodily gestures, ex-centric sexual acts, and mélange of sensory avocations. Listener or viewer is responsible" for its translation (McCormack 2). Non-availability of form and structure of expression can be seen as a state of total despair, and bodily semiotics remain only available source. Forced mutability give way to body gestures, and it include killing oneself as well as other. Mob justice, lynching on the spot, forced exiles, are the results of blasphemy laws of Pakistan. After a decade of protestation and pleading with Pakistani establishment John Joseph (1932-1998) a Catholic bishop, and human rights activist commits suicide, "in front of Sahiwal Court [Pakistan]. He was protesting the death sentence that had been handed to Ayub Masih a Christian" (Saeed). And, another example can be the recurrent self -immolations by Tibetans: "according to International Campaign for Tibet (ICT), 38 people have immolated themselves since 2009" [2009-12] (Gaedtke and Parameswaran).

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When we look at the articulation of resistance, and violence to modernity, and globalization in those parts of the globe that have been colonized, we find that some anti-globalization arguments position themselves as identical to "tradition", other to the "nationalism"; and with many, the two are linked. Therefore, to understand subaltern groups in societies such as Pakistan, one needs to understand their modernity, their postcolonialism, without Orientalizing them with one's own notion of modernity and postcolonialism.

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